



Resisting Silences: Gender and Family Trauma in Eighteenth-Century England

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The Newdigates were happy in the summer of 1683. There were four children under five, including newborn Juliana and six older siblings between five and fifteen.¹ Sir Richard Newdigate's diary presents an idyllic time: eating cherries with his pregnant wife Mary; gorging on orchard fruit with his eldest son Richard; teaching Amphyllis accounting; rounding up birds flying in the buttery; visiting friends and family; enjoying family meals and walks.² Twenty years later, the family disintegrated amid accusations of greed, madness and unspeakable acts. Newdigate's biographers link the breakdown to Lady Mary's death in 1692.³ Whatever the cause, the decline of such a contented family was tragic.

The explanation Newdigate gave in his pamphlet, *The Case of an Old Gentleman, Persecuted by His Own Son* (1707), concentrates around four events. The first is a trip to France taken by Newdigate, accompanied by his eldest son, Richard and his sixth daughter, Elizabeth, in 1699. In Newdigate's absence, second son John looked after the estate and family. The second event was Richard and John's attempt to have their father committed as a lunatic in May 1701 – although they were initially successful, Newdigate had the committal overturned. The third event was a petition to the House of Lords in February 1702 by four of the daughters (Amphyllis, Jane, Elizabeth and Juliana) asking for relief from their father's cruel severities. The fourth event was the Family Settlement of March 1702, which divided property and money among the children and gave guardianship of Amphyllis, Jane, Elizabeth and Juliana to their maternal uncle. In his pamphlet and account books, Newdigate blamed his eldest sons, Richard and John, for the family problems. His published story insisted on his daughters' innocence, but other records indicate conflicted relationships with Amphyllis, Frances, Elizabeth, Juliana and Jane. The remaining children – Mary, Anne, Frank and Gilbert – were faultless through absence (marriage or school) or illness.⁴

Newdigate's story is oblique on matters that reflected badly on his patriarchal control. He does not mention that his second-eldest daughter, Frances (Lady Sedley), eloped in 1695 (aged eighteen). Similar evasiveness is evident with regard to Amphyllis, committed as a lunatic in 1706 (aged thirty-seven), and the 'lunacy' from which Gilbert suffered by 1702 (aged twenty-eight).⁵ Newdigate discussed these instances only to

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blame Richard and John for driving them mad through ‘cruel usage’.⁶ He likewise omitted discussing his scandalous second marriage to a young woman in 1703, which he kept secret until the bride’s family legally forced him to acknowledge it. As to his alleged lunacy, Newdigate alluded to accusations of sexual improprieties, but never described the decisive event that induced his sons to commit him and his daughters to petition the House of Lords. The lunacy inquisition, however, gives a date (10 April 1701), while the petition offers details: ‘Sir Richard Newdigate did by frequent solicitacions by threats & by force with sword in hand attempt his Daughter Elizabeths Chastity so that she was forced to fly his presence and for the safety of her life and Honour to swear the peace *against* him’.⁷ Newdigate, unsurprisingly, denied his children’s imputations of madness and incest. These events provide the chronology for my interpretation.

Newdigate’s perspective is easily uncovered through his diaries, account books and pamphlet, but the children left only traces of their legal resistance. Those fragmentary records, however, suggest a family trauma with profoundly gendered suffering. By family trauma, I mean the family’s response to an event that shattered their seemingly happy world. The cause of the trauma is less clear. Was Newdigate an old man victimised by his lying family? Was he mentally ill? Was the violent attack of April 1701 unique? Was there long-term sexual abuse? When writing this article, I wondered whether the story should remain untold: was it my right as a historian to uncover the family’s secret? But as the #metoo movement has shown, we have an urgent duty to listen to the survivors of abuse (sexual or otherwise) and to recognise the ways in which we have enabled perpetrators’ accounts to remain dominant.⁸ Attending to silences in the records can provide new ways of understanding family histories.

This article considers Newdigate’s account, putting the children at the centre. Building on my previous work on pain narratives (or, how to find meaning in sufferers’ circular accounts of pain), I argue that the Newdigates’ experiences can be read as a *familial* pain narrative; its gaps, uncertainties and seemingly unconnected complaints are like other eighteenth-century pain accounts on a meta-level.⁹ To identify what caused their breakdown, I situate their health problems within the context of their family history. Bouts of illness occur at key narrative moments, hinting at a hidden wound of sexual abuse and/or mental illness. Newdigate’s and the children’s stories reveal how illnesses and the limitations of gender and age shaped the experiences of individual family members. In Newdigate’s version, an unwell, ageing patriarch protected his family, despite being undermined by adult sons’ demands for independence. The children’s story involves an indebted, domineering household head, sons lacking patriarchal privileges and vulnerable daughters needing protection. Either way, the case underscores the instability of patriarchy, the dangers posed by a bad patriarch and the intersection of illness, gender and family strategy. My analysis focuses on the question of why the children later concealed their trauma, despite their initial publicising of it. Their act of silence, I conclude, was the most powerful act of reclamation open to them.

Narratives, silences and gender

A gentry family, the Newdigates had their main seat at Arbury Hall, Warwickshire. They kept excellent household records, which historians have used for topics ranging from food to politics.¹⁰ Steve Hindle and Peter Edwards have examined Newdigate’s account books to understand estate management, while Elaine Gooder and Lady

Newdigate-Newdegate wrote detailed biographies.¹¹ Although Hindle and Newdigate-Newdegate identify micro-managerial or autocratic behaviours, neither treat these as a problem. For Newdigate-Newdegate, Newdigate's tendencies were counterbalanced by his daughter Jane's respectful letter in 1706, asking him to godparent her baby.¹² Only Gooder discusses the family disputes, depicting Newdigate as a loving father abandoned by his children.¹³

Gooder's interpretation fits with eighteenth-century understandings of familial and fatherly duty. Good fathers should balance patriarchal authority with affection. This was not entirely altruistic, as tenderness stifled potential rebellion. Ideal fathers were indulgent, but used education (moral training and consistent punishments) to avoid spoiling children.¹⁴ Tyrannical and indulgent fathers were obvious opposites – yet, the truly 'bad' father was indifferent: parents should be involved in their children's lives, even after marriage.¹⁵ A pervasive discourse of 'natural affection' framed parental duties in terms of love. As parents 'naturally' loved their children, they provided care. For a man, natural love was specifically equated with supporting his family financially.¹⁶ Children reciprocated with duty and love to their parents and siblings, creating a closely bonded unit fundamental to orderly society.¹⁷ Children who committed violence against parents were considered unnatural for transgressing familial hierarchies. Typical narratives centred on greed for parental money or lack of compassion for an elderly or ill parent. And, even in self-defence, it was inexcusable to murder a tyrannical parent (though understandable).¹⁸ Natural affection's dependence on a unified hierarchical family left little space to contest over-reaching authority, especially given the prioritisation of parental feelings.¹⁹ Families might fulfil mutual obligations lovingly, but power remained vested in fathers.

Whatever happened between Newdigate and his children, the holes in their stories hint at a shared reality: family trauma. Newdigate's pain stemmed from abandonment by his family in old age; the children's suffering was caused by a tyrannical, possibly sexually abusive father. Although Elaine Scarry contends that pain is inherently inexpressible, historians have found an articulate language for pain in nuanced narratives, performed dramas and gestures. Early modernists have focused on shareable, socially recognised pains and certain sources (literature, hagiography, diaries and letters) or accounts (violence, martyrdom, childbirth, surgery and chronic illness).²⁰ Given such rich materials, we have overlooked unwritten pain. What can we do with cases such as the Newdigates', in which suffering is central to the story, yet never explicit?

My approach here reflects the common ground between work by scholars of trauma, women's history and secrets, areas which offer usefully complementary insights as they regularly confront patchy evidence and confusing accounts.²¹ Reading silence is not new, though it is often easier for historians to ignore absences in records. As Lucy Delap noted in relation to twentieth-century child sexual abuse cases, historians need to confront the uncomfortable spaces in our records and not assume that absences indicate people's inability or unwillingness to discuss difficult subjects.²² Trauma, for example, is often concealed with silence, a survival tactic that relatively few sufferers move beyond. But silence is also a form of communication, which listeners can begin to hear.²³ First, one must identify when omission is meaningful. Like pain scholarship, work on trauma emphasises the elusiveness of its object. Traumatic events can remain hidden from consciousness, but echo in dreams, automatic actions or performances.²⁴ Written on the body, they shape long-term physical and mental health

outcomes.²⁵ There is a perpetual interpretative tension between reading the signs and inability to know. Whereas memory needs a narrative, traumatic recollections, like pain, are suspended in time, without a clear beginning, middle and end.²⁶ What narratives exist might be changeable, avoiding particulars or lacking facts, but the truth at their core is fear.²⁷ Looking for evidence to understand silence is necessary in other fields, too. Feminist scholarship typically considers voice as agency, but silence can enable resistance, offering protection and space to negotiate difficult situations. Researchers must be attuned to linguistic and bodily signs and alternative readings.²⁸ As for work on secrecy, studies of early modern Europe elucidate how secrets were a form of power. They occurred within a social context, binding those who shared them, while establishing hierarchical relations between those who knew everything, something or nothing. Secrets that became open knowledge could be more subversive than concealed ones.²⁹ What these different approaches foreground is that silences can be more than absences or suppressions, representing instead meaningful omissions. Attending to silences, secrets and physical signs of trauma offer insight into gendered experiences of family dysfunction.

