MALE FRIENDSHIP AND TESTIMONIES OF LOVE IN SHAKESPEARE'S ENGLAND

Will Tosh

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For my parents,
Norma Clarke and
John Tosh

List of Abbreviations

In quoting from manuscripts, I have silently expanded contractions, lowered superscriptions and smoothed over scribal corrections or deletions. Original spelling, capitalisation and punctuation have been retained throughout. Where it has been necessary to insert a punctuation mark to make sense of the text, I have done so within square brackets, which is also where I keep other editorial interventions. I have not attempted to regularise Old and New Style dating. Anthony Bacon and his correspondents used both, depending on where they were at the time of writing. I date the letters as they appear in the manuscript, although in the text I have amended the year when necessary to begin on 1 January (I note the distinction in the endnotes, however, as '20 January 1596/7'). I refer to the Bacon brothers by their first names, Anthony and Francis. For other individuals, where a confusion over shared family name does not arise, I use surnames only.

BL	British Library, London
EUL	Edinburgh University Library
GL	Daphne du Maurier, *Golden Lads: A Study of Anthony Bacon, Francis, and their Friends* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1975)
HF	Lisa Jardine and Alan Stewart, *Hostage to Fortune: The Troubled Life of Francis Bacon, 1561–1626* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1998)
HMCS	Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Most Hon. The Marquis of Salisbury, K.G. […] preserved at Hatfield House, Hertfordshire*, 24 vols (London: HMSO, 1883–1976)

LL	James Spedding (ed.), *The Letters and Life of Francis Bacon*, 7 vols (London: Longman, 1861–72)
LPL	Lambeth Palace Library, London
ODNB	H.C.G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (eds), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online Edition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), http://www.oxforddnb.com.
PP	Paul E.J. Hammer, *The Polarisation of Elizabethan Politics: The Political Career of Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex, 1585–1597* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999)
TNA	The National Archives, Kew

Personal Names

AB	Anthony Bacon
ACB	Anne, Lady Bacon (née Cooke)
AS	Anthony Standen
EE	Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex
ER	Edward Reynolds
FB	Francis Bacon
NF	Nicholas Faunt
NT	Nicholas Trott
WC	William Cecil, Lord Burghley

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The trustees of Lambeth Palace Library gave me permission to quote extensively from the Anthony Bacon papers, and I thank them for their generosity. I am obliged to Giles Mandelbrote, Rachel Cosgrave and the Lambeth Palace Library team for running such a calm and well-managed reading room. Staff at the British Library, the National Archives, Edinburgh University Library and the Folger Shakespeare Library were unfailingly patient, and the trustees of those repositories allowed me to cite their holdings at will. Gisèle Benitez and Amalia Signorelli helped me from afar.

The portrait on the front cover of this book, attributed (not without challenge) to Nicholas Hilliard and believed to be of either Anthony Bacon

or Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex (c.1594), is held in a private collection and reproduced by kind permission of the owner.

My research was stimulated by audiences at the QMUL Department of English postgraduate conference, the CELL Director's Seminar, UCL's 'One Day in the City' conference, the Freiburg-QMUL exchange conference, Birkbeck's 'Renaissance Men of the Middle Temple' conference, the Renaissance Society of America annual conference, and VU University Amsterdam's 'Compassion in Early Modern Culture' conference.

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Contents

CHAPTER 1

Introduction: Anthony Bacon and the Uses of Friendship

Far from home and charged with a shocking crime, an expatriate English gentleman faced a brutal punishment. He lived in the autonomous Protestant community of Montauban in south-west France, where he was on intimate terms with the town's Huguenot leadership and with the region's political heavyweight, Henri, the Bourbon king of Navarre. Since 1579, Anthony Bacon had been on an extended tour through France, relaying political and military intelligence to friends and patrons in England, who included his brother, Francis Bacon, his uncle, William Cecil, Lord Burghley, and Sir Francis Walsingham, Queen Elizabeth I's Principal Secretary of State. Now, in August 1586, the well-connected young man was the unofficial English envoy to the Protestant Henri, heir to the French throne. Few diplomatic positions were of greater importance or greater sensitivity in the middle of that decade, as England's Catholic neighbour and erstwhile enemy appeared on the verge of a Protestant succession after the turmoil of the civil wars. It was therefore with the worst possible timing that Anthony was convicted by the seneschal of Quercy at the bench in Montauban of sexual relations with a male servant. In sixteenth-century France, the penalty for sodomy was to be burned at the stake.

The evidence for Anthony Bacon's conviction, stored today in the Archives Départmentales of Tarn-et-Garonne, is incomplete. Comprising a set of interrogations of some of the persons involved, conducted a year after the alleged incidents, the depositions tell a story of domestic mismanagement, jealousy and favouritism. Two of Anthony's numerous

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servants, a father and son pair named Jean and Paul de la Fontaine, who had been in his service for about nine months, testified that their employer showed excessive favour to one of his pages, Isaac Bougades, frequently kissing and embracing him and bestowing upon the boy gifts of sweets and money. Paul de la Fontaine said that another of the servants swore that Anthony had sex with Isaac, and had seen them sharing a bed together in broad daylight. Isaac had scoffed at their concerns: Anthony apparently dismissed sodomy as no sin, claiming that even Theodore Beza (leader of the Calvinist wing of the Reformed church) and the senior Montauban minister enjoyed it. Jean de la Fontaine further testified that Isaac had sexually assaulted a junior lackey in the household named David Brysson. When Jean complained of this behaviour to Anthony, their master sacked David rather than chastise Isaac. Isaac then sought out David to buy his silence with a few coins (something corroborated by the lackey in his own interview).[1]

These surviving testimonies record a set of interviews that took place in November 1587, a year after the first round of interrogations in August 1586 (the transcriptions of which have been lost). The voices of Anthony and Isaac are conspicuously absent from the archive. Even more peculiar is the fact that Anthony had appealed to the king of Navarre's council as soon as he received his conviction from the Montauban bench. In September 1586, Henri sent an uncompromising letter to one of his councillors insisting that Anthony be immediately freed without charge, as 'the merit of those to whom he belongs is great; we owe many obligations to the queen, his sovereign'.[2] By November 1587, the case should have been long closed. But the threat of the stake—the *bûcher*—was evidently still in force. No personal letters survive to record Anthony's feelings at this difficult time, or the final resolution of the case. He remained in Montauban for some years after the scandal before returning home via Bordeaux in the early 1590s. He never made mention of his experience at the hands of the Montalbanais judiciary. No one in England ever knew, and certainly never wrote of, the charges he had faced. The affair remained hidden from history until 1974, when the archival records were unearthed by the novelist

[1] Archives Départementales, Montauban, Préfecture Tarn-et-Garonne, France, la côte 5 E 1537, fols.176–9; *GL*, 66–8; *HF*, 107–10. The most thorough account of the depositions is Joyce T. Freedman, 'Anthony Bacon and his World, 1558–1601', unpublished PhD dissertation, Temple University, 1979, 103–10.

[2] BL Cotton MS Nero B.VI, fol.387; *GL*, 67; *HF*, 110.

and biographer Daphne du Maurier, author of *Golden Lads: A Study of Anthony Bacon, Francis and their Friends.* Du Maurier made Anthony's crisis in Montauban the central drama of her book, deducing that his fear of exposure drove his departure from France and subsequent avoidance of court life when he returned to England in the 1590s. Du Maurier's discovery placed Anthony in the ranks of famous 'homosexuals in history' (in A. L. Rowse's phrase), a category that expanded throughout the twentieth century as biographers sought to undo decades of pious and sexless life writing.[3] In Anthony's case, the intersection of scandal, spying and same-sex love served to produce an irresistible conclusion for scholars of espionage: the homosexual affair in France was, the historian Alan Haynes observed, 'a historic first in the prodigious annals of such activity in the British secret service'.[4]

Writers like du Maurier and Rowse, working in the context of a post-war liberalism that had not yet been affected by the challenges of feminist or queer historiography, produced their work in a sort of intellectual twilight zone for the history of sexuality: the study of same-sex eroticism stood to benefit from the new openness of a permissive culture (anything to do with sex was up for discussion), but it was intellectually reliant on the structures put in place by nineteenth-century historians and sexologists. Their concern was therefore to identify and taxonomize, and speculate as to whether the evidence of Anthony Bacon's sodomy trial proved that he was homosexual, bisexual or besotted with young boys.[5] Work was already underway in the 1970s that would render this classifying specious

[3] A.L. Rowse, *Homosexuals in History: A Study of Ambivalence in Society, Literature and the Arts* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1977), 41–47; Martin Greif, *The Gay Book of Days: an evocatively illustrated who's who of who is, was, may have been, probably was, and almost certainly seems to have been gay during the past 5,000 years* (London: W.H. Allen, 1985), 27.

[4] Alan Haynes, *Invisible Power: The Elizabethan Secret Services 1570–1603* (Stroud: Sutton, 1992), 127. A thoughtful analysis of the Cambridge spy ring (to which Haynes winkingly refers) is Christopher Andrew, *The Defence of the Realm: The Authorised History of MI5* (London: Allen Lane, 2009), 168–74.

[5] Major works in the small field of mid-century sexuality studies include H. Montgomery Hyde, *The Love That Dared Not Speak Its Name: A Candid History of Homosexuality in Britain* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1970) and Noel I. Garde, *Jonathan to Gide: The Homosexual in History* (New York: Vantage Press, 1964). Anthony Bacon regarded his own sex drive (if such a thing was conceived of in the sixteenth century) as relatively low: writing to a Shrewsbury doctor in 1597, he told him that he had 'neuer been troobled with any kinde of *leues veneria* [venereal disease] nor committed any act to occasion it' (AB to Mr Barker, 17 April 1597, LPL MS 661, fol.160v).

in an early modern context, and when Lisa Jardine and Alan Stewart examined the same material for their major biography of Anthony's brother in 1998, *Hostage to Fortune: The Troubled Life of Francis Bacon 1561–1626*, they came to a rather different conclusion, one that took into account the political and domestic context of the accusation: 'Perhaps all we can glean from these incomplete records is that somebody accused Anthony Bacon of sodomy—possibly disgruntled servants attempting to extort money, possibly political or religious opponents attempting to disgrace a rival.' As Jardine and Stewart demonstrated, Anthony's accusation came at a time when he was involved in numerous diplomatic and confessional disputes in war-torn France, any of which would have been sufficient to explain the politically-motivated slander of a man who was a foreigner in a beleaguered city.[6]

Much changed in the twenty years between Daphne du Maurier's revelation and the publication of Lisa Jardine and Alan Stewart's biography. In 1976, Michel Foucault was the first to argue that sexual identity was a modern evolution, and that to speak of hetero- or homosexuality in the pre-modern era was anachronistic.[7] Alan Bray similarly challenged the idea that sexuality was an 'essentially unchanging entity' and instead offered in his *Homosexuality in Renaissance England* a history of 'an aspect of sexuality whose expression has varied radically across different cultures and societies'. He later went on to make the point that in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, 'accusations [of sodomy] … are not evidence of it': the charge appears with as much frequency as a political weapon as it does as an attack on sexual manners, and the all-pervasive physical intimacy that characterised relations between men of every background in the Renaissance meant that the behavioural indications of a homosexual attachment are not necessarily legible to a modern researcher. Bray acknowledged the irony of a history of homosexuality that discounted judicial evidence of its expression: '[t]his was evidently the detective story where the clue was that the dog did *not* bark', he wrote, in a nod to the curious incident of the silent watchdog at the heart of Arthur Conan Doyle's

[6] *HF*, 109; Janine Garisson, 'La Genève française', in Daniel Ligou (ed.), *Histoire de Montauban* (Toulouse: Privat, 1984); Philip Conner, *Huguenot Heartland: Montauban and Southern French Calvinism during the Wars of Religion* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), 84–6.

[7] Michel Foucault, *La Volonté de savoir* [*The Will to Knowledge*] (Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 1976). Published in the UK as *The History of Sexuality Volume I: An Introduction*, trans. Robert Hurley (London: Allen Lane, 1979).

short story 'Silver Blaze'.[8] The combined force of scholarship like this was to do away with what the classicist David Halperin called the 'dreary labelling' of historical persons as homosexual or otherwise.[9] Instead, cultural historians and literary critics turned their attention to the wide-ranging ways in which homoerotic desire manifested itself in past contexts, which as Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick showed in her 1985 study, *Between Men*, were often strikingly pervasive and very different to today: what she called 'male homosocial desire' was a constituent ingredient in patriarchal power animated by a 'highly conflicted but intensively structured combination' of 'ideological homophobia' and 'ideological homosexuality'.[10] As Jonathan Goldberg argued, the 'continuum of male-male relations' that characterised the early modern public sphere was 'capable of being sexualised, though where and how such sexualisation occurs cannot be assumed a priori'.[11] In other words, nothing is more likely than that Anthony Bacon had sexual relations with men. But his sodomy accusation is not evidence of it. Jardine and Stewart took this into consideration when they discussed the scandal in Montauban:

> Like most young men moving around the continent, 'they wrote', Anthony's immediate environment was almost exclusively male. In cramped lodgings, master and servant were forced into conditions of great intimacy, and shared beds. The situation was simultaneously absolutely commonplace and frighteningly vulnerable to accusations of malpractice—especially sodomy.[12]

Same-sex contact between men was part of the fabric of everyday life. But to raise a hue and cry about such contact was also a weapon in the arsenal of the slanderer, the fabulist and the blackmailer.

[8] Alan Bray, *Homosexuality in Renaissance England* (London: Gay Men's Press, 1982), 9; Bray, 'Homosexuality and the Signs of Male Friendship in Elizabethan England', *History Workshop Journal* 29 (1990), 1–19, 14; Bray, 'Epilogue', in Tom Betteridge (ed.), *Sodomy in early modern Europe* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), 164–8, 165.

[9] David M. Halperin, *One Hundred Years of Homosexuality and Other Essays on Greek Love* (New York: Routledge, 1990), 7.

[10] Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Between Men: English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985), 25. Alan Stewart's *Close Readers: Humanism and Sodomy in Early Modern England* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997) developed (and challenged) Sedgwick's thesis in reference to the sixteenth century.

[11] Jonathan Goldberg, *Sodometries: Renaissance Texts, Modern Sexualities* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992), 23.

[12] *HF*, 109.

This aspect of early modern culture creates something of an impasse for scholars of queer lives in the past. Goran Stanivuković has observed that with the realisation that evidence of erotic 'transgressions' does not constitute evidence for historic sexual identities, the task of trawling the archives for 'new homoerotic scenarios' has fallen out of favour among historians of sexuality. The alternative—analysis of queerness in historical terms—is a much trickier proposition, because homoeroticism (culturally endorsed) is twined into a range of discourses and it is never clear when, or if, those discourses blend into queerness (culturally proscribed). 'How difficult is it … to cast a backward gaze on the early modern history of sexuality and identify desires and practices that we call queer, if we are considering a period that predates definitions of homosexuality?' asks Stanivuković.[13] One response has been to re-frame the exploration of past sexualities as a study of intimacy, affect and friendship, modes that carried significant potential in early modern contexts (a time of 'ubiquitous homosociality', in Cynthia Herrup's phrase) for an eroticism that we understand today as homosexual. Laura Gowing, Michael Hunter and Miri Rubin, writing in response to Alan Bray's posthumously-published *The Friend*, called for a new investigation of the 'affectional transactions' that supported relationships between men in pre-modernity. Unlike Bray, whose intention in *The Friend* was as far as possible to de-eroticise the friendly connections he observed, Gowing, Hunter and Rubin were eager to acknowledge the 'shadow of homosexual intimacies' that these transactions cast.[14]

In this book, therefore, I take Anthony Bacon's likely interest in and experience of sex with men for granted, and focus instead on the evidence of same-sex emotional intimacy—the 'life of queer affect'—that is contained in his extensive personal archive.[15] Anthony deserves a re-appraisal that allows him to claim a significant and acknowledged place in late Elizabethan society. Despite the advances in the study of sexuality,

[13] Goran Stanivuković, 'Beyond Sodomy: What Is Still Queer About Early Modern Queer Studies?' in Vin Nardizzi, Stephen Guy-Bray and Will Stockton (eds), *Queer Renaissance Historiography: Backward Gaze* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), 41–65, 42, 43.

[14] Cynthia B. Herrup, *A House in Gross Disorder: Sex, Law, and the 2nd Earl of Castlehaven* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 30; Laura Gowing, Michael Hunter and Miri Rubin, 'Introduction', in Gowing, Hunter and Rubin (eds), *Love, Friendship and Faith in Europe, 1300–1800* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 1–14, 3–4; Alan Bray, *The Friend* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003).

[15] David M. Halperin, 'Among Men – History, Sexuality and the Return of Affect', in Katherine O'Donnell and Michael O'Rourke (eds), *Love, Sex, Intimacy, and Friendship Between Men, 1550–1800* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 1–11, 2.

his modern-day reputation is not a good one. With the exceptions of du Maurier, Jardine and Stewart, biographers and scholars have been too willing to draw him in lurid terms as an archetypal homosexual spy, a malcontent who rejected both 'natural' allegiance to queen and country, and 'normal' attraction to women and the dynastic security of marriage. Charles Nicholl stated categorically that '[t]he Bacon brothers were homosexual … [t]heir private circle was gay, filled with dubious young dandies.' He also pictured Anthony as something out of Krafft-Ebing, with 'pinched pallor', 'thin, over-refined features' and 'the brooding energy of the invalid'.[16] More vituperative was Wallace MacCaffrey, who termed Anthony a 'recluse' and a 'psychotic invalid'.[17] As we will see, Anthony's life might have been unconventional, but his emotional inclinations did not shut him away from society. His love rarely had difficulty speaking its name.

This book tells the story of Antony's close friendship with four men, relationships that played out in the final years of the sixteenth century: with the devout civil servant Nicholas Faunt; the notorious double-agent Anthony Standen; an ambitious but unsuccessful government lawyer named Nicholas Trott; and Edward Reynolds, the Earl of Essex's loyal and perennially anxious personal secretary. I recover some of the complicated affectional transactions that underlay these friendships, and reveal how they functioned within early modern culture and society. Through close reading of the often voluminous correspondence that survives between Antony and his friends, I show that relationships between men in the late sixteenth century comprehended a far richer mix of instrumental, affective and erotic connections than we have assumed, or that we would regard as 'normative' today. These bonds were varied, public, highly valued and sometimes contentious—especially when they clashed with more formalised alliance systems such as marriage. The relationships, locations and organisations that sustained Anthony's life—institutions we might call the 'friendship spaces' of early modern English culture—were integral parts of society.[18] Anthony Bacon's archive suggests that his culture provided a

[16] Charles Nicholl, *The Reckoning: The Murder of Christopher Marlowe*, revised edn. (London: Vintage, 1992, 2002), 266.

[17] Wallace T. MacCaffrey, *Elizabeth I: War and Politics 1558–1603* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 481.

[18] 'Friendship space' deliberately recalls Stephen Guy-Bray's adoption of the phrase 'homoerotic space' to describe the literary terrains in which same-sex intimacy was explored and celebrated (*Homoerotic Space: The Poetics of Loss in Renaissance Literature* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002)).

way for men with a homoerotic sensibility to fashion an identity and conduct a life that accorded with their affective inclinations. *Male Friendship and Testimonies of Love in Shakespeare's England* uncovers the means by which Anthony and some of his friends did so.[19]

Anthony Bacon was born in 1558 into one of the best-connected families in mid-Tudor England.[20] His father, Sir Nicholas Bacon, was made the

[19] The first major monograph on the cultural centrality of friendship in the English Renaissance was Laurens J. Mills, *One Soul in Bodies Twain: Friendship in Tudor Literature and Stuart Drama* (Bloomington: Principia Press, 1937). Major literary studies of the past two decades include: Ullrich Langer, *Perfect Friendship: Studies in Literature and Moral Philosophy from Boccaccio to Corneille* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1994); Reginald Hyatt, *The Arts of Friendship: The Idealisation of Friendship in Medieval and Early Renaissance Literature* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1994); Laurie Shannon, *Sovereign Amity: Figures of Friendship in Shakespearean Contexts* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002); Tom MacFaul, *Male Friendship in Shakespeare and his Contemporaries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007). Alexandra Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 93–126, and Keith Thomas, *The Ends of Life: Roads to Fulfilment in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 187–225, have explored the difference between 'literary' ideal friendship and the 'real thing'. Cedric C. Brown's forthcoming monograph *Discourses of Friendship in the Seventeenth Century*, kindly lent in manuscript by the author, promises to offer a much more nuanced picture of friendship in the early modern period. Brown's work also addresses a lacuna in my book, which is intimate friendships among women and between men and women: Anthony Bacon's circle was, with very few exceptions, totally male and the work which underpins this account includes few studies of female friendship. But the field is extensive and essential for a full understanding of early modern conceptions of friendship. A short survey includes: Lillian Faderman, *Surpassing the Love of Men: Romantic Friendship and Love Between Women from the Sixteenth Century to the Present* (New York: Morrow, 1981); Valerie Traub, *The Renaissance of Lesbianism in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Denise A. Walen, *Constructions of Female Homoeroticism in Early Modern Drama* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005).

[20] For Nicholas Bacon, see Robert Tittler, *Nicholas Bacon: The Making of a Tudor Statesman* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1976); for Anne, see Katherine Alice Mair, 'Anne, Lady Bacon: A Life in Letters', unpublished PhD dissertation, Queen Mary University of London, 2009, and Gemma Allen (ed.), *The Letters of Lady Anne Bacon* (Camden Society Fifth Series, vol. 44) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014). The Cooke family is well documented in Marjorie K. McIntosh, 'Sir Anthony Cooke: Tudor Humanist, Educator and Religious Reformer', *Proceedings of the American Philological Society* 199 (1975), 233–50, her 'The Fall of a Tudor Gentle Family: The Cookes of Gidea Hall, Essex, 1579–1629', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 41:4 (1978), 279–97, and Chris Laoutaris, *Shakespeare and the Countess: The Battle that Gave Birth to the Globe* (London: Fig Tree, 2014). The Bacon family command numerous entries in the *ODNB* including Robert Tittler, 'Bacon, Sir Nicholas (1510–1579)'; Lynne Magnusson, 'Bacon [*née* Cooke], Anne, Lady Bacon (c.1528–1610)'; Markku Peltonen, 'Bacon, Francis, Viscount St Alban (1561–1626)'; Alan Stewart, 'Bacon, Anthony (1558–1601)' (all accessed 20 August 2015).

new queen Elizabeth's Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England a few months after Anthony's birth. His mother, Anne, a scholar and translator, was the second daughter of Sir Anthony Cooke, tutor to Prince Edward in the last years of Henry VIII's reign. Anne and her siblings (four sisters, one brother) received exceptionally good schooling and were given an entrance to court society, of which the sisters made eager use. By the time Anthony was a toddler, his kin circle included Sir William Cecil (later Lord Burghley), the queen's Secretary of State and her closest advisor (married to Anne's eldest sister Mildred), the diplomat and writer Thomas Hoby (married to Anne's youngest sister Elizabeth, who would go on to marry Lord Russell, the heir to the earldom of Bedford) and the diplomat Henry Killigrew (married to Anne's middle sister Katherine). Anthony and his brother Francis, three years his junior, were to spend much of their lives attempting, but failing, to capitalize on these kinship connections.

The reasons for this failure are twofold. Firstly, Anthony's most glittering social connections were through the spectacular marriages made by his aunts, the Cooke sisters. Cognatic (maternal line) relations were a complicated matter for sixteenth-century elites, as the ultimately bitter relationship between Lord Burghley and his son Robert Cecil, and Robert's cousins, the Bacon brothers, was to prove. The Cooke women entered into the households of their husbands; it was not a given that their train of nephews was to be afforded the privileges of their new rank.[21] Secondly, Anthony and Francis were unable to draw on their status and authority as the Lord Keeper's sons as fully as they might have wished. Anthony's position as the eldest son of Sir Nicholas and Anne Bacon was complicated by the fact that he was not Sir Nicholas's eldest child. The Lord Keeper's previous family, three boys and three girls by his first wife, Jane Fernley, were all established adults with spouses and estates of their own by the time Anthony came to his majority. When Sir Nicholas died with his will in good order but with his estate insufficient to settle as much upon Anthony and Francis as he had intended, relations between the two sets of siblings (and between Anne and her stepchildren) deteriorated. Anne, Anthony and Francis lined up against Nathaniel and Nicholas Bacon, the two eldest sons, to contest their legacies, and although an outcome was eventually mediated by Burghley, lasting damage was done and between Nathaniel

[21] Alan Stewart, '"Near Akin": The Trials of Friendship in *The Two Noble Kinsmen*', in Jennifer Richards and James Knowles (eds), *Shakespeare's Late Plays: New Readings* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999), 57–71, 64.

Bacon and his half-brothers there appears to have been a permanent estrangement. Anthony and Francis were largely cut off from the elder Bacons, and the patrimonial wealth they represented. From the start of their adult lives, the younger Bacon brothers were conscious of the fact that the security and status into which they had been born were not the supporting pillars of their lives, but a façade that they had to strive to maintain. Enhancing their connections became a chief concern for them both. The mode Anthony chose to adopt in furthering his influence was the cultivation of relationships with other men. Eschewing, on at least two occasions, a marriage that would have brought him land and status (the first, in 1574, with one Dowsabell Paget of Southampton; the second, in 1585, with the step-daughter of Henri of Navarre's chief counsellor Phillipe du Plessis-Mornay), Anthony remained a bachelor his entire life (Francis married in 1606, although the marriage was childless). A great many of his surviving letters are witnesses to his lifelong effort to construct for himself a network of friends and financial backers that was both alternative to and complementary with the web of kinfolk who as often as not failed to help the fatherless Anthony Bacon. The obligations with which Anthony tied himself to his friends were monetary, emotional and political—and usually all three, expressed in a rich and seemingly indistinguishable combination.

In 1579, Anthony turned 21. Highly educated, first at home and then at Trinity College, Cambridge, under the future Archbishop of Canterbury, John Whitgift, he was keen to travel and make a study of foreign languages and customs. His brothers, including the younger Francis, had already experienced a continental tour, although his half-brother Edward had had a more enjoyable time voyaging through France, Germany and Italy than Francis, who had spent three rather dull years lodged with the English ambassador at Paris and studying civil law. To travel independently Anthony needed a licence, and letters of recommendation from senior English statesmen. As continental travel became more popular among elite young men in the sixteenth century, permission to depart increasingly came with a condition: well-connected travellers were expected to send home intelligence from foreign countries. From the start of his time abroad—which lasted from 1579 until 1592, four times longer than his initial three-year licence—Anthony corresponded with his uncle, Lord Burghley, as well as Sir Francis Walsingham and Robert Dudley, earl of Leicester. Their desire for information spurred his cultivation of a continental news network, and convinced the somewhat diffident young man to maintain a personal archive of his letters in copybooks and files. More by accident than design, Anthony became a significant actor in

late sixteenth-century intelligence-gathering and diplomacy, and his close involvement, on his return to England, with Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, placed him at the centre of politics, particularly foreign affairs, in the last decade of Elizabeth's reign (although Anthony, disabled by gout, never presented himself to the queen in person). From 1595, Anthony was Essex's archivist, copying and filing letters to and from the earl and his secretarial staff. Initially working from his own home in Bishopsgate Street, and the Bacon family manors in Gorhambury and Redbourne in Hertfordshire, Anthony soon moved into Essex House, the earl's mansion on the Strand, where he remained as a permanent resident until 1600. Often bed-bound due to ill-health, he coordinated Essex's extensive network of informers and agents in Scotland and on the continent. That his letters survive in such numbers is a testament to his own care in preserving the materials of his trade, and the assiduousness of others, notably his brother Francis, in keeping the papers safe after Anthony's death. Initially, the letters were saved because they were still useful (containing as they did evidence of financial relationships and material of a politically sensitive nature), although given that few letters survive beyond 1598 it is probable that correspondence relating to the later years of the Earl of Essex was destroyed as a consequence of the earl's unsuccessful 1601 rebellion, before or after Anthony's death the same year.[22]

When Francis Bacon died in 1626, his chaplain, William Rawley, took it upon himself to act as his personal and literary executor, and kept the Bacon brothers' papers intact. It was Rawley's son, a close friend of the cleric (later archbishop) Thomas Tenison, who ensured that the Bacon papers—by now a collection of historic interest—found their way to Lambeth Palace Library. The letters were first catalogued in 1720, and Anthony's papers were collated into the 16 folio volumes in which they now exist.[23] In its size and in the breadth of its epistolary *dramatis personae*, Anthony Bacon's collection of letters is a rich source for the study of late-Elizabethan politics and culture, comparable with the letters of the clerk to the Privy Council, Robert Beale, which survive in the British Library's Lansdowne Manuscripts.[24] Had the archive not been purged in or after 1601, it would stand in competition with the Cecil papers in the National

[22] Stewart, 'Bacon, Anthony' (*ODNB*).

[23] On the creation of the Bacon letter archive, see E.G.W. Bell (ed.), *Index to the Papers of Anthony Bacon (1558–1601) in Lambeth Palace Library (MSS. 647–662)* (London: Lambeth Palace Library, 1974), 3.

[24] Patricia Brewerton, 'Paper Trails: Re-reading Robert Beale as Clerk to the Elizabethan Privy Council', unpublished PhD dissertation, University of London, 1998; Mark Taviner,

Archives, the British Library and Hatfield House as the authoritative record of government and politics in the 1590s.[25] Since the eighteenth century historians have relied on Thomas Birch's edited transcription of many of the letters, *Memoirs of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*, as an important repository of late-Elizabethan comment and opinion (a source which falls silent just as John Chamberlain's letters warm up).[26] The first scholar to make use of the Lambeth papers in a robustly biographical way was James Spedding, who published numerous letters verbatim in his *Letters and Life of Francis Bacon* and drew on many more.[27] In subsequent years, the letters have furnished material for biographical studies of Francis Bacon and the Earl of Essex. My approach is different: I keep the focus on the relationships that Anthony maintained with mid-ranking men. My characters are the secretaries, aides and lawyers who bore witness to the major events of the time. They are the supporting actors in our national drama, and their voices offer a new perspective on late-sixteenth-century English life and politics. More to the point, Anthony's letters to his kin, friends and supporters offer an especially clear window onto the lattice of relationships between men that constituted so much public and private activity in early modern England.

The richness of the material contained in Anthony Bacon's papers should prompt caution as well as excitement. As Alan Stewart has observed, much as we would like archival letters of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to offer an 'unmediated glimpse' into the affairs of historical people, the reality tends to be more mundane: surviving manuscript letters seldom offer much beyond accounts of financial affairs, gossip and discussion of when previous letters were sent and received.[28] Letters are 'gutted' by biographers and historians for their rare flashes of personal

'Robert Beale and the Elizabethan Polity', unpublished PhD dissertation, University of St Andrews, 2000.

[25] *HMCS*, 1, iii–vii.

[26] Thomas Birch, *Memoirs of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, From the Year 1581 till her Death, in which the Secret Intrigues of her Court, and the Conduct of her Favourite, Robert Earl of Essex, both at Home and Abroad, are particularly illustrated. From the original papers of his intimate friend, Anthony Bacon Esquire, and other manuscripts never before published*, 2 vols (London: A. Millar, 1754); Norman Egbert McClure (ed.), *The Letters of John Chamberlain*, 2 vols (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1939).

[27] *LL*; see also James Spedding, Robert Leslie Ellis and Douglas Denon Heath (eds), *The Works of Francis Bacon*, 7 vols (London: Longman, 1857–9).

[28] Alan Stewart, 'Early Modern Lives in facsimile', *Textual Practice* 23:2 (2009), 289–305, 290.

revelation, a process of selective quotation that goes some way to obscuring the essential narrative dullness of the original source material.[29] The scarcity of introspection in early modern letters and diaries (genres that Rudolf Dekker has called 'ego-documents') also raises questions about the nature of selfhood and interiority in the period: to what extent were letters capable of expressing any subjective emotional experience? To what extent can 'the self' be regarded as a fixed identity in the centuries before modern industrial capitalism, and the psychological insights that came with it?[30] One answer to this interpretative challenge, as James Daybell suggests, is to read early modern letters with an awareness of their particular historical specificity in terms of form and genre. The confessional transformations of the sixteenth century generated habits of deep religious introspection and soul-searching which, despite religion's emphasis on the individual's subservience to God, 'could be a powerfully individualizing force'. At the same time, the textual form of the letter—still evolving as a technology in an age of increasing literacy and popular print—was 'capable of expressing heightened perceptions of individuality'.[31] It seems reasonable to conclude that if processes of psychological and spiritual transformation were underway during the sixteenth century, they were sufficiently far advanced by the 1580s and 1590s to make the familiar letter a means of self-expression, at least of certain aspects of the self.

Recent work on the material letter has opened up a pathway through the rebarbative conventions of early modern correspondence. As late as 2005, Gary Schneider could remark that scholarship had not found a space for the study of letters 'in and of themselves'.[32] The same cannot be said today. The study of literary manuscripts has been transformed by a new focus on the 'material aspects and attending social practices' of

[29] Carolyn Steedman, *Dust* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), 68; Arlette Farge, *The Allure of the Archives*, trans. Thomas Scott-Railton (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), 12.

[30] Rudolf M. Dekker, 'Ego-documents in the Netherlands, 1500–1814', *Dutch Crossing* 39 (1989), 61–72; Andrew Hadfield, 'Does Shakespeare's life matter?', *Textual Practice* 23:3 (2009), 181–99, 181.

[31] James Daybell, 'Women's letters, literature and conscience in sixteenth-century England', in Harold E. Braun and Edward Vallence (eds), *The Renaissance Conscience* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011), 82–99, 85.