This article contains multiple narratives. One motivating factor here is that I could not remain objective, being sceptical of Newdigate's claimed victimhood and sympathising with the children's actions. By separating the voices of victim and perpetrator (and historian), I leave room for an empathic unsettlement – by which I mean the avoidance of easy closure, excessive speculation and over-empathising with one side.³⁰ The children's counter-narrative challenges and informs Newdigate's dominant account. Reading the semi-symmetrical versions together elucidates imprecise, interlinked storylines, revealing the family's trauma.³¹ When presenting two narratives, considering emplotment is helpful.³² Newdigate structured his pamphlet as a romance with archetypal characters (hero and villain), along with themes of family betrayal and honour, all of which would have resonated with older members of his early modern audience familiar with Restoration political romances like Percy Herbert's *Princess Cloria*.³³ William Reddy's concept of 'emotives' is useful for analysing Newdigate's language: descriptions that reflected and reinforced his emotional state and could create change (people's perceptions of the family and his children's behaviour).³⁴ Indeed, as I pieced the children's story together, it seemed to me like a mid-eighteenth-century novel's plot, centring on motives for divulging or concealing their secret. This version highlights the limits of 'emotives' as a concept. Examining the children's emotions points to their resistance, but their emotions emerge through silences not 'utterances'.³⁵ The siblings' actions need to be understood in terms of gendered social expectations and the lack of opportunity to resist patriarchal authority. The family adopted multiple strategies to protect their honour, from Newdigate's creation of a more respectable narrative to the children's legal defences against a tyrannical father.³⁶ Using two narratives allows me to tease out the Newdigates' hidden story of collective suffering, which briefly became public before disappearing once more.

Newdigate's story

Newdigate's Account Book D refers to the family breakdown: 'This begins at Ladyday 1701 which contains the most uncomfortable Part of my Life'.³⁷ The Newdigates'

troubles became widely known: 'the By-ward of all Taverns and Coffee-houses about Town'. Gossip rekindled in November 1707, despite the Family Settlement, when twenty-four-year-old Juliana repeated 'The Infamy which was thrown upon [Newdigate] in 1701'.³⁸ Publishing a defence was common in *causes célèbres* and an obvious response for Newdigate (aged sixty-three), who had studied law, read avidly and penned bad verse.³⁹ Lawyers were also renowned for telling effective emotional stories.⁴⁰ The father deployed archetypal imagery and pain descriptions to elicit sympathy and reinforce his innocence. Three themes framed his narrative of suffering: independent manhood, loving fatherhood and vulnerable old age. Although a focus on old age served to buttress his contention that he could not be guilty, it potentially destabilised his claims to masculine honour. Newdigate counterbalanced this with extensive evidence that he remained an independent man and good father, despite his children's bad behaviour.⁴¹ His defence was self-serving, but it also may have been a strategy to protect the family by replacing insinuations of incest and insanity with the trope of a father-son property dispute.

Newdigate needed to persuade readers that he was an independent man. Early modern credibility was attached to gender and status, with independent men exercising self-mastery at the apex of a hierarchy. Not obligated to anyone politically or financially, independent men were loyal to the monarch and possessed moral rectitude.⁴² Good citizenship was key to Newdigate's claims of masculine honour. Several expenditures listed in his pamphlet were for the country: defence funding in 1666 and 1677, treating with Freeholders of the County of Warwick when he was a Knight of the Shire and digging up a local traitor's armoury in 1696. He even loaned the king money.⁴³ The Newdigate daughters' accusations of incest made proving political loyalty essential. Late-seventeenth-century cultural anxieties associated unnatural behaviours (like incest) with rebellion and illegitimate authority, whereas good citizenship corresponded to moral uprightness.⁴⁴ Newdigate's loyalty was a counterpoint to his sons' failures as independent men, whom he likened to and presented as in league with Catholic traitors. For example, Richard was 'persuaded by his Father-in-law and Priests and Jesuits' to commit his father.⁴⁵ His sons, Newdigate complained, 'took a Hint from those Traitors and Enemys to the State' and followed 'the Popish Maxim, cast Dirt enough and some of it will stick'.⁴⁶ Newdigate emphasised his sons' 'treachery', 'villainy', 'ruin' or 'persecution' thirty-five times and used words of conquest or violence fifteen times (e.g. danger, shield, sword, seize). If a household was the foundation of the state, then traitorous sons were dangerous to society.⁴⁷ Newdigate thus established credibility by undercutting his sons' integrity.

Newdigate also emphasised his capability for estate management in contrast to his sons. In 1699, Newdigate toured France – a trip seemingly taken out of curiosity. He had been corresponding (via his second-eldest son, John, aged twenty-seven) with a Huguenot, the Marquis de Soulligné, about his book *The Desolation of France* (1698).⁴⁸ While Newdigate was away, he left John to manage the estate. John, however, fell into debauchery, neglected the estate and 'shut up' his brother Gilbert (aged twenty-five), 'ma[king] him stark mad'. Called to account when his father returned home, John fell ill.⁴⁹ Newdigate and Richard also regularly argued about property. In his pamphlet, Newdigate maintained the main issue was Richard's 'treacherous contrivance' to have another £1000 annually.⁵⁰ Part of the problem may have been Richard's ambiguous status as an independent man. He married in 1694 but returned home in 1695 (aged

twenty-seven) when his wife died. Newdigate's estate expenses (like his 'mighty Coal-work'), moreover, seemed to squander his inheritance.⁵¹ The relationship was fractious by 1700 when Newdigate complained about Richard's 'Cross grained letter'.⁵² The Newdigate men fought constantly about estate management.

Tensions escalated on 10 April 1701. The House of Lords petition has few details of the violent attack, while the lunacy investigation provides a formulaic description (derangement with periods of lucidity).⁵³ Newdigate claimed that he suffered from a fever and delirium in May 1701. John and Richard allegedly used this incapacity to have him committed, attempted to poison him and organised a humiliating capture by ruffians.⁵⁴ Gooder thinks the lunacy accusations were false. First, the charge was at odds with the daughters' withdrawn petition to the House of Lords, which presumed sanity. Second, Newdigate legally re-established his sanity.⁵⁵ However, Newdigate's behaviour must have been concerning and well-evidenced over a longer term. At least one well-known physician, Gideon Harvey, participated in the inquiry.⁵⁶ The Lord Chancellors who oversaw lunacy investigations, moreover, focused on protecting individuals, particularly when family members misused the proceedings. Lunacy investigations were intended to restore family order, to provide care to long-term lunatics and to ensure good property management. If the lunatic was cured, a committal could be overturned.⁵⁷

For Newdigate, it was a long process to re-assert control. His diary shows unresolved legal issues until late 1702. In July, for example, Newdigate spoke to the Lord Keeper (Sir Nathan Wright), who believed Newdigate was sane. However, given the evidence, 'he could do no lesse then he did'.⁵⁸ Richard remained estranged, the situation worsening by 1705 after both men remarried. Richard began evicting tenants for unpaid rents, demanding his father take a new mortgage. Worse yet, Richard had 'shut [Amphillis] up as a Mad woman' to control her money.⁵⁹ In 1706, Newdigate granted Richard £2,500 annually to reduce 'temptation to wish or contrive his father's Death' and proposed dividing the land to spread out debts, ensuring that 'this noble Estate be preserv'd to the Family'.⁶⁰ Newdigate legally regained power, but Richard contested and subverted it through contrary estate management practices.

Masculinity and personal character were also visible on the men's bodies, reflecting a wider understanding that bodily deportment bared one's soul.⁶¹ Newdigate stressed his embodiment of age and rank throughout the pamphlet. There are sixteen references to him as a gentleman, while his actions revealed innate gentility: caring for his family, discovering a traitor, or building lucrative coal works. 'Old Gentleman' appeared six times in the appendix, with a linkage of age and status that implied he deserved respect.⁶² This contrasted with the prodigal John and reprobate Richard. Bad behaviour might be forgiven, but a father needed to decide when a son was irredeemable or dangerous. For Newdigate, his son's bodies offered clues.⁶³ After the French trip, John's remorse was discernible through his fever. John reconciled with Newdigate in 1701, apologising 'with Tears and great Compunction'. Richard also apologised, but 'put all the Slights and Affronts' on his father.⁶⁴ Richard's true disposition surfaced after he was widowed. For example, Richard advised his father to lease some land to avoid taxes, which Newdigate rewarded with a prime lease. However, the account indicates that Richard's body betrayed ill intentions, as he 'blush'd, and then lookt pale, which his Father did not take much notice of then, but has since often thought thereof'.⁶⁵ Newdigate embodied masculine gentility, while his sons were untrustworthy men.

Newdigate framed fatherhood in terms of natural affection. 'Father' was one of the most common nouns in the pamphlet, appearing fifty-nine times. Twenty-seven words referred to family or love (e.g. family, estate, duty, affection, reconciliation). He also stressed the size of his family – fifteen children, ten surviving to adulthood – and his desire to treat them equitably. Newdigate spared no expense in medical care, clothing, education and travel, even giving more to his children than inheritance? settlements required.⁶⁶ Paternal benevolence emerged elsewhere. Newdigate welcomed the newly widowed Richard home and remained an 'indulgent father' despite the children's abandonment.⁶⁷ He was even familiar with advice literature. Alluding to his daughters' petition ('cruel Severities and unreasonable Usage and Practices'), he used a curious phrase ('by reasons of his unnatural and Cruel usage') that came from a section on parental duties in a popular advice book by William Fleetwood.⁶⁸ In the passage, Fleetwood exhorted parents to treat one's children patiently, not harshly. Newdigate's point was that a father possessed of such natural affection would surely not act unnaturally to his child.

The family settlement promoted a continued relationship of paternal affection and filial duty. Settlements, which used the language of natural affection, aimed to strengthen family unity by preventing property disputes.⁶⁹ For the Newdigates, the settlement might even reunite the fractured family: 'for the reconciling of all differences which have unhappily arisen . . . and to the End Paternall Affection & Filiall obediences may be continued'. Newdigate gave the children considerable financial support. Each unmarried daughter, for example, was to receive £5,000 through an annual allowance of £60 (£150 after ten years), with the remainder payable at marriage.⁷⁰ The annual amount for the first decade was paltry, but if Newdigate followed the pattern of his forebears, it would be paid – contrasting with the eldest son's indebted estate.⁷¹ According to Newdigate, the sum was more generous than his father allowed: £571 8s 6d each and '3 farthings to have been divided among them' if there was no son.⁷² But the settlement also required Amphyllis (thirty-three), Jane (twenty-one), Elizabeth (twenty) and Juliana (nineteen) to move to the guardianship of their maternal uncle, Sir William Bagot, within ten days.⁷³ Despite the financial settlement, the family was broken.

Newdigate defended the family's honour by preserving the children's reputations and trying to reconcile their differences. From the pamphlet's first page, Newdigate portrayed himself as a forgiving protector, promising to 'bury all in oblivion' and 'never vent any thing that might tend to the disrepute of his dear Children'. Given the importance of maintaining family honour, Newdigate's public statement may have been part of his family strategy.⁷⁴ For example, he tried to hide any potential indications of familial madness by insisting that Gilbert and Amphyllis had been falsely locked up by their brothers who wanted to control their money.⁷⁵ Newdigate also confirmed his daughters' innocence. Richard, he argued, was behind the petition to the House of Lords. The four 'poor innocent young Women' had not read the petition, believing it discussed finances.⁷⁶ Newdigate's reference to Fleetwood provided an opportunity to redefine what 'cruel' and 'unnatural' meant in the petition: unjust overreaching of his authority.⁷⁷ Definition was vital, as 'unnatural' in this period could denote sexual immorality, wickedness or excessive cruelty.⁷⁸ Newdigate thus reframed the petition to emphasise his daughters' purity. Of course, he also claimed that the House of Lords believed in his innocence (because of his good record-keeping) and that – as a good

father – he took the blame on the advice of the Archbishop of Canterbury rather ‘than utterly to ruin the Reputation of his said Sons’ and, presumably, daughters.⁷⁹ Indexed in Account Book D is a ‘Family Scheme for the Happiness of it’, displaying Newdigate’s perpetual hope of family reunification.⁸⁰ His attempts to maintain family unity demonstrated his good fatherhood, while connecting his masculine honour and family honour.

At the same time, Newdigate drew on tropes about vulnerable old age to make clear that his sons were unnatural, not him. In 1701, fifty-seven-year old Newdigate was healthy, recently returned from his European travels. The children attacked their father’s independence when he was at a stage in life that he might expect family support – a common enough tale.⁸¹ Although Newdigate did not mention it, his pamphlet recalls *King Lear*, with madness and troubled father-daughter relationships. Nahum Tate’s *The History of King Lear* (with a happier ending and less incest than Shakespeare’s version) was familiar to late seventeenth-century theatre-goers, including Newdigate who had inherited an extensive collection of playbooks.⁸² Moreover, Newdigate was religious. To illustrate the horror of his situation, he referred to the account given in Genesis 9:18–29 of how Noah left the Ark to plant a vineyard, but drank too much wine and was discovered naked by the disloyal Ham, who told his brothers. This brazen indiscretion contrasted with the filial piety demonstrated by Shem and Japhet, who covered their father. Indeed, Newdigate’s children ‘were so far from imitating the Blessed *Shem* and *Japhet*, viz. covering their Father’s Nakedness, that they outdid cursed *Ham*’; they ‘pretended Nakedness where there really was none’.⁸³ Thus Newdigate’s imagery vividly exploited cultural anxieties about masculinity and ageing.

His papers, though, suggest that he keenly felt the pains of old age and betrayal.⁸⁴ His diary mentions gouty spells and a steady diet of pills until his death in 1709, while his remarriage in 1703 to an eighteen-year-old woman (Henrietta Wigginton), the stereotypical ‘old man’s nurse’, points to a genuine dread of loneliness.⁸⁵ At the start of Account Book D, Newdigate included a Latin epigram with English discussion about an old man who remarried: ‘But now grown Feeble, & scarce Like to Live, I’ve got a Helper, to who no Help I give’.⁸⁶ Historian Vivienne Larminie connects the pamphlet’s publication to renewed family hostilities after Newdigate’s marriage to Henrietta.⁸⁷ But Newdigate’s cancelled will of 1707 signposts another reason: justifying the disinheritance of unkind children in favour of his second wife.⁸⁸ Newdigate, an ageing man, feared lost independence, helplessness and isolation.

Newdigate encouraged readers’ compassion by focusing on illness, which he characterised as the true cost of his sons’ actions. Ageing and illness appear together fifteen times in the pamphlet’s second half, with most in his illness description (five) and the appendix (six).⁸⁹ The fifteen-page pamphlet was structured around seven illnesses, which functioned as narrative transitions and character descriptions. The first bout was that of Richard (thirty-one) and Elizabeth (seventeen), which forced them to return from their French trip of 1699. It marked the end of family unity, with Newdigate, who continued his tour, finding himself separated geographically from all his children. The second and third illnesses occurred after his arrival home from his travels to find that John had mismanaged the estate, destroyed his own health and driven Gilbert mad.⁹⁰ The initial ailments reflected the beginnings of familial breakdown.

The main account of illness was Newdigate’s, comprising two middle pages. During Newdigate’s fever and delirium of 1701, John and Richard had him committed.

The removal of power during illness played on fears about vulnerability. Newdigate defended himself ‘Sword in hand for five Hours’, a martial image evidently intended to nullify any intimation of weakened masculinity.⁹¹ The subsequent poisoning attempt inadvertently cured Newdigate’s fever. When a hamper from Warwickshire arrived, the footman ‘suspect[ed] the drink to be poison’d’. The poison caused Newdigate to vomit, curing his fever.⁹² The poisoning underscored the insidiously treacherous nature of the sons’ attacks. As a crime, poisoning typically occurred in intimate relationships and directly attacked the domestic order; moreover, it was widely associated with womanly deceit.⁹³ The final two illnesses – John’s death from smallpox (1705) and Amphillis’s lunacy committal (1706) – represented the family’s dissolution. Illnesses signified critical moments in the family’s history and contrasted Newdigate’s manliness (even in illness) with his sons’ unmanly attacks.

The repetition of ‘Old Sick Gentleman’ evoked fears about helplessness and ageing, specifically abuse by one’s family. Newdigate’s rich language of suffering had dual physical and emotional meanings.⁹⁴ Richard was presented as a ‘peccant Son’, a description signifying both sinfulness and disease: like a bad humour, he infected the family. Newdigate used imagery of wounds and violence such as his ‘lacerated’ reputation and ‘injurious’ dealings with his children.⁹⁵ Words caused damage. He blamed Richard and John for hastening old age by ruining his reputation and isolating him from his family.⁹⁶ Although sudden illness could shift green old age into decrepitude, Newdigate was as concerned by his defencelessness as by physical indignities.⁹⁷ For example, in the middle section, he paralleled his physical problems (‘sick’ twice, ‘unhealthy’ once) with his sense of being attacked: ‘persecuted’ twice and ‘afflicted’ once. The sons’ humiliation of him included his physical seizure by a ‘strong Ruffian, who took him in his Arms’ like a child.⁹⁸ Old age’s vulnerability was a type of suffering.

By 1707, Newdigate was an ‘Old Sick Gentlemen’, a description of age, masculinity and power. His family’s attempts to commit him and to accuse him of improprieties could have come from a play. While the accusation brought shame, being declared a lunatic removed legal authority over his estates and person. In a story drawing on wider concerns about age and masculinity, Newdigate emerges as an old man bullied or abandoned by his children. This is important. As Reddy argues, ‘emotives’ have tremendous shaping power – and one can derive authority from meeting society’s emotional ideals.⁹⁹ Newdigate’s emotional language provoked sympathy, while establishing his reliability. The real suffering of old age was not physical, but emotional: abandonment or victimisation by one’s family. Patriarchy had limits if adult sons colluded to subvert it, like Richard, ‘indefatigable in the Persecution of his own Father’.¹⁰⁰ Newdigate used this concern to re-establish his reputation – and to protect the family honour from the scandal of a ‘very lewd’ madman accused of ‘Incontinency with his own Daughters’.¹⁰¹ The pamphlet turned scandalous gossip into a common domestic tragedy by shifting attention to an ungrateful son and an old man.

The children’s story

Although Newdigate’s pamphlet is convincing, there is another way of telling the story. It begins with Newdigate’s lack of manly self-mastery (whether profligacy, mental illness or abuse), which destabilised his patriarchal rights. In this version, the children’s desire to escape Newdigate’s excessive control shaped their decisions to

commit their father on grounds of lunacy, petition the House of Lords and accept the family settlement. Their story is one of sibling cooperation to minimise the effects of a bad patriarch and reveals the profoundly gendered nature of their actions. While it was the patriarch's prerogative to present his anger as righteous, his daughters had no recourse but to stifle their own, and his sons express theirs cautiously. The Newdigate daughters depended on fraternal support, with Richard as potentially their most helpful ally, his position as heir providing the surest bulwark against an unstable patriarch.¹⁰² The family records hint at secrets, dysfunction and illness, but any story drawing on them – like pain narratives – is challenging to tell, filled with gaps and incoherence. And yet the silence *is* the story. The family records suggest that such reticence was deliberate, reflecting a collective strategy adopted by the children. Rumours faded from memory, and the children's actions were erased from family documents. The family's deliberate excision of their father's version of family history was a powerful act, allowing them to control their story and to protect the daughters' reputations.

When framed by social expectations for gendered roles (male hierarchies and female vulnerability), the plot of the children's story centres on trauma, mental illness, violence, incest and escape. Their version evokes, for me, family secrets of later novels such as *Mansfield Park* (1814) or *Eleanora; Or, A Tragical But True Case of Incest in Great-Britain* (1751).¹⁰³ The Newdigates' difficulties in speaking publicly about their father's behaviour also parallels the 1631 trial of the second Earl of Castlehaven, who was found guilty of raping and sodomising his wife and servant. The accusations were made by Lord Audley, his eldest son, who was concerned about disinheritance and claimed that Castlehaven had encouraged a favoured servant to impregnate Lady Audley. During the trial, the Earl, like Newdigate, was empowered through male honour to proclaim his innocence freely. The countess, like the children, had limited leeway to question publicly a patriarch's tyranny while upholding her own honour or that of the family.¹⁰⁴ The Castlehaven case may have been familiar to the Newdigates, as both families had estates in Harefield, Middlesex. An effigy of the Countess of Derby and her three daughters – including the Countess of Castlehaven – is located in St Mary Church, alongside Newdigate family monuments.¹⁰⁵ Family histories could be unsettling.