[32] Gary Schneider, *The Culture of Epistolarity: Vernacular Letters and Letter-Writing in Early Modern England, 1500–1700* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2005), 286.

letter-writing.[33] Studies have enabled us to interpret the significance and meaning of epistolary habits. More importantly, it has been argued that the very aspects of the archival letter that previously seemed to discourage its interpretation as revelatory of the self of the author—conventionality, strictness of structure, consistency in content and tone—can in fact be read as mechanisms of self-expression. Factors such as epistolary politeness, the manipulation of blank space, the adoption or otherwise of abbreviations and contractions, and the forms of folding, sealing and addressing a letter are all things that bore meaning for men and women at the time. Susan E. Whyman has suggested that 'epistolary literacy' be reimagined as a cultural category that incorporates an understanding of the textual, material, spatial and visual skills that sending or receiving a letter demanded.[34]

Such work runs counter to the notion that early modern letters are not reflective of the particular concerns of the authorial subject—indeed, letters are now seen to carry the potential for an efflorescence of meaning across a wide variety of modes and forms that we are only beginning to understand.

[33] James Daybell and Peter Hinds, 'Introduction: Material Matters', in Daybell and Hinds (eds), *Material Readings of Early Modern Culture: Texts and Social Practices, 1580–1730* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 1–20, 1. Core texts in the material turn in manuscript studies include: Donald F. McKenzie, 'Speech-Manuscript-Print', *Library Chronicle of the University of Texas* 20:1–2 (1990), 86–109; Harold Love, *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993); Arthur F. Marotti, *Manuscript, Print, and the English Renaissance Lyric* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995); H. R. Woudhuysen, *Sir Philip Sidney and the Circulation of Manuscripts 1558–1640* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996); Peter Beal, *In Praise of Scribes: Manuscripts and their Makers in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998). Major works on the material letter influenced by this approach include: Alan Stewart and Heather Wolfe (eds), *Letterwriting in Renaissance England* (Washington, DC: Folger Shakespeare Library, 2004); Alan Stewart, *Shakespeare's Letters* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008); Rayne Allison, *A Monarchy of Letters: Royal Correspondence and English Diplomacy in the Reign of Elizabeth I* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012); James Daybell, *The Material Letter in Early Modern England: Manuscript Letters and the Culture and Practices of Letter-Writing, 1512–1635* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).

[34] Susan E. Whyman, 'Advice to Letter-Writers: Evidence from Four Generations of Evelyns', in Francis Harris and Michael Hunter (eds), *John Evelyn and his Milieu* (London: British Library, 2003), 25–66. See also A.R. Braunmuller, 'Accounting for Absence: The Transcription of Space', in W. Speed Hill (ed.), *New Ways of Looking at Old Texts: Papers of the Renaissance English Text Society, 1985–1991* (Binghampton: Medieval and Renaissance Text Studies, 1993), 47–56; Jonathan Gibson, 'Significant space in manuscript letters', *The Seventeenth Century* 12:1 (1997), 1–9; Sara Jayne Steen, 'Reading Beyond the Words: Material Letters and the Process of Interpretation', *Quidditas* 22 (2001), 55–69; Sue Walker, 'The Manners on the Page: Prescription and Practice in the Visual Organisation of Correspondence', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 66:3/4 (2003), 302–29.

In this book, I use theories like these to study the language of friendship, love, service and loyalty in Anthony Bacon's letter corpus. I recognise the conventionality in many of the sentiments expressed in the letters, but I take seriously the attitudes such conventions imply, and the implications they suggest. Often my attention is fixed on the starts and the ends of the letters I read, the 'personal' matter that has routinely been ignored, or excised when letters are presented in edited form (Thomas Birch omitted all material not obviously pertinent to matters of state when he printed letters to and from Anthony Bacon in *Memoirs of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*). The point is not to fetishise the salutations and subscriptions of a circle of long-dead friends, but to show that if, as Schneider said, the familiar letter was *the* mode of communication, *tout court*, for early modern elite people, then the historical record will by necessity be a tangle of the 'personal' and the 'political'.[35] Andrew Hadfield has recently observed that the craft of life-writing depends on the production, preservation and recovery of revealing personal ephemera ('the history of biography and the history of gossip are intertwined'), and it seems to me that such anecdotal detail is also crucial to a book like this one which attempts to tell the story not of a life, as such, but of a set of relationships.[36] Letters to friends were the means by which government business was carried out. 'Official' missives were also epistles sent between relatives. The 'state papers' are the letters of the Cecil family. Separating the wheat of political discourse from the chaff of personal concerns risks misrepresenting the nature of early modern correspondence, and misunderstanding the nature of social, cultural and political exchange. At the very least, the 'personal' material that early modern people thought fit to include alongside the 'political' content in their daily correspondence deserves scholarly attention. Such a principle has, of course, been a guiding force in recent reappraisals of women's correspondence, with the result that we now have a much more nuanced picture of the role of female political agency in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. My aim has been to apply the same sort of sensitivity to correspondence between men.[37]

[35] Schneider, *Culture of Epistolarity*, 13.

[36] Andrew Hadfield, *Edmund Spenser: A Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 4.

[37] James Daybell (ed.), *Early Modern Women's Letter-Writing, 1450–1700* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001); Jane Couchman and Anne Crabb (eds), *Women's Letters Across Europe, 1400–1700: Form and Persuasion* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005); Joanna Moody (ed.), 'Women's Letter Writing', *Women's Writing* (special edition) 13:1 (2006); James Daybell, *Women Letter Writers in Tudor England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006); Nadine Akkerman (ed.), *The Letters of Elizabeth Stuart, Queen of Bohemia*, 3 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011–15).

It has long been recognised that the rhetorics of affect served a political purpose in sixteenth-century statecraft, particularly in the reign of Elizabeth when court politics were reconceived along gendered lines.[38] The unmarried queen had to resolve the potential challenge to male authority that a female monarch presented. The conventions of courtly love provided a way to express female mastery: the executive power she wielded in her role as head of the government could be re-conceived as erotic attraction, and her gifts of patronage and favour re-imagined as romantic gestures in a game of seduction and resistance. All of Elizabeth's senior servants—with the possible exception of Burghley—participated in the game of courtly love.[39] These conventions have not aged well. Many historians—typically men—recoil from the flattery and transparency inherent in so much Elizabethan political discourse, and regard the continuation of Elizabeth's amorous theatrics into her fifth, sixth and seventh decades as distasteful, if not actively offensive.[40] The exceptional example of a ruling queen has also drawn attention from the ubiquity of languages of intense affect in other aspects of political and public life, and made us too quick to dismiss all such examples as 'merely' conventional. The habit, that persisted for much of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, of stripping from printed manuscripts all content deemed 'personal' or extraneous to matters of state has also created the misleading impression that ardent expressions of affections were confined to particularly stylised contexts: letters addressed to the queen herself; poetic literature; epistles written in a consciously classical style; discourses explicitly focussed on the institution of friendship.[41] In *Male Friendship and Testimonies of Love in Shakespeare's England*, I show

[38] David Loades, *Tudor Queens of England* (London: Continuum, 2009), 222–5; Helen Hackett, *Virgin Mother, Maiden Queen: Elizabeth I and the Cult of the Virgin Mary* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1994), 78–80.

[39] Susan Doran, *Monarchy and Matrimony: The Courtships of Elizabeth I* (London: Routledge, 1989); Pauline Croft, 'Can a Bureaucrat be a Favourite? Robert Cecil and the Strategies of Power', in J.H. Elliott and L.W.B. Brockliss (eds), *The World of the Favourite* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 81–95, 82–3; Natalie Mears, *Queenship and Political Discourse in the Elizabethan Realms* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

[40] See, for example, John Guy, 'Introduction. The 1590s: The second reign of Elizabeth I?' in Guy (ed.), *The Reign of Elizabeth I: Court and Culture in the last decade* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 1–19, 3–4, 6.

[41] Eric St John Brooks, *Sir Christopher Hatton: Queen Elizabeth's Favourite* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1946); Steven W. May, *The Elizabethan Courtier Poets: The Poems and their Contexts* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1991); Lisa Jardine, *Erasmus, Man of Letters: The Construction of Charisma in Print* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993); Albrecht Classen and Marilyn Sandige (eds), *Friendship in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Age: Explorations of a Fundamental Ethical Discourse* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2010).

that intense emotional expression in letters by men was not simply a convention or a rhetorical mode. Sometimes it served an overt purpose, by signifying a social bond or a shared obligation. Sometimes men wrote about their intensely affectionate feelings for other men as a way of signalling a religious or political sympathy. And sometimes they did it because they felt very strongly for each other, and we do damage to the historical heritage of their relations if we dismiss out of hand the possibility of authentic feeling.

Structure of the Book

Chapter 2 reads the correspondence between Nicholas Faunt, secretary to Sir Francis Walsingham, and Anthony Bacon in the early 1580s, when the latter was at the start of his residence in France. It shows how Faunt, struggling with a religious despair, sought to create with Anthony an intimate friendship in the humanist-classical mould. Conscious of a social divide, Faunt attempted to assert their shared identity as committed Protestants to create an equalising space which effaced their different social statuses. In so doing, Faunt spoke a language of friendship that incorporated the idealising and romantic rhetoric of classical *amicitia perfecta*, and the passive language of ecstasy in which the godly articulated their devotion to Christ's cause. The result was a potent discourse of masculine love that served to console Faunt during his difficult and lonely spiritual crisis.

Chapter 3 focuses on the letters between the imprisoned Catholic exile Anthony Standen and Anthony Bacon. I interpret their correspondence as a testament to the act of making friends as early modern men usually understood the concept. The friendship constructed between the two men in the city of Bordeaux in 1590 did not exist at the pitch of emotional fervour with which Nicholas Faunt conducted his friendship with Anthony Bacon, but it was perhaps more typical of the sort of instrumental alliances with which men would have been familiar. The context of a foreign prison is a particularly appropriate one to examine the construction of an instrumental friendship: expatriates abroad were dependent on mutual favours to an even more apparent degree than men at home, and the prison (a location that was far more familiar to educated men of the sixteenth century than it is to their equivalents today) was similarly able to foster an economy of favour and friendship among those within its walls, and between the imprisoned and their friends at liberty. From the point of view of intelligence agents, the prison in fact offered a bounteous source of information, and acted as a facilitating institution in the creation of valuable professional friendships.

I continue my examination of institutions that facilitated the construction and maintenance of friendship in Chap. 4. It presents the example of Nicholas Trott, friend and financial backer of the Bacon brothers and resident member of Gray's Inn, one of London's four Inns of Court. Through Trott's campaign to win the position of secretary to the queen's Council in the North, conducted along the lines of patronage that emanated from Gray's Inn, I explore an institution where affectionate connections between men were of central importance. The Inns of Court built their institutional identity around the idea that alliances between (and among) unrelated men might determine a man's future professional success. At the Inns of Court, masculine friendship and mutual obligation operated alongside more familiar patronage and alliance systems.

In Chap. 5, I return to consider again the language of friendship and intimate service in the late sixteenth century. If my analysis of Nicholas Faunt's correspondence with Anthony Bacon showed how the powerful language of masculine love could be put to personal and emotional use, my focus here on the letters of Edward Reynolds, secretary to the Earl of Essex, serves a different end. I argue that men like Reynolds and Anthony Bacon regarded their service to Essex, and their loyalty to each other, in an intensely personal, deeply emotive way. The language with which they articulated these ties served to both demonstrate and cement their allegiance to a lordly protector. But such a language co-existed and clashed with other forms of service and friendship in the 1590s, which revolved around developing ideas of self-advancement and meritocracy. I chart the points of contact between Reynolds's conception of lordly service, and the newer, pragmatic mode demonstrated by members of the Essex circle such as Henry Wotton and the disgraced junior secretary, Godfrey Aleyn. The instability this conflict generated was a foreboding prelude to Essex's mistaken belief in his own chivalric attraction, which was to have such dire consequences when he launched his revolt in 1601.

In 1966, Anthony Esler admitted that '[o]ne of the most difficult tasks of the historian has always been the analysis of human nature—as it existed in past ages. The cultural gap between humanity today and yesterday is much greater than we like to admit.' In his study of the 'aspiring mind' of the Elizabethan younger generation—among whom Esler counted Anthony Bacon—he sought to comprehend the 'motives and attitudes, desires, fears, and passionately felt personal goals' of a whole section of society, to explore that portion of 'no-man's-land where the life of the

mind and the life of society meet and interact'.[42] My aim is not so ambitious. This is not a generational analysis, or even a general analysis of the 20-year period my story spans (Anthony Bacon's lifetime encompassed the Elizabethan years, although his letters only survive in any quantity from 1579 to 1598). *Male Friendship and Testimonies of Love* is made up of a set of case studies that illuminate—fleetingly—the lives of five late sixteenth-century gentlemen. But if the story tacks close to the archival shoreline, it also has its eye on wider horizons. Anthony's life offers a tantalising glimpse of a little-understood world, in which a man's life could be made or broken by the quality of his friends.

[42] Anthony Esler, *The Aspiring Mind of the Elizabethan Younger Generation* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1966), ix–x.

CHAPTER 2

Intimacy: Nicholas Faunt, Faith and the Consolations of Friendship

Let me confesse that we two must be twaine,
Although our vndeuided loues are one.[1]

Towards the end of a long and affectionate letter to Anthony Bacon, then resident in France, Nicholas Faunt, servant to the queen's Principal Secretary Sir Francis Walsingham, admitted to 'fynding a singular pleasure to my selfe thus to scribble vnto you whatsoeuer it be, seing I am depryved of the comfort of your presence'. It was an appropriate sentiment for a man engaged in a familiar letter-exchange, echoing the dictum in Desiderius Erasmus's epistolary manual of 1522, *De conscribendis epistolis* (*On the Writing of Letters*), that a letter is a kind of 'mutual conversation between absent friends'.[2] But Faunt went very much further. The letter, dispatched in February 1583, constituted a declaration of love for his absent friend, in which he dedicated to him alone 'the free possession of my whole mynde and most secreat thoughtes'. He promised to 'close my hand with yours' in witness of his devotion, and vowed to 'retayne euer with mee' Anthony's most recent letter 'for my often and sweet remembraunce of

[1] William Shakespeare, *Shakespeare's Sonnets. Never before Imprinted* (London: G. Eld for Thomas Thorpe, 1609), sonnet no. 36. All chapter epigraphs are from this collection.

[2] Desiderius Erasmus, *De conscribendis epistolis* (1522) in J.K. Sowards (ed.) and Charles Fantazzi (trans.), *Collected Works of Erasmus: Literary and Educational Writings 3: De conscribendis epistolis, Formula, De civilitate* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985), 1–255, 20; Jardine, *Erasmus, Man of Letters*, 150.

W. Tosh, *Male Friendship and Testimonies of Love in Shakespeare's England*, DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-49497-9_2

you', until his return home would permit 'more free possessing of eche other'.[3] It was an ardent and exclusive statement of affection that used the language of revered male friendship. These conventions—manifestations of the early modern 'culture of epistolarity' and the freighted notion of Renaissance friendship—are well understood. In Faunt's correspondence with Anthony, we see how the conventions operated in practice.

Throughout the early 1580s, the two men exchanged letters of a personal and professional nature: both were intimately involved in intelligence matters, and Faunt was in addition an invaluable mediator for Anthony in his family and financial affairs. Although the surviving correspondence, which forms a corpus of some 53 letters, many of them lengthy, is entirely on Faunt's side, we can infer a certain amount about Anthony's letters from Faunt's acknowledgement of their reception and content. The letters are a rich source for historians of diplomacy and continental affairs—as they were perceived by Englishmen—in the last decades of Elizabeth's rule. Book One of Thomas Birch's *Memoirs of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth* (1754), covering the period before the rise of the Earl of Essex, is mostly a transcription of Faunt's letters.[4] However, Birch paid no attention to the significant amount of letter-space Faunt devoted to discussing and analysing his relationship with Anthony, as well as his own personal and spiritual affairs. Faunt wrote at a time when letters were seldom considered to be instruments of self-reflection, and the acknowledged purpose of his letters was a professional one: he wrote to provide Anthony with news of a private and a political nature, and to receive his instructions for personal services he might perform at home.[5] But the secondary purpose of his letters, especially between the years 1582 and 1584, was to create, unilaterally and at a distance, a friendship with Anthony in the classical mode, an esteemed form of male intimacy and one for which both Faunt's and Anthony's education would have prepared them. In the development of this epistolary relationship, two distinct influences are visible: the heritage of classical male friendship, re-energised by humanism and celebrated by writers both learned and popular; and the developing theology of Reformed Protestantism, with its increasing focus on spiritual self-examination and a recognition of the soul's propensity to question, despair and seek reassurance. Faunt's intense language of affection and

[3] NF to AB, 22 February 1582/3, LPL MS 647, fols.121r and 119r-v.
[4] Birch, *Memoirs,* 1, 1–73.
[5] Alan Stewart, *Shakespeare's Letters*, 2–6 and 'Early modern lives in facsimile'.

loyalty can be explained as the convergence of these strands. As we will see, the imperatives of both modes combined to produce a language of considerable emotional expressiveness, and, for Faunt, a consoling space that mitigated his religious despair. The letters that survive from this period constitute, in fact, an early form of spiritual journal or autobiography—exercises in practical divinity in epistolary mode a decade before such habits have been held typical.

Born in 1553 or 1554, Nicholas Faunt was the son of a Canterbury gentleman and a degree or two lower on the social scale than Anthony. Faunt's career has been of historical interest primarily as a point of comparison with a more famous son of Canterbury, Christopher Marlowe, who followed the same path from the King's School to Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, a few years later. Faunt's progression from the provinces to the senior ranks of government service has been offered as a model for Marlowe's entry into the world of Elizabethan espionage; it has even been suggested that Faunt recruited Marlowe, perhaps on a talent-spotting mission to his old college.[6] It is possible that Faunt was present in Paris in August 1572, while still a student, and witnessed the St Bartholomew's Day massacre—he may be connected to the man of the same name who gave an account of the atrocities shortly afterwards. But he was certainly in Sir Francis Walsingham's service by 1577, and probably accompanied the Principal Secretary on his mission to the Low Countries in 1578.[7] Faunt's first independent mission took him to Paris in 1580, the start of a continental tour that would last nearly two years. It was here that he met Anthony. With his impressive social connections and ancestry, Anthony was an attractive figure to Faunt; for Anthony, Faunt provided a very useful source of information at a time when his domestic patrons were growing restless at the quality of his intelligence. The men spent a number of months together in Paris before Faunt left for Strasbourg, and Anthony made for the university town of Bourges in the heartland

[6] Carole Levin, 'Faunt, Nicholas (1553/4–1608)', *ODNB* (accessed 18 August 2015); P.W. Hasler (ed.), *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1558–1603*, 3 vols (London: HMSO, 1981), 2, 109–10; Constance Brown Kuriyama, *Christopher Marlowe: A Renaissance Life* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2002), 72; Nicholl, *The Reckoning,* 143.

[7] In 1582, Faunt referred to his 'three yeares seruice' and 'two yeares trauaile abroade' (NF to AB, 15 April 1582, LPL MS 647, fol.125r); Haynes, *Elizabethan Secret Services*, 125–6; Alan Haynes, *Walsingham: Elizabethan Spymaster and Statesman* (Stroud: Sutton, 2004), 66. For William Faunt's report of the assassination of Admiral Coligny, which triggered the bloodshed on St Bartholomew's Day, see TNA SP 70/124, fols.133–34.

of France. Other than a meeting in Geneva in November 1581, the two men would not meet face to face for more than a decade, when Anthony returned to England in 1592 (Faunt, on Lady Bacon's instructions, was waiting to meet him at Dover and escort him to London).[8] Their relationship, which for Faunt was to become very precious, was conducted for the first twelve years almost wholly by letter.

Protestants Abroad

Faunt had probably been in Paris for about half a year when he set off in January 1581 for a tour through the statelets of Germany, the fringes of the Holy Roman Empire and over the Dolomites into Italy. One purpose of his journey was research into the state of European affairs for Sir Francis Walsingham. From Paris, he made his way via Strasbourg to the Elector Palatine's court at Heidelberg and 'all the cheefe townes on the Rhyne', and thence to the Reformed city of Frankfurt. Here he turned south, travelling to Nuremburg, Augsburg (then called Augusta), and the courts of the Duke of Bavaria at Landshut and the Archduke of Austria at Innsbruck. Both William V and Ferdinand II were supporters of the Counter-Reformation, and Faunt made a study of their dominions.[9] He later reminded Anthony that 'the Duke of *Bauaria*' and 'the house of *Austria*' were among the 'cheefe Patrones' of the Jesuits, constructing for their use 'many newe retraytes' and 'rich monasteryes'.[10] On his arrival in Venice, he dispatched a series of letters back to Walsingham reporting his findings, the tone of which must have been sombre: the prospect of a wave of German-trained seminary priests entering England was an alarming one, the monasteries at Rheims and Douai already serving as a locus for English Catholic resistance.[11]

Research was not the only reason for his trip. Faunt was charged with conducting to Padua and back a young Englishman named Edward Knightley, second son of the Northamptonshire landowner and religious patron, Sir Richard Knightley (who would later become implicated in the printing and distribution of the Marprelate tracts). Extremely rich and

[8] ACB to AB, 3 February 1591/2, LPL MS 653, fol.343r.

[9] NF to AB, 26 May 1581, LPL MS 647, fol.113r.

[10] NF to AB, 22 February 1582/3, LPL MS 647, fol.120v.

[11] Faunt's reports for Walsingham do not survive, but he told Anthony on 26 May that he had 'many lettres to dispatch at this present for England' (LPL MS 647, fol.113r).

passionately committed to further reformation of the Church of England, Sir Richard was to be poorly served by his sons, who later contrived to spend their way through a large portion of his estates.[12] In 1581, however, Edward was still being groomed for public life. Like Anthony's brother, Francis, he had been placed in the household of the English ambassador at Paris where he would have been exposed to the practice of statecraft and given the opportunity to perfect his French; like many other English gentlemen he enrolled in a course of civil law at the University of Padua, taking the opportunity at the same time to travel to Tuscany 'where the best language is' and acquire a smattering of Italian.[13] Essential for an eye-opening but hazardous enterprise of this sort was a chaperon entirely immoveable in his religion to forestall any spiritual backsliding on the part of the young traveller—Fulke Greville later remarked that it was a 'vulgar scandal of *Trauellers* that few returne more religious than they went out'.[14] Faunt was the ideal person to shield Edward Knightley from the snares of Catholicism and steer him towards the profitable aspects of educational travel (while Faunt spent several months in Venice, the younger Edward was kept securely at Padua, the metropolis's quieter client-city). With the exception of the sensual enticements of the city itself, the Veneto and the surrounding country was as safe as Italy could be. Venice was the perennial exception to English suspicion of Italy. Sir Philip Sidney praised its 'good lawes and customes' which contrasted with the 'tyrannous oppression and servile yielding' in the rest of the peninsula. The godly Faunt, not always comfortable in Catholic Europe, thought Venice 'more secure for all straungers, then any part of Ffraunce' thanks to the wisdom and discretion of its cultured citizens: the Venetian 'will neuer vrge any man to speake of his Relligion, thoughe he knowe him of the contrary to his; but

[12] William Joseph Sheils, 'Knightley, Sir Richard (1533–1615)', *ODNB* (accessed 18 August 2015); Patrick Collinson, *English Puritanism* (London: Historical Association, 1983), 28–9.

[13] NF to AB, 8 July 1581, LPL MS 647, fol.110r; Jonathan Woolfson, *Padua and the Tudors: English Students in Italy, 1485–1603* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998); *LL*, 1, 6–8 and *HF*, 43–66.

[14] Fulke Greville, *Certaine Learned and Elegant Workes* (London: E.P for Henry Sayle, 1633), sig.Rr4r; Sara Warneke, *Images of the Educational Traveller in Early Modern England* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1995), 64; Edward Chaney, 'Quo Vadis? Travel as education and the impact of Italy in the sixteenth century', in Peter Cunningham and Colin Brock (eds), *International Currents in Educational Ideas and Practices* (London: History of Education Society, 1988), 1–28.

rather seeke to shonne that kind of discourse with a straunger: I speake of the best sort, and with th'other there is no conuersation'.[15]

Faunt remained in Italy for more than five months, waiting in 'this great heat' for Edward Knightley to have his fill of Padua and finding little news worthy the reporting to either Anthony or Walsingham.[16] The 'store of Englishe' resident or studying in Padua was worth noting, however. Faunt recorded at least nine, not including Edward Knightley: Masters Spencer, Tooley, Middleton, Bruninge, Randall and Kirton, Arthur Throckmorton (son of the former ambassador to France, Sir Nicholas Throckmorton), Edward Unton (brother of the future ambassador to France, Sir Henry Unton) and Henry Neville (himself later ambassador to France) and 'I knowe not who besides.' These men had experience of foreign countries, knowledge of international affairs and many intended to continue their journeys further afield. Faunt was not on a recruitment tour as such, but he was evidently attentive to new sources of intelligence and he admitted to Anthony when discussing the young English travellers at Padua that 'wee meane to giue some of them place'.[17]

A friendship with the well-placed Faunt was appealing to Anthony in several ways. Faunt was happy to share his 'experience … for the travayle of *Germany*' and Italy, both regions Anthony intended to visit.[18] In his capacity as Walsingham's secretary, agent and potential talent-spotter, he helped to cement a relationship with the Principal Secretary, with whom Anthony had been in correspondence since arriving in France. Perhaps most importantly, Faunt was a source of information. Anthony had received word that his uncle Lord Burghley was dissatisfied with the quality of news he was sending home—provision of which was a condition of his licence to travel. The Lord Treasurer wrote on 1 August 1580 of his displeasure at his nephew's 'circumspect[ion]' in detailing foreign affairs 'whereof all the world doth take knowledge'.[19] Anthony could take advantage of the fact

[15] NF to AB, 8 July 1581, LPL MS 647, fol.110r; Roger Kuin (ed.), *The Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney*, 2 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 2, 881.

[16] NF to AB, 3 August 1581, LPL MS 647, fol.114v. Although Faunt anticipated staying in Italy until March, the deteriorating security of Italy for Protestant travellers compelled them to leave Padua by September, and they were in Geneva by November of that year (NF to AB, 16 September 1581, LPL MS 647, fol.116r and 'Memorandum', 23 November 1581, LPL MS 647, fol.65r).

[17] NF to AB, 8 July 1581, LPL MS 647, fol.110r.

[18] NF to AB, 26 May 1581, LPL MS 647, fol.113r.

[19] WC to AB, 1 August 1580, EUL Laing MS III.193, fol.139v (copy).

that the leading counsellors around Elizabeth—Burghley, Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester and Walsingham being the three with whom he was most in contact—maintained separate intelligence services and guarded jealously the information their agents provided. Faunt was willing, as a sign of their friendship, to provide Anthony with intelligence gathered in the course of his duties for Walsingham; this content could then be relayed to Lord Burghley. Debates about the ethics of diplomacy and espionage had yet to resolve the extent of an agent's moral duty to his country, his master and his sovereign. In such an environment, intelligence circulated within networks of operatives who might or might not be working for the same 'side'. Of course, intelligencers passed information upwards from the field to the council chamber. But they shared it, bartered it, and sold it too. Faunt, in other respects scrupulous about matters of loyalty and security, made a habit of including Anthony in the circulation of news, a custom that began at the very start of their friendship.

Despite his friend's 'desire to be satisfied in any thinge I knowe or may learne by such acquayntaunce as I have here', Faunt had little reliable intelligence to report from his travels around Germany and Italy.[20] It was when Faunt returned to Paris, at the start of 1582, that he began to provide Anthony with a stream of 'flying newes' and intelligence from the diplomatic 'courrier out of England'.[21] Faunt's role at the embassy at this time is not clear. Perhaps he was intended to act as Walsingham's eyes and ears, a clandestine mission that would certainly account for his unpopularity with Sir Henry Cobham, the resident ambassador, who loathed the Principal Secretary. Alternatively, he may simply have been cooling his heels. His charge, Edward Knightley, returned to London in company with Robert Sidney in February, 'carry[ing] away with him all our prouision' and leaving Faunt unequipped to make any independent journey without money from home.[22] He complained to Anthony that 'I live here as priuat a life as any may do not hearing or herkening after any publicke or weighty matters but only languishe in attending out of England what shall come of mee', but his apathy did not prevent him from gathering and relating a significant amount of news.[23] Some of it related to the activities of the English at Paris: he reported on arrivals such as 'two of the Erle of

[20] NF to AB, 26 May 1581, LPL MS 647, fol.113r.
[21] NF to AB, 1 March and 8 February 1581/2, LPL MS 647, fols.106r and 104r.
[22] NF to AB, 8 February 1581/2, LPL MS 647, fol.104r.
[23] NF to AB, 1 March 1581/2, LPL MS 647, fol.106r.

Shrewsbury his sonnes' (probably Edward and Henry Talbot), as well as established embassy figures such as the cryptographer, Thomas Phelippes, of whose pride and self-confidence Faunt strongly disapproved.[24] Other news concerned the French crown and the situation in zones of conflict in which the English had an interest: La Rochelle and the Huguenot south, the Low Countries, and Spain. Most significantly, Faunt reported news from home: he told Anthony the erroneous rumour that Sir Amias Paulet had been made second Principal Secretary, an appointment that would have boded well for the godly Faunt, and he triumphed in the collapse of plans for Elizabeth to marry the Catholic duc d'Anjou, 'pray[ing] god that Monsieur [Anjou] returne not agayne into England'.[25] Anthony, in his turn, performed some useful services for Faunt. Based in the early months of 1582 in Lyon, a communications entrepôt for the south, he was able to forward correspondence from the Paris embassy to Englishmen in Italy, as mail sent by the usual means was subject to interception.[26]

In addition to these practical advantages, the friendship was grounded in a shared piety. For Faunt, this was to remain the cornerstone of his affection for Anthony, a gentleman whose parents enjoyed reputations for exceptional religious virtue: Anne Bacon (née Cooke), translator into English of John Jewel's *Apology in Defence of the Church of England* and Bernardino Ochino's sermons, and indefatigable patron of nonconformist preachers; and the late Sir Nicholas Bacon, one of the chief architects of the return to Reformed faith under Elizabeth.[27] Faunt was always in some awe of Lady Bacon, a 'holly Matrone' raised up by the Lord for the 'comfort of his poore afflicted Churche', and regarded Anthony as similarly 'blessed … above many your brethren', an agent of Reformation the 'principall ende' of whose course of travel was 'to do some good vnto the Churche of God'.[28] The extent of Anthony's piety is harder to establish,

[24] NF to AB, 4 February and 1 March 1581/2, LPL MS 647, fols.102r and 106r.

[25] NF to AB, 1 March and 4 February 1581/2, LPL MS 647, fols.106r-v and 102r.

[26] NF to AB, 4 February 1581/2, LPL MS 647, fol.102v. For the dangers faced by couriers on diplomatic post routes, see E. John B. Allen, *Post and Courier Service in the Diplomacy of Early Modern Europe* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1972), 24, 27.

[27] Alan Stewart, 'The Voices of Anne Cooke, Lady Anne and Lady Bacon', in Danielle Clarke and Elizabeth Clarke (eds), *'This Double Voice': Gendered Writing in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000), 88–102; Patrick Collinson, 'Sir Nicholas Bacon and the Elizabethan *via media*', *Historical Journal* 23 (1980), 255–73, reprinted in *Godly People: Essays on English Protestantism and Puritanism* (London: Hambledon Press, 1983), 135–53.

[28] NF to AB, 12 March 1583/4 and 15 March 1582/3, LPL MS 647 fols.145r and 128v.

although if his mother's rebukes are anything to go by, he and his brother Francis became increasingly lax in their devotions as they got older.[29] What seems clear is that as a young man he was considerably more sensitive to his religious obligations than he was to become. Writing to Walsingham at the start of 1581, from Bourges, Anthony expressed his discomfort at the religious tenor of the town and explained that he planned to remove to Geneva, one of the well-springs of the Reformed church. Walsingham approved:

> Sir, Understanding by your lettres the smale contentment you take in your being at Burges a place very corrupt as you report aswell in respect of religion as in conuersation of ciuill lyfe, and therfore of a desire you haue to remoue and transplant your self to Geneua as the better soyle for both the former respectes I cannot but greatly like of your determination therein agreable as I take it to your naturall disposition and aunswearable to the good opinion that is conceaued of you. The daunger in truth is great that we are subiect vnto by lyuing in the company of the worser sort: In naturall bodyes euill ayres are auoyded and infectione shunned of them that haue any regard to their healthe: therwise by reason of the sympathye that is between our bodyes the one wold easely corrupt and the other wold be as easely corrupted by the other.[30]

Faunt, idling in Padua in August 1581, also anticipated Geneva as a tonic after the miasmic religious atmosphere of Italy, where 'we do lyve in some payne till wee be ridd therof so sone as conveniently wee maye. And rather then it shold any wayes infecte vs; we will not sticke to come in Poste presently thither.'[31] Faunt and Knightley arrived in Geneva around November 1581, probably staying, like Anthony, with the leading Reformed divine Theodore Beza, or with his next-door neighbour, the French theologian Charles Perrot.[32] Faunt felt an emotional attachment to Geneva that was common to educated Protestants in the sixteenth century. For him, Geneva was the place 'where it maye be our myndes have especially

[29] Lady Bacon's concern for her sons' religiosity is forcefully expressed in ACB to AB, 3 February 1591/2, LPL MS 653, fol.343r; ACB to AB, 17 April [1593], LPL MS 653, fol.318r; ACB to AB, [May n.d.] 1594, LPL MS 650, fol.187r. See also Mair, 'Lady Bacon', 117–123, 133; Freedman, 'Anthony Bacon and his World', 431–450.

[30] Francis Walsingham to AB, 25 March 1581, LPL MS 647, fol.111r.

[31] NF to AB, 3 August 1581, LPL MS 647, fol.114v.