The Newdigate children's story begins with disquieting undercurrents during the summer of 1683. Newdigate reported eight instances of his own anger between 14 July and 4 August, including being 'violent angry' on 4 August. Protestant diarists, like Newdigate, focused on spiritual self-examination.¹⁰⁶ He read spiritual literature, prayed daily and struggled with his temper. In early modern England, anger was considered a choice that could be nurtured or ignored. Moderate anger was acceptable – at least for patriarchs who had to oversee the behaviour and reputation of their families – but excessive anger was destructive. Such emotions, then, needed to be carefully monitored.¹⁰⁷ Although only diary fragments remain, Newdigate's pocketbooks and account books noted grievances with workmen, tenants, servants and family members. Newdigate could evidently be overbearing with his staff, but does not appear to have exceeded his patriarchal privilege; he rarely noted extreme anger in his dealings with them.¹⁰⁸ In 1683, he had good reason to be short-tempered. On 1 July, soldiers searched his household, charged with disarming Whig supporters after the Rye House Plot in June. Despite reassuring Newdigate that he was no traitor, Captain Lacy removed all weapons including a drum used to call everyone to meals.¹⁰⁹ Newdigate's honour,

nonetheless, had been impugned and the removal of his armoury undermined his gentility and masculinity. His references to violent anger suggest extraordinary outbursts in response to such a loss of face.

Newdigate was a hard taskmaster who managed his children through a complicated system of monetary rewards and penalties.¹¹⁰ He rewarded six-year-old Elizabeth for finding a document and three teenage daughters for attending family prayers, but he penalised bad behaviour. When quarrelling with Elizabeth, he threatened to reduce her dowry by £1,000. In 1697, Newdigate fined her for two shillings, blaming her carelessness when *he* broke a glass. Gooder sees these instances as forgiving and forgetting, while Hindle thinks that Newdigate's temper did not trouble the household.¹¹¹ Financial methods of managing children's behaviour were common, being part of moral education.¹¹² At the same time, such financial monitoring was a routine element of patriarchal power, even where it was delivered affectionately.¹¹³ On 19 March 1702, for example, Newdigate unusually demanded that Jane (twenty-one), Elizabeth (twenty) and Juliana (nineteen) sign allowance receipts, just as the settlement was being reached. An increased attempt to monitor their money might imply punishment for their role in the dispute, but it could also be interpreted as an attempt to remain in their lives.¹¹⁴ Affection, patriarchal control and money were entwined, a constellation rendered more problematic by the addition of a father's bad temper.

Family troubles and illnesses started after Lady Mary's death in 1692. Twenty-three-year-old Amphillis took over her mother's place as mistress of the household. From 1693, her signature appears on household expense receipts.¹¹⁵ Two daughters' deteriorating health signalled other problems. Eighteen-year-old Frances was treated for hysteria from February 1695, which Gooder attributes to lovesickness for an unsuitable man. After Frances secretly married in July, she improved quickly, with no more treatments and only two physician visits (31 July and 16 September). She gave birth in November 1696.¹¹⁶ Amphillis became ill in 1697 and went to stay with her father's sister, Anne Pole. The unspecified illness lasted from January to March, likely the first of many bouts of mental illness.¹¹⁷

The breaking point came after Newdigate's family project, the 1699 tour of France. After a few weeks, Richard (thirty-one), Elizabeth (seventeen) and a servant became 'extremely sick'. They returned to England while Newdigate continued to the United Provinces.¹¹⁸ Perhaps the illnesses overlaid a family dispute, offering an excuse for Richard and Elizabeth to return home, although Newdigate's travel journal portrays a harmonious trip. Besides noting that his 'dear son Dick' had been 'waiting for my Arrival' before the trip, Newdigate depicted the family as a bulwark against foreign dangers.¹¹⁹ One Sunday entry, for example, reported that the day was 'miserably spent in this Popish Country. Yet prayed & read a sermon to my small family'.¹²⁰ But there were later strains, with the trip interrupted by ill health.¹²¹ The Newdigates occasionally disagreed over what to see, or when and how far to travel. On 2 August, Newdigate visited the churches of Évreux in 'complaisance to [his] dear children', but he criticised them for travelling too far that week. The day of 9 August was 'Spent in too much Altercation'. The following day, the children departed Montreuil in the rain against Newdigate's advice. He smugly described their coach sticking in mud, a servant taking ill in the wet, and Elizabeth falling into a watery ditch.¹²² His pamphlet indicates other tensions. For example, before embarkation Richard 'grew timorous, and express'd a great Aversion'; during the trip he was 'really Uninquisitive'.¹²³ There were 'unhappy

Differences between a Father, and a Son and Daughter of his', resolved by early 1702 'through the Mediation of Friends . . . at least seemingly'.¹²⁴ However, as is apparent, the family splintered and a parallel decline of bodily and family estates began.

The family's health was poor. At the family settlement, Gilbert and Amphyllis were mentally incapacitated and John recently ill.¹²⁵ By 1711, Frances, Anne, Elizabeth, John and Newdigate had died, while Amphyllis and Gilbert had been declared lunatics. Although it is unclear whether the Newdigates' mental illness was a cause or result of their wider difficulties, both mental illness and sexual abuse can cause familial health problems, including aggression, depression or post-traumatic stress disorder.¹²⁶ Long-term caregiving roles, particularly of parents, can also result in family disputes, anxiety and depression.¹²⁷ Considering the number of illnesses and the family's relatively short lifespans, it is evident the Newdigates were suffering.

The cause of their pain might be found in the children's motives for accusing their father of lunacy and abominable behaviour. As families generally kept their problems private, the Newdigates' willingness to take public legal action suggests their desperation.¹²⁸ Whatever happened on 10 April 1701 compelled Richard and John to launch a lunacy inquisition.¹²⁹ Newdigate's financial problems did not help. His ledgers show a man who accounted for everything, including emotions, but failed to keep good accounts. Money concerns continued after the settlement, which the children pursued in court to enforce.¹³⁰ After Newdigate's death, Richard inherited about £55,000 in debts, suggesting his sons were perhaps right to worry.¹³¹ Newdigate occasionally recorded that he could not recall paying debts or being paid, yet he also schemed 'Where & how to get Mony as it occurs' (1705) or 'How to pay Debts Anno 1706 & Which respite'. He justified his financial difficulties by shifting blame, as when he complained about the 'treachery' of the coal pit manager who allowed the deepest and most productive mines to flood.¹³²

Emotions figured prominently in Newdigate's accounts, in which money was associated with anger or happiness. During the dispute of 1701–1702, Richard (aged thirty-four) questioned his father's management of the portion from his first marriage. Newdigate refused to give him more money: 'since my Death hath been so much desired, I will part wth no Reversions. If my Son returns to his Duty & Filiall Affection, I design him 3000 £ per annum: Since I wrote this my son RN has been so base to me that now I will have the Portion'.¹³³ The 1705 accounts specified that the portion was tied up in the estate and that Richard, being difficult, would not receive any more.¹³⁴ The explicit place of emotions was similarly evident in Newdigate's indexing of his scheme for family happiness and how to make peace with Richard, but noted his 'Daughters 1705/6 their unkindnesse to me' and the continuance of Richard's 'devillish humour'.¹³⁵ Although he did not go into details regarding his children's unkindness, it may have been linked to an ongoing dispute about Amphyllis' care. In 1705, rather than paying Amphyllis' settlement, he argued that she owed him for her long-term education and maintenance, noting that her over-thinking 'hath almost continually obstructed her health, as well as hinder'd her preferment in Marriage'.¹³⁶ This measure was particularly punitive, since education and maintenance were considered parental duties. Given that men typically reinforced their paternal authority through economic provisioning, Newdigate's withdrawal of support seems to have been a rejection of family bonds.¹³⁷ Even so, he insisted on his generosity to his daughters; 'What their Grandfather intended for them if I had had no son' was substantially less than his own

settlement.¹³⁸ Overall, it appears he kept better emotional tallies than financial ones – but then using controlled anger to rebuke the children was part of patriarchal privilege and duty.¹³⁹ Although emotionally manipulative and a poor estate manager, neither defect equated to lunacy at a time when gentry and noble families were typically in debt. Conspicuous consumption was part of displaying one's status.¹⁴⁰ As Newdigate regained control of his estates, the court obviously agreed that debt was insufficient to undermine patriarchal authority.

While the tenuous character of the allegation brought by the sons raises the question of why they might try to have their father committed, it is the daughters' petition before the House of Lords in February 1701/2 that intimates the reason: Sir Richard sexually assaulted Elizabeth. Newdigate described the accusations of being 'very lewd' and demonstrating 'incontinency' with his daughters as 'abominable, malicious, false allegations'.¹⁴¹ Intriguingly, Newdigate mentioned 'daughters', although the suit only referred to Elizabeth. The 1702 settlement also expressed the importance of removing the daughters from their father's physical presence, suggesting that the incontinency was of longer duration, not one violent moment with one daughter. If Newdigate was sexually abusing his daughters, the family strategy of a two-pronged legal attack makes sense. Success in the lunacy inquisition would protect the family assets and offer discretion for the daughters' reputations while ensuring that Amphillis, Elizabeth, Juliana and Jane were out of his control. Perhaps the daughters realised the committal was doomed to failure and petitioned the House of Lords out of desperation.

Successful prosecutions for child sexual abuse were few and far between, especially with older children.¹⁴² Although families are the primary locus for sexual abuse, it is rare for historians to uncover clear evidence of instances.¹⁴³ And yet, early modern people recognised its possibility. They identified two categories of rapists: everyman (typical) and monster (excessively brutal). If rape resulted from misunderstandings or being overtaken by lust, then every man – except boys and old men – was a potential rapist.¹⁴⁴ Rapists of children were considered particularly lewd and immoral.¹⁴⁵ The line between good and bad patriarchy was also easily crossed. Abusers were unfit household heads, but complaining publicly went against social order, raising questions about the limits of obedience.¹⁴⁶ Prosecution of an elite father could be easily thwarted, as it was difficult to reconcile the image of a publicly respectable man with a domestically abusive one.¹⁴⁷ Newdigate's descriptions of age, honour and fatherhood, for example, constructed him as 'not a rapist'.

When cases went to court, even children were revictimised. Publicity, for one, damaged older girls' reputations and marriageability.¹⁴⁸ It was easier for (male) perpetrators to redeem reputations than it was for (female) victims. Charlotte Guyard, who accused her father of incest in eighteenth-century Germany, ended up in jail while he went free – albeit with a tarnished reputation. Although executed, the Earl of Castlehaven vigorously proclaimed his innocence, while the countess' honour was damaged by her in-laws' accusations and her mother's lack of support.¹⁴⁹ Focusing on estate management, by contrast, offered more decorous means for holding a bad patriarch to account.¹⁵⁰ Financial records could also support allegations of mismanagement, whereas proving 'unreasonable usage' of the daughters was difficult. While the attempt to have Newdigate committed was risky, the children might remove his power over them while retaining family honour.

No document definitively proves long-term sexual abuse, but there is circumstantial evidence, including ill health. The nature of Amphillis' illnesses from 1697 was not specified, though she was committed as a lunatic to the care of her sister Frances in 1706.¹⁵¹ Her condition deteriorated in 1704, with five physicians listed for payment on 12 July.¹⁵² Gooder links Amphillis' breakdown to Newdigate's remarriage in August 1703, speculating that Amphillis, an unmarried woman in her thirties, was troubled by losing her role as household mistress.¹⁵³ Not only was eighteen-year-old Henrietta young enough to be Amphillis' sister, but Newdigate had her pretend to be his daughter while they lived together in London. The new couple married and lived publicly together at Arbury, but when they returned to London in November, Newdigate inexplicably claimed it was inconvenient to have the marriage known. Instead, he took lodgings and Henrietta returned to her mother's house. Newdigate told his landlady that Henrietta, a regular overnight visitor, was his daughter. Newdigate only acknowledged the marriage in 1704 after Henrietta and her family sued him in the Court of Arches.¹⁵⁴ The scandalous marriage and Amphillis' subsequent illness point to a troubling interpretation. One might wonder whether Amphillis' illness was triggered by sexual abuse by her father after she had assumed the role of household mistress.¹⁵⁵ Elizabeth's health further suggests long-term abuse. From 1705 to 1707, she was treated for possible venereal symptoms: a whitish vaginal discharge and a weak back.¹⁵⁶ In children's sexual assault cases, such symptoms were considered decisive evidence of an assault.¹⁵⁷ The physical symptoms, combined with Elizabeth's genteel, unmarried status, offer grounds for suspicion.

The witnesses who would have appeared before the House of Lords were intimately familiar with the family. Three of these were entrenched within the household: Obadiah Key, steward and gentleman; James Nash, clerk and chaplain at Arbury; and Mary Eburne, widow and nurse.¹⁵⁸ Nash, as clergyman, was responsible for treating troubled souls, while Eburne, their long-term nurse, would have been a trusted mother-figure. The steward, Key, was familiar with the family's daily life. Key and Nash – well-educated men of the gentry – were reliable witnesses, while Eburne's proximity to the children made her testimony valuable. The daughters' suffering was written on their bodies, but they required the testimony of others to give voice to and corroborate their questioning of Newdigate's fitness as a patriarch.

The daughters' elopements provide the final piece of circumstantial evidence. Although the daughters moved from the control of one man to another, it was at least to relationships they chose. Unmarried daughters had few options for leaving. Frances – the second eldest daughter – eloped with Sir Charles Sedley in 1695. Newdigate was so angry that Sedley's father intervened, agreeing that the newlyweds should have 'wayted for our consent', but he had forgiven his son and would 'make the yonge couple easy'.¹⁵⁹ According to a page torn from the family bible, Elizabeth 'married herself' in 1708, as did Juliana in 1710.¹⁶⁰ Just as running away is a common adolescent response to abuse today, the series of Newdigate elopements may have served a similar purpose.¹⁶¹ Frances's elopement might have enabled escape from an untenable situation, while for Elizabeth and Juliana it offered an opportunity to exert control over their own lives. Although the pattern of illnesses and behaviour among the daughters cannot be conclusive, it suggests deep family problems and highlights the limited remedies available to abused daughters.

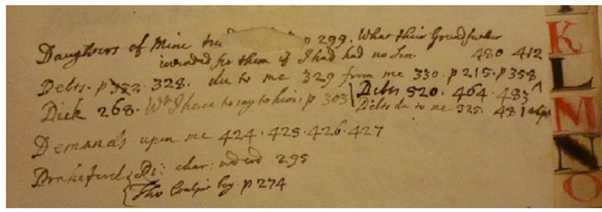


Figure 1: CR136 V23, fols. 6-7 (back index), with permission of the Warwickshire County Records Office. [Colour figure can be viewed at wileyonlinelibrary.com]

Ill health, however, made disputes observable by providing the Newdigates with opportunities for self-determination. Illness enabled resistance to patriarchal authority. John's fever occurred when he was supposed to have a difficult conversation about money. During the French tour, Richard's and Elizabeth's opportune illnesses afforded escape from a trip that (apparently on Richard's end) was unwanted. Amphillis' need for constant supervision meant that she escaped the control of her father (and other male relatives) by staying with Aunt Pole or Frances.¹⁶² Ill health even supplied Elizabeth with a fashionable physician to intervene on her behalf when needed. In 1707, Elizabeth used her poor health to marry Abraham Meure, a Huguenot schoolmaster whom the family thought was a fortune hunter. In a letter to Dr Hans Sloane in 1706 she complained that her siblings refused to believe that she was ill and denied her the chance to love as she chose. Their unkindness caused 'the destruction of my health if not the loss of life'.¹⁶³ Elizabeth thanked Sloane for intervening with her family.¹⁶⁴ Significantly, she saw her siblings as valued arbiters of her life, in spite of being placed in her uncle's guardianship. Indeed, the family continued to see itself as a unit, even if at odds. Illness pointed to the family's stress-points, but also provided the children with space for defiance or autonomy.

Despite dysfunction, there are vestiges of the siblings' strategy to conceal the dispute. The story's most telling elements are absent: lunacy accusations without details and a House of Lords hearing that never happened.¹⁶⁵ Newdigate's diaries are also piecemeal, though that was not necessarily deliberate, as paper was re-used domestically.¹⁶⁶ More noteworthy is the intentional damage to the family account book – compromising the careful itemisation of financial transactions that might be needed in the future. At some point, someone evidently tried to conceal what happened. As Deborah Cohen has argued in her book *Family Secrets*, secrets are sustained as much by talk as by silence, which leaves traces in the record.¹⁶⁷ And the record, even as an object, is never neutral. As an object, it becomes another type of text – one communicating its creator's emotions and eliciting or inflecting users' emotional responses.¹⁶⁸ By excising family documents to erase uncomfortable secrets, the Newdigates pointed directly to them. Where the indices in Newdigate's account books note that further details of the dispute were to follow, crucial parts have disappeared. For example, Newdigate indexed a letter (no. 392) discussing his daughters' unkindness, a document now not to be found in the archives – leaving the nature of their unkindness unknown. An index entry for 'Daughters of mine' has one or two words sliced out (Figure 1). The page listed as 'W[ha]t I have to say to [Richard]'

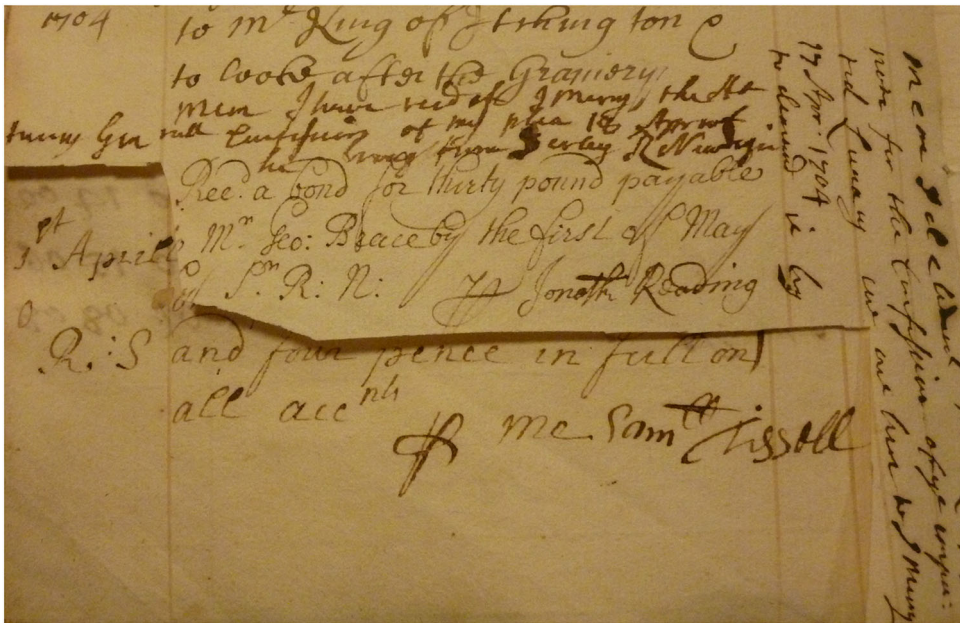


Figure 2: A marginal note further alludes to the lunacy inquisition. Its placement suggests that it was part of a longer section, but it is also incomplete owing to the excision. CR136 V138, p. 130, with permission of the Warwickshire County Records Office. [Colour figure can be viewed at wileyonlinelibrary.com]

has been removed from the book altogether (Figure 1).¹⁶⁹ In the back index, the ‘Lunacy imputed discharge of’ refers to page 130 – a page now giving regular accounts and no mention of lunacy. Tantalisingly, a large section of the page, which presumably had discussed the lunacy, has been removed (Figure 2).¹⁷⁰ Gooder does not mention these careful redactions and concealments, although she thinks that Newdigate tried to keep his accounts from close examination.¹⁷¹ Yet it makes little sense for him to cut out these sections; if anything, Newdigate’s emotional accounting stood as an admonishment to his heirs, while references to lewdness and incontinency came from his own pamphlet.¹⁷² Richard, however, had much to gain. Key sections relating to the dispute – specifically pertaining to Richard and property – remain. Significantly, the missing parts refer to the daughters and the accusation of lunacy.¹⁷³ It was in the family’s interest, for the daughters and for posterity, to obscure the specifics. The intention was not to erase the whole dispute, just parts of it.