[32] Graeme Murdock, *Beyond Calvin: The Intellectual, Political and Cultural World of Europe's Reformed Churches, c.1540–1620* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 106.

remained, howsoeuer the heat of our youth hath transported our bodyes into many contrary places'.[33] Faunt's keen affection for Anthony would have been greatly enhanced by the respect paid towards him by Beza, John Calvin's spiritual successor and by 1581 the most significant figure in the Reformed church. As Anthony remembered 15 years later, when defending himself against accusations of religious inconstancy, it had pleased at that time 'late father Beza … to dedicate his meditations [*Christian Meditations upon Eight Psalms of the Prophet David*] to my Mother for my sake'.[34] These religious convictions influenced their political outlook: Faunt was wholly committed to his master Walsingham's aim of neutralising Spain—'the military arm of the Pope and the Catholic church', as Roger Kuin terms it.[35]

As a cultural and intellectual corollary to their religious sympathies, Faunt and Anthony shared a background in humanist training that encouraged them to forge an epistolary friendship that would be sustained through the exchange of artful familiar letters. Both were alumni of the University of Cambridge, where Anthony's college Trinity and Faunt's college Corpus Christi offered daily lectures on the *libri humanitatis*, especially the works of Cicero and Terence, whose books could also be found in the college libraries.[36] In the 1580s, the men were young enough to regard the maintenance of such a friendship as an exercise in self-improvement—an erudite exchange taking place in the exotic environment of continental Europe, which gave the participants the opportunity to put into practice the arts they had studied at university by emulating the epistolary conventions of classical antiquity. A foreign tour was an opportunity for education, and regarded as an effective way to equip a gentle-

[33] NF to AB, 3 August 1581, LPL MS 647, fol.114v; Philip Benedict, *Christ's Churches Purely Reformed: A Social History of Calvinism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 242–6; Anthony Milton, 'Puritanism and the continental Reformed churches', in John Coffey and Paul C.H. Lim (eds), *The Cambridge Companion to Puritanism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 109–26.

[34] AB to Earl of Essex (EE), n.d. September 1596, LPL MS 659, fol.24r. Beza's *Meditations* were published as *Chrestiennes meditations sur huict pseaumes du prophete David* (Geneva: Jacques Berion, 1581). See Mair, 'Lady Bacon', 204–9, for a discussion of the implications of this dedication.

[35] Kuin (ed.), *Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney*, 1, xiii.

[36] Howard Jones, *Master Tully: Cicero in Tudor England* (Nieukoop: De Graaf, 1998), 220–8; M.R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge* (Cambridge: 1917); P. Gaskell, 'An early inventory of Trinity College books', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 8.3 (1983), 334–41.

man for public service. As Philip Sidney wrote to his younger brother Robert in about 1579,

> your purpose is (being a gentleman borne) to furnishe your selfe with the knowledge of suche thynges as may be serviceable to your Country and fit for your calling … [by] enforminge your mynde with those things, which are most notable in those places you come to.

This was a view shared by many Englishmen who wrote approvingly about the *ars apodemica* or the 'art of travelling' in the sixteenth century. William Bourne in *The Treasure for Traueilers* (1578) wrote that well-born tourists were 'very necessary members in the common weale … and are able to profyt theyr owne Countries in diuers respectes'.[37] A friendship conducted by letter with a suitable correspondent was another way to draw educational merit from an expensive tour. Philip Sidney and the older Frenchman, Hubert Languet, sustained an epistolary friendship in the 1570s that allowed them to demonstrate the elegance and style of their Latin in letters that echoed classical models. Chief among these models was Cicero—Tully, to Renaissance readers.[38] His *Letters to Friends* and *Letters to Atticus* were used to teach Latin in schoolrooms, and the style and wit of his letters were emulated by correspondents later in life. The key was to play cleverly on the original phrases and ideas, and to draw on Cicero's philosophic and political approach, rather than slavishly imitate his sentences, which was an exercise for schoolboys or the more dull-witted university students.[39] Languet himself was to warn Sidney of 'falling into the school of thought of those who believe that the greatest good lies in imitation of Cicero, and waste their lives on it', a piece of

[37] Philip Sidney to Robert Sidney, n.d. [1579?], Bodleian Tanner MS 169, fols.60v–2, cited in Kuin (ed.), *Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney*, 2, 887–8; William Bourne, *A booke called the Treasure for traueilers* (London: Thomas Woodcocke, 1578), sig.**iiir–v. See also Thomas Palmer, *An Essay of the Meanes how to make our Trauailes, into forraine Countries, the more profitable and honourable* (London: H.L. for Mathew Lownes, 1606), sig.B1r; Warneke, *Images of the Educational Traveller*, 45; Paul Hammer, 'Letters of travel advice from the earl of Essex to the earl of Rutland: some comments', *Philological Quarterly* 74 (1995), 317–25.

[38] Edward Berry, *The Making of Sir Philip Sidney* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), 33–48; Alan Stewart, *Philip Sidney: A Double Life* (London: Chatto and Windus, 2000), 103–11; Kuin (ed.), *Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney*, 1, xii–xiii.

[39] Jones, *Master Tully*, 267–70; Harold S. Wilson (ed.) and Clarence A. Forbes (trans.), *Gabriel Harvey's Ciceronianus* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1945), 25–30.

advice Sidney passed on to his brother in an attack on 'Ciceronianism the chiefe abuse of Oxford'.[40] But a subtle and intellectually-aware emulation of Cicero was commendable (Languet approved Sidney's study of 'the volumes of Cicero' in January 1574), as much for the content as for the style.[41] It was through *imitatio* that a man mastered *oratio*, but it was also through his study of the classics that he learnt *inventio*, the logical basis for arguments as well as for stylish expression. Cicero, whose dialogue-essay *De amicitia* was one of the founding texts of the early modern obsession with the obligations and privileges of friendship, was the ideal writer to crib when composing a letter to an intimate friend. The tone of Sidney and Languet's letters is frequently teasing, but the duties of friendship are taken seriously: Languet pointed out that the 'law' of friendship (a notion lifted from *De amicitia*) entitled him 'to joke with you freely, to admonish you, accuse you, expostulate with you, and write to you whatever comes into my mind'.[42] This was the sort of epistolary intimacy with which Faunt, writing in the vernacular, invested his correspondence with Anthony. The neoclassicism of his letters was to become more pronounced once he had returned to England, but from the start he made a point of adhering to the expected epistolary style.

One Ciceronian touch was Faunt's professed desire to write even in the absence of a good reason. In his letters to friends Cicero frequently used the lack of anything to say in a letter as a means of underscoring his affection for its recipient, with whom communication was pleasurable, whatever the occasion: 'I have really nothing to write about,' he wrote to Atticus, 'so let me just keep up my old-established habit of not letting anyone go your way without a letter'; 'although I have nothing to write to you, I shall write all the same because I feel that I am talking to you'.[43] For Faunt, writing at a time when the composition, dispatch and

[40] Kuin (ed.), *Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney*, 1, 78.

[41] Kuin (ed.), *Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney*, 1, 92; Robert E. Stillman, *Philip Sidney and the Poetics of Renaissance Cosmopolitanism* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 56–7.

[42] Kuin (ed.), *Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney*, 1, 77. Cicero's 'first law of friendship' includes in its rubric 'dare to give true advice with all frankness' (Cicero, *Laelius De amicitia*, in William Armistead Falconer (ed. and trans.), *Cicero: De senectute, De amicitia, De divinatione* (Loeb Classical Library) (London: William Heinemann, 1922), 103–211, 155–7).

[43] D.R. Shackleton Bailey (trans. and ed.), *Cicero's Letters to Atticus* (London: Penguin, 1978), 274, 506; Peter White, *Cicero in Letters: Epistolary Relations of the Late Republic* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 77.

safekeeping of a letter, especially in a foreign country and across frontiers, were no straightforward matters, use of courtesies like these was even more marked. Beginning a letter from Padua, he explained that his letters were 'like to continewe barren and voyde of all subiect worthy your hearing: yet I may not omit when occasion is offred, to do my dutye vnto you'.[44] Several months later, writing from Paris, he confessed that 'I have nowe lesse to wryte then before: Howbeit to leave you voyde of occasion to condemne me of negligence, I send you what I have.'[45] Roman Jakobson explained that such ritualised statements perform a 'phatic function', procedural exchanges which serve to establish or prolong a communication.[46] Renaissance correspondents would also have recognised them as subtle echoes of the style of the master of the *ars epistolaria*, deployed to situate a letter (and its author) within a cultured and Latinate milieu. Faunt also used the letters as an opportunity for wit, not a mode in which he excelled but one commended by Cicero.[47] In Paris with 'no matter worthy the setting downe', he opted instead to include a 'pretie iest', a bawdy anecdote about a pilgrimage undertaken by the childless king and queen: giving alms to a local poor woman, the queen informed her that she was going to Chartres 'for a Sonne or a child'. 'O Lord said th'old woman Madame, I am sory for your paynes; for said shee, the Preist of *Chartres* that was wont to make children is dead long sithence; and did you neuer heare of it?'[48]

It was in Faunt's interests to situate the correspondence within this sort of cultured Ciceronianism. Such a context tactfully obscured any potential benefits, social or professional, that might inhere in the relationship—on either side. Faunt made it clear that he regarded the intelligence services he was keen to perform for Anthony as gentlemanly favours in an exchange of mutual obligation and indebtedness. His labours did not, he was keen to stress, make him a hired man, and nor did they imply that he sought advantage beyond those naturally belonging to friendship. This equable ideal mitigated the social distance between the two, a difference in class

[44] NF to AB, 8 July 1581, LPL MS 647, fol.110r.

[45] NF to AB, 4 February 1581/2, LPL MS 647, fol.102.r.

[46] Roman Jakobson, 'Linguistics and Poetics', in Krystyna Pomorska and Stephen Rudy (eds), *Language in Literature* (Cambridge: Belknap, 1987), 62–94, 68.

[47] D.R. Shackleton Bailey (ed. and trans.), *Cicero: Letters to Friends*, 3 vols (Loeb Classical Library) (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001), 1, 234–37; White, *Cicero in Letters*, 22. Erasmus, following Cicero, advised including a joke 'in every class of [letter] … whenever the subject-matter permits' (*De conscribendis epistolis*, 245).

[48] NF to AB, 4 February 1581/2, LPL MS 647, fol.102v.

that was not matched by their respective power and influence. Nicholas Faunt, although from a humbler background than Anthony, was rather better connected to the public sphere; for all Anthony's enviable family ties, he struggled to make the best of his connections for his own benefit, let alone somebody else's. Keeping sight of Cicero helped to establish the friendship on terms that rendered these differences irrelevant, because, according to his philosophy, honourable friendships between men were most noble when entered into by those 'least in need of another's help; and by those most generous and most given to acts of kindness'.[49] Faunt was comfortable performing friendly services for Anthony on the understanding that he did not *need* the thanks or advantage that came with it, whether or not he received such benefits.

By the time Faunt left Paris for London in March 1582, the groundwork had been laid for an epistolary relationship of considerable intimacy, and one in which Faunt's involvement in Anthony's personal affairs was set to grow. It was a friendship that was useful and pleasant to both men. They were near in age, and similar in outlook, education and religious conviction. The social inequality required a small amount of rhetorical management on Faunt's part, but the two were not so socially distant as to make the relationship suspect. Writing to Anthony shortly before his departure from France, Faunt was more than happy to undertake 'the dealing in your priuat affayres there according to such Instructions as you purposed to haue giuen mee', and agreed to become his friend's factotum and personal representative back in London:

> I hope you will assure your selfe that whatsoeuer you will commaund mee shalbe to my power most faithfully & dilligently accomplished: And in what estate soeuer I shall lyve I doubt not but to have both leysure and meanes to attend thervnto, as I shold do in any matters that may most concerne my selfe. Nowe for the conveyaunce of lettres to you & the procuring of them from your frendes you cannot looke for so much at my handes as I meane to perfourm, being so well acquaynted with the discommodity you have found in wanting the seasonable aduertisementes you looked for from your frendes, and with the meanes to convey vnto you whersoeuer I shall heare you remayne. And for my priuat wryting if you find me so negligent as I have been from hence, by reason that I cold not vntill nowe heare out of England: I wilbe content to be reckened amongest them that you have tried in your absence more liberall in promises, then effectes.[50]

[49] Cicero, *De amicitia*, 163.
[50] NF to AB, 12 March 1581/2, LPL MS 647, fol.108r.

If Anthony was already contemplating an extended stay on the continent, he may have recognised the usefulness of a man like Faunt to represent his interests at home—and it would hardly have escaped his notice that his deep piety would make a favourable impression on his mother. Faunt's reference to those 'more liberall in promises, then effectes' also implies that Anthony did not feel he was being adequately supported in England. Faunt was as good as his word, and his first friendly service on his return was to deliver Anthony's regards to Lady Bacon, and obtain consent for her son's continued residence abroad (which he won by suggesting that should she die with Anthony abroad illegally, the estate of Gorhambury would pass from her line to that of her stepchildren, Sir Nicholas Bacon's first family—an outcome she wished to avoid at all costs).[51] Faunt now established himself as Anthony's voice of home, as he settled into Court service and a busy life in the household of the Principal Secretary. As we will see, numerous factors combined to maintain his relationship with Anthony in a position of great significance: for at least the first 18 months after his return home, he was the figure to whom Faunt felt most emotionally bound, despite a patchy record of response on Anthony's side.

Faunt at Home

Their physical distance, and the fact that Faunt was now destined for service in Walsingham's household office, did not initially cause a diminution in his feelings for Anthony. In fact, in the first eighteen months after his return to England, Faunt felt his interests more closely enmeshed with his friend's than ever, as he collaborated with him on a project to collate, summarise and digest as much information about the European political scene as possible. This was an ambitious objective that depended on communication between London and France—not always reliable—in which Faunt provided Anthony with data and analyses from home, Anthony sent news from the ground in France, and Anthony's brother Francis Bacon (now a junior barrister and aspiring public servant) made use of both in putting together discourses on European affairs that drew together key facts about the political, military and financial conditions of various states.[52] One such discourse, 'Notes on the State of Christendom', probably written in the spring or summer of 1582 and drawing on Faunt's

[51] NF to AB, 15 April 1582, LPL MS 647, fol.125r-v.
[52] *LL*, 1, 16–30; *HF*, 84–87.

and Anthony's continental experience, survives in a single manuscript copy in Francis's hand, with Anthony's italic insertions: if these additions are original, it suggests an unusual international group authorship, in which the manuscript travelled during its composition between the south of France and London.[53] Other discourses may have been in preparation in the early months of 1583, when letters passed frequently between Anthony and Faunt (at least seven were exchanged between January and May).[54] These documents, intended for senior policy-making statesmen such as Walsingham, Burghley, Hatton and Leicester, increased Anthony's reputation as an intelligencer and promoted the Bacon name among the powerful men in Elizabeth's government.[55] The benefit Faunt derived was of a different nature. He was conscious that they lived in a precarious time, in which the millenarian triumph of the true religion might yet be preceded by disaster:

> wee of this age are fallen into those perillous latter tymes which are forwarned vs in Scripture wherin th'ennemye rageth the more extreamly because he seeth his kingdome dayly declynyng and euen almost vtterly ruined: The cheefe instrument he vseth is th'Antichrist as motive to all th'other Princes he keepeth yet in bondage, who by them only is presently supported as is knowen to all the world … [T]he professed Ennemyes of Relligion are wont nowe in all partes to colour their hidden treacheries. Nowe this matter being of very great importance to all the reformed partes of Christendome hath occasioned some of the rarest iudgment & insight in the present course of this age to looke deeply into the consequence therof.[56]

Faunt's determination that 'the mouth of th'aduersarye be stopped, and the Tyrantes of the earth compelled to giue testimony of the Lordes truth' drove his conviction that he and Anthony were engaged in a project of international and ecclesiastical significance, and fed his belief in the value

[53] BL Harley MS 7021, fols.1–10.

[54] NF to AB (extant): 22 February (LPL MS 647 fols.119–122r), 15 March (fols.128–9), 6 May (fols.150–2v), 31 May (fols.154–5v). AB to NF (inferred): 20 January (carried by Anthony's friend, Edward Selwyn, acknowledged in letter of 22 February), n.d. April (carried by a merchant of Yarmouth, acknowledged in letter of 6 May), n.d. May (carried by 'one King seruaunt to Master Gifford,' acknowledged in letter of 31 May).

[55] Haynes, *Elizabethan Secret Services*, 14; Robyn Adams, '"Both diligent and secret": the intelligence letters of William Herle', unpublished PhD dissertation, Queen Mary, University of London, 2004.

[56] NF to AB, 22 February 1582/3, LPL MS 647, fol.120r.

of 'look[ing] deeply into the consequence' of things.[57] From the start their relationship had involved the exchange of news and intelligence, and now Faunt was established in England, with a role at Court and in the Principal Secretary's office, his access to political intelligence widened considerably. His letters to Anthony are compendia of useful details about the English political scene and affairs abroad, which allowed Anthony to understand developments at home. That he made use of the letters is testified by the presence of Anthony's numerous additions. They are underlined and annotated, with marginal headings that imposed order on the enthusiastic streams of news. These 'navigational tools' indexed the content and facilitated speedy and precise consultation.[58] Inclusion of copies, other people's letters and briefing documents was routine, so much so that Faunt apologised for his 'present pouerty and light carriadge' when he sent only a letter from himself.[59] When at the start of 1583 Anthony asked to be particularly informed of the 'present state of forraine partes', Faunt promised to 'infourme [him] of the general disposition and likelihood of thinges' in order that he might be able to 'better iudge of the particular actions that fall out and thervppon frame … a more probable discourse'.[60] One way in which Faunt chose to facilitate this sort of information provision was through the appropriation of documents meant for others, a surprising habit, given that he subsequently reproved Walsingham, in a celebrated essay on the role of Principal Secretary, for the office's 'want of secrecie' under his management.[61] In February 1583, he sent Anthony a sizeable package of material, and in the covering letter urged:

[57] NF to AB, 1 December 1582, LPL MS 647, fol.132r. For more on the foreign policy objectives of radical Protestants, see Peter Lake, 'The Significance of the Elizabethan Identification of the Pope as Antichrist', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 31 (1980), 161–78, and 'William Bradshaw, Antichrist, and the Community of the Godly', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 36 (1985), 570–89.

[58] The term, as applied to early modern intelligence documents, is Robyn Adams's: 'Signs of Intelligence: William Herle's Report on the Dutch Situation, 1573', *Lives and Letters* 1 (2009), http://journal.xmera.org/lives-and-letters-volume-1-no-1-spring-2009, 13 (accessed 18 August 2015).

[59] NF to AB, 15 March 1582/3, LPL MS 647, fol.128r.

[60] NF to AB, 22 February 1582/3, LPL MS 647, fol.120r-v.

[61] Charles Hughes (ed.), 'Nicholas Faunt's "Discourse Touching the Office of Principal Secretary of Estate, &c", 1592', *The English Historical Review* 20.79 (1905), 499–508, 500. Hughes's edition is based upon a copy of the discourse dated 1610 (after Faunt's death), Bodleian Library, Oxford, Tanner MS 80, fols.91–4.

> pervsing of the coppies enclosed (which as it happely fell out I had ready lying by mee as you find them, thoughe in deed they were meant to another by direction therin, giuen mee by one whom I will content with the like at better leysure) wherby you shall by comparing them together with that I wryte besydes be hable to see into the principall matters of consequence that are nowe sett abroche, and vppon which the rest of the States in Christendom do at this present cast their eyes.[62]

The copies Faunt mentioned comprised at least three separate briefing documents covering 'th'enterprise that hath late bene attempted by th'Archbishoppe of Coleyne [Cologne]' who had recently converted to Calvinism, 'some effects that followe the late altercation in the Lowe Countryes', and a 'little discourse lately receaued of the greatness of the house of *Austria*'. Anthony transcribed much of this material into his own notebooks. One that survives in Edinburgh University Library includes a 'discours concerning the greatnes of the howse of Austria', 'an aduise towching the present state of the Lowe Countrys and the B. of Coleyne', and 'the state of the affayres in the Lowe Countreys towching the Late Accidentes happened in Antwerpe'.[63] Material like this, provided by Faunt, absorbed and amended by Anthony, and then sent back to England to either Faunt or Francis, formed the basis for the discourses co-written by the three and circulated in manuscript among their political patrons, and kept the professional connection between the two friends very much alive.

The pleasure Faunt felt in performing friendly services for Anthony was based on an understanding that he neither expected not desired any material reward for his actions—or rather that such benefit as he did accrue was not regarded by others as the prime reason for the friendship. It was important that he was seen to act 'vppon no base respecte or for insinuation: but only of good affection … and for the best considerations'.[64] He had made an early and very favourable impression on Lady Bacon, on whom he called routinely with news of Anthony, and who was content to deal with him as one privately acquainted with Anthony's 'mynde and cheefest purposes'.[65] Her assessment of Faunt in later years was nothing short of effusive, and shows that she regarded him as a disinterested and loyal friend:

[62] NF to AB, 22 February 1582/3, LPL MS 647, fol.120v–121r.
[63] EUL Laing MS III.193, fols.133v–134r.
[64] NF to AB, 31 May 1583, fol.155r.
[65] NF to AB, 15 April 1582, LPL MS 647, fol.125r.

> [H]e is not only an honest gentleman in civill Behavor, but one that Feareth God in dede, and is wyse with all having experience of owr state, and is able to advyse you both veri wisely and Frendly For he loveth yowr self and needeth not your L [=love?] as others have and yet dissemble with you: he doth me pleasure in this, For I could not have Fownd Another so very mete For yow and me in all the best and most necessary respects. use him therafter goode sonne and make much of such and of their godly and sownde Frendly counsel.[66]

His reception by Francis was cooler. The younger Bacon brother did not at all warm to Faunt: from the first, the two men had 'no great talke' when they met, for all that Faunt had news of Anthony.[67] A united front of Lady Bacon and Francis was enough to make Faunt stumble over his words: when he met the two of them at the lecture at Temple Church in November 1583, he managed to tell her ladyship that it had been over three years since he had left France, 'greatly forgetting my selfe seing in truth it is not yet two yeares; but the errour grewe that I thought it more then three and twenty'.[68] His relationship with the younger Bacon was strictly professional, and Francis resented the fact that Faunt chivvied him for letters to his brother.[69] At times he made Faunt's status as middle-man insultingly clear. Calling on him at Gray's Inn in May 1583, Faunt was

> answeared by his seruaunt that he was not at leysure to speake with mee; and therfore you must excuse mee if I cannot tell you howe your mother and other frendes do at this present … I was asked where you were and what I heard lately from you: but I cold saye litle that he knewe not, nether was I so simple to say all to a boy at the doore his Master being within: which hath at other tymes bene vsed towardes mee by your Brother.

Discourtesy such as this distressed him, and 'made mee sometymes to doubt that he [Francis] greatly mistaketh mee' as an 'insinuator' or parasitical social climber.[70] These mixed messages from Anthony's family made Faunt all the more determined to assert the honourable origin and virtuous intent of the friendship.

[66] ACB to AB, 3 February 1591/2, LPL MS 653, fol.343r.
[67] NF to AB, 15 April 1582, LPL MS 647, fol.125v.
[68] NF to AB, 20 November 1583, LPL MS 647, fol.162r.
[69] Faunt 'put [Francis] in mynde of his lettres' on various occasions in April and May 1582 (NF to AB, 8 May 1582, LPL MS 647, fol.127r).
[70] NF to AB, 31 May 1583, LPL MS 647, fol.155r; *LL*, 1, 31.

Faunt's main reason for taking pains to continue his epistolary intimacy with Anthony was the comfort and reassurance he obtained from the correspondence. He had returned to a country and a Court that was in some ways depressingly unchanged and in others noticeably more debased than the culture he had left in 1580. Expecting a longer posting in Paris, he was surprised to be recalled so suddenly, and feared that with the retirement from day-to-day service of Laurence Tomson, Walsingham's long-standing personal secretary, he would be expected to take up a more hands-on role in the Principal Secretary's office.[71] The prospect of a life of attendance at Court filled him with despair, and although he declared to Anthony that 'to serue as I did I shall not brooke', he found himself obliged, after his precipitate return, to 'loyter like a seruing man' about his master. Faunt felt himself ill-suited to the 'toyles and continewall disorder in Dyett, [the] watching and infinite other miseryes of such Cort seruice' and it was particularly bitter that his 'two yeares trauaile abroade consumed all that litle I had without benefitting my selfe any one waye'.[72] He had succeeded simply in retarding his progress, and yet remained

> more vnprouided of a staye in the world then before I came from th'Vniversitye … [W]hen I consider that euen the flower and strength of my youth is thus passed and see many heretofore myne inferiours and much less vnprouided then my selfe at the first of any staye of living in the world nowe to be advaunced before mee I cannot but wishe I had bene better advised then so to tye my selfe as I am to the stake: from whence while through hope I look to be somewhat cleanely loosed, I feare I shall in th'ende dye no other where or more at ease then yet I feele.[73]

Faunt was morbidly pessimistic about his prospects from the moment he arrived home, and he had barely taken up his old duties before he had 'cast of[f] all hope' of finding congenial service. His letters to Anthony gave him an opportunity to 'recken upp my priuat discontentmentes'[74] with a rhetorical appeal to unspeakability: 'I beseech you pardon me, if in

[71] NF to AB, 12 March 1581/2, LPL MS 647, fol.108r; Haynes, *Walsingham*, 129; Conyers Read, *Mr Secretary Walsingham and the Policy of Queen Elizabeth*, 3 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925), 2, 261.

[72] NF to AB, 15 April 1582, LPL MS 647, fol.126r.

[73] NF to AB, 6 May 1583, LPL MS 647, fol.152v.

[74] NF to AB, 31 May 1583, LPL MS 647, fol.155r.

this matter my passion be so vehement that I cannot make a full point: My torment inwardly is greater then I can expresse';

> let it suffice that you may knowe by these fewe scribbled lynes, that I am almost at my wittes end … Thus I send you here a madd mans lettre rather than otherwise; and being presently ouercome with melancholy & distraction of mynde I am forced to breake of[f].[75]

For the first few months after his recall, Faunt's chief wish was to return straightaway to France and seek comfort in Anthony's presence.

One of the things Faunt found most difficult in his readjustment to Court life was the irreligion he perceived among the courtiers. Having 'lately lived in more civill and better disposed company' among the divines of Geneva, he found the habits of the court profoundly distasteful, 'where is so litle godlynes and exercise of religion, so dissolut manners and corrupt conuersation generally, which I find to be worse then when I knewe the place first; so generall is the defection fortold by th'Apostle in these latter dayes'.[76] Faunt had returned to an England that was attacked by reformers of manners as corrupt and ungodly (Stephen Gosson's *The Schoole of Abuse* (1579) and *Playes Confuted in Five Actions* (1582), and Philip Stubbes's *The Anatomie of Abuses* (1583) date from this time), and increasingly subject to presbyterian agitation from thinkers such as Thomas Cartwright, Walter Travers (whose lectures Faunt attended at Temple Church) and John Field.[77] It caused Faunt a great deal of pain that the further reformation he had experienced in Geneva was still regarded as an extreme position in his home country. In fact, the early 1580s was to be the zenith for establishment Reformist thinking: with the earls of Bedford, Huntingdon and Leicester and Sir Francis Walsingham still alive, the movement was extremely well protected.[78] The period saw a boom in publications by and about John Calvin (six to eight English translations of his works were

[75] NF to AB, 15 April and 8 May 1582, LPL MS 647, fols.126r and 127r.

[76] NF to AB, 15 April and 1 August 1582, LPL MS 647, fols.126r and 130v.

[77] NF to AB, 13 April 1584, LPL MS 647, fol.183r.

[78] Jacqueline Eales, 'A Road to Revolution: The Continuity of Puritanism, 1559–1642', in Christopher Durston and Jacqueline Eales (eds), *The Culture of English Puritanism, 1560–1700* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996), 184–209; Michael P. Winship, 'Weak Christians, Backsliders, and Carnal Gospelers: Assurance of Salvation and the Pastoral Origins of Puritan Practical Divinity in the 1580s', *Church History* 70 (2001), 462–81; David R. Como, 'Radical Puritanism, c.1558–1600', in Coffey and Lim (eds), *Cambridge Companion to Puritanism*, 241–58.

published each year from 1578 to 1581), and Faunt was to sit in the radical 1584 Parliament as the member for Boroughbridge in a house that contained many of his godly allies: the Privy Council secretary Robert Beale, Faunt's old colleague Laurence Tomson, and Valentine Knightley, brother to Faunt's former charge Edward.[79] Josias Nichols, a Reformed minister, later referred nostalgically to the decade under Archbishop of Canterbury Edmund Grindal as a 'golden time, ful of godlie fruit, great honour to the Ghospell, greate loue and kinde fellowship among all the Ministers', a wistful assessment that owes more to the repression suffered by anti-episcopal reformers in the late 1580s and 1590s than it does to the reality of the time.[80] With John Whitgift's accession to the see of Canterbury in 1583 the reform movement faced increasing hostility, and Faunt was candid to the point of indiscretion when he wrote to Anthony in 1584 of the new archbishop's 'rage and insolency' against 'the best and zealousest Ministers at this daye'. 'Can there be,' asked Faunt,

> any more euident token of the miserable calamitye approaching then to see the true Teachers and Pastors thus turmoyled by those especially that wold seeme to be the Pillars of the Church who having the Marke of the Beast it is impossible they shold knowe the necessitye of that sweet sounde of the Ghospell … And therfore drowned in ambition and ouer great aboundaunce of outward thinges they be such as nether will enter them selues nor suffer others to enter in at that streight and narrowe passage.

Writing to Anthony, a member of a famously devout family, satisfied Faunt's determination to play a part in the international progression towards full reformation, an objective he imagined to be wholly shared by his friend.[81] The fact that Anthony was a former pupil and present correspondent of

[79] Benedict, *Christ's Churches*, 245; Patrick Collinson, *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1967), 278.

[80] Josias Nichols, *The Plea of the Innocent* (London: no printers information, 1602), sig. C2r.

[81] NF to AB, 12 March 1583/4, LPL MS 647, fol.145r; Collinson, *Elizabethan Puritan Movement*, 243–88; Benedict, *Christ's Churches*, 250–4; Nicholas Tyacke, 'Popular Puritan mentality in late Elizabethan England', in his *Aspects of English Protestantism, c.1530–1700* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), 90–110 (reprinted from P. Clark, A.G.R. Smith and N. Tyacke (eds), *The English Commonwealth 1547–1640: Essays in Politics and Society presented to Joel Hurstfield* (Leicester: Continuum, 1979), 77–92).

Faunt's enemy, Whitgift, and that he was becoming increasingly pragmatic in his own religious outlook, were things Faunt chose to ignore.[82]

Faunt suffered from bouts of despair throughout his life. As late as 1596, well after Anthony's return from exile and when Faunt himself had taken up a lucrative post as Clerk of the Signet, he wrote to his friend that 'I shold thinke my condicion nowe to be worse then euer.'[83] Throughout 1582 and 1583, although his mood periodically lifted as far as rueful acceptance ('this is home when all is done … I am a continuall Cortier'), he was for the most part very seriously unhappy.[84] Stymied in his professional service, appalled by the irreligion with which he was surrounded, and depressed by the progress of the continued reformation of the Church of England, for much of the time after his return to England he languished 'betweene hope and despayre, irresolute and uncertaine what extremitye I shalbe driuen vnto; for I see no one motion from any part tending to my good'. Most distressing was the spiritual anxiety that his depression triggered. He wrote tellingly to Anthony of his reliance on his own assurance of salvation, the essential inward mark of the elect:

> And if my refuge were not vnto th'Allmightie whom it pleaseth thus to humble mee, and but that I rest assured his purpose herin will prove for the best in th'ende, I shold have bene ere this wholy oppressed with the consideracion of of myne estate: but his only will be fulfilled, and when it pleaseth him he will giue the redresse.[85]

Faunt worked hard to retain a grip on the assurance of his election, but as his fortunes failed to improve, it became more difficult to convince himself that his unhappy condition was a test of his faith, rather than, as he feared, an indication of his reprobate status. Shortly after writing the lines above, his 'misery daily increasing', he claimed that he was 'not able to open my greefes they are so great and infinit when I once begin to thinke of my selfe'.[86] The following year, he confessed that his private miseries 'maketh

[82] Anthony and Francis had lodged with Whitgift, then Master of Trinity College, when students at Cambridge (*HF*, 34–7; *GL*, 31). Whitgift wrote a reassuring letter to his former pupil when Anthony became embroiled in a political and sectarian dispute in Bordeaux (John Whitgift to AB, 10 May 1585, LPL MS 647, fol.194r).

[83] NF to AB, 10 August 1596, LPL MS 658, fol.232r.

[84] NF to AB, 1 August 1582, LPL MS 647, fol.130r-v.

[85] NF to AB, 15 April 1582, LPL MS 647, fol.126v.

[86] NF to AB, 8 May 1582, LPL MS 647, fol.127r.

mee sometymes to faynt in my course and wold in deede wholly discourage mee, if I had not recourse to the comfortes a Christian shold have in these cases'. In addition to the more orthodox comforts of which Faunt made use, 'the often remembraunce' he received of Anthony did 'much recreate my tyred spirites'.[87]

The Declaration

Reassuring though it might be, by the start of 1583, Faunt's correspondence with Anthony was noticeably one-sided. Writing in December 1582, Faunt pointed out that 'I thinke this cannot be so little as the 12th I have written vnto you since my returne to this place, in which tyme I have receaved only two from you the last bearing the date about the 28th of March.'[88] None of his London letters, in which he had unfolded his anxieties so unstintingly, had yet been acknowledged (Faunt had arrived back in England in the middle of March, with his first letter to Anthony following about three weeks later). The uncertainty of delivery might account for his silence, and there was no guarantee that the letters Faunt sent by way of merchants in Lyon arrived at their destination, especially as Anthony's location was often unknown—one of Faunt's letters was directed, with more hope than expectation, to 'Montpellier[,] Tholouse ou la part ou il sera' ('or wherever he might be').[89] But neither Theodore Beza nor any of their colleagues in Geneva had had word in months, a much more serious lapse and one that was harder to explain by the miscarriage of letters. Explanation arrived when Faunt finally received from Marseilles a 'sweete and frendly Letter' dated 20 January 1583. Anthony had suffered a long and severe illness, from which he was now recovered (although he would never enjoy robust health again). He acknowledged the intimacies Faunt had entrusted to him, and appears to have made explicit reference to their friendship, honouring him as a close friend with all the privileges and rights afforded such a position. This was the prompt for Faunt's letter of 22 February.[90] In it, he admitted his profound and singular affection for Anthony which, because it was 'aright sincere and vnfayned',

[87] NF to AB, 15 March 1582/3, LPL MS 647, fol.129v.