The damage left a message for future readers. To early modern readers, texts and their material components were forms of embodiment with interpretative possibilities.¹⁷⁴ ‘Emotional debris’, such as torn pages, shaky handwriting or ink blots (intentional or not), were a recognised vocabulary.¹⁷⁵ Ink could be considered a humoral transmission.¹⁷⁶ Paper was skin-like, whether the actual skin of parchment or the second-skin of clothes in rag paper.¹⁷⁷ The act of writing was violent, from cutting quills with penknives to scratching letters onto parchment.¹⁷⁸ Within this context, readers responded unconsciously to the object’s materiality – and its bodily parallels – beyond the text. ‘Suture’ occurs when the text and material (or damage) correspond.¹⁷⁹

In the Newdigates' case, their father wrote in his quite-literal 'Account Book', which contained the financial and emotional details of his quite-literal estate. Newdigate's relics could be experienced as an aggressive act forcing the reader to engage with his story, bridging the temporal and spatial gap between author's and reader's bodies. But excising the text was a violent act against an object representing Newdigate. Significantly, by leaving index descriptions as pointers to what had been removed, his version of events was effectively silenced, albeit, perhaps tellingly, not erased. For modern readers, suture makes visible on the excised pages the co-existence of broken family relationships, the family's trauma and the daughters' (potentially) wounded bodies. Just as early modern cures involved the expression of bad humours or the removal of an infected part, so the Newdigates' suffering was unspoken, with the possibility of the most damaging remnants of the disease being removed to protect the family. The children's story materialises through the attack on Newdigate's virtual body and silencing of his voice.

Conclusion

The Newdigate case is about a family's trauma. Their disputes and poor physical and mental health expose the collective pain shaping their lives. Their suffering and attempts to gain autonomy were also gendered. The sons confronted their father directly about his mental capacity to control their estates and were credible enough to be initially successful. The daughters had fewer options – such as escaping by marriage or staying with a relative – and depended on the support of others. Their attempts at legal recourse were precarious. Despite the children's initial willingness to speak publicly, it was their father's story that survived. Silence, however, was not about powerlessness. It was a strategy that enabled the children to protect family members, reshape their history and limit their father's account. In a patriarchal world that valued family honour, illness and silence allowed resistance to authority, especially when dealing with an unstable head of household. Although there were legal methods of removing a father's control, these actions were likely to fail or call the family's honour into disrepute, as the Newdigate children found. The family settlement allowed the children to escape, but the act of obscuring the details enabled them to reclaim their story and their honour.

Less clear is the cause of family trauma: violent attack, sexual abuse, mental illness – or a combination? While Newdigate's (masculine) account is compelling and easily supported by textual evidence, the children's (mostly feminine) version is fragmentary. Whatever the truth, the case permits the historian to study long-term emotional and physical effects of trauma on a family. The Newdigate case is not a straightforward one of abuser and victims. The accounts overlap to show a family in pain and collaboration to protect their collective honour. Both versions reveal, too, how gender and status shaped the experience of suffering, from the unmarried daughters' struggles to express (or escape) their pains to the father's fears of old age diminishing his patriarchal privilege.

To understand the nature of the Newdigates' trauma, I have read their case like a pain narrative – attending as much to what was unwritten as written. Shifting the focus from the illness-experience of an individual to examine the family raises new questions about relationships, family health and gender in daily life. For example, reading Newdigate's pamphlet only as his illness narrative would overlook the effects

of his actions or mental illness on the whole family. It is common for historians to prioritise detailed accounts like Newdigate's over fragmentary, circumstantial evidence. But trauma is intrinsically slippery, perhaps only visible through a family's illnesses, and we miss opportunities to uncover it when we ignore silence's interpretive possibilities. Reconstructing the Newdigates' trauma affirms their experience of sexual abuse or mental illness and witnesses their unrecorded choices made within patriarchal structures. The posterity of written documents may belong to the privileged, but the silence of the marginalised is not necessarily oppression. Sometimes, the act of silence is the strongest form of resistance.

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Notes

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2. WCRO CR136/B1307, Notes from a Journal of Sir Richard Newdigate, ff. A-F.
3. Eileen Gooder, *The Squire of Arbury: Sir Richard Newdigate Second Baronet (1664–1710) and His Family* (Coventry: Coventry Branch of the Historical Association, 1990), p. 95; Lady Newdigate-Newdegate, *Cavalier and Puritan in the Days of the Stuarts* (London: South, Elder & Co., 1901), p. 290.
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5. WCRO CR764/168, note on 'Case of Uncle Gill's Affairs' that Gilbert 'was in a state of lunacy at the time of RN entering into those articles' until his death. The National Archives, London (TNA) C211/17/N6, Amphilis Newdigate, Commission and inquisition of lunacy, 8 June 1706.
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12. Newdigate-Newdegate, *Cavalier and Puritan*, pp. 290, 350–1.
13. Gooder, *The Squire of Arbury*, pp. 93–103.
14. Joanne Bailey, 'Paternal Power: The Pleasures and Perils of "Indulgent" Fathering in Britain in the long Eighteenth Century', *The History of the Family* 17 (2012), pp. 326–42.

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27. Toni Vaughn Heineman, *The Abused Child: Psychodynamic Understanding and Treatment* (New York: Guilford Press, 1998), p. 148.
28. Jane Parpart, 'Choosing Silence: Rethinking Voice, Agency and Women's Empowerment', in Róisín Ryan-Flood and Rosalind Gill (eds), *Secrecy and Silence in the Research Process: Feminist Reflections* (London and New York: Routledge, 2010), pp. 15–29. See also Mark Smith on the resistance of enslaved people through silence and silencing, *Listening to Nineteenth-Century America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), pp. 79–88.
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30. Dominick LaCapra, 'Trauma, Absence, Loss', *Critical Inquiry* 25 (1999), pp. 696–727.
31. Katie Barclay, 'Narrative, Law and Emotion: Husband Killers in Early Nineteenth-Century Ireland', *The Journal of Legal History* 38 (2017), pp. 203–27; Fathali Moghadden, T. Cairnie, D. Rothbart, et al., 'Recent Advances in Positioning Theory', *Theory and Psychology* 19 (2009), pp. 9–12.
32. Hayden White, *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975), pp. 4–11.
33. Newdigate and his peers would have been in their twenties when these stories were popular. Amelia Zurcher, *Seventeenth-Century English Romance: Allegory, Ethics, and Politics* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), especially pp. 152–4 and 161–2 on political meanings and hierarchy in *Clorinda*.

34. William Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 105–11.
35. Reddy, *Navigation.*, p. 111; Broomhall, 'Emotions', p. 5; Rob Boddice, 'The History of Emotions: Past, Present, Future', *Revisita de Estudios Sociales* (Online) 62 (2017), <http://journals.openedition.org/revestudsoc/939>, paragraph 11.
36. Family strategy is often used loosely, but here means a way of protecting the family and its lineage. Pier Paola Viazza and Katherine Lynch, 'Anthropology, Family History, and the Concept of Strategy', *International Journal of Social History* 47 (2002), pp. 423–52.
37. WCRO CR136/V23 Account Book "D", p. 4.
38. Newdigate, *Case*, p. 2.
39. Newdigate's diaries mention reading. The 1683 pocketbook includes verse: WCRO CR136/A32, ff. 14r, 40r. On law: Gooder, *The Squire of Arbury*, p. 16. On another case of incest: Mary Lindemann, 'Aufklärung, Literature, and Fatherly Love: An Eighteenth-Century Case of Incest', in David Luebke and Mary Lindemann (eds), *Mixed Matches: Transgressive Unions in Germany from the Reformation to the Enlightenment* (New York: Berghahn, 2014), pp. 184–203.
40. Reddy, *Navigation*, pp. 287, 291.
41. This was also a common tactic for sick, old men writing early modern petitions. Olivia Weisser, *Ill Composed: Sickness, Gender, and Belief in Early Modern England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), p. 166.
42. R.W. Connell, *Masculinities* (Oxford: Polity Press, 1995), pp. 77–80; Alexandra Shepard, *The Meanings of Manhood in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), pp. 184, 213; Matthew McCormack, *The Independent Man: Citizenship and Gender Politics in Georgian England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), pp. 31–55.
43. Newdigate, *Case*, pp. 3, 14; Gooder, *The Squire of Arbury*, pp. 74–6.
44. Ellen Pollack, *Incest and the English Novel, 1684–1814* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), pp. 8–62, 215, n. 8.
45. Newdigate, *Case*, pp. 7, 13.
46. Newdigate, *Case*, p. 14.
47. Susan Dwyer Amussen, *An Ordered Society: Gender and Class in Early Modern England* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), pp. 65–6.
48. Gooder, *The Squire of Arbury*, p. 161; David Agnew, *Protestant Exiles from France in the Reign of Louis XIV*, vol. 2 (London: Reeves & Turner, 1871), pp. 161–2.
49. Newdigate, *Case*, p. 7. This was probably informal, as there is no legal trace.
50. Newdigate, *Case*, p. 1.
51. Gooder, *The Squire of Arbury*, pp. 86–97, 106–07; Newdigate, *Case*, pp. 7–8.
52. WCRO CR136/B1309 C. Fragments of a Journal of Sir Richard Newdigate, 1700–6, 4 June 1700.
53. C211/17/N4; James Moran, *Madness on Trial: A Transatlantic History of English Civil Law and Lunacy* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2019), p. 38.
54. Newdigate, *Case*, pp. 7–9.
55. Gooder, *The Squire of Arbury*, pp. 97–8. 25 February 1702 and 16 March 1702, Journal of the House of Lords, 17 (1701–1705), pp. 47, 73, in *British History Online*, <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/lords-jrnl/vol17/pp46-47> and <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/lords-jrnl/vol17/pp72-73>.
56. Both younger and elder Harveys had royal support. Patrick Wallis, 'Harvey, Gideon (1636/7–1702) and (1671–1755)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (ODNB)*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/12519>.
57. Moran, *Madness*, pp. 97–117.
58. CR136/B1309 B, 6 July 1702; Robert Frankle, 'Wright, Sir Nathan (1654–1721), lawyer', *ODNB*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/30048>.
59. Newdigate, *Case*, p. 11.
60. Newdigate, *Case*, pp. 13–14.
61. Silverman, *Tortured Subjects*, p. 103.
62. Newdigate, *Case*, pp. 14–15.
63. Nicola Phillips, 'Parenting the Profligate Son: Masculinity, Gentility and Juvenile Delinquency in England, 1791–1814', *Gender & History* 22 (2010), pp. 92–108.
64. Newdigate, *Case*, p. 11. John settled financially (see CR136/B1309 F, 3 December 1702).
65. Newdigate, *Case*, p. 6.
66. Newdigate's 1683 pocketbook includes paying Mr Banister to teach Dick and Mall (25 October) and buying Mall a petticoat (13 November) and Dick a black hat (n.d.). CR136/A32, ff. 24v, 44r, 3r; Newdigate, *Case*, pp. 2–3.

67. Newdigate, *Case*, pp. 2–6.
68. Newdigate, *Case*, p. 10; PET/1/27, 25 February 1702; William Fleetwood, *The Relative Duties of Parents and Children, Husbands and Wives, Masters and Servants* (London, 1705), p. 96. The *ESTC* lists seven editions between 1705 and 1753.
69. Katie Barclay, 'Natural Affection, the Patriarchal Family and the Strict Settlement Debate: A Response from the History of Emotions', *The Eighteenth Century* 58 (2017), pp. 309–20.
70. CR764/168, Copy of the Articles of Agreement, 16 March 1701/2.
71. Equivalent to 1.8 years of a skilled tradesman's salary (source: <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/currency-converter/> [accessed 27 February 2020]). Vivienne Larminie, 'Settlement and Sentiment: Inheritance and Personal Relationships among Two Midland Gentry Families in the Seventeenth Century', *Midland History* 12 (1987), pp. 27–47, p. 31.
72. CR136/V23, 1703, p. 299.
73. CR764/168.
74. Foyster, 'Parenting', pp. 324–5.
75. Newdigate, *Case*, pp. 7, 11; Roy Porter, 'Madness and its Institutions', in Andrew Wear (ed.), *Medicine in Society: Historical Essays* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 277–302, especially p. 279.
76. Newdigate, *Case*, p. 10.
77. Fleetwood, *Relative Duties*, p. 96.
78. 'unnatural, adj. and n.' *OED Online*, <https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/215711>.
79. Newdigate, *Case*, pp. 10–11.
80. CR136/V23, back index, p. 10.
81. Philip Collington, 'Sans Wife: Sexual Anxiety and the Old Man in Shakespeare's Plays', pp. 185–208 in Erin Campbell (ed.), *Growing Old in Early Modern Europe: Cultural Representations* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), pp. 191–2.
82. Blago Blagoev, 'Two Manuscript Comments by Early Readers in *The Works of John Marston (1633)*', *Early Theatre* 12 (2009), pp. 151–61; Graham Holderness and Naomi Carter, 'The King's Two Bodies: History, Text and Genre in *King Lear*', *English* 45 (1996), pp. 1–31; Zenón Luis-Martínez, *In Words and Deeds: The Spectacle of Incest in English Renaissance Tragedy* (Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2002), p. 166. The *ESTC* lists three Tate editions (1681, 1689, 1699).
83. WCRO CR136/A278 Sir Richard Newdigate's pocketbook, with prayers and moral duties, ca. 1700–1709. Quotations from Newdigate, *Case*, p. 1. There are several prayer references in his diaries.
84. Vivienne Larminie, 'Newdigate, Sir Richard, second baronet (1644–1710), landowner and mining entrepreneur', *ODNB*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/47961>.
85. November and May 1704: CR136/B1309 E, L; Collington, 'Sans Wife', pp. 186–7.
86. Epigram from Thomas Bastard, with Newdigate's explanation. CR136/V23, f. 1; Anthony à Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, vol. 1 (London, 1640), no. 454, p. 367; Robert Vilvain, *Enchiridium Epigrammatum Latino-Anglicum* (London, 1654), p. 150.
87. Larminie, 'Newdigate'.
88. WCRO CR136/C1970-1979, unnumbered folios.
89. Newdigate, *Case*, p. 5–6, 8–9, 12, 14–15. 'Old' is in the title.
90. Newdigate, *Case*, p. 7.
91. Newdigate, *Case*, p. 8.
92. Newdigate, *Case*, p. 9.
93. Garthine Walker, *Crime, Gender and Social Order in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 145; Randall Martin, *Women, Murder, and Equity in Early Modern England* (New York and London: Routledge, 2008), p. 123.
94. Smith, 'Unaccountable Distemper', pp. 462–3, 466.
95. Newdigate, *Case*, pp. 1–2.
96. Newdigate, *Case*, pp. 8–10.
97. Lynn Botelho, 'Old Age and Menopause in Rural Women of Early Modern Suffolk', pp. 43–65 in Lynn Botelho and Pat Thane (eds) *Women and Ageing in British Society since 1500* (London: Routledge, 2014), p. 45.
98. Newdigate, *Case*, pp. 8–9. Persecuted' is in the title.
99. Reddy, *Navigation*, p. 323.
100. Gooder, *The Squire of Arbury*, p. 12.
101. Gooder, *The Squire of Arbury*, pp. 2, 14–15.

102. Linda Pollock, 'Rethinking Patriarchy and the Family in Seventeenth-Century England', *Journal of Family History* 23 (1998), pp. 3–27 (especially 4, 6, 10, 17); see also Pollock 'Anger and the Negotiation of Relationships in Early Modern England', *The Historical Journal* 47 (2004), pp. 567–90 (especially p. 579).
103. Pollack discusses both (see *Incest*, chapters 6 and 7).
104. Cynthia Herrup, 'The Patriarch at Home: The Trial of the 2nd Earl of Castlehaven for Rape and Sodomy', *History Workshop Journal* 41 (1996), pp. 1–18; see also Herrup, "'To Pluck Bright Honour from the Pale-Faced Moon": Gender and Honour in the Castlehaven Story', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 6 (1996), pp. 137–59.
105. *A History of the County of Middlesex*, vol. 3 (London: Victoria County History, 1962), pp. 240–6 (<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/middx/vol3/pp240-246>); *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in Middlesex* (London, 1937), pp. 52–58 (<https://www.british-history.ac.uk/rchme/middx/pp52-58>).
106. Tom Webster, 'Writing to Redundancy: Approaches to Spiritual Journals and Early Modern Spirituality', *The Historical Journal* 39 (1996), pp. 33–56.
107. Pollock, 'Anger and the Negotiation of Relationships', pp. 574, 578, 582, 586.
108. Hindle, 'Below Stairs', p. 72.
109. CR136/B1307 A-F for excerpts.
110. Newdigate's system was similar for servants (see Hindle, 'Below Stairs', pp. 81–3).
111. Hindle, 'Below Stairs', p. 87; Gooder, *The Squire of Arbury*, pp. 94–5.
112. Bailey, 'A Very Sensible Man', p. 284; Phillips, 'Parenting the Profligate Son', p. 98.
113. Barclay, 'Illicit Intimacies', pp. 584–5.
114. CR136/V23, pp. 107, 109.
115. Gooder found evidence of Amphilis taking over (*The Squire of Arbury*, pp. 112–113), contrary to Hindle ('Below Stairs', p. 86).
116. Her husband was the illegitimate son of a libertine. WCRO CR136/B464, Sir Charles Sedley to Sir Richard Newdigate, n.d. (July 1695?); Gooder, *The Squire of Arbury*, pp. 130–3.
117. Gooder, *The Squire of Arbury*, pp. 113–15.
118. Newdigate, *Case*, pp. 6–7.
119. WCRO CR136/B1308, Journal of Sir Richard Newdigate (1697–9), 10 July 1699, f. Er.
120. Journal of Sir Richard Newdigate, 2 August 1699, f. Gr.
121. Journal of Sir Richard Newdigate, ff. B-D, G.
122. Journal of Sir Richard Newdigate, f. Bv.
123. Newdigate, *Case*, p. 6.
124. Newdigate, *Case*, p. 1.
125. CR764/168. Neither Gilbert nor Amphilis signed.
126. Lynn Sacco, *Unspeakable: Father-Daughter Incest in American History* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009), p. 18; Kathleen Kendall-Tackett, Linda Meyer Williams and David Finkelhor, 'Impact of Sexual Abuse on Children: A Review and Synthesis of Recent Empirical Studies', *Psychological Bulletin* 1 (1993), pp. 164–80, pp. 165–7, 173–4; Kim Mueser, Lisa Goodman, Susan Trumbetta, et al. 'Trauma and Posttraumatic Stress Disorder in Severe Mental Illness', *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology* 66 (1998), pp. 493–99, especially p. 497.
127. Summer Sherburne Hawkins and Sharon Manne, 'Family Support in the Aftermath of Trauma', in Don Catherall (ed.), *Handbook of Stress, Trauma and the Family* (New York: Brunner-Routledge, 2004), pp. 231–60, especially pp. 242–3; Lisa Wynne Smith, 'Reassessing the Role of the Family: Women's Medical Care in Eighteenth-century England', *Social History of Medicine* 16 (2003), pp. 327–42, especially pp. 336–40; Dorothy Porter and Roy Porter, *Patient's Progress: Doctors and Doctoring in Eighteenth-century England* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1989), pp. 39–41.
128. Pollock, 'Rethinking Patriarchy', p. 4.
129. C211/17/N4.
130. TNA C7/248/21, Newdigate v Newdigate, 23 June 1702.
131. Gooder, *The Squire of Arbury*, p. 179.
132. CR136/V23, pp. 480, 516, 520.
133. CR136/V23, pp. 119, 268.
134. CR136/V23, p. 424.
135. CR136/V23, Back Index, pp. 6, 10, 24.
136. TNA C7/248/13, Newdigate v Newdigate, 1705.
137. Barclay, 'Illicit Intimacies', pp. 583–5. The only time Gilbert Innes withdrew financial support for any of his dependents was when a mistress stopped providing sexual services.