[88] NF to AB, 1 December 1582, LPL MS 647, fol.132r.

[89] NF to AB, 1 August 1582, LPL MS 647, fol.130r-v (address leaf, fol.131v).

[90] NF to AB, 22 February 1582/3, LPL MS 647, fols.119–122r. Further references to this letter will be identified by foliation only.

> cannot be giuen in the highest measure but to one only: Nowe though I had longe ago propounded in my mynde your selfe to be the same one only yet still fearing to be thought ouer presumptious and bold in this behalfe I have deferred the signifying therof vnto you vntill vppon some further experience you might see what especially moved mee to make so singular a choyce for so unworthy a gyfte, as is the free possession of my whole mynde and most secreat thoughtes.[91]

Faunt framed his hesitation in confessing his 'presumptious' feelings as the fault of his own incapacity to demonstrate 'by some further experience' his merit as a friend, but it is clear that he had taken Anthony's letter as a sign that such a declaration would be welcome:

> your late Letter hath giuen the finall conclusion and removed all difficulties and doubtes on my part which yet were neuer other then the inequalitie of our conditions and my unhablenes to supply that defecte residing in mee alone ether by industrye or any other effectes of my good will. Nowe finding that you stand very litle vppon such termes … I see not therefore any further impediment (th'other being removed throughe the freenes of your good perswasion of mee testified aswell hertofore as in this your said lettre) why I shold not close my hand with yours in wittnes of our perfecte and sincere vnion and band.[92]

He revealed that he was spiritually and intellectually 'peculiarly devoted vnto' Anthony, and celebrated his 'cheefe and inward authoritie' over him as the 'principall knott of our amitie'.[93] He persisted in his declarations of service and loyalty, promising to 'perfourme that you nowe demaund at my hands, as wherin I may at any other tyme stande you in steed sooner then my other consideracions whatsoeuer', but explicitly rejected the notion that the pair maintained any sort of credit or debt relationship.[94] Thanking Anthony for his gracious 'acceptacion' of his letters, Faunt took the opportunity to remark that 'betweene faithfull frendes … where the giuers mynde and good meaning is aright interpreted', the gift itself (in other words, the pleasure of the correspondence) 'goeth for gros payment'.[95] The letter marked a change in his language. In the months

[91] Fol.119r.
[92] Fol.119v.
[93] Fol.119r-v.
[94] Fol.119v.
[95] Fol.120r.

afterwards, Faunt took occasion whenever he could to remind Anthony that his 'affection on your behalf can hardly abide any kind of limitacion … which truly (be it spoken in Italian termes as more significative, yet with a simple English meaning) is *suiscerata* and *smisurata affato*' ('heartfelt'—literally, 'eviscerated'—and 'entirely immeasurable').[96] When Anthony made 'comparison of our well grounded frendshippe with that we find to have bene betweene *Tully* and *Atticus*,' Faunt was delighted beyond words: 'what comfort and contentment I received then and yet retayne with mee I shold have much to do if I wold expresse vnto you effectually'.[97]

The comparison was significant. It lifted the nature of their relationship from the estimable field of friendships in general, to the heights of the virtuous friendship *par excellence*: from a certain (particularly flattering) angle, the correspondence between Faunt, entangled in the politics of home, and Anthony, living in self-imposed exile in a southern climate, might be taken for an Elizabethan version of the famous friendship between the politician Cicero and his expatriate friend Atticus (Titus Pomponius, so nicknamed for his love of all things Greek). But whether Anthony intended the reference to be taken literally (and it is probable that he did not), it implied his acquiescence in the process of redefinition that Faunt's February letter had instigated: their friendship was now something superior, precious, *ideal*. Virtuous friendships between men were a central part of cultured Renaissance life, more often idealised than practised but no less revered for that. Classical discourses on friendship—including Aristotle's *Nichomachean Ethics* (books 8 and 9), parts of Cicero's *De officiis* and especially his *De amicitia*—performed a double duty as texts for grammar exercises and models for rhetorical and philosophical imitation in schoolrooms, and Greek and Roman theories of friendship informed thinkers whose work set the intellectual tone for much of the century.[98] But while the theory was culturally omnipresent, practical examples of such virtuous friendships were scarce. For Cicero, friendship of the 'pure and faultless

[96] NF to AB, 15 March 1582, LPL MS 647, fols.128r and 129v. 'Good' or 'sincere affection' was Faunt's usual term for the relationship the pair maintained: 6 May 1582, LPL MS 647, fol.150r; 31 May 1582, LPL MS 647, fol.155r; 6 August 1582, LPL MS 647, fol.158r; 12 February 1583/4, LPL MS 647, fol.138r.

[97] NF to AB, 31 May 1583, LPL MS 647, fol.155r.

[98] Michael Pakaluk (ed. and trans.), *Aristotle: Nicomachean Ethics. Books VIII and IX* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998); Walter Miller (ed. and trans.), *Cicero: De officiis* (Loeb Classical Library) (London: William Heinemann, 1913).

kind' was rare, and sustained only by good and virtuous men. They were intense affairs, demanding 'accord in all things, human and divine', and harmony of 'opinions and inclinations in everything without exception'. Such friendships should only be formed 'after strength and stability have been reached in mind and age', and after a thorough appraisal of a potential friend's merits. The possessor of a true friend looks 'upon a sort of image of himself'—further, he *is*, 'as it were, another self', an idea that drew on the Aristotelian conceit that friends shared 'one soul in two bodies'.[99] One of the first books printed in England was John Tiptoft's translation of *De amicitia*, published by William Caxton in 1481, and Sir Thomas Elyot in *The Boke Named the Gouernor* (1531) repeated the assertion that 'a frende is properly named of Philosophers the other I', as did Erasmus in his *Adagia* of 1536.[100] The wide currency of ideas such as these is suggested by their spread from philosophical works to commonplace books, from *The Garden of Wysdom* at the start of the sixteenth century to George Wither's *A Collection of Emblemes* a century later, which celebrated friendship with an image of hands clasped around a crowned heart, flanked by a design of conjoined rings (a quasi-marital image that resembles Faunt's pledge to 'close my hand with yours in wittnes of our perfecte and sincere vnion and band').[101] The belief that friendship between men represented the apogee of human intercourse permitted a language in which the usual Renaissance reverence for temperance and moderation was disregarded.[102] Michel de Montaigne, later to become known to Anthony Bacon, wrote in his essay 'On Friendship', first published in France in 1580, that the 'perfect amity' which he had enjoyed with his friend Etienne de la Boëtie was 'indivisible': 'each man doth so wholly give himself unto his friend, that he

[99] Cicero, *De amicitia*, 127, 131, 133, 171, 183, 193. Aristotle remarked that 'a friend is another self' (a proverbial statement even in the fourth century BC) in Chap. 4, Book 9 of the *Nicomachean Ethics* [Pakaluk (trans. and ed.), 29].

[100] Sir Thomas Elyot, *The Boke Named the Gouernour* (London: Thomas Berthelet, 1531), Book 2, Chapters 11 and 12 (Donald W. Rude (ed.), *A Critical Edition of Sir Thomas Elyot's The Boke Named the Governour* (New York: Garland, 1992), 149–69, 152); Desiderius Erasmus, *Adages*, in *Collected Works of Erasmus*, ongoing, R.A.B. Mynors (ed.) and Margaret Mann Phillips (trans.) (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982).

[101] Richard Taverner, *The garden of Wysdom* (London: Richard Bankes for John Harvye, 1539), sig.F1v; George Wither, *A Collection of Emblemes, Ancient and Moderne* (London: Augustine Mathews, 1634), sig.Ii3r. See also Walter Dorke, *A tipe or figure of friendship*, 2nd edn. (London: Thomas Orwin and Henry Kirkham, 1589), sig.A4r-v.

[102] Gregory Chaplin, '"One flesh, one heart, one soul": Renaissance Friendship and Miltonic Marriage', *Modern Philology* 99:2 (2001), 266–92.

hath nothing else to divide elsewhere: moreover he is grieved that he is not double, triple, or quadruple, and hath not many soules, or sundry wils, that he might conferre them all upon his subject.' The friendship seized his will and 'brought it to plunge and loose it selfe in his' [Boëtie's].[103]

To imagine his relationship with Anthony in this mode gave Faunt enormous pleasure and acted as a brake on his accelerating misery. It allowed him to cast their acquaintance as a journey from simple friends to exemplars of virtuous friendship. In his revelatory letter of 22 February, Faunt made conscious reference to the Ciceronian qualities of their friendship: the uniqueness of their bond (his ardent affection can be given 'but to one only'), the time that had been required to ripen the connection ('thoughe I had longe ago propounded in my mynde your selfe to be the same one only'), and the scrupulous care that had gone into Faunt's 'singular … choyce' of Anthony as the recipient of his gift of 'the free possession of my whole mynde and most secreat thoughts'.[104] It further blurred the social differences between them—Faunt was placed to all practical purposes on the same level as Anthony, the 'impediment' of their inequality being removed by the discovery that he stood 'very litle vppon such termes'.[105] Faunt continued to gesture towards their different statuses even as he acted in ways that rendered those differences moot—in May, he apologised for burdening Anthony with his private discontents, seeing 'that these matters are fittest to be imparted to myne equalles', but in the same sentence explained 'howe great an ease it is to th'afflicted mynde when his greefes be vnfolded into the bosom of an assured frend' and promised to go into his concerns in greater detail and in 'playner termes' when the two of them met in person.[106]

Furthermore, the notion that friends in the classical mode shared 'one soul in two bodies' gave a new dimension to their religious connection. As brothers in Christ, and members of the elect, they were constituent members of one spiritual body and shared in each other's feelings. Writing of the 'greatnes of that Visitacion [Anthony's sickness] wherewith it pleased

[103] Michel de Montaigne, 'On Friendship', in John Florio (ed. and trans.), *Essayes written in French by Michael Lord of Montaigne*, 2nd edn. (London: Melch. Bradwood for Edward Blount and William Barret, 1613), sig.I5r-v; cf. M.A. Screech (ed. and trans.), *The Complete Essays* (London: Penguin, 1991), 215, 212.

[104] Fol.119r.

[105] Fol.119v.

[106] NF to AB, 31 May 1583, LPL MS 647, fol.155r.

the Lord to trye your faith and patience', Faunt explained the joy and relief his recovery had bred in his well-wishers at home:

> So that as you will confesse our good Lord hath therin extended an exceeding measure of his mercie towardes you and on your behalfe to all your godly and faithfull frendes; amonge whom I[,] being the meanest and in truth nothing worthy of your name but only in respect of a Spirituall connviction wherby as a feeling member of that misticall body I cannot but participate in th'effectes of so straight a vinom[,] do therfore with your selfe therby as otherwise at all tymes most humblie thanke the divine Maiestie for this his most mercifull deliueraunce of you and … do most especially praise and magnify his goodness in that he hath thus spared or rather reserued you in his mercifull prouidence for an Instrument herafter.[107]

Here again Faunt was careful to place himself in a socially inferior position ('I being the meanest and in truth nothing worthy of your name') while simultaneously creating for himself a space of equality and intimacy in the context of their shared privilege as members of the elect ('as a feeling member of that misticall body'). Thanks to his 'spirituall connviction', Faunt enjoyed a power of empathy for Anthony's suffering that verged on the clairvoyant:

> And for myne owne when I look into the nature of those distastes and the long tyme they held you, I find that your owne and others relation of the extremetie you were brought vnto is nothing to th'impression I have conceaved in my mynde of the manifold tormentes your poore body hath endured the lest of which sicknesses might in reason have greatly weakned a stronger complexion then your owne.[108]

Faunt drew comfort from Anthony's trials because they proved that even the heroes of the Reformed church could be scourged by God, as 'it is his manner so to deale with his dearest children only for their good'. Indeed, such torment was necessary chastisement delivered by the Lord 'in his fatherly and tender care of your welldoing … though throughe so great corruption and dullnes of nature wee cannot so soone consider therof accordingly'.[109] All of this applied equally, as he realised, to Faunt himself,

[107] Fol.119r.
[108] Fol.119r.
[109] Fol.119r.

'fainting' under the burden of his unhappiness as he struggled in a venal and godless Court, and the thought that Anthony had undergone a similarly testing experience was consoling.[110] The equalising effect of spiritual election was an essential factor in helping Faunt leap the social divide and assert the special nature of his friendship with Anthony—helped by the fact that the exceptionalism of election could be understood in terms that aligned such an elite group with the truly virtuous, that rare breed of men qualified to undertake pure friendship. Their 'perfect and sincere vnion and band' was framed

> by the power of the Lord working by his holly Spirite: As by many testimonies I most euidently perceave and acknowledge that this our especiall affecting one of another was wrought first by the same Spirit, hath for that only cause bene more firmly grounded and shall the more happely continewe to both our comfortes so long as wee shall lyve together: which God graunt may be effected when and so farre forth as shall make most for the advauncement of his glorye and the weale of his Churche.[111]

The 'operation of godes holly Spirit' was the 'fountayne and wellspring' of their affection for each other—an ungainsayable source that lent a teleological purpose to their friendship and foreclosed any objection on Anthony's part to Faunt's candid and copious letters: God was 'th'Authour of this our sounde and well grounded amitye', and whether Anthony liked it or not, 'it hath pleased the Lord to make you a meanes of myne comfort.'[112]

As in much else in Faunt's life, his religious faith explained the peculiar intensity he brought to his relationship with Anthony. Reformed Protestantism equipped him with a language that was well fitted to expressing the emotions of his heart. It was Theodore Beza who made the link between self-examination and an assurance of faith, and inspired a strain of Reformed theology that required believers to search their souls for evidence of the Holy Spirit's presence, a mark that made itself

[110] NF to AB, 15 March 1582/3, LPL MS 647, fol.129v.

[111] Fol.119v.

[112] Fol.119v and NF to AB, 31 May 1583, LPL MS 647, fol.155r-v. Thomas Wood, father to Ambrose (later a servant in Francis Bacon's household), adopted a similar tactic in admonitory letters to his friends, subscribing his letters 'this yow knowe is the expresse commandement of Christ' [Patrick Collinson, 'Letters of Thomas Wood, Puritan, 1566–1577', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, Special Supplement 5 (1960), reprinted in *Godly People*, 45–107, 50].

known in both physiological and emotional ways: William Perkins, in his *A Treatise Tending unto a Declaration, Whether a man be in the Estate of Damnation, or the Estate of Grace* (1589), explained that a believer who was brought low by God, and made to confront his own sinful state before being granted assurance of salvation, would be 'smitten with feare and trembling', a sorrow so intense that 'if it continue and increase to some great measure, hath certaine Symptomes in the bodie, as burning heate, rowling in the intrals, a pining and fainting of the solide parts'.[113] Being in touch with one's bodily and emotional feelings was a religious duty, and this had an effect on the language and tone with which one articulated those feelings—as Charles Lloyd Cohen put it, 'to be a Puritan meant living a life distinctively ardent'. Puritan spirituality of the next century has been described as a tradition that 'welcomes the power of feeling … delights in the amorous and sensory … demands the full responsiveness of emotional and sentient beings'.[114] Sermons (if delivered by a skilful preacher) were received in a pitch of emotional fervour; prayers were offered with sighs and groans.[115] Michael Warner argued in a different context that religion 'makes available a language of ecstasy', and for zealous Protestants in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, it also made available a language of passivity and subjection that in certain devotional contexts could present the male *dévot* not as a man, but as a bride or lover of Christ: a believer's distance from God could be construed as a wife's yearning for her husband; the reassurance of Christ's love was imagined as

[113] Theodore Beza, *Quaestionum et responsionum Christianarum libellous* (1571), translated by Arthur Golding, *A booke of Christian Questions and Answers, Wherein are set foorth the cheef points of the Christian religion in maner of an abridgment* (London: William How for Abraham Veale, 1572); William Perkins, *A Treatise Tending unto a Declaration, Whether a man be in the Estate of Damnation, or the Estate of Grace*, 2nd edn. (London: Mrs Orwin for John Porter and John Legate, 1595), sig.D4v; Charles Lloyd Cohen, *God's Caress: The Psychology of Puritan Religious Experience* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 10–11.

[114] Cohen, *God's Caress*, 4; N.H. Keeble, *The Literary Culture of Nonconformity* (Leicester: University of Leicester Press, 1987), 213; David Leverenz, *The Language of Puritan Feeling: An Exploration in Literature, Psychology and Social History* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1980); Edmund Leites, *The Puritan Conscience and Modern Sexuality* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986).

[115] John Craig, 'The growth of English Puritanism' (34–47) and Alexandra Walsham, 'The godly and popular culture' (277–93) in Coffey and Lim (eds), *Cambridge Companion to Puritanism*, 44 and 286.

the bodily comfort of a male lover's presence.[116] Samuel Rogers, a young minister in the 1630s, wrote of his desire for God with imagery drawn from the Song of Solomon: 'why standest thou afar of[f], oh my deare god, why hidest thou thy selfe from mee; my heart is yet fixed, grieves for my loosenes, folly; I will come unto thee, oh my first husband, oh hugge me in thyne armes, and I shall be safe.'[117] Susan Hardman Moore explains the paradox of divines who were 'patriarchs at home, but brides of Christ in spirit' as the means by which Reformed theology mitigated the distance and remoteness of its God, 'an arbitrary judge who divided the saved from the damned on unfathomable grounds'. Marriage—the union of the powerless with the powerful—was a vivid metaphor for the pious soul's yielding to God.[118] It was this tradition of transvestism of the soul that allowed Faunt to frame his devotion to Anthony in the quasi-marital terms of a hand-fasting. To return again to an already-quoted sentence, Faunt promised to 'close my hand with yours in wittnes of our perfecte and sincere vnion and band', a troth-plighting that cemented the 'knott of our amitie'.[119] The subservience that such a bond implied sat awkwardly with the absolute equality of interest demanded by classical friendship, a mismatch that Faunt took pains to smooth over. On the one hand, he promised he would

> perfourme that you nowe demaund at my handes, as wherin I may at any other tyme stande you in steed sooner then my other consideracions whatsoeuer: as giuing allwayes myne obedience in this behalfe to the cheefe and inward authoritie you have to dispose of mee and all myne actions.

[116] Michael Warner, 'Tongues Untied: Memories of a Pentecostal Boyhood', in *Village Voice Literary Supplement*, February 1993 (reprinted in Donald Morton (ed.), *The Material Queer: A LesBiGay Cultural Studies Reader* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1996), 39–45). Richard Rambuss, who cites Warner, has argued that devotion can be understood as a 'form of desire' (*Closet Devotions* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998), 1).

[117] Diary of Samuel Rogers, cited in Tom Webster, '"Kiss me with the kisses of his mouth": gender inversion and Canticles in godly spirituality', in Tom Betteridge (ed.), *Sodomy in early modern Europe* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), 148–63, 152.

[118] Susan Hardman Moore, 'Sexing the soul: gender and the rhetoric of Puritan piety', in R.N. Swanson (ed.), *Gender and Christian Religion* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1998), 175–86, 182.

[119] Henry Swinburne, *A Treatise of Spousals or Matrimonial Contracts* (c.1600) (London: S. Roycroft for Robert Clavell,1686), sigs.Dd2r–Ee2v ('Of contracting spousals by signs'—particularly rings); Ann Jennalie Cook, *Making a Match: Courtship in Shakespeare and his Society* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 151–7.

But he sidestepped the implications of absolute obedience to Anthony's 'inward authority' by inviting a reciprocal declaration of affection from his friend. His own abject devotion was something

> I only remember vnto you to th'end you may see howe willingly I wold testifye vnto you the sinceritye of my hart by such poore meanes as you shall accept at my handes without refusing neuerthelesse or not thankfully accepting from you such demonstracion as you shall make of your like affected mynde towardes mee.[120]

That Anthony was reluctant to afford him demonstration of his 'lyke affected mynde' was an instability at the heart of Faunt's ambitious conception of friendship. Neither the conventions of Ciceronian *amicitia* nor the levelling effect of spiritual election could quite bridge the social divide between them, a troubling fact made more complicated by Faunt's rhetoric of contingent passivity—contingent on a reciprocity that never came (although Anthony was struck by Faunt's declarations: he copied many of the most ardent sections of the February 22 letter into his notebook).[121] It was not long before Faunt came to realise that their 'wonted and sincere affection' was 'a matter of as great difficulty as importaunce, especially considering th'inequalitye of our condicions and the contrary course held by all the world besydes'.[122]

Practical Divinity

The perfect union Faunt celebrated in his letter of February 1583 did not in fact last very long. Anthony was simply too irregular a correspondent to sustain such an intense relationship. Although Faunt wrote to Anthony at length on at least 26 known occasions, and probably more, in the two years after his return to England, Anthony wrote to Faunt only seven identifiable times.[123] Affecting frustration with a favoured correspondent for his

[120] Fol.119v.

[121] EUL Laing MS III.193, fol.136r-v.

[122] NF to AB, 6 August 1583, LPL MS 647, fol.158r.

[123] On 1 December 1582, Faunt told Anthony he had sent him 12 letters since his return to England (NF to AB, LPL MS 647, fol.132r). Fourteen further letters survive from the period between December 1582 and April 1584: LPL MS 647 fols.119–122r, 128–129v, 136r-v, 138–139v, 143r, 145–146r, 150–152v, 154–155v, 157–158v, 162–163r, 166r-v, 181r, 183r, 185r-v. Anthony's letters are lost but their reception was acknowledged by Faunt on 8 May 1582 (fol.127r), 22 February 1583 (fol.119r), 6 May 1583 (fol.150r), 31 May

or her perceived neglect was a familiar pose in cultured letter exchanges. For Hubert Languet and Philip Sidney, it was part of the enjoyment and drama of an epistolary relationship to accuse each other of cruel disregard in elegant, self-pitying clauses inspired by classical models. To Languet's claim that 'I would write to you oftener if I was not led to conclude from your stubborn silence either that our letters are unwelcome to you, or that you care little for them,' Sidney replied: 'I wonder what possessed you so miserably to torture him who loves you more than himself … I would never have thought that our friendship … could have got to the point where one of us accuses the other of wickedness.'[124] Faunt's reproofs as Anthony's letters became scant were less literary and, crucially, provided actual evidence of neglect. In December 1583, three months since he had received any word, he wrote bluntly that 'you allott mee but two lettres in a yeare in requytall of the many you receaved of me … Your last was of the 8th of September and I have seene since of October and Nouember from you to others.'[125] In his letter of January 1583, Anthony had encouraged Faunt 'as I love you and as I wishe your health to wryte often', but with the exception of an uncharacteristic flurry of letters in the spring of 1583, his own habit was to allow months to elapse between writing.[126] This infrequency, and the ongoing risk that Faunt's letters might miscarry or be intercepted, cooled (although it did not entirely extinguish) his expansive affection and his self-confessions. He made even fewer references to his emotional wellbeing after April 1585, when he married the daughter of a London merchant, a young woman 'that feareth God and is desirous above all thinges to growe forward in knowledge'. A godly wife who 'can bear my poore estate as contendedly as my selfe' offered much comfort, and 'some release of the many discontentmentes and greeves I found in my continuall attendaunce at Court'.[127]

The intelligence-sharing operation that the two men had created also waned. By spring 1584, Anthony had settled near the principality of Béarn in the south-west of France, the autonomous kingdom ruled by the Protestant Henri of Navarre who, when the sickly Anjou (Elizabeth's erstwhile suitor) died that summer, became heir to the throne of France.

1583 (fol.154r), 17 December 1583 (fol.166r), 12 February 1584 (fol.138r), 28 February 1584 (fol.136r).

[124] Kuin (ed.), *Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney*, 1, 641, 657.

[125] NF to AB, 1 December 1583, LPL MS 647, fol.166r.

[126] Faunt made reference to Anthony's words when he wrote during one of his friend's periods of silence (6 August 1583, LPL MS 647, fol.158r).

[127] NF to AB, 16 April and 6 October 1585, LPL MS 647, fols.190r and 201v.

Navarre was under intense pressure to convert to Catholicism and looked to England for support. Elizabeth and her ministers had awoken to the fact that Anthony could provide a discreet and secure passage for letters to Navarre. The new ambassador in Paris, Sir Edward Stafford, had pointed out that there was 'none properer' than Anthony, 'who is already in those parts', to act as a go-between.[128] As early as October 1583, the Earl of Leicester had thanked Anthony for his help in forwarding letters from another significant French public figure, the Duc de Montmorency, constable of France, relaying the queen's pleasure that she 'may have so good a man as you to send and receyve lettres by'.[129] By March, he had become irreplaceable: Faunt was surprised to be given the exact wording by his master Sir Francis Walsingham ('we commonly receave but his generall instructions for the draught of a letter') for a letter to Anthony in which his work in France was particularly commended and the words of the queen precisely recorded: '[the] great care and diligence you haue perfourmed in that behalfe sheweth whose sonne you are as also that her Highnes is right glad to fynd by so good and tymelie experience that she hath a gentleman of your quality so towardly able to doe her seruice'.[130] Anthony's intelligence now went directly to the Privy Council, and the quantity of domestic news in Faunt's increasingly infrequent letters dropped considerably. Instead he concerned himself with family and financial affairs, and the problem of Anthony's growing alienation from home. Faunt had not anticipated that his friend's absence would be so long. Lobbying Lady Bacon for her consent for Anthony's new licence in 1582, Faunt did not expect him 'resolutely to staye the whole tyme of a newe Licence' and as the months passed with no sign that he planned to return, Faunt cautioned him in strong terms against continuing his 'voluntary banishment':

> the tymes are not as hertofore for the best disposed travaylors … they are not the best thought of where they wold be, that take any delight to absent them selues in forrayne partes, especially such as are of qualitye and are knowen to have no other cause then their priuat contentment.[131]

[128] Sir Edward Stafford to Walsingham, 2 May 1584, *HMCS*, 3, 28.

[129] Leicester to AB, 10 October 1583, LPL MS 647, fol.160r.

[130] NF to AB, 2 March 1583/4, LPL MS 647, fol.143r; Walsingham to AB, 1 March 1584, EUL MS Laing III.193, fol.135r (copy).

[131] NF to AB, 15 April 1582, LPL MS 647, fol.125v; 17 December 1583, fol.166r-v.

By the second half of the 1580s, Faunt could refer to the 'manifest wronges you do by staying there both to your selfe, your ffrendes, the Churche of God, yea your Prince and Countrey', and Walsingham might command that 'all delayes and excuses set aparte you do make your repaire home hither with as much expedition as you can', to no effect: Anthony remained in France until February 1592, more than 12 years after he had first set out on his course of travel.[132]

The months immediately after Faunt's return to England in 1582 were therefore a particularly intense period in his epistolary friendship with Anthony. Their professional intelligence connection was its height, strengthened by Faunt's role as Anthony's personal man on the ground. Faunt regarded their time apart as a bridge between the time they had spent together in Paris and Geneva, and the pleasure he anticipated in his company on his return. Most importantly for the purposes of understanding Faunt's language in his early letters, he was frequently miserably unhappy and devoid of support. Lacking the reassurance of family devotion that would come with his marriage, he had to cope with the spiritual depravity he perceived at Court by himself.[133] Well-versed in Reformed theology, Faunt recognised his depression as a stage in his spiritual regeneration. But his awareness that it was necessary for God 'thus to humble mee' as part of his on-going journey towards assurance did not make his intermittent despair any easier to withstand.[134] Like the Essex minister Richard Rogers, who also 'languished long … to see such vnsetlednesse in my life' in the early 1580s, Faunt spent time in the 'deadly dumpes' of religious anxiety.[135] As the decade progressed, the doubtful would be able to find reassurance in the early works of what came to be called practical divinity, the vigorous

[132] NF to AB, 3 June 1586, LPL MS 647, fol.213r; Walsingham to AB, 10 November 1588, LPL MS 647, fol.228r.

[133] Although Faunt made frequent reference to his isolation and loneliness at this time (LPL MS 647, fols.126r, 127r, 130v), Conyers Read points out that a significant proportion of the university-educated men involved in foreign diplomacy were Reformed or radical Protestants who looked to Walsingham or Leicester for preferment (Read, *Mr Secretary Walsingham*, 2, 259–61, cited in Collinson, *Elizabethan Puritan Movement*, 166–7). Such an institutional aspect did not remove the need for domestic and community-based religious support, a key aspect of Reformed piety (Tom Webster, 'Early Stuart Puritanism', in Coffey and Lim (eds), *Cambridge Companion to Puritanism*, 48–66, 53; Benedict, *Christ's Churches*, 490–532, 511).

[134] NF to AB, 15 April 1582, LPL MS 647, fol.126v.

[135] Richard Rogers, *Seven Treatises, containing svch direction as is gathered ovt of the Holie Scriptvres, leading and guiding to true happines, both in this life, and in the life to come: and may be called the practice of Christianitie* (London: Felix Kyngston for Thomas Man and Robert Dexter, 1603), sigs.Ddd2v and T5r; Winship, 'Weak Christians', 462–3.

set of private and group religious exercises intended to 'stablish and settle' Reformed Christians in their religion.[136] Rogers and other divines such as William Perkins theorised the experiences of despair and anguish common to the godly, and offered straightforward guides to working through those feelings. God's children, worn down by their awareness of sin, would be helped by having set 'before their eies in a glasse, the infinite, secret and deceitfull corruptions of the heart', and then being shown the path to assurance and peace.[137] For Faunt, undergoing his psychological testing in the years before such resources were available, his letters to Anthony were in themselves exercises in piety, spiritual confessions of anguish and doubt that did not necessarily require an answer (and seldom received one). In this, Faunt's letters are the predecessors of the spiritual journals that the next generation of pious laity were exhorted to keep. But they were also 'testimonies of affection', expressed in the cultured terms of classical-humanist friendship with all the ardour that the esteemed institution permitted.[138] Faunt used the terms of valorised male friendship to create a language in which spiritual self-confession and emotional need were articulable within the conventions of early modern relationships. Poised at the intersection of these two traditions, Faunt's letters at the height of his friendship with Anthony throbbed with a spiritual and affectionate passion, producing a discourse on masculine love that was startlingly ardent.

And what of Anthony? As we will see in Chap. 3, Anthony was less concerned with the potent language of affect spoken by Faunt than with the usefulness of friendships that might offer material benefit. For Anthony, maintaining his position in a foreign country without the support of his family (and with the intermittent permission of the English government) was no easy task, and demanded the on-going cultivation of useful friends. If Ciceronian *amicitia perfecta* was the idealised image of male friendship in the sixteenth century, shrewdly-judged instrumental friendship was its earthier form, and it is to that institution—pragmatic, mutually beneficial and essentially unromantic—that we now turn.

[136] Richard Rogers, *Certaine sermons preached and penned by Richard Rogers* (London: Felix Kingston for Thomas Man, 1612), sig.A1r (title page).

[137] Rogers, *Seven Treatises*, sig.A5r; Christopher Hill, *Society & Puritanism in Pre-Revolutionary* England (London: Secker & Warburg, 1964; Pimlico, 2003), 382–416; Winship, 'Weak Christians'; Cohen, *God's Cares*, 75–110; Charles E. Hambrick-Stowe, 'Practical divinity and spirituality', in Coffey and Lim (eds), *Cambridge Companion to Puritanism*, 191–205.

[138] 'Testimonies of affection' comes from NF to AB, 6 August 1583, LPL MS 647, fol.158r.

CHAPTER 3

Instrumentality: The Prison, Liberty and Writing Friendship in the Space in Between

Thee haue I not lockt vp in any chest,
Saue where thou art not, though I feele thou art,
Within the gentle closure of my brest,
From whence at pleasure thou maist come and part.[1]

In August 1590, a stranger entered Bordeaux. He was difficult to place. Tall and with sandy hair, he did not look like a local, although he spoke French without a foreign accent. Dockside rumour had it that he had recently left the port of Ferrol in Galicia, where the naval forces of Philip II were said to be gathering. But he did not look like a Spaniard either, despite his fashionable black clothes and distinctively Spanish hat. The man admitted to little other than his name, which he said was André Sandal. Sandal's cover did not last long. Within days, he had been recognised by a French diplomat called Pierre de Segusson, sieur de Longlée, who for eight years had been ambassador to the Spanish court in Madrid. De Longlée demanded the arrest of the so-called Sandal, otherwise known as Andrea Santal, Pompeio Pellegrini and Antonio Standin, Spanish spy of indeterminate origin and enemy of France. Sandal—in fact an English

[1] Shakespeare, *Sonnets*, no. 48.

W. Tosh, *Male Friendship and Testimonies of Love in Shakespeare's England*, DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-49497-9_3

Catholic exile whose real name was Anthony Standen—remained in prison for the next 14 months.[2]

His activities in prison, and specifically the friendship he forged with Anthony Bacon, form the focus of this chapter. The meeting was of crucial importance to both men. Standen was to become one of Anthony's most loyal lieutenants, his devotion assured by the value of the friendship: it was this relationship that enabled Standen to return to England and re-enter the intelligence service as a follower, first, of Lord Burghley and subsequently the Earl of Essex; his position at the heart of Essex's political secretariat—with its close ties to the Stuart Court—gave him privileged access to the Scottish government in the closing years of Elizabeth's reign. Standen would make much of these links (and his tie to James's mother, Mary, Queen of Scots) when the new king came south in 1603. More importantly, the acquaintance developed between Standen and Anthony in 1591 reveals something about the nature of instrumental friendships between men, and the ease with which a mutually beneficial relationship (what we might think of today as a 'professional' acquaintanceship) could come to be draped in an affective language of loyalty and favour. This is not to suggest that such language was inauthentically applied: in the sixteenth century, relations of utility as well as emotional bonds were expressed in the highly personalised terms of intimate friendship. I examine the letters exchanged between Standen and Anthony Bacon as testaments to the act of forging an instrumental friendship in the late sixteenth century. I go on to consider the context of the early modern prison. Standen's jail was more than a picaresque setting in the story of their meeting. It was a space which permitted and to some extent promoted the sorts of friendship-driven intelligence activities that both men conducted. Standen's incarceration

[2] The circumstances of his arrest are found in AS to WC, 12 June 1591, TNA SP 78/24, fols.206–208v. Standen's fluency in French is attested to by the fact that he passed as a native during a later voyage as far as northern Spain (AS to AB, 9 December 1591, LPL MS 648, fol.132v). His Spanish attire comes from AS to AB, undated spring 1591, LPL MS 648, fol.143v. See also Albert Mousset (ed.), *Dépêches diplomatiques de M. de Longlée, résident de France en Espagne (1582–1590)* (Paris: Plon-Nourrit, 1912); Allen, *Post and Courier Service*, 30 and 49; Kathleen M. Lea, 'Sir Anthony Standen and some Anglo-Italian Letters', *English Historical Review* 48 (1932), 461–77; G. Ashe, 'An Elizabethan adventurer: the career of Sir Antony [*sic*] Standen', *The Month* new series 8 (1952), 81–92; Leo Hicks, 'The Embassy of Sir Anthony Standen in 1603, Part I', *Recusant History* 5:3 (1959), 91–127; Paul E.J. Hammer, 'Standen, Sir Anthony', *ODNB* (accessed 18 August 2015); Paul E.J. Hammer, 'An Elizabethan Spy Who Came in from the Cold: the Return of Anthony Standen to England in 1593', *Bulletins of the Institute of Historical Research* 65 (1992), 277–95.

was, from Anthony's point of view, one of the most useful things about him: with the external support that he could provide, Standen's prison became an intelligence *atelier* connected to Anthony's own lodging via letters carried by his servants and pages. During the months of Standen's imprisonment, they established a successful cottage industry which produced collaboratively written informational dispatches for their patrons in England. Nor should the prison be understood as a limiting environment for intelligence work. In fact, the architectural characteristics and social composition of Standen's prison created an atmosphere of loquacious sociability that runs counter to our notion of a restrictive and repressive carceral environment. Early modern prisons offered a promiscuity of social intercourse that was not necessarily available in the free world, a liberty that offered obvious attractions to men engaged in espionage. The unfettered sociability of the prison could also pose risks, and I conclude by suggesting that inmates had to develop strategies to identity 'true-hearted' friends amid the mêlée, 'masculine sweet hearts' who were prepared to honour the ties of friendship and stand by a fellow in need.[3] The prison emerges as a facilitating institution for early modern friendship, a place which both tested and sustained the principles of good fellowship.

Prison Meeting

The misfortune Anthony Standen suffered in Bordeaux was not entirely undeserved. He was a Spanish spy—and had been with varying degrees of commitment for almost 20 years—but he was also an agent for the English. Most of his life had been spent managing such conflicting loyalties.[4] Born into a Catholic family in Surrey, Standen gave up a position in Elizabeth's court to follow the Lennox family to Scotland on the betrothal of the Lennox heir Henry, Lord Darnley, to Mary Stuart (a 'youthful forfayte' on his part not forgiven by Elizabeth until many years later, if at all).[5] Standen was not to return to England for over a quarter of a century—writing to his brother Edmund in 1592, he reflected that his

[3] G.[effray] M.[inshall], *Essayes and Characters of a Prison and Prisoners* (London: Mathew Walbancke, 1618), sig.D2v.

[4] Standen wrote two self-aggrandizing accounts of his own career: 'Sir Anthony Standen's discourse of the murder of Rizzio', *HMCS*, 16, 15; 'Petition of Sir Anthony Standen, and Anthony Standen his brother, to the King, for arrears of pensions granted them by the late Queen of Scots', TNA SP 14/1, fol.234r.

[5] AS to WC, 12 June 1591, TNA SP 78/24, fol.206v.

'maner of life … hath bene in perpetuall motion and so conformable to our Englishe prouerbe of the *Rowlinge stone*: If I should tell you howe I haue passed these 28 yeares it woud seem matter of some admiration.'[6] Sent abroad to report the birth of prince James to Mary's Guise relations in 1566, Standen found himself stranded in France by the assassination of Darnley and the coup against the Queen of Scots. He attached himself to Mary's continental allies before drifting into more directly treasonous service under Philip II of Spain in 1572, and the grand duke of Tuscany in 1578. From at least 1582, he was also in correspondence with Sir Francis Walsingham, a connection that matured into official employment in 1587 after the execution of Mary Stuart and the death of his Tuscan patron. Under orders from Walsingham, Standen travelled to Spain and Portugal in spring 1588, whence he provided detailed information about the 'puissant and myghtie Army so longe a preparinge whiche in the ende is in redynes'.[7] This valuable intelligence in the run-up to the Armada was rewarded with an English pension, a wage he sought to supplement in April 1590 by joining a band of émigré Englishmen in Madrid in the employment of the Spanish state. Commissioned for service in the royal army destined for Brittany, Standen made use of his time while waiting to embark at Ferrol in journeying to Bordeaux, ostensibly to gather information for his Spanish masters on the strength of support for the Catholic League in southern France, but in fact to write to Walsingham with greater freedom. It was there that Monsieur de Longlée recognised him from his time at the Spanish court, denounced him to the authorities, and secured his arrest. Shortly thereafter Standen learned that his employer and protector Francis Walsingham—the only person who could vouch for his service to the English state and persuade the French to release him—had died four months previously. With no help forthcoming from Spain, and no means of contacting England, Standen's prison debts mounted and his conditions of incarceration became increasingly wretched.

It was during this period of extreme privation that Anthony Bacon arrived in Bordeaux. The city was a stop-over on his journey home after nearly 12 years abroad. Walsingham's death had changed his circumstances too. The late Principal Secretary had taken a greater professional interest in Anthony than his uncle the Lord Treasurer, and without Walsingham's

[6] AS to Edmund Standen, 30 September 1592, LPL MS 648, fol.266v (copy).

[7] 'BC' to 'Giacopo Mannuci' [AS to Francis Walsingham], 30 April 1588, BL Harley MS 295, fol.194r.

patronage, it was by no means clear that he could continue his extended residence on the continent, a lifestyle that had already been rocked by the sodomy charge he had faced in Montauban. It was time for him to heed the demands of his mother and brother, leave France and rebuild his fractured relationships with his family. He was in no great rush to return, however. Hampered by ill health and happy to blame his deferred departure on contrary winds and a tardy wine-fleet (the main mode of transport between Bordeaux and England), Anthony caused a further delay by involving himself in a dispute between the English merchant community and the rebellious town of Blaye, which had revolted from Henri IV's rule to the Catholic League.[8] At some point in the early part of 1591, he heard about an incarcerated Englishman who was 'publisshed … for [a] Spanysshe instrument', and he made discreet enquiries.[9] It is unclear which man made the first attempt at communication, but contact was made and in the early spring he received a relieved note from Standen assuring him that 'I am the same yow presumed me to be' and urging him to visit.[10] By the first week of April 1591, they were in regular contact, and an enthusiastic correspondence was soon established between the two men.

If Anthony Bacon made the initial approach, it may be because he guessed that behind the *nom d'espion* of André Sandal was the Anthony Standen he already knew. They had never met, but had been aware of each other's activities for many years. Almost a decade previously, when Anthony was contemplating a trip to Italy, he had asked Standen for help, and the latter had 'broken the yse [ice] and sounded the fforde' with the Duke of Florence in order to obtain safe conduct through the peninsula as far south as Naples. He also agreed to act as tour guide for the duration of the expedition.[11] It is not clear how they had come to hear of each other, but Standen was a well-known figure to continental tourists, especially those who intended to venture into Italy.[12] Anthony never made his intended trip. By the time he had been granted a passport by the French crown, the rumours emerging from Italy of English suffering under the banner of the Inquisition had put him off, and he headed instead for

[8] AB to WC, 29 January 1591, TNA SP 78/23, fol.41r; Maurice Wilkinson, 'The English on the Gironde in 1592–3', *English Historical Review* 31 (1916), 279–91.

[9] AS to WC, 12 June 1591, TNA SP 78/24, fol.206v.

[10] AS to AB, n.d. Spring 1591, LPL MS 649, fol.479r.

[11] AS to AB, n.d. Spring 1591, LPL MS 649, fol.479r.

[12] *HF*, 84.

the south of France.[13] But the introduction had not been wasted. Soon afterwards his travelling companion Edward Selwyn risked an Italian journey, and enjoyed—under Standen's protection—a 'longe staye in Pisa and peregrynation through Toscany'.[14]

Anthony's timely arrival in Bordeaux allowed the two men to embark on a relationship whose structures of reciprocal assistance had been set in place by the Italian affair nine years earlier. Desperate for help and degraded by imprisonment, Standen nevertheless took care to interpret Anthony's provision of aid as the discharging of a debt of honour. The latter's 'courteous acknowledginge and favourable offers' were the 'frute' Standen reaped thanks to his earlier 'dewtifull endevours' on his behalf, as well as the services he had extended to Selwyn 'for your sake'. The issue of Edward Selwyn was sensitive: in passing through Bordeaux earlier that year, Selwyn had failed to respond to a plea for help from Standen. Unconscious of his obligations (Standen had signed the letter with one of his many aliases), Selwyn had sailed home to England leaving his Italian host unaided. Standen was gracious enough to ascribe this lapse to ignorance rather than discourtesy, but the implication was clear. Had Selwyn been able to carry word of his incarceration home, he would certainly have been released sooner.[15]

It was in Standen's interest to draw attention to Anthony's duty of care. He was about to ask for a lot in return. In the seven months of his imprisonment, he had fallen deeply into debt. Early modern prisons were private institutions, and prisoners were expected to pay for all services and privileges. Without money, Standen was dependent on loans from the keeper of the prison for his food and board, and he had no means to pay for additional luxuries like clothing and writing paper—or the various bribes to porters and doormen necessary for the unmolested passage of letters. Anthony's arrival changed that, and Standen was quick to take advantage of his new well-wisher by requesting some 'very good and fyne lynen' to replace the single spare shirt with which he had been imprisoned, and—anticipating release—street clothes that had a less conspicuously Spanish cut.[16] Their prior connection enabled Standen to make these bald demands with only a token apology for his 'brasen face', and provided a context for him to float the more serious matter of his prison debt:

[13] NF to AB, 12 March 1581/2, LPL MS 647, fol.108v.
[14] AS to AB, 8 April 1591, LPL MS 648, fol.27v.
[15] AS to Edward Selwyn, 13 June 1591, LPL MS 648, fol.45r (copy).
[16] AS to AB, n.d. Spring 1591, LPL MS 648, fol.143v.

> The 60 crownes I owe my hoste here is that most pynchethe me, which yf I coulde by any waye fynde meanes to borowe vntill I had answere from Spayne woulde be no smale good turne for me att this instant, but havinge in this towne neyther acquayntance nor credyt I maye hope lyttle that waye, and content myselfe with the ambition I haue of your good opinion and lykinge of the humble affection of your lowelie frende and humble servant.[17]

From the outset, Standen made little distinction between Anthony's ability to relieve his immediate material deprivations, and his willingness to pay off more serious liabilities. When he later complained of his 'myserable estate in dett here 60 crownes and without sherte or a whole tatter to my backe', he was doing the same thing, collapsing the distinction between his beggarly prison conditions and his crippling prison debt.[18] His new friend was in a position to alleviate the former with his provision of clothes and supplies, and from the beginning of their re-acquaintance Standen saw in him the means to a resolution of the latter.[19] In his prison letters he framed his loyalty to Anthony at least partly in financial terms: when in September the prison keeper advised that he should appeal to the court of parlement to defray his charges, Standen responded to this sensible suggestion that he 'coulde do nothinge ether in this or any other matter without yowr consent as a Cavalier to whome I had commytted all my actions and my person also'.[20]

Anthony's arrival in Bordeaux was a piece of good luck for Standen, cut off as he was from his protectors and regarded as a Spanish spy by the French. It was perhaps more fortuitous than has been recognised—not only was Anthony his countryman, and willing to play the good Samaritan, but he also happened to be in Standen's debt.[21] Before they became friends, indeed before they met, the two men existed in a network of allegiance and loyalty that served the needs of Englishmen working overseas. Standen made the threads of this web clear when he wrote to Edward Selwyn:

> I finde Mr Bacon no lesse fauourable to me than I was desirous to serue youe at your beynge in Toskane, which yf I did not accordyn[g] to your

[17] AS to AB, n.d. Spring 1591, LPL MS 649, fol.479v.

[18] AS to AB, 8 April 1591, LPL MS 648, fol.27r.

[19] Standen made reference to his prison debts on 25 June (LPL MS 648, fol.41r), 13 July (fol.54r), 27 July (fol.56r) and 24 September (fol.84r).

[20] AS to AB, 23 September 1591, LPL MS 648, fol.80r-v.

[21] Hicks, 'The Embassy of Sir Anthony Standen', 100; Hammer, 'An Elizabethan Spy', 280; *GL*, 78.

> merite, yet did I my pour possibilitie, which I can assure you stoode you in more stede then euer I intende to vaunt of, wherin I nede not to complayne hauinge founde suche gratitude at the handes of this honest natured gentilman, who by his infinite courtesies shewethe in me the likinge he hath of the affectyon I bere youe & of the preparatife by me made for his way into Italie yf his resolution of comminge thyther had continued.[22]

The considerable periods of time both men had spent abroad had not been effected without favours from others. By drawing attention to the services he had performed for Selwyn, and the preparations he had undertaken (albeit unnecessarily) for Anthony's Italian voyage, Standen was situating himself within this continental social network that relied on reciprocal favours and mutual support.

As it turned out, Standen had overestimated the extent of Anthony's financial resources. Although he could provide personal effects and material comforts, it would take another seven months before sufficient funds were raised to pay off Standen's more serious debts.[23] But Standen stood to benefit from the connection in another, more valuable way. With his close family connections to the English government and his own experience of working as an informer for Walsingham, Anthony was an ideal person to facilitate Standen's re-integration into the intelligence service and help him renew his English pension. Given the highly personalised nature of Elizabeth's court, Standen could not be sure that evidence of his loyalty to Walsingham would migrate to the hands of whoever took over the role of Principal Secretary. Until the post was filled, the Lord Treasurer was de facto head of national security, and the member of the Privy Council with ultimate responsibility for English agents working overseas. Standen may not have been aware of Burghley's distaste for the business of secret intelligence, a dislike that manifested itself when his lordship cut the funding

[22] AS to Edward Selwyn, 13 June 1591, LPL MS 646, fol.45r (copy).

[23] It is not clear that Anthony was responsible for raising the money, although he wrote to his uncle to ask for 200 crowns—rather more than three times Standen's stated prison debt: 'Les despens qu'il a faictz en prison montent desia plus de deux centz escus' (AB to WC, 15 June, TNA SP 78/24, fol.229r). At the beginning of October, Standen was in contact with a man named Bullart who offered to pay his expenses (AS to AB, 2[?] or 11[?] October 1591, LPL MS 648, fol.103r); it may have been as soon as the following day that he was released. Some funds may nonetheless have come from the highest level in England: Standen later thanked Burghley for 'yowr honores favourable offices' and 'her Maiesties gratious inclynation' in helping to secure his release (AS to WC, 14 November 1591, LPL MS 648, fol.112r (copy)).

of dozens of Walsingham's informants, but he was certainly aware that his new friendship with the Lord Treasurer's nephew gave him the best chance of regaining his position on the crown's pay-roll.[24] By winning Anthony's trust, he increased the likelihood that any appeal he sent to Lord Burghley would be viewed with favour. As soon as contact was established, Standen set out to tempt Anthony with promise of high-level intelligence, and reassure him that despite appearances he was not a Spanish spy. In what is probably his first substantial communication, Standen entreated him

> when yowr helthe and force shall permyt yow will take the payne to do that whiche my dewtie woulde I should begyn yf my retention forbyd me not [i.e., visit him in prison] that I may display before you my secretest intents and so see and as ytt were towche with yowr fingar howe sinisterly I suffer this punisshment.[25]

He repeated this combination of professed innocence and promised secrets on 7 April:

> Her Hyghnes knoweth me to be a Catholick whiche I haue ever professed, so doth her Maiestie knowe that I am her subiect and sworne servant, whiche to my power I haue contynually made profession of as Sir ffraunces will knowe … This my letter and the rest of my conference with yow I must commytt to yowr secrecie as matter that concernethe more Her Highnes service then myne owne safetie althoughe the last purporteth me mutche.[26]

These assurances worked. By the beginning of May, the men evidently had some sort of understanding: Standen began sending notes and memos reporting daily business in the town hall, and by June he was ready to write the Lord Treasurer a long and ardent declaration of loyalty; Anthony smoothed the way by assuring his uncle Lord Burghley that 'I love him [Standen] as a loyal Englishman and a true servant and subject of her Majesty.'[27] But Standen may not initially have realised how useful he was to his new friend: Anthony was prepared to make as much use as he could of Standen's assets and connections. His 12-year absence abroad had

[24] Hammer, 'An Elizabethan Spy', 288.

[25] AS to AB, n.d. spring 1591, LPL MS 649, fol.479r-v.

[26] AS to AB, 7 April 1591, LPL MS 648, fol.27r-v.

[27] 'Ie l'ayme comme loyal Anglois et bon seruiteur et subiect de sa Maieste' (AB to WC, 15 June 1591, TNA SP 78/24, fol.228v).

soured relations with his mother, uncle and even his brother Francis. His standing in France had been fatally compromised by the accusation that he had engaged in sodomy with a household servant—a charge that he did everything in his power to keep from following him to England. Failing health severely limited his freedom of movement, and made a return home medically necessary as well as professionally advisable. But he faced an uncertain future in England. His Hertfordshire estates of Gorhambury and Redbourne were less profitable than they might be, and Francis's stalled career hovered as an unwelcome example of what to expect in the competitive and factious court.[28] Viewed as a potential intelligence asset, Standen was a prize. Fluent in French, Italian and Spanish, a pensioner of the king of Spain and an intimate of the English and Irish Catholics attached to the court in Madrid, his value as a double-agent allied to Anthony was immense. In a letter to his uncle, Anthony explained that Standen would be able to 'serve her Majesty and his country a great deal, if he wants to use faithfully and opportunely the friendship and trust which he has acquired in Spain and in France among the Hispanicised French'.[29] Standen too clearly anticipated remaining on the continent with his very real identity as a Catholic exile as 'cover'. In his letter to Burghley on 12 June, he urged the Lord Treasurer to make arrangements for his release, but to do so 'in sutche warye sorte, as yt maye not appere to Spayne that I receyve my favour from yow'. On the issue of his return, his refusal was diplomatic but firm: not only would his appearance in England damage his reputation among the English Catholic diaspora, but he rated himself unsuited to 'domesticall affayres' and inclined instead 'to that parte whiche by my experience abrode I haue made some habyt in, wherin I fynde myselfe more apte to do her Highnes service'.[30] Informants working abroad needed someone at home to receive their intelligence and liaise with other branches of government, and in the uncertain period following Walsingham's death, Anthony Bacon—who would soon be home—was an obvious choice as Standen's handler. There is no question that by the autumn Standen and Anthony regarded their partnership as one of mutual professional benefit. In September, Standen wrote to Selwyn relaying a

[28] *HF*, 121–39; *GL*, 76.

[29] 'Tel home peut beaucoup seruir a sa Maieste et la patrie, au cas qu'il voulut employer fidellement et opportunement l'amitie et creance quil s'est acquise en Espagne et en France parmi les francois espagnolizes' (AB to WC, 15 June 1591, TNA SP 78/24, fol.228r).

[30] AS to WC, 12 June 1591, TNA SP 78/24, fol.207r-v.

conversation he had had with another Englishman in Bordeaux, in which he had insisted that 'whatsoeuer I pretended in England I did not meane to sett any other a wourke then Mr B[acon] … so long as yt liked him to take the paynes and to vouchsafe me his protection'. If 'setting a wourke' was what Standen assumed Anthony would do with his own 'secretest intents', the existence of which he had announced in his first letters, it suggests that this collaboration was mooted at the earliest point in their relationship.[31]

The two men were quick to make friends because they recognised the future value of the acquaintance, but they were also aware that they had met in a strategically important city at a time of increasing international tension. Bordeaux, with its long-established wine trading ties to England, was the gateway to southern France where support for the pro-English Henri IV (who became king of France in 1589) was strongest. It was within relatively easy reach of Spanish border towns where agents and English merchants gathered intelligence about enemy naval activity at the bases of Santander and Ferrol, a crucial task since the English had no resident diplomatic representation in Spain. News of troop movements in the Bay of Biscay was particularly precious to English policy-makers: the naval force massing at Ferrol to which Standen had been assigned had slipped out of port in September 1590 to resupply the Spanish bridgehead at Blavet in Brittany, an ominous development to those who anticipated another Spanish invasion attempt after the loss of the Grand Armada.[32] As we will see, Standen enjoyed privileged access to city politics from his prison cell, and Anthony was on friendly terms with Marshal Matignon, the mayor of Bordeaux and governor of the province of Guyenne. Standen also maintained an unparalleled network of contacts in Spain and elsewhere which, lying dormant since his arrest, could be reactivated with the help of Anthony's letter-bearers and messengers. In addition to potential career opportunities, their new friendship gave the men the chance to pool

[31] AS to Edward Selwyn, 5 September 1591, LPL MS 648, fol.87v (copy).

[32] Mack P. Holt, *The French Wars of Religion, 1562–1629*, 2nd edn. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995, 2005), 140–1; R.B. Wernham, *After the Armada: Elizabethan England and the Struggle for Western Europe 1588–1595* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), 295–6; Paul E.J. Hammer, *Elizabeth's Wars: War, Government and Society in Tudor England, 1544–1604* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 177; Alan David Francis, *The Wine Trade* (London: A&C Black, 1972), 25–46; Thomas Brennan, *Burgundy to Champagne: The Wine Trade in Early Modern France* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), 79–81.

their resources and improve the quality of intelligence they fed back to England. It also exposed Anthony to a new range of contacts and informants, a benefit that was not without danger. A letter from Standen on 27 July captures some of these dynamics:

> Right worshipfull I sende yow here the letter for Mr Darell to whome I haue wrytten that yow amonges other favours haue accommodate[d] me wythe yowr servant William for this iorney whome I haue expressly sent vnto hym to knowe an answere of two other letters I had before wrytten vnto hym, and consideringe the dyffycultie of the wayes, he that ys commynge in them maye brynge me his resolute answere, whiche I haue prayed hym to performe and not to dowte of the bearer by whome I entreate hym to sende me to 50 crownes.[33]

The letter is revealing partly for its representation of the receipt and dispatch service that Anthony was able to provide. In this instance, his servant William was seconded to Standen's management to carry a letter to a Mr Darrell, mentioned elsewhere as an 'olde acquayntance' dwelling in Agen.[34] A reliable bearer could be trusted not only to chase up unanswered letters, but to return with substantial amounts of money: Standen wanted William to deliver his request to Darrell for 50 crowns, a sum almost equal to his entire prison debt (there is no evidence this plea was successful). The letter also reveals another friendly service Anthony performed for Standen. He did not just provide the communication infrastructure necessary for Standen to reconnect with his network of acquaintances. He lent Standen his name, reputation and financial credit as an English gentleman of high birth, guaranteeing the probity of messengers who might speak for his imprisoned and indebted compatriot. He displayed remarkable ease of mind at this co-option of his standing and servant. The 'Mr Darrell' of Agen from whom Standen wanted to extract money was in fact a senior member of the English Catholic leadership. Thomas Darrell was an early emigrant from Elizabeth's Protestant England, departing for the Spanish Netherlands in 1562 after refusing at Oxford to take the oath of supremacy. Ordained a priest in the Catholic faith, he was co-founder of the English College at Douai, chaplain to the bishop of Gascony and dean of Agen.[35] Attaching one's name to a transaction involving a high-ranking Catholic was not free of risk: Anthony had already incurred his uncle's displeasure

[33] AS to AB, 27 July 1591, LPL 648, fol.56r.
[34] AS to AB, n.d 1591, LPL MS 648 fol.142r.
[35] Peter Holmes, 'Darrell, Thomas (b. 1538/9)', *ODNB* (accessed 18 August 2015).

(and his mother's apoplectic rage) by interceding for the bishop of Cahors on behalf of two seminary priests imprisoned in England.[36] His willingness to facilitate Standen's communication with Darrell suggests he harboured a certain ideological blindness when offered the prospect of an enhanced list of contacts. While helping Standen, Anthony was also adopting his network of impressively well-connected people, whether loyal to the crown or (perceived) traitor. Thomas Darrell became his own correspondent after this introduction: two years later, the dean wrote to him (now back in England) with the less-than-innocuous offer of hospitality to any young scholars looking to improve their French.[37]

The productive friendship constructed between the two men in 1591 had a dense under-girding of mutual advantage. Their initial reacquaintance was fuelled by a prior history and Standen's past services, but both men came swiftly to realise the rich potential of an ongoing professional relationship. This was, from an early modern perspective, an exemplary friendship of the useful, instrumental sort. If Francis Bacon later defined friendship in a high-minded fashion as only that relation 'when a man can say to himselfe, I love this man without respect of utility', his brother understood the term more capaciously.[38] The anxiety observable in Nicholas Faunt's earnest cultivation of a 'perfect' friendship with Anthony is entirely absent in Anthony's correspondence with Standen. They were conscious of, and comfortable with, their pronounced differences in status and religion: it was clear to both of them that their friendship comprised, and was demonstrated through, their shared professional objectives. As Standen wrote in September,

> Itt lyketh yow still to contynewe your good lykynge of me, as by ympartynge affayres that so nere do concerne yow, yow maketh sufficient shewe[;] yow can not do ytt to any that with more zeale and fydelytie will yelde yow the counterchange, and with more affection wyll serue yow, wherof I beseche yow be perswaded.[39]

[36] *HF*, 111–13.

[37] Thomas Darrell to AB, 20 March 1593, LPL MS 649, fol.93r, and the same to the same, 20 June 1593, fol.198r.

[38] Francis Bacon, 'Of Frendship', in the revised second edition of his essays published in 1612 (the essay on friendship was wholly re-written in 1625) (Michael Kiernan (ed.), *The Oxford Francis Bacon XV: The Essayes, or Counsells, Civill and Morall* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985, 2000), 80 (note) and 226–7).

[39] AS to AB, 1 September 1591, LPL MS 648, fol.94r.

The two men worked together to their shared advantage and we can see in Standen's prison letters an instrumental friendship at the moment of conception. What, then, was the use to which the two men put this instrumental friendship? As we will see, the men exploited their new connection to set up a close working relationship that made use of Standen's particular circumstances in his prison cell. His imprisonment was a frustrating experience for a man who saw himself as a free-wheeling 'rowlinge stone', but his incarceration nevertheless gave him the opportunity to establish a sophisticated dual-office intelligence operation with his new friend.

Writing Inside, Writing Outside

Reporting his delivery from misfortune to Lord Burghley in early June, Standen made the whole process of Anthony's intercession sound very simple, albeit one delayed by 'hys sycknes … whiche lasted some fyve monethes'. Presenting his friend's involvement as an act of altruism, Standen explained that 'lyke hymselfe he dyd not only adminyster succour to my extreme myserye but dyd also procuer aboute my enlargement' after he 'came to visyt me in this pryson'.[40] Anthony said something similar in his own letter to Burghley, when he explained that he had not wished to involve himself 'without first having spoken to him, which has been impossible for me until recently because of my sickness'.[41] Standen made no mention to Burghley of their prior acquaintanceship, or the services he had performed on Anthony's behalf, and indeed their past history has so far escaped notice. Standen's judicious elisions—it is likely he wanted to play down his activities as a servant of a foreign power—have obscured the highly pragmatic nature of their initial relationship, and the manner in which their close connection was formed. Despite establishing contact in the first week of April 1591, they did not in fact meet face-to-face until the end of May, by which time Anthony was already entirely committed to Standen's cause. This failure to meet was not through want of trying. From the start of their correspondence, Standen demonstrated his desire to converse 'by mouthe … att yowr nexte walkinge abrode', but Anthony's ill-health stopped him leaving the house.[42] By 24 May, they were still unable

[40] AS to WC, 12 June 1591, TNA SP 78/24, fol.206v.

[41] '… sans au prealable auoir parle a luy mesme le qui m'a este impossible que despuis peu de temps en ca a cause de ma maladie' (AB to WC, 15 June 1591, TNA SP 78/24, fol.228r).

[42] AS to AB, 8 April 1591, LPL MS 648, fol.27r.

to arrange a personal interview: so keen was Standen to meet that he had appealed to Marshal Matignon for permission to leave the prison under escort and visit Anthony at his lodging. The request was over-ruled by the city jurats (magistrates), who said instead that Bacon 'might comme to the prison'. Standen was unimpressed by this disingenuousness, concluding that the prospect of a meeting had fallen victim to city politics: 'To be short I see ytt is but a stratageme as the Marshall hath a buget [pocket] full, and my dowte ys … that the Norman [Matignon] hath sayde one to yow and an other to them [the jurats].'[43] Frustrating as they were, these practical obstructions had not prevented the two men from forming a robust alliance that Standen was forthright in celebrating: by 8 May, he paid tribute to their bond which was 'sufficient to cheyne' him to his friend.[44] For nearly two months, in fact, the relationship was conducted wholly by letter. Given their previous connection and the future potential of the friendship, Anthony was more than willing to commit himself to his new acquaintance without the reassurance of a face-to-face interview. Within days of first contact, he had made arrangements to have writing materials delivered to Standen, who returned the favour by covering the sheets of paper—from the same high-quality stock Anthony used in other correspondence—with such news and intelligence as he could gather from his cell, memoranda which he sent back to be filed away in Anthony's own collection of intelligence reports.[45] When, finally, they were able to converse in person in late May or early June, it seems likely that among the first topics of discussion was the best rhetorical strategy for Standen to adopt when writing his appeal to Lord Burghley, which he composed—possibly with Anthony's assistance—some days later.

Once Anthony had recovered sufficient strength to call on Standen, their relationship could encompass 'enterviewe[s] and speeches together' as well as frequently exchanged notes carried by Anthony's servants or by his companion, Thomas Lawson, an English Catholic who had recently returned to France from his own imprisonment in England.[46] Something about the traffic of foreigners into and out of Standen's cell discomfited

[43] AS to AB, 24 May 1591, LPL MS 648, fol.34v.

[44] AS to AB, 8 May 1591, LPL MS 648, fol.31r.

[45] The same watermark is observable in the paper used for Standen's holograph letters (LPL MS 648 fols.25, 27, 39, 41, 43, 47, 48, 54, 56, 58, 66 and 649 fol.479) and that used for Anthony's copies of his own letters (MS 648 fols.37–38, 45, 64, 130).

[46] AS to AB, 31 August 1591, LPL MS 648, fol.75r. For Lawson, see fols.31r and 98r and *GL*, 85.

the prison authorities, and in late June it was decided to disrupt his conferences by 'kepynge the doore agaynst yow [Anthony] and other my frendes'.[47] The bar was short-lived, especially after Standen engaged a Bordeaux lawyer to lobby the court de parlement (provincial high court) on his behalf, but the prison officials struck again in July, preventing entry to English visitors. Standen suggested the simple expedient of using Anthony's French servants as messengers, but the threat of these unexplained restrictions was only removed when the presiding judge of the parlement ruled that his 'punisshment was grievous ynoughe by this long durance, and that ytt was owte of all reason to denye accesse to my frendes whiche come to visit and comfort me'.[48]

The judge's liberal views come as something of a surprise. The idea that it is in principle wrong to deny a prisoner access to his supporters strikes us as the very opposite of effective carceral practice: such isolation is the point of a modern jail. The same view did not obtain in the sixteenth century. Standen's visitors were not regarded as undesirable per se. The obstructions placed in his way had their origin in a specific set of anxieties around his perceived identity and intentions arising from Lady Bacon's suspicions about her son's purposes. Already frustrated that Anthony was dragging his feet on the return journey to England, Lady Bacon was furious that he was now associating with a known Catholic traitor. And thanks to the chatter of English traders, the city authorities discovered that Anthony's mother had forbidden any merchants from engaging in business with her son, for fear that his acquaintance with the untrustworthy Standen marked an intention to 'slypp awaye to Rome' or throw in his lot with the League. The 'skyttishe and dowtefull' officials did what they could to frustrate these plans—until it became clear that the rumour was groundless. The 'clowdye procedinges' against Standen and Anthony were not reflective of a general belief in prison security as such.[49] Indeed, the varied responses of the city officials suggest that Standen instead had fallen victim to the fractured urban politics of early modern France: with authority in Bordeaux

[47] AS to AB, n.d. June 1591, LPL MS 648, fol.39r and 25 June 1591, fol.41r.

[48] AS to AB, 21 July 1591, LPL MS 648, fol.63r and 29 July 1591, fol.58r.

[49] Lady Bacon's efforts to frustrate her son's activities are vividly described in a letter from AS to Edward Selwyn (5 September 1591, LPL MS 648 fols.86–87 (copy)), and with rather more respect in AS to AB, 31 August 1591, LPL MS 648, fol.75r. Anthony himself wrote to Lord Burghley that the 'hatred and malice of certain individuals' ('la haine et malice de quelques particuliers') was to blame for Standen's isolation (AB to WC, 30 June 1591, TNA SP 78/24, fol.302r).

shared among various groups of jurats, the regional court de parlement and the royally-appointed officials, including the governor of the province, it was not immediately clear to Standen who was responsible for his two bouts of enforced isolation. In June, the cadre of jurats who represented the town's merchant community had assured him that they had nothing 'to do with me nether dyd … any of them empeche ether yow [Anthony] or any other to visyt me', but nor were they in a position to illuminate Standen further. 'What motyve this hathe byn or what strategeme ytt is is I vnderstand not', he confessed.[50]

In truth, the nature of Standen's imprisonment varied from conditions that might accord with our idea of a dungeon, to a relatively civilised mode of living characterised as carceral only by the denial of liberty. Devoid of light, the means to write and any facility for washing or repairing his clothes, Standen's privations before Anthony's intervention were certainly hard. Although Anthony could not do much about the inherent discomforts of restraint—by the start of summer, conditions in Standen's sweltering cell were intolerable, 'this *beau printemps* mak[ing] me envye those that posses lybertie my prison nowe being lothesome'—his provision of clothes, writing materials and other personal effects rendered Standen's imprisonment not much more onerous than Anthony's own confinement to the sickroom.[51] One significant point in favour of Standen's accommodation was its location in an establishment known as the *maison commune* or town house, a municipal facility shared by the city authorities. Other prisons existed in Bordeaux—in the middle of his unexplained isolation, Standen pondered requesting a transfer to 'the Conciergerie the prison of the Parlayment … althoughe the prison ys nothinge so commodious'—but as a foreigner imprisoned for political reasons, he was detained by the holders of executive and legislative power in the province.[52] This did not mean, however, that his restraint was necessarily more strict or supervised. Money (or at least credit) was the determining factor in the degree of comfort and freedom enjoyed by the inmates of a prison.[53] Anthony's help

[50] AS to AB, n.d. June 1591, LPL MS 648, fol.39r; Janine Garrisson, *A History of Sixteenth-Century France, 1483–1598: Renaissance, Reformation and Rebellion*, trans. Richard Rex (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1991), 33.