138. CR136/V23, Index, p. 7. He revisits this in his answer to Amphilis' petition: TNA C6/92/48, Newdigate v Newdigate, 1705.
139. Pollock, 'Anger and the Negotiation of Relationships', pp. 574, 582.
140. Lawrence Stone, *The Crisis of the Aristocracy, 1558–1641* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), pp. 42–4.
141. Newdigate, *Case*, pp. 2, 10, 14–15. Newdigate claimed this took place in July 1702, which is contradicted by the House of Lords: PET/1/27, 25 February 1702.
142. Sarah Toulalan, 'Child Sexual Abuse in Late Seventeenth and Eighteenth-Century London: Rape, Sexual Assault and the Denial of Agency', in Nigel Goose and Katrina Honeyman (eds), *Childhood and Child Labour in Industrial England: Diversity and Agency, 1750–1914* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), pp. 23–43.
143. Martin Ingram, 'Child Sexual Abuse in Early Modern England', in Michael Braddick and John Walter (eds), *Negotiating Power in Early Modern Society: Order, Hierarchy and Subordination in Britain and Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 63–5; Sarah Toulalan, "'Is he a licentious lewd Sort of a Person?'" Constructing the Child Rapist in Early Modern England', *Journal of the History of Sex* 23 (2014), pp. 21–52, especially p. 26; Toulalan, 'Child Sexual Abuse', pp. 33–4.
144. Garthine Walker, 'Everyman or a Monster?: The Rapist in Early Modern England, c. 1600–1750', *History Workshop Journal* 76 (2013), pp. 5–31.
145. Toulalan, 'Lewd Sort of a Person', p. 52.
146. Herrup, 'The Patriarch at Home', pp. 9, 13; Lindemann, 'Aufklärung'; Sacco, *Unspeakable*, p. 30.
147. Herrup, 'The Patriarch at Home', p. 11.
148. Toulalan, 'Child Sexual Abuse', pp. 33–4, 40–1.
149. Herrup, 'To Pluck Bright Honour', pp. 142, 156–7; Sacco, *Unspeakable*, p. 9; Lindemann, 'Aufklärung', p. 184.
150. Natalie Zemon Davis, *Fiction in the Archives: Pardon Tales and the Tellers in Sixteenth-Century France* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1987).
151. Gooder, *The Squire of Arbury*, pp. 113–15; C211/17/N6.
152. CR136/V23, p. 393.
153. Gooder, *The Squire of Arbury*, p. 115.
154. Gooder, *The Squire of Arbury*, pp. 191–4.
155. Gloria González-López discusses 'conjugal daughters', when the daughter is expected to take on the full duties of a wife. Although she examines modern Mexico, there are similarities with an entrenched patriarchal culture that treats women and children as inferior. González-López, *Family Secrets: Stories of Incest and Sexual Violence in Mexico* (New York: New York University Press, 2015), pp. 31–3; Pollack, *Incest*, p. 26.
156. Nicholas Culpeper, *A Physicall Directory or a Translation of the London Dispensatory* (London, 1649), pp. 5, 7. Anonymous, *The Ladies Dispensatory, or every woman her own physician* (London, 1739), p. 221; William Forster, *A treatise on the causes of most diseases incident to human bodies, and the cure of them* (London, 1745), p. 156. On Elizabeth's case: British Library, London, Sloane MS 4076, f. 173, William Oliver to Hans Sloane, 14 July 1705; Sloane MS 4040, ff. 235–6, Elizabeth Newdigate to Hans Sloane, 10 October 1706; Sloane MS 4040, ff. 245–6, Elizabeth Newdigate to Hans Sloane, 1 November 1706.
157. Toulalan, 'Child Sexual Abuse', p. 24; Sacco, *Unspeakable*, pp. 13–15.
158. 5 March 1702, Journal of the House of Lords, 17 (1701–1705), in *British History Online*, <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/lords-jrnl/vol17/pp57-58>; Cissie Fairchilds, *Women in Early Modern Europe 1500–1700* (Harlow: Pearson Education, 2007), pp. 160–1.
159. WCRO CR136/B465, 18 July 1695, Sir Charles Sedley (senior) to Sir Thomas Rowe; CR136/B464, n.d. [probably 18 July 1695], Sir Charles Sedley (senior) to Sir Richard Newdigate.
160. CR136/B830.
161. Kendall-Tackett et al., 'Impact', pp. 169, 173–4; Min Jung Kim and Emiko A. Tajima, 'Early Child Maltreatment, Runaway Youths, and Risk of Delinquency and Victimization in Adolescence: A Mediation Model', *Social Work Research* 1, 33 (2009), pp. 19–28.
162. Gooder, *The Squire of Arbury*, p. 113. For primary sources, see C211/17/N6; WCRO CR136 C2735; CR136/V23, p. 535 (20 September 1706, payments to Phill's nurses); CR136/V23, p. 279 (27 November 1703, payments to Lady Frances Sedley and Dr. Holden); CR136/V23, p. 29 (back index), for Dr. P at Harefield; WCRO CR136/V8 Account Book "B", f. 112r, 20 August 1703.
163. Sloane MS 4040, f. 246, Elizabeth Newdigate to Hans Sloane, 1 November 1706.
164. Sloane MS 4040, f. 245; Sloane MS 4040, f. 235. On this case, see Smith, 'Reassessing the Role of the Family', pp. 336–8.

165. 16 March 1702, *Journal of the House of Lords*, 17 (1701–1705), p. 73, in *British History Online*, <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/lords-jrnl/vol17/pp72-73>; C211/17/N4.
166. Anna Reynolds, “‘Such dispersive scatteredness’: Early Modern Encounters with Binding Waste”, *Journal of the Northern Renaissance*, 8 (2017), <http://northernrenaissance.org>; Helen Smith, “‘A unique instance of art’: The Proliferating Surfaces of Early Modern Paper”, *Journal of the Northern Renaissance*, 8 (2017), <http://northernrenaissance.org>.
167. Deborah Cohen, *Family Secrets: Shame & Privacy in Modern Britain* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 6.
168. Stephanie Downes, Sally Holloway and Sarah Randles, ‘A Feeling for Things, Past and Present’, in Stephanie Downes, Sally Holloway and Sarah Randles (eds), *Feeling Things: Objects and Emotions through History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), pp. 8–26, pp. 10–11.
169. CR136/V23, pp. 6–7 (back index), 299, 303–4.
170. CR136/V23, pp. 1 (back index), 130.
171. Gooder, *The Squire of Arbury*, p. 114.
172. Newdigate, *Case*, pp. 2, 14–15.
173. CR136/V23, p. 268.
174. Claire Canavan, ‘Reading Materials: Textile Surfaces and Early Modern Books’, *Journal of the Northern Renaissance*, 8 (2017), <http://northernrenaissance.org>, par. 36.
175. Diana G. Barnes, ‘Emotional Debris in Early Modern Letters’, in Downes, Holloway and Randles (eds), *Feeling Things*, pp. 114–32 (especially p. 115).
176. Kristen Polster, ‘The Fifth Humour: Ink, Texts, and the Early Modern Body’ (Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of North Texas, 2012), pp. 2–4, 11–12.
177. Smith, ‘Proliferating Surfaces’, par. 22–23 and 31–32 (on rags) and par. 33–40 (on bodies).
178. Jonathan Goldberg, *Writing Matter: From the Hands of the English Renaissance* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990), pp. 71–4.
179. On ‘suture’, see Sarah Kay, ‘Legible Skins: Animals and the Ethics of Medieval Reading’, *Postmedieval: A Journal of Medieval Cultural Studies* 2 (2011), pp. 13–32, pp. 15, 17, 23, 25; Craig Ferrell, ‘The Poetics of Page-Turning: The Interactive Surfaces of Early Modern Printed Poetry’, *Journal of the Northern Renaissance* 8 (2017), <http://northernrenaissance.org>, par. 11–12; Alicia Spencer-Hall, ‘Christ’s Suppurating Wounds: Leprosy in the *Vita* of Alice of Schaerbeek (+1250)’ in Larissa Tracy and Kelly DeVries (eds), *Wounds and Wound Repair in Medieval Culture* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), pp. 389–416, pp. 400–1.