[51] AS to AB, n.d. spring 1591, LPL MS 648, fol.144r.

[52] AS to AB, 25 June 1591, LPL MS 648, fol.41r.

[53] Ruth Ahnert, *The Rise of Prison Literature in the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 8–28; Thomas S. Freeman, 'The Rise of Prison Literature', *Huntington Library Quarterly* special edition 72:2 (2009); Deborah E. Harkness,

meant more than hope of release: it meant a very real improvement in Standen's manner of living. As he admitted to Burghley, he was 'bounde to good Master Bacon for his sundrye favours and comfortes in this my depe necessity', and when the door was barred against his English visitors in the summer Standen was thrown into a panic that his only source of support might be cut off.[54] He wrote that he was 'voyde of reliefe but by yowr meanes' and expressed utter bewilderment that he should be used so harshly *despite* his ability to pay for reasonable treatment. He was in 'anguysshe of mynde about these procedinges' and admitted to uncharacteristic despair: 'pardon me good Syr for I am owte of square and knowe not what I wryte'.[55] Far more typical of his prison experience was the lifestyle he enjoyed for most of the time he benefited from Anthony's help: free access to messengers and visitors, personal supplies of paper and ink, the ability to mingle with other prisoners and respectful treatment from prison staff—all guaranteed by Anthony's purse.

The productive freedoms Standen enjoyed thanks to Anthony's patronage are reflected in the nature and quality of the letters he composed during this period. Written from what Standen termed his 'miserable prison', they are nonetheless remarkably elegant documents.[56] He made lavish use of paper, almost always using a full folio sheet, even if he only covered half a leaf. He was assiduous in adhering to the epistolary conventions that governed letters to a superior or patron: wide, straight margins and as much blank paper-space between the main letter-text and the salutation and subscription as the contents of the letter allowed.[57] He rarely blotted a line: his ink was smooth and his pens well sharpened. His letters were written in repose, on a flat surface and with a well-supplied writing desk.

The Jewel House: Elizabethan London and the Scientific Revolution (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 181–210; Norman Johnston, *Forms of Restraint: A History of Prison Architecture* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2000); Edward Douglas Pendry, *Elizabethan Prisons and Prisons Scenes. Salzburg Studies in English Literature: Elizabethan and Renaissance Studies* 17, 2 vols. (Salzburg: Universität Salzburg, 1974), vol. 2. Studies in English of prison culture on the continent are few, and include Monika Fludernik and Greta Olson (eds), *In the Grip of the Law: Trials, Prisons and the Space Between* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2004) and Pieter Spierenburg, *The Prison Experience: Disciplinary Institutions and Their Inmates in Early Modern Europe* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2007).

[54] AS to WC, 12 June 1591, TNA 78/24, fol.207v.

[55] AS to AB, 25 June 1591, LPL MS 648, fol.41r.

[56] 'Miserable prison' comes from AS to AB, 8 April 1591, LPL MS 648, fol.27v, but similar sentiments are scattered through the corpus of letters.

[57] Jonathan Gibson, 'Significant Space'; Daybell, *Material Letter in Early Modern England*, 98.

All of this neatness required equipment—not just paper, ink and pens, but a penknife, a rule, an inkwell or inkhorn, a pounce-box or sander, and occasionally sealing wax and thread (his letters to Anthony were usually sent unsealed). It could only have been provided by Bacon's means.[58]

In comparison, the letters of an agent who wrote from prison without the kind of support enjoyed by Standen are contrastingly scrappy. Those from William Herle to William Cecil (newly ennobled as Lord Burghley) written in the Marshalsea in 1571, have been examined by Robyn Adams, who found them to be in the sort of condition that 'betrays their provenance, hastily written on cheap, illicitly procured paper and then stuffed into damp corners to evade scrutiny'. Adams drew attention to the dense paragraphs of crabbed writing, the written-over margins and the absence of appropriate salutation or subscription.[59] Herle's letters are not necessarily what prison letters 'should' look like. His were written in a certain context, Standen's another—and we have seen that prior to Anthony's help he was 'depryved of all meanes to wryte or to haue intelligence'.[60] But the handsome documents Standen was able to produce with the right external support suggest something more than success against the odds in writing and dispatching letters under conditions of duress. They point to an opportunity to perform extended and concentrated acts of textual composition in a prison environment, activities which constituted the firm foundation of friendship that Standen was able to construct with Anthony.

In fact, thanks to the blunt workings of both early modern capitalism and sixteenth-century sectarian politics, prison populations across the continent had become very much more literate, composed of a higher proportion of educated debtors and recusants than ever before. People imprisoned for their religious belief or financial insolvency were minded to read, write and communicate with fellow prisoners and the outside world.[61] By the end of the sixteenth century, prisons had come to be regarded as wholly unexceptional sites of textual production. In an account of incarceration in London's Wood Street Counter, *The Comptor's Common-wealth* (1617), William Fennor claimed he was motivated to write down his thoughts on prison life when he spied by chance 'a standish and a sheet of vndefiled

[58] Michael Finlay, *Western Writing Implements in the Age of the Quill Pen* (Wetheral: Plains Books, 1990), 8–39, 59–62.

[59] Robyn Adams, '"The Service I am Here for": William Herle in the Marshalsea Prison, 1571', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 72:2 (2009), 217–38, 217–18.

[60] AS to WC, 12 June 1591, TNA 78/24, fol.206v.

[61] Ahnert, *Rise of Prison Literature*, 2–3.

paper' in a corner of the cell. This amenity was regarded by Fennor as unremarkable, and he did not scruple to make use of it.[62] He had, perhaps, been led to expect such facilities from a previous generation of prison writers. Earlier works had explored the notion that imprisonment offered a chance to read, write and reflect. John Harrington, imprisoned in the Tower of London in 1549 for his part in Thomas Seymour's attempted coup, 'gave himself' over to learning French, 'hauyng both skilful prisoners to enstruct me, and therto plenty of books to learne the language'. The text upon which he tested his new acquisition was, fittingly, a French translation of Cicero's *De amicitia*, and he caused his work to be 'conferred with the latine auctor, and so by the knowen wel lerned to be corrected': so full were London's prisons at that time with cultured Latinists and their libraries, that Harrington could subject his text to peer-review without leaving his cell.[63] Another prisoner, the 'Gentleman' in Thomas Savile's philosophical dialogue *The Prisoners Conference*, insisted that it was 'no disgrace at all' for men to spend time locked up, presenting the experience instead as a chance for them to develop godly patience, silence and meekness, to study 'the things which in their libertie they coulde not learne'.[64] When seventeenth-century literary wits (who were themselves frequently not unfamiliar with the inside of a cell) characterised London's prisons as universities or academies of roguery, they were not simply drawing on street-jests or canting slang: there was a real sense that prisons housed textual and literary activity of all kinds.[65]

One of the main reasons for this, recorded most fully in England, was the widespread imprisonment of religious dissenters, begun on a large scale by Mary I (John Foxe piously claimed that so many Protestants were locked up that 'almost all the prisones in England were become ryghte

[62] William Fennor, *The Compters Common-wealth* (London: Edward Griffin for George Gibbes, 1617), sig.C1r; Peter Beal, *A Dictionary of Manuscript Terminology 1450–2000* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 203–4; Finlay, *Western Writing Implements*, 35–9.

[63] John Harrington (trans. and ed.), *Booke of freendeship of Marcus Tullie Cicero* (London: Tho. Berthelette, 1550), sigs.A2v and A4r. The French edition Harrington used was Jean Collin (trans. and ed.), *Le Livre de Amytié de Ciceron* (Paris, 1537).

[64] [Thomas Savile], *The Prisoners Conference. Handled by way of a Dialogue, between a Knight and a Gentleman, being abridged of their liberty* (London: William Jaggard, 1605) (facsimile edition, *The English Experience* 486, Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum Ltd, 1974), sigs. A3v and B1v.

[65] Pendry explains that it was a 'standing joke' that prison was a school for felons and debtors. Thomas Middleton used it at least three times, in *Michaelmas Term*, *The Phoenix* and *The Roaring Girle* (*Elizabethan Prisons*, 271).

Christian Scholes') and copied by Elizabeth from the 1580s.[66] The entry of literate, committed theologians into general-use prisons brought about a concomitant intellectualising of the prison environment, and the creation of networks of communication and exchange among imprisoned co-religionists. Thomas Freeman and Ruth Ahnert have revealed the extent of the scribal networks established by Protestant inmates under Mary, and the anti-Catholic repression in the latter half of Elizabeth's reign saw similar practices developed by imprisoned recusants.[67] In 1583, John Aylmer, Bishop of London, complained that the Catholics imprisoned in the Marshalsea had contrived to 'saye Masse with in the prison, and intise the yowthe of London vnto them'. They lived, Aylmer noted in exasperation, 'as it weare in a Colledge of Caitifes'.[68] It was not just prisoners held in the same institution who were able to recreate some semblance of collegiate unity. When the leading Jesuit, Edmund Campion, was executed in December 1581, he left behind a catalogue of the books he had kept in his Tower cell, with instructions for their delivery to a variety of legatees. The books may or may not have been bestowed as he wished, but the fact that he anticipated that '150 Iesus psalters' would be placed into the hands of one 'Mr Brunnell prisoner in the Marshelsye', along with bequests to at least five other imprisoned Catholics, tells us that Campion regarded himself as a member of an inter-prison religious community, identified and sustained in part at least by the exchange of books.[69] Such examples suggest that the perception of prison as a place where writing could take place was common and unremarkable. Whether this belief was shared by the governors of Standen's Bordeaux jail is another matter, but his involvement in textual production of various sorts while under their supervision renders the question moot: there is no question that Standen himself recognised and exploited the opportunities for writing and communication his prison afforded him. Indeed, it may be the case that the practices of prison writ-

[66] John Foxe, *Actes and Monuments*, 1563, sig.3D1r (*The Unabridged Acts and Monuments Online* (HRI Online Publications, Sheffield, 2011), http://www.johnfoxe.org (accessed 18 August 2015), and cited in Pendry, *Elizabethan Prisons*, 270).

[67] Thomas S. Freeman, 'Publish and perish: the scribal culture of the Marian Martyrs', in Julia Crick and Alexandra Walsham (eds), *The Uses of Script and Print, 1300–1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 235–54; Ahnert, *Rise of Prison Literature*, chs. 2, 3 and 4.

[68] John Aylmer, Bishop of London, to WC, 5 December 1583, BL MS Lansdowne 38, fol.212r.

[69] BL MS Lansdowne 33, fol.152r.

ing were a familiar theme by the 1590s: the two major Christian churches had by this point well-established martyrological narratives that celebrated the textual activities of their imprisoned brethren. Standen, the imprisoned Catholic, and Anthony, the son of leading Protestant reformers, might well have been ruefully aware that their activities echoed those of both the Marian martyrs and English Catholic prisoners.

Certainly Standen was not the only inmate to read and write in his prison. As early as May, he asked Anthony to forward mail for a 'close prisoner a poore Scottisshe youthe', and in September he smuggled out a seditious book belonging to another captive on Anthony's instructions—without the consent of its owner.[70] Writing of various sorts also circulated inside the prison. In April or May, Standen lent 'a pece of a descent of owr englisshe and of the skottisshe kynges' that he had composed to one Phillip Conier to copy, who then left without returning the original.[71] The identity of Conier is unclear—he may have been an inmate, visitor or keeper—but the politically freighted acts of writing, duplicating and distributing a genealogical analysis of Tudor and Stuart dynasties suggest that Standen was aware of the opportunities available to him in a foreign jail. Reflecting on the succession was a criminal offence under English law; within his French cell Standen could speculate with impunity. The examples of a trafficked letter, a shared book and a seditious genealogy point to the existence of an information economy within his jail, and one that offered its own form of intellectual liberty. The Bordeaux prison did not perhaps support a textual culture to the same degree as those sustained inside English jails that contained communities of confined recusants, but we see in Standen's letters evidence of an identifiable network nonetheless.

It was such lines of exchange that Anthony and Standen were able to exploit when they started communicating, and then working together, in the spring and summer of 1591—and the dozens of carefully written letters that survive are the most compelling evidence for a prevailing textual culture in Standen's jail. We have already seen that numerous factors, including Anthony's lameness and the intermittent embargo on visitors, conspired to make the initial friendship between the two men almost entirely epistolary. This state of affairs was not permanent, but their letters remained the main medium through which the relationship was articulated, not least because they carried the intelligence material which

[70] AS to AB, 24 May 1591, LPL MS 648, fol.33r and 27 September, fol.90r.
[71] AS to AB, n.d. Spring 1591, LPL MS 648, fol.142r.

constituted the primary reason for that relationship. Anthony was the conduit through which Standen's writings passed, and the means by which he effected the transfer of information from within the prison to the outside world. Standen's letters were carried by Anthony's servants; Anthony's own letters to Lord Burghley incorporated content provided by Standen: as he wrote to his uncle, 'I know, my Lord, of no other events … that are worthy to be written, except those which I have received in the past few days from the poor gentleman-prisoner.'[72] Beyond this, he granted Standen's letters a degree of archival permanence, saving not only those addressed to him but preserving as copies in either his own hand or that of a servant communications with Burghley, Selwyn and two recipients in France, an English merchant named Bringborne and a nun called Jeanne de Charnoq (whom Standen thanked for her kind provision of some 'exquisite nutmeg'—a thoughtful gift intended to palliate the smell of his airless prison).[73] It is possible that among Anthony's other favours he also provided a sort of scribal support service, keeping copies of important documents secure while Standen was locked inside or, subsequently, on the road. Standen later recalled that his peripatetic lifestyle made keeping track of his belongings difficult: 'by my tossinge to and fro in the maner I lyve I myght be deprived of … many thinges I lefte behinde me'.[74] As the example of Philip Cornier shows, paperwork may not have been safe from curious or light-fingered fellow inmates, and Thomas Freeman has explained that such copying services had precedents among communities of imprisoned co-religionists.[75] Standen certainly recycled his own letters. When in June he wished to persuade the court de parlement to lift the restrictions that had been placed on his visiting rights, he copied out 'the same letter I sent … to my lorde Tresorer and adioyned somme other halfe lefe aboute their vsage of myne in Spayne in not sekinge to delyuer me'.[76]

Anthony did not just keep documents safe for his new friend. The two men collaborated on letters home, working together to ensure a consistency of tone and argument in their effort to persuade Burghley that

[72] 'D'autres occurences … ie nen scay point Mon Seigneur qui meritent l'escrire sinon celles que i'ay receues ces iours passes du pauure Gentilhomme prisonnier' (AB to AC, 20 June 1591, TNA SP 78/24, fol.239r).

[73] AS to Jeanne de Charnoq, 27 August 1591, LPL MS 648, fol.77r (copy); AS to Bringbourne, 6 August 1591, fol.74r (copy).

[74] AS to AB, 8 September 1592, LPL MS 648, fol.246r (partly ciphered).

[75] Freeman, 'Publish and Perish', 241–3.

[76] AS to AB, 28 June 1591, LPL MS 648, fol.48r.

a Bacon–Standen alliance would be to the benefit of English intelligence. A letter from Standen to Burghley dated 12 June according to the witness in Standen's hand now in the National Archives, exists in another form in Lambeth Palace Library. This witness is in Anthony's writing, and bears a date four days earlier than the copy sent to Lord Burghley. Numerous minor variations of style, syntax and content suggest that the two witnesses represent stages in a compositional process that was shared.[77] Evidence of authorial collaboration between Standen and Anthony is to be found elsewhere. When, in September, Standen wrote to Edward Selwyn, he sent a draft of the letter to Anthony with a covering note, 'prayinge yow to deface and put downe what yow shall iudge to be eyther wantynge or superfluous'.[78] A copy of the finished letter, not in Standen's hand, survives in the Lambeth papers. The voice is Standen's alone: if Anthony made any alterations to the draft, they were absorbed silently.[79] The exchange was not one-way. Standen read and commented on Anthony's letters too—including those to his family, who were of course crucial in ensuring the successful reintegration of both men into the English intelligence system. Standen commended a letter to Lady Bacon, also in September, for the 'pythynes [pithiness] of the matter [and] the decent termes', reading over the letter 'more then ones … to my grete contentment' and offering an adage on female wisdom he ascribed to the queen of Scots that one hopes never found its way into any document intended for Anthony's scholarly mother: one should never, advised Standen, 'tell a woman she is learned and wise, only that she is less foolish than the rest, for all women incline to folly'.[80]

Such instances of overt co-authorship and the presence within Anthony's papers of letters written by Standen but destined for others point to a culture sustained by the two men of shared epistolary ownership, itself a manifestation of friendly intimacy: with congruent professional objectives, they collaborated on letters that furthered their ambitions. This collaboration might be disguised in the final draft of a letter, or it might be visible as a token of their partnership. Having written to William Waad,

[77] AS to WC, 12 June 1591, TNA SP 78/24, fols.206–208 and AS to WC, 7/8 June 1591, LPL MS 648, fols.37–38 (copy?).

[78] AS to AB, 5 September 1591, LPL MS 648, fol.96r.

[79] AS to Edward Selwyn, 5 September 1591, LPL MS 648, fols.86–87v (copy).

[80] '[N]e dittes iamais que c'est vne femme aduisee et sage, mais dittes qu'elle est moyns folle que les autres, car touttes en tiennent de la follie,' AS to AB, 1 September 1591, LPL MS 648, fol.94r.

one of the clerks of the Privy Council, Standen entreated Anthony to make use of 'the letter edge to wryte also some fewe wourdes vnto hym'. The finished letter in this case would bear evidence of textual (if not spatial) intimacy: Standen and Anthony contributed to the shared space of the page, constructing a joint message even if the words themselves were individually subscribed. The instruction also suggests how Standen handed over his letters for dispatch: unsealed, and therefore readable, copyable and amendable. The transfer of a letter to Anthony was itself a stage in the compositional process.[81]

Scholars of epistolary culture in the sixteenth century increasingly regard it as an age in which neither the composition nor the reception of letters was necessarily private: a letter might be written out as a fair copy by a scribe, or indeed conceived by a secretary on the very general instructions of the signatory (who may or may not have actually signed the finished letter); the letter, when received, might be read silently in the presence of the bearer, read aloud to a circle of listeners, or shared among a social network for the news it contained or the testamentary signs of intimacy and favour it carried. The act of writing a letter could be a complex and collaborative process, for the uneducated as well as the elite (while the former might require the help of experts to write or read a letter, the latter might choose to employ their services as a sign of prestige).[82] This developing understanding of early modern epistolarity overlaps with new insights into the practices of friendship as well as the literary culture of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century prisons. Literary works by elite figures such as Thomas Wyatt, John Harington and Walter Ralegh have long been read with an awareness that their authors laboured under the constraints of (relatively comfortable) political imprisonment.[83] More recent scholarship has offered a broader view, examining material by obscure prisoners or those whose prison writings tended towards the non-literary. Ruth Ahnert has analysed prison graffiti, and marginal inscription in texts that accompanied Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset, and Jane Grey to their

[81] AS to AB, 28 June 1591, LPL MS 648, fol.48r.

[82] Daybell, *Material Letter in Early Modern England*, 9–10, 12.

[83] Arthur F. Marotti, *Manuscript, Print and the English Renaissance Lyric* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), 1–10 and 82–112. On Wyatt: H. A. Mason, *Sir Thomas Wyatt A Literary Portrait* (Bristol: Bristol Classical Press, 1986). On Harington: Ruth Hughey, *John Harington of Stepney: Tudor Gentleman. His Life and Works* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1971). On Ralegh: Margaret Irwin, *That Great Lucifer: A Portrait of Sir Walter Ralegh* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1962).

prisons, suggesting that prisoners were able to use writing to assert themselves or their cause and create a community despite the restrictions of imprisonment.[84] Molly Murray, in her study of lesser-known prison poets, has shown that the early modern prison writer 'was not always—or even usually—a solitary figure, and his turn to pen and ink did not always mean defying the rules of his captivity. Instead, he was part of a culture that was both highly social and profoundly, if unsystematically, textual.' Her study of London's prison culture reveals a vibrantly irregular world that she identifies as an important site of textual production, one that 'ought to be considered alongside the court and the university' as a place of significant literary activity.[85] Deborah E. Harkness suggests something similar in her examination of Clement Draper's prison notebooks, noting that Draper managed to sustain a 'lively intellectual community' of natural philosophers during his 13-year imprisonment for debt. With little else to do, he 'began a programme of reading and writing, discussed his intellectual interests with members of the prison community, and even conducted experiments'.[86]

The idea of prison as a place of writing has become a familiar one, and we no longer start with surprise at the list of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century writers (typically dramatists) who spent time in prison: Tourneur, Jonson, Chapman, Dekker, Marston, and so on. What marks the textual activity of Standen and Anthony as unusual is the degree to which the two writers were able to ignore the restrictions imposed by confinement—Anthony too was routinely 'imprisoned' in his lodgings by gout and other illnesses—and conduct a shared textual project seemingly in despite of the physical barriers between them. They exploited the collaborative capacity of the early modern letter and the textual opportunities available in the early modern prison. They managed to work together to write letters that pertained to both of them, their friendship inscribing itself in letters that were mutually conceived, drafted by one, edited by the other, and copied and filed by Anthony. Their letters, then, did not just pass through the prison wall. They were composed and edited in the virtual textual

[84] Ruth Ahnert, 'Writing in the Tower of London during the Reformation, ca. 1530–1558', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 72:2 (2009), 168–92; Ahnert, *Rise of Prison Literature*, 33–59.

[85] Molly Murray, 'Measured Sentences: Forming Literature in the Early Modern Prison', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 72:2 (2009), 147–67, 150 and 157.

[86] Harkness, *Jewel House*, 191.

space between them. Anthony Standen was an attractive figure to Anthony Bacon not simply because of his political knowledge and connections. His enforced residence in the prison of Bordeaux's *maison commune* was in itself an opportunity to establish the kind of friendly association that would serve their interests with their patrons back home. Standen's prison did not merely provide a writing space. It was also in itself a source for information and intelligence of many kinds, to which Standen's friendly ear eagerly inclined.

'This Little Cell Where He Is Lodged, I Mean the Universe'

Standen's incarceration was not, for all its frustrations, a hindrance to the working friendship he established with Anthony. In certain respects, his imprisonment was actively beneficial to the creation of a partnership based on the gathering and transacting of intelligence. His prison was a busy, loquacious and productive space that gave him privileged access to political discourse of various kinds. For a man whose stock-in-trade was the ability to establish easy acquaintanceship with the aim of extracting useful information, the prison offered a richly rewarding environment. Notwithstanding the special features of Standen's prison within the political headquarters of the city of Bordeaux, prisons had proverbial currency as sites of unfettered social interaction, potentially disorderly spaces in which choosing trustworthy friends was of prime importance.

Despite the obvious limitations it placed on one's freedom of movement, being held in an early modern prison was not the isolating experience modern incarceration tends to be.[87] For all Standen's discomfort, he was able to pass on an astonishing amount of up-to-date intelligence relating to affairs in Bordeaux, Guyenne, and the country at large. As Anthony told Lord Burghley in June, 'even locked up as he is, nothing happens to the advantage of Spain or the League of which he is not immediately

[87] The term 'antipanopticon' has been used to describe the early modern prison, asserting its fundamental difference from the Benthamite ideal penitentiary of modern times (Michael Collins, 'The Antipanopticon of Etheridge Knight', *Publications of the Modern Library Association of America* 123 (2008), 580–97; Murray, 'Measured Sentences', 152; Ahnert, *Rise of Prison Literature*, 10).

aware'.[88] The past fruits of his 'practice and conversation abroade' yielded valuable data, such as a list of English pensioners in Spain, but of far more immediate relevance was news of current events.[89] Standen provided information about the rebellious town of Blaye, where the mayor Jean Paul d'Esparbey de Lussan was obstructing English shipping on the Gironde; the movements of Marshal Matignon and his royalist forces; skirmishes against the League; the location of the king; changes to customs rates and trading practices at Rouen; and the activities of the Spanish on the France-Spain border.[90] He even managed to pass on intelligence of Fernando de Toledo's intended assault on Bayonne, the seriousness of which was betokened by Standen's wish that 'my Lorde your vncle had presently this [letter] in his hande'.[91] The majority of the material he sent to Anthony was intended for Lord Burghley, either destined to be sent directly to the Lord Treasurer as stand-alone 'Instructions', or incorporated into Anthony's own letters to his uncle.[92] In contrast to the intelligence he was later able to send home when he was under cover in Spain, which frequently arrived late and stale, Standen's dispatch to Burghley of 15 June, sent with his speculative first letter, could not have been more timely or more likely to provoke alarm: he reported that a fleet of 23 Spanish vessels awaited transport from the shipyards of Pasajes to a secret destination in France, probably Blavet in Brittany, where the Spanish base had lately been fortified. It was widely believed that Spain had seized Blavet as a staging-post for a proposed invasion of England. In May, the queen had ordered a review of coastal defences, and the lords-lieutenant of the southern counties had mustered trained bands to beat back an anticipated amphibious assault. If the notice was a testament of Standen's knowledge and his value to the English state, the news was well

[88] 'Tout inferme qu'il est rien ne se passe pour l'aduantage de l'Espagnol et de la ligue qu'il n'en soit quant et quant aduerti' (AB to WC, 15 June 1591, TNA SP 78/24, fol.228r).

[89] Standen sent Anthony a list of such English pensioners in Spain as he could remember, 'my memorye extendinge no farther', at some point during his captivity (LPL MS 648, fol.144r).

[90] Blaye (LPL MS 648, fols. 34r, 82r-v and 102r), Matignon (fol.31r), Henri IV (fol.33r), Rouen (fol.72r), Spain (fols. 89r and 93r).

[91] AS to AB, 20[?] September 1591, LPL MS 648, fol.89r.

[92] AS, 'Instructions', 15 and 28 June 1591, LPL MS 648, fol.51r (copy). In June, Standen told Anthony about a student who had been arrested for possessing a seditious pamphlet printed in Agen (AS to AB, n.d. June 1591, LPL MS 648, fol.43r), a piece of news that Anthony incorporated into his letter to Burghley (AB to WC, 20 June 1591, TNA SP 78/24, fol.239r-v).

chosen—and arrestingly up-to-date for a man who had been incarcerated since the previous August.[93]

We should not imagine that Standen was cut off from the busy chatter of the town just because he was in prison. He was held within a municipal building. Pages, messengers and city officials jostled with guards and inmates in accommodation that was evidently neither particularly secure nor particularly sound-proof. Prison staff did not by any measure observe confidentiality—and nor was there an assumption that they should. Standen's keeper was so free with gossip and intelligence that he referred to him as 'Monsieur Oracle'. The talkative guard informed Standen of a murderous attack on the city of Toulouse in June when Spanish forces with the collusion of the League beheaded numerous royalist supporters, and two months later furnished him with the latest regarding the Norman city of Rouen, soon to be besieged by a joint English-French force.[94] It is likely that Monsieur Oracle kept Standen up to speed with the conciliar discussions taking place elsewhere in the *maison commune*. Certainly Standen was able to report on 19 August that 'yesterdaye in the mornynge and after none these Iurates sate here thryce about the matter of Blaye and Royan', but it is also possible that such information came from the city officials directly.[95] When in September he described an unsatisfactory meeting among 'these Iurates and townsmen' about the disruptive Monsieur de Lussan, Standen's account seems positively first-hand: de Lussan, 'euery daye encreasinge and hausynge [hoising] hys stypend', had piled demand on demand until the council 'are in dispayre and cursse hym and Blaye and wisshe the towne and hym bothe in the bottom of the sea'.[96] In his months of imprisonment Standen had made a good impression on his captors: he had won the high regard of most of the members of the court de parlement, and it seems that he had sufficient freedom of movement in his prison as to be able to intercept and converse with other

[93] AS, 'Instructions', 15 and 18 June 1591, LPL MS 648, fol.51r. Later, in March 1593, Anthony was obliged to inform Standen, undercover in northern Spain, that the queen 'wold haue me let you know that she liketh wel of your advertisements if they moght come in season adding therto that an apple in tyme was better then an apple of gould out of tyme' (AB to AS, 14 March 1592/3, LPL MS 649, fol.161r).

[94] 'Instructions', LPL MS 648 fol.51r; AS to AB, 16 August 1591, LPL MS 648, fol.72r.

[95] AS to AB, 19 August 1591, LPL MS 648, fol.71r.

[96] AS to AB, 20 September 1591, LPL MS 648, fol.82r-v.

officials at will.[97] When, in May, Standen wanted to obtain leave to visit Anthony in his lodgings, he used this proximity to press his case, cornering one jurat 'as this mornynge [he] entred the towne house'.[98]

With the exception of the brief periods of restraint imposed by the prison authorities in June and July, Standen was generally free to receive visitors. He may have been locked up, but that very loss of liberty rendered him permanently available. 'I am in a place,' he remarked drily, 'where all men may haue accesse to me.'[99] The ready accessibility of Standen's prison was exploited by Anthony, who invited his own contacts to meet his new friend: 'I desier if ytt please yow to sende me in wrytinge the name of the Scottisshe gentleman that came yesterdaye to visyt yow and me,' Standen wrote in September.[100] It was not only his own visitors who brought news. As he explained to Edward Selwyn, 'many do resorte to visit their afflicted frendes, wherby I here sundry speeches'.[101] Even an inmate who had no desire to listen to other people's conversations would have struggled to avoid eavesdropping in a cramped early modern jail. Gossip ran swiftly around the prison chambers. For almost everyone other than the inmates themselves, prisons were wholly permeable institutions (even prisoners themselves might hope to be granted the occasional exeat). Local businesses provided services to those prisoners able to pay—laundresses, tapsters and kitchen-boys were as likely to throng Standen's prison as wardens and inmates. Standen may have been fortunate that his incarceration was passed in a public building that gave him plenty of opportunities to eavesdrop and survey, but in its busy-ness his prison was not unique. The early modern urban prison was fully integrated into the economic and social life of the local community.

It was not just the ease with which prisons could be penetrated by outsiders that rendered them socially mixed spaces. Imprisonment for debt and religious offences created a new sort of literate, textually-productive prisoner in the early modern period. Such factors also changed the social composition of prisons, from places holding the poor and wretched (typi-

[97] 'Even during his misfortune he has been lucky enough to have won over the greater part of those who have been to see him, indeed his judges [and] even the principal members of this court' ('durant son malheur mesmes il a este si heureux que d'auoir gaigne la plus part de celle qui l'ont veu et frequente; voire ses iuges mesme les principaux de ceste court') (AB to WC, 15 June 1591, TNA SP 78/24, fol.228r).

[98] AS to AB, 24 May 1591, LPL MS 648, fol.33r.

[99] AS to Mr Bringbourne, 6 August 1591 (copy), LPL MS 648, fol.74r.

[100] AS to AB, 5 September 1591, LPL MS 648, fol.96r.

[101] AS to Edward Selwyn, 5 September 1591, LPL MS 648, fol. 86r (copy).

cal of prisons in the medieval period, and today) to institutions that were to a certain degree reflective of the societies they served. It was a commonplace that all men might find themselves on the wrong side of the prison gates, and a sad fact of life that many men did—a situation that was exacerbated in the confusion of wartime France.[102] By the end of the sixteenth century, prisons had acquired an unwelcome reputation for inclusivity. Geffray Minshall, imprisoned as an indebted law student, warned that 'men of all conditions are forced in prison, as all rivers run into the sea'.[103] So universal was the threat of imprisonment that authors and booksellers in England responded with texts that demystified the prison experience. William Fennor's *The Compters Common-wealth* took its generic cue from travel narratives, offering a practical guide to surviving the 'Infernall Iland' of the Wood Street Counter, a place familiar to a wide constituency of unfortunates including 'all … heedlesse and headlesse young Gentlemen … of what art or fashion soeuer'. Fennor's subtitle—'A voiage made to an Infernall Iland long since discouered by many Captaines, Seafaringmen, Gentlemen, Marchants; and other Tradesmen: [with] … the conditions, Natures, and qualities of the people there inhabiting, and of those that trafficke with them'—drew its wit from the suggestion that England's newly-thriving merchant-adventurers need not risk the high seas to circumnavigate the whole world.[104] They would find the full panoply of life in the nearest jail. Geffray Minshall used similar cartographical imagery in his *Essayes*. Prison for him was a 'Microcosmus, a little world of woe … a map of misery.'[105] Blaise Pascal was co-opting a familiar trope when he later adopted the *cachot* (dungeon) as a symbol for earthly life, although to admittedly different philosophical ends: 'this little cell where he is lodged—I mean the universe'.[106] Whatever his other privations, Standen was not withdrawn from the world during his 14 months in custody.

If prisons did have a disarming foreignness for most early modern men and women, it lay in their unsettling combination of social inclusiveness and incipient disorder—a factor that for anyone not open to the advantages of friendship formation was disturbingly alien. The hazard in

[102] Fludernik and Olson, *In the Grip of the Law*, xxvi.

[103] Minshall, *Essayes and Characters,* sig.D1r.

[104] Fennor, *Compters Common-wealth,* title-page.

[105] Minshall, *Essayes and Characters*, sig. B2r.

[106] 'Ce petit cachot où il se trouve logé, j'entends l'univers', Pascal, *Pensées*, quoted in Victor Brombert, *The Romantic Prison: The French Tradition* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), 19.

a prison that contained the whole world was that social distinctions might get lost in the squeeze. The writer and rogue Luke Hutton pointed to the levelling effect of incarceration in his surreal poem, *The Black Dogge of Newgate*: 'hether welcome are both bad and best./Men of all sorts come for offending hether,/And being heare, heare bide they altogether.'[107] In *The Counter-Scuffle*, a mock-heroic ballad celebrating a food fight during Lent at the Wood Street Counter, the author ascribed the cause of the disturbance in part to the hugger-mugger lodging of men of varying characters and humours: 'Boyes that did vse to royst and rore' were obliged to share accommodation with 'men of sober dyet/Who lou'd to fill their guts in quiet.'[108] When William Fennor joined his fellow debtors for dinner at the same prison, he was surprised that the meal was served as 'in an ordinary': 'each man sate downe without respecting of persons'.[109]

The perception that prisons inculcated a strain of egalitarianism was a fantasy. Like all private institutions, users could buy certain privileges, the most needful being privacy and comfort. But the fantasy suggests the nature of the anxiety that did surround prison in the early modern mind—that among the other degradations of prison life, incarceration compelled men of all classes to share a certain lifestyle and mode of living. This was a humiliation felt more keenly by men who had further to fall. A gentleman might be forced to bunk with a 'broken-citizen' because he had run out of money to pay for preferential treatment. Among the prisoners held for recusancy or debt, it could only be the middling or lower sort who stood to benefit from a mingling of the social classes.[110]

As institutions enclosing a cross-section of society subjected to a levelling of social distinctions, prisons provided fertile ground for the development of the instrumental friendships that supported the work of an intelligencer. So too did the well-testified tendency of prisoners to talk, gossip and swap news. Both Minshall and Fennor figure the interaction of prisoners as the dialogue of merchants on the Exchange, an observation wholly borne out by Standen's comments on his intelligence transactions in Bordeaux.[111] His news came as frequently from speech as from written

[107] [Luke Hutton], *The Blacke Dogge of Newgate: both pithie and profitable for all Readers* (London: G. Simson and W. White, [1596]), sig.C2v.

[108] [R.S.], *The Covnter Scvffle, Whereunto is added, the Covnter-Ratt* (London: W. Stansby for R. Meighen, 1628), sigs.A3r-v.

[109] Fennor, *Compters Common-wealth*, sig.B4v.

[110] Savile, *Prisoners Conference*, sigs.B2r-v.

[111] Minshall, *Essayes and Characters*, sigs.G2r-v; Fennor, *Compters Common-wealth*, sig.C2v.

dispatch. Time and again in his letters, he referred to materially productive conversations: 'One toulde me yesterdaye', 'one that came from St Iohn de Luz … sayeth', 'I here some speche'.[112] Far from being cut off, Standen's prison was a nexus of discussion, opinion and debate, sustained partly by visitors and partly by the prisoners themselves. Like Shakespeare's Lear, who foresaw imprisonment with Cordelia as an opportunity to 'hear poor rogues/Talk of court news' and discover 'who loses and who wins; who's in, who's out', Standen could uncover a great deal in his ostensibly straitened circumstances.[113] There was, of course, a certain advantage in sharing accommodation with individuals suspected of politically-motivated criminality. In May, Standen extracted what he could from a Monsieur de Cambes, nephew of de Lussan of Blaye, who had been arrested in Bordeaux without charge (but with plenty of well-founded prejudice against the de Lussan family).[114] The following month he reported that 'a Student of this towne and of the cytie of Auche was this afternone brought hyther by a Iurat for beynge founde possessed with a pamphlette imprynted in Agen agaynst this kynge', a dangerous text with which to be associated but one that his circumstances permitted Standen to note, discuss and perhaps obtain (he certainly got hold of a seditious book in September, which he sent in a 'close manner' to Anthony).[115] To an extent, the prison environment removed the contagion from political subversives. Incarcerated already, Standen ran little further risk in talking to people who had been detained for beliefs or actions that displeased the authorities, which is not a freedom he would necessarily have enjoyed at liberty. Liaisons could be dangerous in the free world, as Standen discovered to his cost when he returned to England in 1593: accused by a Portuguese agent called Manuel de Andrada of holding long and intimate private conversations with a group of Spaniards in Calais, he was unable ever to quite shake off the suspicion of duplicity. The allegation terminated his relationship with Lord Burghley, who after an interview in which the Lord Treasurer 'tempested' him with charges of 'yll and indyscrete demeanor … att Callayce' appears permanently to have discarded his services.[116] Such imprudent

[112] LPL MS 648, fols. 96r, 51r and 82v.

[113] *King Lear*, 5.3.13-15 (Riverside Shakespeare).

[114] AS to AB, 24 May 1591, LPL MS 648, fol.33r.

[115] AS to AB, 20[?] June 1591, LPL MS 648, fol.43r.

[116] *HMCS*, 4, 330 and 13 (Addenda), 483; AS to AB, 24 March 1593/4, LPL MS 650, fol. 132v.

conversations as Standen held in his Bordeaux prison remained, counter-intuitively, unregarded and unreported except by him.

The social composition and institutional organisation of prisons made them spaces in which the advantages (and hazards) of friendship were made very clear. To survive and thrive in a prison, an inmate needed support from his friends in the outside world: people to bring him food, launder his clothes, pay his bills, and carry his letters. A prisoner might request these favours of someone he had previously helped; the provider of the services was himself entitled to claim a debt of obligation from the prisoner: in the very transactions that kept early modern carceral systems going, the bonds of instrumental friendship were being forged and refreshed on a daily basis. Edward Selwyn's failure to assist Standen when he travelled through Bordeaux despite being a former recipient of his hospitality was therefore a serious fault, a judgement which is evident from the contrition of Selwyn's letter of apology:

> Sir the anger grief & shame conceaued in my self for not visiting of a prisoner of my contry … to whome I owe all my possible seruice hath so troubled vexed & amazed me that I coulde not well imagin howe nor what to write to you therof. Excuse yt I will not. Amend yt I can not. And yet I must needs craue pardon for yt … I beseeche God who can drawe light out of darknes & hath suffred me to fall into this greate fault to forgeue me that ys past & so to assist me with his grace that the shame therof may be a perpetuall warning vnto me & the grief a spurre to make me more diligent hereafter in executinge the lyke officis of charitye or priuate dutye to whom soeuer they belonge.[117]

When Standen was finally released on 12 October 1591, it was in part thanks to the generosity of one Bullart, who 'very honestly and ffrankly offred to paye my expences here'. It might be significant that Bullart had endured time as a 'prisoner in Spayne': perhaps Standen had played the good Samaritan for him, and he was repaying the favour in his turn.[118]

A man needed his wits about him in prison. His fellow inmates—a socially diverse group—might be parasites or tricksters; the keepers—reliant on tips and bribes—might be extorters and thieves. The potential disorder and rapacity of the early modern jail were held at bay by the

[117] Edward Selwyn to AS, 10 July 1591, LPL MS 648, fol.64r (copy).

[118] AS to AB, 2[?] or 11[?] October 1591, LPL MS 648, fol.103r (it is unclear whether this letter is endorsed '11 Octobris' or 'ii Octobris').

protective power of honest friendship, within and beyond the walls. As John Harrington explained in the preface to his translation of Cicero's *De amicitia*, produced while under arrest in the Tower of London, imprisonment was an experience that allowed one to distinguish between the 'holow hertes' of those who failed to provide support and one's 'feithfull freendes': incarceration was, in this sense, a 'touche stone of freendship'.[119] Geffray Minshall warned potential inmates against indifferent or parasitical fellow prisoners, but had nothing save praise for the rare 'true harted Titus', a man 'thou maist call the masculine sweet heart.' Such a one was a boon to the prisoner:

> [his] bosom is alwayes bare, and hath a breast of Chrystall, that thou maist looke through his body to his heart; hee is one that will loue thee in aduersitie … come stormes, come calmes, come tempests, come Sun-shine, come what can come, he will be thine and sticke to thee.

These Tituses showed their worth when their friend was most in need.[120]

Minshall's observation that men of all conditions are forced into prison 'as all rivers run into the sea' might owe as much to that writer's desire to universalise his own mortifying experience as to the true inclusivity of the early modern prison, but there is no doubt that prisoners represented a truer cross-section of the population at large than they do today. In their combination of diversity and restraint, prisons were zones of social promiscuity in which distinctions of degree were guaranteed only by an individual's financial resources and his access to external support. Such a characterisation—permeable, under-regulated, market-driven, discursive—casts prisons in a new light as institutions that facilitated and supported the creation of instrumental friendships. In fact, prisons *relied* on the practices of friendship and fellow-feeling to function effectively. In Chap. 4, I turn my attention to a group of institutions closer to the heart of English culture and society: the Inns of Court. I suggest that, like the early modern prison, the Inns relied for their success on bonds of reciprocal friendship. The Inns of Court brought together the ideals of classical *amicitia perfecta* and chivalric brotherhood, with the realities of instrumental friendship which served the interests of the individual or the group, in an institutional identity that celebrated the capacity of the 'right sort' to get ahead.

[119] Harrington (ed. and trans.), *Booke of freendeship*, sigs.A2r-v.
[120] Minshall, *Essayes and Characters*, sig.D2v.

CHAPTER 4

Institutionality: Nicholas Trott, the Inns of Court and the Value of Friendship

From fairest creatures we desire increase.[1]

A year and a half after he was sprung from his Bordeaux cell, the erstwhile prisoner Anthony Standen was reunited with his friend Anthony Bacon in the Bacon family chambers at Gray's Inn. Standen had just arrived in London following a dramatic flight from Calais. Anthony was waiting for him in the comfortable ground floor rooms he occupied at the Inn of Court. The apartment was the location for a small piece of theatre: as a sign of Standen's new involvement with Anthony Bacon's patron, Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, Anthony placed around his neck a golden chain, an 'earnest penny' that represented the good faith of master and servant.[2] The setting for this ceremony was apt. Like early modern prisons, the Inns of Court were institutions where male friendship intersected with political and professional patronage in powerful ways. Making—and making the best of—relationships was a key objective for men at the Inns. This was a belief that ran to the heart of Inns of Court culture and was not, as has sometimes been suggested, an aspect of Inns' life that was pursued extra-curricularly. Scholars have been too quick to interpret the rich sociability of the Inns as a resource that was reserved for the use of the conspicuously well-to-do—the dilettantes who treated the Inns as 'finishing

[1] Shakespeare, *Sonnets*, no. 1.
[2] AS to EE, 14 June 1593, LPL MS 648, fol.147r (copy).

W. Tosh, *Male Friendship and Testimonies of Love in Shakespeare's England*, DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-49497-9_4

schools'—rather than the career-minded men who attended for legal training.[3] Personal advantage was not sought merely by those young men who attended for reasons beyond the professional ones, either the elite who wanted to acquire metropolitan polish and courtly connections, or the ambitious middling sort who followed in their wake. Instead, the Inns were institutions that valorised male friendship and the loyalties it could produce among all its members, and presented opportunities for men to better themselves professionally and socially through the connections they made there. This chapter puts the social networks of the Inns of Court in a new political and affective context, and shows that the Inns were a recognised focus of friendship-based patronage in the late sixteenth century.

Some background detail about the Inns is necessary. I show that the Inns were conceived as places where young men were expected to exercise newly-acquired manly independence by forming virtuous friendships, both as a prophylactic against vice and as a way of accessing the better sort of society. I explain that these friendships also formed the basis of a man's future professional circle, and constituted the source of his reputation. By focusing on the example of Anthony Bacon's friend Nicholas Trott, who sought a position in the crown bureaucracy, I suggest that 'alumni networks' supported the ambitions of fellow members in legal and governmental appointments. These loyalties were not hidden, and I reveal that the Inns of Court incorporated a respect for friendship (in the classical and chivalric modes) into their institutional values and cultural fictions. These friendly affinities could be manipulated by statesmen such as Lord Burghley, and I return to the Nicholas Trott narrative to reveal the involvement of the Earl of Essex. I conclude by suggesting that the closed world of the Inns of Court, with its institutional promotion of friendship and loyalty, managed through the influence of its members to sidestep the

[3] Philip J. Finkelpearl, *John Marston of the Middle Temple: An Elizabethan Dramatist in his Social Setting* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969), 11; Jessica Winston, 'Literary Associations of the Middle Temple', in Richard Havery, *History of the Middle Temple* (Oxford: Hart Publishing, 2011), 147–71, 152. See also Wilfrid Prest, *The Inns of Court under Elizabeth I and the Early Stuarts, 1569–1640* (London: Longman, 1972), 4–1; Margaret McGlynn, *The Royal Prerogative and the Learning of the Inns of Court* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 18. Wilfred Prest's 'Readers' dinners and the culture of the early modern Inns of Court', in Jayne Elisabeth Archer, Elizabeth Goldring and Sarah Knight (eds), *The Intellectual and Cultural World of the Early Modern Inns of Court* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011), 107–23, offers a fascinating reading of Inns sociability by focusing on dining traditions.

suspicions that were typically directed at groups of men who upheld fealty to their fellows but failed to adhere to the conventions of dynastic alliance.

The Men of the Third University

The late sixteenth century was the high-water mark for the Inns of Court, England's ancient seats of legal learning. The Honourable Societies of Gray's Inn, Middle Temple, Inner Temple and Lincoln's Inn claimed a monopoly on the regulation and teaching of common law, and exerted seigneurial control over the ten Inns of Chancery, the smaller houses that offered preparatory study for aspirant lawyers. Under the Tudors, the Inns of Court had become forcing houses for generations of men of affairs: Burghley, Sir Nicholas Bacon, Sir Francis Walsingham and Sir Christopher Hatton learned law there, as well as scores of writers, parliamentarians and administrators. Admissions boomed, and, in 1588, Hatton, then Lord Chancellor, was said to observe that 'there are now more at the bar in one house than there were in all the Inns of Court when I was a young man'.[4] The four societies constituted part of what Sir George Buc called in 1612 the 'third university of England'—by which he meant London itself, a federation of artistic academies, language schools, theological colleges and other 'houses of learning'.[5] But the Inns are more properly understood as graduate schools, centres of higher education attended by those who were on the cusp of independence. Most entered aged 17 or 18 after a period of study at another establishment, either a university or an Inn of Chancery. At the Inns of Court, the student ('inner barrister' in Inns of Court parlance) would follow his own pace of study, listening to moots (mock trials) at his society, or actual cases in Westminster Hall, and attending the bi-annual readings, festive occasions in which a senior member dissected a particular point of law for the benefit of his fellows. Even for those members not set on a career in law—and many, perhaps most, members of the Inns of Court were not professional lawyers—the usual period of

[4] Attributed by Edward Foss, *Judges of England; with Sketches of their Lives*, 9 vols (London: Longman, 1848–1864), 5, 423; Finkelpearl observes a 30 % expansion in admissions in the last 30 years of the sixteenth century (*John Marston*, 5).

[5] George Buc, *The Third Vniversitie of England* (London: Augustine Mathewes for Richard Meighen, 1631), sig. 4O3r-v. Buc's text was from its publication included in the various editions of John Stowe's *Annales*, edited and continued by Edmund Howes throughout the seventeenth century.

residence at an Inn was three years.[6] For the legally-inclined, it was a much more daunting prospect: a student could spend seven years as an inner-barrister before he gained the right to practise.

For most young members, their time at the Inns of Court would see them transformed from dependent sons to men of affairs. For many, their admission was both the last stage in their education, and the point that marked the end of childhood and entry into the adult world. The Inns were figured as communities of men, as opposed to the juvenile environments of school and university. In the fifteenth century, the jurist Sir John Fortescue made a point of emphasising that the Inns were academies of legal learning for 'students who have past their minority', as opposed to the adolescents who attended other universities in England and Europe.[7] It seems to have been the case that men who recalled the transition from Oxford or Cambridge to the Inns regarded it as a sort of educative breeching, a graduation from the cosseting world of the university to the manly environment of the Inns of Court.[8] Sir Simonds D'Ewes wrote of his departure from the 'full breasts' of St John's College, Cambridge—his 'dear mother, from which I had sucked so much variety of learning'—for the challenging world of Middle Temple. There, he was subject to 'so many inconveniences and discontents, as all I had been sensible of at Cambridge had been mere shadows unto them'.[9] A generation later, Sir Thomas Wroth informed his nephew, destined for Inner Temple, that he had 'sukt in but what your childish age was Capable of' at Oxford. Now he was to enter 'a Society of prudent men', he must put on his '*virilem togam* [manly toga], and bid farewell to all that is Childish'.[10]

[6] John Baker points out that fewer than 10 % of Inns of Court men in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries took the legal profession as a career ('The third university 1450–1550: law school or finishing school?' in Archer et al. (eds), *Intellectual and Cultural World*, 8–31, 9).

[7] John Fortescue, *De Laudibus Legum Angliae*, S.B. Chrimes (trans. and ed.) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1942), 121.

[8] Wilfred Prest calculates that 'well over half' of the men called to the bar in the period 1590–1640 had been to Oxford or Cambridge, although the majority had left without taking a degree (*The Rise of the Barristers: A Social History of the English Bar, 1590–1640* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), 111).

[9] James Orchard Halliwell (ed.), *The Autobiography and Correspondence of Sir Simonds D'Ewes, Bart., During the Reigns of James I and Charles I*, 2 vols (London: Richard Bentley, 1845), 1, 147–9.

[10] Sir Thomas Wroth, 'Advice to a Templar', Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, DC, MS V.a.575, fol.1r.

Worldly writers presented the shift from university to Inn of Court as a transition from removed, academic study to applied training. A squib by cosmopolitan law students in 1615 mocked the youths of Cambridge, who merely 'know the world by Mappe', and have no experience of real life, and even a jurist writing in defence of legal education admitted that university study was 'easie, elegant, conceipted, nice and delicate', while the law was 'hard, harsh, vnpleasant, [and] vnsavory'.[11] Tough work, however idly pursued by the young men of the Inns, required a manly demeanour. Deliberate attempts by new members to distance themselves from the embarrassing associations of childhood and college life drew mockery. The naïve character of 'An Innes of Court man' in *Sir Thomas Overbury His Wife* (1632) is engaged in a determined act of self-fashioning, re-making himself in the model of the urbane gentlemen visible on the streets of London:

> Hee is distinguished from a Scholler by a paire of silk stockings, and a Beaver Hat, which makes him contemne a Scholler as much as a Scholler doth a Schoolemaster. By that hee hath heard one mooting, and seene two playes, hee thinkes as basely of the *Vniversity*, as young *Sophister* doth of the *Grammer schoole*. He talkes of the *Vniversity*, with that state, as if he were her Chancellour; findes fault with alterations, and the fall of *Discipline*, with an, *It was not so when I was a Student*; although that was within this halfe yeere.[12]

Like most rites of passage, the transition to independence at the Inns was understood to pose challenges. Although at university, as a treatise of 1617 put it, 'the Tutors eye supplies the parents', a junior member of an Inn was 'his own master in respect of his priuate studie and gouernment'. Such liberty was dangerous: 'where there are many pots boiling, there cannot but bee much scumme'.[13] If the Inns were seen as institutions in which young men achieved mastery over themselves—in anticipation of their mastery over a household, which would mark their full adoption of manly authority—they faced plenty of opportunities to slip up. The spendthrift

[11] 'To the Comaedians of Cambridge', BL Sloane MS 1775, fol.71v; Abraham Fraunce, *The Lawiers Logike* (London: William How for Thomas Gubbin and T. Newman, 1588), sig.¶2r-v.

[12] Anon., *Sir Thomas Overbury His Wife. With additions of new characters, and many other Wittie Conceits never before printed* (London: R.B. for Robert Allot, 1632), sig.K4r.

[13] Joseph Hale, *Quo Vadis? A Ivst Censvre of Travell as it is Commonly vndertaken by the Gentlemen of our Nation* (London: Edward Griffin for Nathaniel Butter, 1617), sigs. B2v-B3r.

Innsman, squandering his allowance on drink and wasting his hours at the playhouse, was a stock image in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century London which drew on fact.[14] Edward Hyde, later the Earl of Clarendon, confessed to his own taste for 'the License of those Times, which was very exorbitant' when he was at Middle Temple in the 1620s.[15] It was received wisdom that law students preferred plays and verse to law books: the typical Innsman

> reades not *Littleton*
> But *Don Quix Zot*, or els *The Knight o'th'Sun* …
> Instead of *Perkins* pedlers French, he sayes
> He better loves Ben: Johnsons booke of Playes.[16]

The tedium of text books such as John Perkins's *A Profitable Booke, Treating of the Laws of England* and Thomas Littleton's *Treatise on Tenures* (a summary of medieval land law) was held to be partially responsible for law students' hunger for drama and poetry. William Fulbecke, in his guide to the study of the law, conceded that 'the bookes of Lawe … are not pleasant to reade, the wordes or termes are harsh and obscure, the stile no whit delightfull, the methode none at all'.[17] With the best will in the world, the scholarly might find applied study difficult. A mid-sixteenth-century account of life at Middle Temple admitted that:

> There is none there that be compellyd to lerne, & they that are lerners for the most parte haue ther studies and places of lernyng so sett that they are myche trobled with noyse of walking and communycacion of them that be no lerners, and in the terme tyme they are so vnquyeted by Clyantes … that resorte to such as are attorneys & practysers that the studyentes may as quietly study in the open streetes as in ther studies … they haue no place to walke in and talke & conferr ther lerninges but in the [Temple] church

[14] See for instance the 'Yong Innes a Court Gentleman' in F.[rancis] L.[enton], *Characterismi: Or Lentons Leasvres. Expressed in Essayes and Characters* (London: I.B. for Roger Michell, 1631), sigs.F4r-6r.

[15] [Edward Hyde], *The Life of Edward Earl of Clarendon, Lord High Chancellor of England, and Chancellor of the University of Oxford … Written by Himself*, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Printing House, 1760), 1, sig.A4r.

[16] Francis Lenton, *The Young Gallants Whirligigg: or Youths Reakes* (London: M.F. for Robert Bostocke, 1629), quoted in Finkelpearl, *John Marston*, 13–14.

[17] [William Fulbecke], *A Direction or Preparatiue to the Study of the Lawe* (London: Thomas Wight, 1600), sig.D4r.

> whiche place all the terms tyme hath in it no more quyetnes then … [Saint] Pawles by occasion of the confluens and concourse of such as are suters in the Lawe.[18]

In the face of such an uncongenial working environment, it is not surprising that young men at the Inns of Court were considered to be especially vulnerable to exploitation by the wicked.[19] Idleness, 'the verie matrix and conceptorie place of infinite mischiefes', was a hazard.[20] Sir Thomas Wroth stated in the letter of advice to his nephew that '[t]he greatest vnthriftynes and Prodigality is the vnprofitable and Malexpence of Tyme' and advocated a schedule of early rising and regular bed-time.[21] Guardians and parents feared not only that students at the Inns would squander their working days, but that they might drift into the orbit of unscrupulous citizens. One observer asked how the 'novices' at the Inns, 'that are turned loose into the maine, ere they know either coast, or compasse, [can] auoid these rockes and shelues, vpon which both their estates and soules are miserably wracked?'[22] The lurid tone belies the fact that young Inns of Court members continued to lead largely unrestricted lives through the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, suggesting that the risks they faced were less severe than writers implied. But attempts were nevertheless made to guard against them: Sir Nicholas Bacon appointed one Richard Barker, later a Gray's Inn bencher, as an instructor and chaperon for Anthony and Francis when they enrolled in 1576.[23]

For the majority of students, however, defence against profligacy and abuse was to be found in the virtue of one's companions. As Sir Thomas Wroth reminded his nephew, choosing the society of 'sober and Civill persons' was a demonstration of manly self-determination and prudence—proof that the youngster was entitled to be 'his own master'. 'Noscitur ex socio, qui non cognoscitur ex se' (the unknown man is known by the company he keeps), he wrote.[24] To a degree, the Inns of Court attempted

[18] 'Constitutionis Iurisperitorum Medii Templi London', BL Cotton MS Vitellius C.IX, fol.231v.

[19] Gilles Monsarrat, Brian Vickers and R.J.C. Watt, *The Collected Works of John Ford*, 3 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2012), 1, 16–17.

[20] John Ferne, *The Blazon of Gentrie* (London: John Windet for Andrew Maunsell, 1586), sig.Aiiiir.

[21] Folger MS V.a.575, fol.2r.

[22] Hale, *Quo Vadis?*, sig.B3r.

[23] Prest, *Inns of Court*, 138–9.

[24] Folger MS V.a.575, fol.1v.

to make the process easier. New arrivals were 'bound' to two existing members, a contracted fellowship which gave the new member access to an existing social circle.[25] This was merely a leg-up; responsibility for making use of such connections remained with the individual. In his third-person account of his time at the Middle Temple in the 1620s, Edward Hyde included a paean to friendship:

> He never was so proud, or thought himself so good a Man, as when He was the Worst Man in the Company … He never knew one Man, of what condition soever, arrive at any Degree or Reputation in the World, who made choice or delighted in the Company or Conversation of those who, in their Qualities were inferior, or in their Parts not much superior to himself.[26]

This highly conventional piece of wisdom follows Hyde's roguish confession of time spent indulging in 'the License of those Times', and precedes a lengthy account of the virtuous friends he went on to make. Typical the praise of friendship might be, but Hyde draws attention to the conscious choice he made as a very young man to associate with the better sort. Although Hyde joined Middle Temple from Oxford aged 17, the 'Friendships which He made with the Persons in his Profession' were marked by a differential in age and status. They were all 'eminent men, or of the most hopeful Parts; … all much superior to him in Age, and Experience, and entirely devoted to their Profession'.[27] Indeed, virtually all of the men Hyde listed by name were barristers by the time he arrived as a new member. Geoffrey Palmer (later Attorney-General) had been called to the bar in 1623, Bulstrode Whitelock joined him in the autumn of Hyde's arrival, and Richard Lane, a future Lord Keeper, was the *éminence grise* of Hyde's new social circle, having been called in 1611.[28] By his own account these senior members were attracted to Hyde's 'Gaiety of … Humour, and inoffensive … winning Behaviour', and his social position was undoubtedly enhanced by the fact that Middle Temple's treasurer,

[25] Michelle O'Callaghan, *The English Wits: Literature and Sociability in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 10. William Dugdale describes new entrants being 'bound' to existing members in *Origines Juridiciales*, 3rd edn. (London: Christopher Wilkinson, Thomas Dring and Charles Harper, 1666, 1680), sig.Dd1v.

[26] Hyde, *Life*, 1, sig.B4r.

[27] Hyde, *Life*, 1, sig.C7v.

[28] John Hutchinson, *A Catalogue of Notable Middle Templars, with Biographical Notices* (London: privately printed by Butterworth & Co., 1902), 140, 183, 260.

Sir Nicholas Hyde, was his uncle. But Edward Hyde, writing his memoirs in later life for the private benefit of his family, took pains to record the upwardly mobile friends he made thanks to his wit and charm, as well as the attendant discrimination against colleagues who were less elevated: 'with the rest of the Profession He had at most a formal Acquaintance, and little Familiarity'.[29] His selectivity owed much to his own ambition, but he was not the only Templar to draw distinctions between the types of companions a man might seek at the Inns. Addressing his fellow members on the occasion of his promotion to Serjeant and departure for Serjeants' Inn, Sir James Whitelock (father of Edward Hyde's friend Bulstrode) paid tribute in carefully modulated terms to, in turn, his '*coætani*', those bosom friends with whom he 'came hether togeather, and have lived togeather ever sithence'; to his professional peers or '*collatorales*'; and lastly to the remainder of 'the whole bodye and societye in general'.[30]

Enacting social distinction was hardly unique to the Inns of Court in early modern England. But the size of the Inns—communities of several hundred discrete individuals at a time when conceptions of social scale for most people still focussed on the household—necessitated explicit management and control of one's circle of acquaintance.[31] In this, the Inns were unusual. Michelle O'Callaghan has characterised the Inns as a 'paradigmatic fraternity, combining men in an association held together by the bonds of civic brotherhood'.[32] But unlike their nearest corporate equivalents, the livery companies, the Inns drew on a socially heterogeneous membership that skewed to the wealthy. It was a 'polite fiction' that the Inns of Court were populated solely by gentlemen, and Wilfrid Prest has shown that perhaps the majority of members came from ranks below the upper gentry.[33] But if they were not all 'sons of nobles' as Fortescue disingenuously claimed in the fifteenth century, members had to come from money.[34] The first article in an early sixteenth-century account of Middle Temple stated firmly that 'there is no landes or reuenues longinge to [the society] wherby any lerner or student mought be holpen and encouraged

[29] Hyde, *Life*, 1, sig.C8r.

[30] John Bruce (ed.), *Liber Famelicus of Sir James Whitelocke* (London: Camden Society, 1858), 82.

[31] Prest, *Inns of Court*, 17.

[32] O'Callaghan, *English Wits*, 3.

[33] Prest, *Inns of Court*, 21–28; Prest, *Rise of the Barristers*, 87–90.

[34] Fortescue, *De Laudibus Legum Angliae*, 119.

to study, by meane of some yerely stypende or salary'.[35] Keeping a son at an Inn cost between £30 and £40 a year in entry charges, commons fees and rent, which limited membership to the cash-rich.[36] That sector nonetheless comprehended an extensive social range, in an age when people where finely attuned to differences in degree. The situation in the Inns was therefore complicated. As institutions, they promoted notions of professional equality and fraternity, but as social entities they drew on England's deeply held reverence for status. Complex social mechanics operated within the Inns to determine degrees of association and intimacy, but such questions were not resolved by an uncritical appeal to social position. While important, class hierarchy was one of several factors in an individual's status. As Edward Hyde discovered, other things came into play, too: conversation, intellect, charm.

In this the Inns shared some characteristics with the sociable clubs that began to form in the early seventeenth century. Many of the first convivial societies had Inns of Court links if not origins.[37] Ben Jonson's 'Sociable Rules for the Apollo' celebrated the discriminating sociability of clubbable men:

> Let none but Guests or Clubbers hither come,
> Let Dunces, Fools, sad, sordid men keep home,
> Let learned, civil, merry men b'invited,
> And modest too; Nor the Choise Ladies slighted.[38]

Ladies, however choice, seldom featured in Inns of Court activities, but civil and merry men found there a congenial home. Learning, courtesy and wit were all accomplishments that could be cultivated, and they provided valuable social capital. John Manningham, a young law student whose commonplace book records a performance of Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* in Middle Temple hall in 1602, kept his journal as a repository of conversations, anecdotes, witticisms and sermons (transcriptions of and commentaries on which constitute by far the greatest part). The mix of devotion, aperçus on statecraft and bawdy humour records his programme

[35] 'Constitutionis Iurisperitorum Medii Templi London', BL Cotton MS Vitellius C.IX, fol.319r.

[36] Prest, *Inns of Court*, 27–8.

[37] O'Callaghan, *English Wits*, 1–3.

[38] 'Ben Johnsons Sociable rules for the *Apollo*', in Alexander Brome, *Songs and other Poems* (London: Henry Brome, 1661), sig.C12r-v (irregular gathering of 12).

in self-improvement that concentrated on witty conversation and informed debate. As his twentieth-century editor remarks, '[i]t seems obvious that he used the Diary partly as a training-ground to exercise his wit', a necessary undertaking given the 'sparkling company' of 'sociable and affable young intellectuals' with whom he had to compete at Middle Temple.[39] If Manningham's diary is to be taken as a representative sample, Temple wits enjoyed word-play that ranged from sophisticated anagrams to puns that were distinctly undergraduate: '"Where is your husband?" said Mr Reeves to a girl. "He is a building," said shee. "The worse lucke for you," q[uo]t[h] hee; a bilding in Wiltsh[ire] signifies a male with one stone.'[40] Conversational quickness was one of the accomplishments that young Inns of Court men sought to develop—Richard Brathwait, an inner-barrister at Gray's Inn a few years later, 'held it in those dayes an incomparable grace to be styled one of the *Wits*'.[41] In Manningham's diary we see a form of sociable and intellectual self-fashioning that is related to, but far more subtle than, the caricature of the Innsman in *Sir Thomas Overbury His Wife*, who 'will talke ends of *Latine* … though his best authors for't bee *Tavernes* and *Ordinaries*'.[42] In the crowded Inns of Court, where fraternal social structures ran parallel to established hierarchies of status, members had an unusual degree of choice in terms of those with whom they associated. Compared to other early modern institutions, the Inns sustained a relatively open market in friendship. Admission to an Inn was itself regarded as a token of gentlemanly status (it was of course the merchant and yeoman families in particular who had a strong investment in maintaining this illusion),[43] and once that social hurdle had been cleared, the Inns offered an environment in which status largely depended on professional seniority: a member aspired to ascend up the ranks through inner barrister, utter barrister, reader, ancient, bencher. At each level, principles of meritocratic hierarchy (in theory) prevailed, a conjunction identified by

[39] Robert Parker Sorlien (ed.), *The Diary of John Manningham of the Middle Temple 1602–1603* (Hanover: University of Rhode Island Press, 1976), 21. Anthony Arlidge has characterised the members of Middle Temple at this time as a 'college of witcrackers' (*Shakespeare and the Prince of Love: The Feast of Misrule in the Middle Temple* (London: Giles de la Mare, 2000), 6).

[40] Sorlien (ed.), *Diary*, 67–70.

[41] Richard Brathwait, *A Spirituall Spicerie: Containing Sundrie Sweet Tractates of Devotion and Piety* (London: I.H. for George Hutton, 1638), sig.S12v.

[42] Anon., *Sir Thomas Overbury*, sig.K4r.

[43] O'Callaghan, *English Wits*, 13.

Paul Raffield as the 'unexpected congruity of hierarchy and fraternity'.[44] For the new inner barristers, arrival at an Inn offered an unprecedented opportunity to make new friends with a cohort of likely young men, and inevitably they took pains to ensure that they were admitted to the most promising circles by cultivating their intellectual and social skills.

Old School Ties

The relationships men formed at the Inns helped them stay on the straight and narrow and prevented a drift into profligacy and ruin. But they were also important to their later careers—reputations built at the Inns, and the friendships made there, were the foundations on which their future prospects depended. The Tudor state offered a number of job opportunities to legally trained men, but as Wallace MacCaffrey has observed, the number of positions in the government service was far outstripped by the 'jostling crowd of lower gentry' who competed for employment.[45] The support of influential patrons was crucial in order to achieve the 'necessary leverage' that would lift a candidate into a vacant office.[46] Success depended on the lobbying powers of one's friends and patrons, and, for many aspirant state servants, the Inns constituted their most direct access to influential people. The Inns were geographically and culturally close to the centres of legal, legislative and executive power and members had ample opportunity to make connections with potential patrons.[47] But the Inns sustained patronage networks of their own, webs that extended through space and time: a shared experience at Gray's Inn, the Temple or Lincoln's Inn was a bond to which one could appeal; a man's standing at his Inn gave a patron a concrete indication of his worth.

Members who intended to undertake a legal career necessarily regarded the Inns of Court as a crucial centre of patronage and influence. Barristers and justices returning from circuits, clients from across the country attending on their counsel and suitors seeking legal advice made the Inns a national sorting-house for professional news and comment. A poem of

[44] Paul Raffield, 'The Inner Temple revels (1561–62) and the Elizabethan rhetoric of signs: legal iconography and the earl modern Inns of Court', in Archer et al. (eds), *Intellectual and Cultural World*, 32–50, 38.

[45] MacCaffrey, 'Place and Patronage in Elizabethan Politics', 101.

[46] Lawrence Stone, *The Crisis of the Aristocracy, 1558–1601* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), 703.

[47] Marotti, *Manuscript, Print, and the English Renaissance Lyric*, 30–5, 75–7.

1628 characterised the grounds of Gray's Inn as a 'Peripatetique College-Errant of Novellists, Rumourists, Buzzists and Mythologists' dealing in 'Gazetts [and] Corantos of affayres'.[48] It was through such gossip that a man might learn of situations vacant, or of legal assistance sought. The senior members of an Inn, as a corporate body, wielded a good deal of influence in certain legal appointments. In 1584, concerned at the mismanagement of Staple Inn, their subsidiary Inn of Chancery, the benchers of Gray's Inn wrote to Lord Burghley recommending Thomas Cary, a barrister of their society, as principal. Previous principals, 'being altogether choysen by the voyses of the younge gentlemen', had lacked authority and had been unable to prevent a 'great decaye of studie'. To prevent a further slide at their feeder institution, the members of Gray's Inn stepped in to impose one of their own: a relatively junior member, but one 'of good standing and learning[,] and for his behaviour, sober and dyscrete'.[49]

The benchers of Gray's Inn might have been presumed to regard power of appointment at Staples Inn as a right. But members could also play a brokering role in campaigning for positions for their fellows over which they had no direct right of influence. Hertfordshire gentleman and Middle Templar Sir Arthur Capell (admitted 1580) wrote to Sir Robert Cecil in 1600, urging the appointment of his senior fellow member John Shurley (admitted 1565) to the post of Serjeant-at-Law.[50] Five years earlier, a bencher at Lincoln's Inn had written to Cecil's father, Lord Burghley, in support of his junior colleague's application to be customs official of the port of Boston.[51] Sometimes a suitor was able to draw attention to the common bond of Inn membership shared alike by patron, client and broker: in 1612, one Honiman wrote to Robert Cecil (by then Earl of Salisbury) to recommend Henry Yelverton as attorney of the Court of Wards, referring to the connection with Gray's Inn that all three of them shared.[52] Brokers did not necessarily have to know the client personally: Edward Denny, Baron Waltham, wrote to Salisbury in 1612, soliciting him on behalf of John Lete of Gray's Inn for a place in the Exchequer. Denny praised 'by … report' the man's honesty and fidelity and his 'sufficiency of knowledge for the place'. The report may have come from the various

[48] Bodleian Library, Oxford, Rawlinson Poet MS 166, fols.89–90r.
[49] BL Lansdowne MS 40, fol.82r.
[50] *HMCS*, 10, 394.
[51] TNA SP 12/253, fol.24r.
[52] *HMCS*, 21, 373.

Dennys who were members of Gray's Inn at the time (four were admitted in the last years of the sixteenth century). Like the Bacons, the Dennys were a family with strong Grayan connections.[53]

The most overt appeals to institutional loyalty were made when a broker was both capable of influencing an appointment, and a fellow member of an Inn. In such a case, a suitor's membership became itself a qualification, to be taken into account alongside knowledge, sobriety, solvency and firmness in religion. This was the situation when Anthony Bacon's friend and financial backer, Gray's Inn member Nicholas Trott, sought the position of deputy secretary to the Queen's Council in the North at York in 1595.[54] This body, representing the power of the Privy Council and the Court of the Star Chamber, exercised crown control in the remote northern counties. Its secretary was an important figure: like his opposite number on the Privy Council, he supervised all the correspondence at York and guarded the seal of the Lord President, the head of the council who enjoyed vice-regal authority. The secretaryship was a valuable office. On top of his salary of £34, the secretary could hope to clear several hundred pounds a year in perquisites and expenses. He had under him a staff of numerous clerks, registrars and examiners, from whose bribes and *douceurs* he could also claim a portion. The role of secretary had been discharged since 1587 by one Ralph Rokeby, filling the position on behalf of the absentee office-holder Robert Beale, who was also the long-standing senior clerk of the Privy Council in London. Beale enjoyed the office as a perk: by the terms of his joint patency with Rokeby, he claimed half the salary and attendant benefits, while Rokeby performed the actual job. Beale was careful to deny rumours that the office was a goldmine, worth £1000 per year, but even the £400 he said he earned made the role highly covetable.[55] When Rokeby died in 1595, the position at York was reduced to a deputy secretaryship without the benefit of a joint patency agreement, wholly subservient to Beale and dependent on his largesse for an appropriate wage. Although not as desirable as a joint patency, the deputy secretaryship was still an attractive proposition, and it came with

[53] TNA SP 14/66, fol.119r.

[54] For Nicholas Trott, see *HF*, 204–8 and 'Trott, Nicholas', in Hasler (ed.), *House of Commons 1558–1603*, 3, 531. For the Council in the North, see Robert Beale's memorandum on the Council, BL Additional MS 48152, fols.205–212; Rachel R. Reid, *The King's Council in the North* (London: Longman, 1921); F.W. Brooks, *York and the Council of the North* (London: St Anthony's Press, 1954).

[55] Robert Beale to WC, 24 April 1595, BL Additional MS 48116, fol. 344r.

opportunities for promotion: since 1550, three out of the four secretaries (including Rokeby) had started out as deputies before succeeding to the full position as either joint-patentees or the office-holder itself.[56] Given Beale's age and infirmity, it was possible that whoever won the deputy secretaryship would find himself with the superior job before too long. Trott promptly made it known that he was interested in the position, realising that three of the councillors in the north—Edward Stanhope, Charles Hales and Humphrey Purefoy—were Gray's Inn alumni. The members had considerable powers of influence over the Lord President, Henry Hastings, third Earl of Huntingdon, whose final recommendation for the secretaryship would be sent to the queen and the Privy Council. Trott's position was consequently extremely strong, and he embarked on an intense bout of lobbying to win support for his application.

Chief among his supporters were Anthony and Francis Bacon, the latest in a line of Bacons to attend Gray's Inn and both for periods of the 1590s resident at the society.[57] Trott's relationship with the Bacon family was intimate and complex. In the previous decade he had enjoyed a close friendship with Francis, collaborating with him and other Grayans on the verse tragedy *The Misfortunes of Arthur*, performed before the queen in 1588.[58] Perhaps as a result of Francis's unusually fast ascendency up the legal career ladder compared to Trott's slower climb, the relationship between the two men cooled in the 1590s (Francis was made a reader in the Lent term of 1587, and the rapidity of his rise is evident from Burghley's astonished marginal annotation on the record of his elevation: 'vtter barister vppon 3 yeres study … admitted to the high tabl wher

[56] Thomas Eynns was promoted from deputy to secretary in 1550, George Blythe in 1578 and Ralph Rokeby in 1589. The same would happen to John Ferne, appointed deputy in 1595, in 1604 (Reid, *King's Council in the North*, 488–9).

[57] Sir Nicholas Bacon sent all five of his sons (three by his first wife Jane; two by Anne) to Gray's Inn to follow his path in the law. Only Francis made a name for himself in the profession. For an account of life in sixteenth-century Gray's Inn, see Francis Cowper, *A Prospect of Gray's Inn*, revised edn. (London: GRAYA on behalf of Gray's Inn, 1985), and Henry Edward Duke and Bernard Campion, *The Story of Gray's Inn: An outline history of the Inn from earliest times to the present day* (London: Chiswick Press, 1950).

[58] Thomas Hughes and others, *Certaine deuises and shewes presented to her Maiestie by the Gentlemen of Grayes-Inne at her Highnesse Court in Greenewich* (London: Robert Robinson, 1587 [1588]). Trott provided the prologue. Francis Bacon's contribution is assessed in Alan Stewart (ed.), *The Oxford Francis Bacon I: Early Writings 1584–1596* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2012), 65–6.

non ar but readers').[59] Trott remained closely connected to the Bacons through his provision of loans, both from his own family's capital and by means of his intercession with Alderman John Spencer, an extremely rich City money-lender (and later Lord Mayor). Anthony's homecoming in 1592 marked a return to the warmth of the previous years. Although Anthony was just as quick as his brother to tap Trott for funds, he was a marginally more solvent debtor and displayed a more becoming gratitude. The northern secretaryship offered Anthony and Francis Bacon the opportunity to repay some of his loans in kind (Francis had already tried something similar when he offered to make Trott a joint-patentee in his reversion to the office of clerk to the Star Chamber, a plan that faltered in late 1594).[60]

In addition to the efficient postal system to which Anthony had access through his intimacy with the Earl of Essex, the brothers gave Trott an entrée to the Stanhope family, their kin by marriage.[61] He made ample use of these resources, writing to all three Grayan councillors and appealing for their backing. He scored a notable success when Edward Stanhope consented to write to his brother John—another Grayan, and holder of the important office of Master of the Queen's Posts—recommending Trott. It is this letter (a copy of which survives in Anthony's papers) that gives us an indication of the extent and power of the Grayan alumni networks. The language that Edward Stanhope uses to commend Trott indicates a conscious observation of institutional loyalty:

> [A]lthoughe it maie be there be diuerse have affected the execution of the place of Secretarie to this Councell since the death of Mr Rookeby & that for my own priuate respectes of affection, alyence, or such like, I might haue bene moued to recommend some others, yet heering of late that one Mr Trott of Grayes Inn hath entred into the action to ioyne with Mr Beale to execute the same, I yeelde not onelie my assent, but my willing furderance, what in me or my frendes shall aid, to this recomendacion … The gentleman is one whom for particuler respecte to my self, aboue anie others I haue no cause to looke after, but onely as a man whom I haue seene, and obserued

[59] BL Lansdowne MS 51, fol.11r; *LL*, 1, 65 (Spedding dates his elevation to 1586); Stewart (ed.), *Oxford Francis Bacon I*, xxiii.

[60] *HF*, 205.

[61] As a member of the Privy Council, the Earl of Essex was entitled to use the royal post (Daybell, *Material Letter in Early Modern England*, 118).

> vpon the Stage, namelie in the common course of life of other gentlemen of the Societie.[62]

There were indeed diverse others who sought the position, including Sir Thomas Wilkes, John Ferne and William Gee.[63] It is unlikely that Stanhope's 'private respects of affection' would have motivated him to back John Ferne, from whom he had seized the recordership of Doncaster in 1592,[64] but the implication of his letter to his brother is that the otherwise plausible claims of Wilkes, Gee and the other applicants were trumped by Trott's candidacy on the Gray's Inn ticket. The notion is supported by the fact that of the nine surviving letters that were written by Trott during this affair, all but one are to members of Gray's Inn (the Bacon brothers, Stanhope, Hales and Purefoy). The sole exception is a letter to a Mr Davison, who is almost certainly the former Privy Council clerk, William Davison, whose guileless dispatch of Mary Stuart's execution warrant earned him a vicious rebuke from the queen. Even though Davison was not a member, he had a close connection to the Inn: his son Francis was currently restoring the family name as a junior member of Gray's Inn by writing and starring in *The Masque of Proteus*, a court revel staged by the society.[65] No other evidence survives of any attempt made by Trott to appeal to men connected to the Council in the North who were not also members, like him, of Gray's Inn, and the only individual directly connected with his campaign who was not a Grayan was the Earl of Essex—an involvement to which we will return. It was an unquestionable advantage for Trott that his friends and supporters knew each other (and, in the case of the northern councillors, lived in the same city). His backers could work in concert, exerting pressure where it was most needed. Trott made sure he kept his friends in the loop. He wrote to Charles Hales in April giving him a summary of activity so far: 'those lettres according to your direction I haue addressed to Mr Purifie with myne to him of thanckes and

[62] Edward Stanhope to John Stanhope, 27 March 1595, LPL MS 650, fol.142r (copy) (misendorsed 1594).

[63] Anon. to WC, 7 June 1595, TNA SP 12/252, fol.103r mentions five candidates and names Trott and Gee. Wilkes's interest is evident from Trott's remark that he abandoned his suit in April (LPL MS 651 fol.78r).

[64] Reid, *King's Council in the North*, 228 and Simon Healy, 'Ferne, Sir John (c.1560–1609)', *ODNB* (accessed 18 August 2015).

[65] Simon Adams, 'Davison, William (d.1608)' and John Considine, 'Davison, Francis (1573/4 – 1613x19)', *ODNB* (accessed 18 August 2015).

offer of seruice. I haue receiued from Mr Edward Stanhope in awnsuer of myne, and one written by Mr Frauncis Bacon, a very frendlie letter … and allso one other written in my favour to Mr Iohn Stanhope.'[66]

Trott's connections with these men comprehended other ties than simply shared Inn membership. His relationship with the Bacon brothers was a strong mix of affection and indebtedness; the Stanhopes were kin to the Bacons; Charles Hales, the northern councillor to whom Trott was closest, was also Robert Beale's brother-in-law.[67] But the Gray's Inn link was not to be ignored, and explains Trott's decision to write to the elderly Grayan, Humphrey Purefoy, a northern councillor, whom he may never have met, with an appeal for support: 'Right worshipfull Sir my bouldnes in writing to you groweth out of advice and assurance given me by Mr Charles Hales my good frend by whose letters I vnderstand that it hath pleased the Counsell there to favour me to my Lord President with commendacion of Relligion, honesty and sufficiencie for the place I desire.'[68] Trott had good reason to hope that his qualities would be noted by his fellow Grayans at York. Edward Stanhope assured his brother that 'I beleeue I shall not be found to erre in this my opinion of him, that he hath bene of honest[,] curteous, and verie sociable conversacion, from his youth, zealouslie affected in religion, [and] verie well studied in the common Lawes.' Stanhope's good opinion was not primarily the result of first-hand experience: 'These respectes my good brother[,] well knowen to me by observacion but better knowen to other of our particular frendes with whom he hath much conversed[,] laying all affection aside doe vrge me … earnestlie to require your best furtherance, good commendacion and approbacion of this suite.'[69] The Gray's Inn network appeared to be working well for Trott, and those qualities which the young Templar John Manningham

[66] NT to Charles Hales, 9/10 April 1595, LPL MS 651, fol.289r (copy).

[67] Trott refers to Beale as 'your brother' when writing to Charles Hales, as Beale's widowed mother Amy Morison Beale went on to marry Stephen Hales, brother to the John Hales in whose household Robert Beale was raised. Charles Hales was Stephen's heir: Charles Hales and Robert Beale probably regarded themselves as step-brothers, although the precise nature of the link is obscure (Gary M. Bell, 'Beale, Robert (1541–1601)', *ODNB* (accessed 18 August 2015). I am most grateful to Alan Stewart for helping me uncover this link.)

[68] NT to Humphrey Purefoy, 9 April 1595, LPL MS 651, fol.77r (copy). Purefoy had entered Gray's Inn in 1556, and had been a northern councillor since 1582 (Joseph Foster (ed.), *The Register of Admissions to Gray's Inn, 1521–1889, Together with the Register of Marriages in Gray's Inn Chapel, 1695–1754* (London: privately printed by The Hansard Publishing Union, 1889), 27, and Reid, *Council in the North*, 495).

[69] Edward Stanhope to John Stanhope, 27 March 1595, LPL MS 650, fol.142r.

had also tried so assiduously to cultivate seemed to be proving their worth: the mix of gravity and sociability, conformist religion and good-fellowship that Stanhope saw in Trott, smoothed a man's path not only at the Inns themselves, but through his later career as well.

Law Sports and Rhetorics of Friendship

As we will see, Trott's application was ultimately unsuccessful. But he had good reason to expect a happier outcome. The Inns exposed their members to a rhetoric of friendship and career-long loyalty that made clear the extent of the societies' support for these ideas. They engaged in the promulgation of the theory of friendship as well as its practice through their conscious adoption of historical modes of intimate fellowship. The Inns of Court alumni networks may seem to function like a modern old boys' club, but early modern England lacked a vocabulary for the sort of professionalised fellow-feeling that would develop in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Instead, the members of the Inns of Court construed their reliance on and promotion of institutional loyalty in terms of a historical conception of chivalric brotherhood and the principles of classical-humanist male friendship. These were the models to which they defaulted when presenting their societies in print and dramatic display.

Inner and Middle Temple's distant connection to the chivalric order of the Knights Templar helped to locate the societies within a context of feudal honour and inherited masculine virtue.[70] The legal fraternity adopted the ancient home of the Knights Templar and assumed responsibility for their distinctive circular church, retaining at the same time their knightly imprese. As George Buc explained in 1612, the devise of 'a horse … with two men riding vpon him' was 'a true Hierogliffe of ingenious kindnesse, and Noble courtesie of soldiers … who … when they happened to see any other Christian soldiour Wounded, or hurt, or sicke, lying upon the way, they would take him vp vpon their owne horse, and carry him out of daunger'. This purchased heritage provided an origin myth of fraternity and honour for an institution whose true founding, like those of the others Inns, was obscure.

The myth received an elaborate staging during the festivities which marked the admission of Robert Dudley, then Master of the Queen's

[70] Jonathan Riley-Smith, 'Prologue: The Knights Templar', and John Toulmin, 'The Temple Church', in Havery (ed.), *History of the Middle Temple*, 1–30.

Horse and a Knight of the Garter, to Inner Temple in 1561. Dudley (not yet Earl of Leicester) had been made a special patron of the society in recognition of his intercession in a disagreement over Lyons Inn, one of its houses of Chancery.[71] As a sign of his new status, he attended the Christmas festivities held at the Temple which were celebrated in some style. Unlike most revels which survive only as records in an account book, the Dudley festivities were described in great detail by Inner Templar Gerard Legh in *The Accedence of Armorie* (1562), and as a historical curiosity by William Dugdale in *Origines Juridiciales* (1666). Legh presented the celebrations in allegorical form (although he was careful to identify the Inner Temple by name) as the product of a 'prouince … auncient in trew nobilitie … wherin are the store of gentilmen of the whole realme, that repaire thither to learne to rule, and obay the law, to yeld their fleece to their prince and comonweale'. The narrator visits the Temple where he is greeted by 'an herehaught [herald], by name Palaphilos', the chivalric alter ego of Robert Dudley. Palaphilos recognises the narrator as a fellow 'louer of honour', and shows him the society's ancient documents testifying to its long armigerous history. He also smuggles him into the hall where he watches the Inner Temple's 'Prince', the appointed lord of the Christmas revels, 'serued with tender meates, sweet frutes and deinte delicates, confeccioned with curious Cookerie'. The Prince's colleagues are compared directly to the Knights Templar reposing in the Temple Church. They are 'thenheritors of those auncestors, who, for the comon state nether spard labor, losse of lyberty, nor lyffe and all in the aduauncement of the same'.[72] William Dugdale, writing a century later and supplementing Legh with 'other particulars touching these grand Christmasses extracted out of the Accomptes of the House', described the ritual of Dudley's admission on St Stephen's Day, 26 December. Once the first course of dinner had been cleared away, Dudley entered the hall

> arrayed with a fair, rich, compleat Harneys, white and bright, and gilt, with a Nest of Fethers of all colours upon his Crest or Helm, and a gilt Pole-axe in his hand … after two or three Curtesies made, [he] kneeleth down … [and] pronounceth an Oration of a quarter of an hours length, thereby declaring the purpose of his coming; and that his purpose is to be admitted to his Lordships service.

[71] Inderwick (ed.), *Inner Temple Records*, 1, 215–19.

[72] Gerard Legh, *The Accedence of Armorie* (London: Richard Cottill, 1562), sigs. Ccvi.r-Ddviii.v.

When the festive lord made a show of reluctance, Dudley 'in submissive manner delivereth his naked Sword to the Steward; who giveth it to the Lord Chancellour: and thereupon the Lord Chancellor willeth the Marshall to place the Constable-Marshall [Dudley] in his Seat: and so he doth.' This show of vassalage was then repeated by other members of the society.[73] In Gerard Legh's account, the Prince bid the new men welcome to a society to which they were 'coupled in amitie'. For him,

> [the] seuerall members, maye create and conioyne, one vnseparable body, as the whole may support the partes, eche part seruyng his place to vpholde the whole … This vnion[,] a knot indissoluble, lynked with your consentes in so honorable a felowship, is a sure shielde to this estate, agaynst all throwes of Fortune.[74]

In this ceremony, Dudley willingly participated in a performance of corporate loyalty, whereby the Templars drew strength from their shared bonds of friendship: it is notable that Dudley played along with the idea that his admission was a special favour, for all that Inner Temple's status was raised by such a powerful ally.[75]

The power of good fellowship was the theme of another famous Inns of Court revel, staged at Gray's Inn during the Christmas festivities of 1594–1595. These lavish entertainments were described in a pamphlet printed, apparently from a contemporary manuscript source, in 1688, and fit the pattern of 'grand Christmasses' described by Dugdale, in which a stage-managed eruption of disorder was resolved and then celebrated with an elaborate masque or play.[76] At Gray's Inn, a chaotic night on Innocents' Day (28 December), when guests from Inner Temple stormed out before

[73] Dugdale, *Origines Juridiciales*, sigs.V3v-X2v.

[74] Legh, *Accedence of Armorie*, sigs.Eei.v-ii.r.

[75] Confusion appears to have arisen in analyses of these festivities over the role played by Dudley. Many have ascribed him the part of the 'Prince' in Legh's account, but 'Palaphilos' is very clearly a different character to the Prince, whom the narrator is taken to see by Palaphilos. Dugdale explains that Dudley was 'chief person (his title Palaphilos) being Constable and Marshall', and it is the Constable-Marshal who makes his grand entrance on St Stephen's Day requesting admission to his 'lordship's' service, the lord in this instance being the festive 'Lord Chancellor', played in 1561 by a Mr Onslow.

[76] Desmond Bland (ed.), *Gesta Grayorum, or the History of the High and Mighty Prince Henry of Purpoole Anno Domini 1594* (Liverpool: University of Liverpool Press, 1968); *LL*, 1, 325–43; W.R. Elton, *Shakespeare's Troilus and Cressida and the Inns of Court Revels* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), 4 and 7.

a performance of Shakespeare's *The Comedy of Errors*, provided the motive for the next day's mock-trial of the offender who had incited the riot of the night before, and the staging six days later of a 'device' of friendship, designed to heal the 'breach' between Gray's Inn and Inner Temple.[77] The device—a masque in miniature—featured a series of devotions at the altar to the Goddess of Amity by a procession of famous classical friends: Theseus and Pirithous, Achilles and Patroclus, Pilades and Orestes and Scipio and Laelius. But the prayers of 'Graius' and 'Templarius', personified as two friends walking arm-in-arm, fail to please the Goddess until the assembled nymphs have sung 'Hymns of Pacification to her Deity'. Which done, Graius and Templarius are pronounced 'to be as true and perfect Friends, and so familiarly united and linked with the Bond and League of sincere Friendship and Amity' as any of the classical exemplars.[78] Classical friendship had been a leitmotif of that season's revels at Gray's Inn. *The Comedy of Errors* flattered its educated audience with a witty comment on Cicero's paradoxical term for the ideal friend, 'alter idem' ('another, the same'). Antipholus of Syracuse's impossible search for his twin, his missing other self, is at the same time a quest for the spiritual fulfilment of friendship: 'I to the world am like a drop of water,/That in the ocean seeks another drop,/Who, falling there to find his fellow forth/(Unseen, inquisitive), confounds himself.'[79] The subsequent theatrical celebrations on Twelfth Night, a few days after the device of friendship, also featured a threat to the 'state' of Gray's Inn that was resolved by the goddesses Amity and Arety, and their 'inventions' United Friendship and Vertue.[80]

Friendship was important to the Inns because it was regarded as the force that held the four separate Inns together in fellowship, a united front that gave honour and status to the legal community. The proverbial rarity of humanist loving-friendship (Montaigne thought it a wonder if 'Fortune can achieve it once in three centuries') made it a flattering model for the institutional amity shared among the houses themselves, as demonstrated

[77] Margaret Knapp and Michael Kobialka, 'Shakespeare and the Prince of Purpoole: the 1594 production of *The Comedy of Errors* at Gray's Inn Hall', *Theatre History Studies* 4 (1984), 71–81.

[78] Bland (ed.), *Gesta Grayorum*, 35–36. The staged reconciliation was followed by a series of six philosophic dialogues, written by Francis Bacon and performed by fellow Grayans (Stewart (ed.), *Oxford Francis Bacon I*, 583–606).

[79] *The Comedy of Errors*, 1.2.35–38 (Riverside Shakespeare).

[80] Bland (ed.), *Gesta Grayorum*, 58.

by the Gray's Inn device.[81] More importantly, friendship among the members themselves generated the powerful ties of loyalty and affection that made the Inns of Court such influential organisations. Gerard Legh was forthright about these benefits. Inner Temple was for him a place where 'amitie is obtained and continued', and where the members were 'knitt by continuall acquaintance in such vnitie of minds and maners as lyghtly neuer after is seuerid'.[82]

Seed-Beds of Support

By the end of the sixteenth century, the line of 'continuall acquaintance' stretched from the Inns of Court to a large number of judicial, legislative, executive and ecclesiastical offices. The networks of Inns of Court alumni, as manipulated by Nicholas Trott, emerge as constituent parts of the patronage culture that obtained in early modern England.[83] The direction of interest of such systems tends to be bottom-up rather than top-down: those individuals who desired an office or court position lobbied men more influential than themselves, in the hope that they would take an interest and fight for their cause. Such is the implication of Catherine Patterson's conception of patronage as a series of reciprocal transactions, both tangible and ceremonial, between 'those who had and those who needed'.[84] This is the dynamic in which Trott appears to be operating. It is he who must take the initiative to bring his suit to the attention of the powerful, aided by brokers such as the Bacon brothers. The model, demonstrably applicable in Trott's situation, nonetheless obscures an additional dynamic in which the direction of interest is top-down, and in which the Inns of Court appear as *resources* for politically influential men. Linda Levy Peck has shown that 'Renaissance patrons sought to extend their political power in time and space … [and] created networks

[81] Montaigne, 'On Friendship' (Screech (trans. and ed.), *Complete Essays*, 207). On classical-humanist friendship, and its currency in early modern England, see Chapter 2; Shannon, *Sovereign Amity*, 17–53; MacFaul, *Male Friendship*, 1–29.

[82] Legh, *Accedence of Armorie*, sigs.Ccv.v-Ccvi.r.

[83] See: MacCaffrey, 'Place and Patronage'; Arthur F. Marotti, 'John Donne and the Rewards of Patronage', in Guy Fitch Lytle and Stephen Orgel (eds), *Patronage in the Renaissance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), 207–34; Linda Levy Peck, *Court Patronage and Corruption in Early Stuart England* (London: Routledge, 1993) (first published Unwin Hyman Ltd, 1990), chs. 1–3.

[84] Patterson, *Urban Patronage in Early Modern England*, 15.

of followers to enforce their will.'[85] For grandees who aspired to a national network of sympathetic clients, the Inns were a rich resource. They were not simply the 'noblest nurseries of humanity and liberty', as Ben Jonson termed them in his dedication to *Every Man Out of his Humour* (1600). They were also valuable seed-beds of support and political backing. And as such, they invited cultivation.[86]

Members of the Inns of Court might find employment in a broad range of government offices. England's common law courts were numerous and varied, comprising the Court of the Star Chamber, the King's Bench, the Court of Common Pleas, the Queen's Councils in the North and in Wales (which were also civil law institutions), the courts of the counties palatine of Chester and Lancaster, the Court of First Fruits and the Court of Wards. Each maintained a permanent staff of attorneys and clerks. Lesser courts, such as the dozens of manorial and borough courts across the country, were increasingly attracting London-trained lawyers. Other centralised authorities such as customs houses in the major ports, tax offices and surveyors of the queen's lands in each country required men with legal knowledge. Inns of Court members might hope to become secretaries in executive and legislative branches of government.[87] These were not always back-office positions. The northern secretaryship sought by Trott was to become particularly important in the 1590s as the government conducted increasingly open negotiations with James VI about the terms of succession. In the years before 1603, the secretary at York was a vital facilitator of communication between London and Edinburgh.[88] That men of the Inns of Court could hope to achieve positions of significance did not go unnoticed. The composition of the Inns was regarded as a matter of national interest: from the 1560s onwards, state records included copies of their membership registers. Such lists served a national security function (it behoved the government to keep an eye on large and diverse populations) but they also enabled the state to track its human resources. A manuscript handbook of 1576, probably made at the behest

[85] Peck, *Court Patronage*, 48.

[86] G.A. Wilkes (ed.), *The Complete Plays of Ben Jonson*, 4 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981–2), 1, 275–411, 279.

[87] 'A general Collection of all the offices in England with their fees and allowaunce in the Queenes gift', c.1589, Folger MS. V.a.98; C.W. Brooks, 'The Common Lawyers in England, c.1558–1642', in Wilfrid Prest (ed.), *Lawyers in Early Modern Europe and America* (London: Croom Helm, 1981), 42–64.

[88] Reid, *Council in the North*, 228, 233–4.

of the Principal Secretary or one of the queen's other senior councillors, contains information such as lists of musters for 1574 and 1575, the number of trained bands in each county, the names and crew of the queen's ships, the names of the justices of assize throughout the country and other necessary data for effective government. It also contains '[t]he names of certayne lawiers in euery of the foure Innes of Court', with a brief description of their estate and skills: a barrister, Mr Daniell, is 'of great practise, very wealthie and relligious', whereas his fellow Mr Williams is 'smally learned'. Some of the notes suggest an eye to professional development: Mr Brograve, a Gray's Inn reader, although 'very learned' is poor—but 'worthy of great practise'.[89]

Nicholas Trott's pursuit of the position at York can also be understood in the context of this high-powered interest in the Inns. Beyond his immediate Gray's Inn circle, but intimately connected to several of its members, the Earl of Essex played a key role as Trott's most glittering supporter—and the only figure involved in the battle for the deputy secretaryship who was not also a member of Gray's Inn. The earl in fact functioned as something rather more than a mere backer. His involvement was proactive and perhaps initiatory. Writing to Edward Stanhope on 9 April, Trott explained that the diminution of the office at York from joint to deputy secretary on Ralph Rokeby's death had put him off, citing the lesser position's lack of job security: 'besides the small reputacion of a deputie I would for other reasons be lothe to spend many of these my ripe and indeede turning yeares in a seruice which I should vpon an others death be forced to leaue [a]nd in my more declyned age seeke an other'.[90] It was, he wrote to Charles Hales the next day, the Earl of Essex who had urged him to persevere:

> [n]otwithstanding my Lord of Essex seemeth confident and maketh both your brother [Robert Beale] and me hope that in some small time of my exequution of the place as deputy there will occasion be offered to moue and obtaine of Her Maiestie a graunt of the ioynt patency specially if my Lord Presidents satisfaction of my seruice may appeare.[91]

Once Essex had convinced Trott that the deputy secretaryship was a stepping-stone to the full position (and by May he was airily confident of

[89] BL Lansdowne MS 683. The Gray's Inn lawyers are fols.64v-65r.
[90] NT to Edward Stanhope, 9 April 1595, LPL MS 651, fol.78r (copy).
[91] NT to Charles Hales, 10 April 1595, LPL MS 651, fol.289v (copy).

success, telling Mr Davison that as 'I haue some good hope that it maie in tyme be wrought to a Iointpatencie I shalbe content to be so intreated into it'),[92] the earl added his considerable weight to the effort to propel Trott into the office, writing a generous letter of recommendation on his behalf to the Lord President, the Earl of Huntingdon.[93]

Essex's determined involvement in Trott's campaign is surprising given his other administrative moves in 1595. Earlier in the year, he had taken advantage of (or possibly concocted) a mistaken advertisement of Robert Beale's death to place one of his secretaries, Thomas Smith, in Beale's place as clerk to the Privy Council.[94] The situation when Beale proclaimed his health and objected to the change was awkward, but, in 1595, Essex enjoyed unmatched influence with the queen and it was decided that Beale should sacrifice his London position and devote himself to his secondary role as secretary at York—where he would be expected to relocate. The news reduced Beale to stunned silence for some weeks before he was able to put the case for his continued clerkship of the Privy Council in a long and dignified letter to Lord Burghley. He pointed out that he had 'serued now almost xxiii yeres in the place, which is a longer tyme that anye Clerke of the privy Counsell serued eyther her Maiestie or anye her progenitors', and 'to be putt out of the hall into the kitchin' was a profound disgrace. Moving to York was out of the question: not only did he suffer from urinary blockage, the stone and gout, but prolonged travel by coach rendered him prostrate. More to the point, his role in the trial and execution of Mary, Queen of Scots, had made venturing into the northern parts a lethal prospect, 'my self and my posterity threatened with all reuenges' that Stuart vigilantism could muster. Finally, the demotion would ruin him financially, as the charge of travelling to York would require him to 'sell my bookes and leave my wyfe and children destitute of anye house to putt their heades in, if anye mishappe should lyght vppon me there'.[95]

Despite reports that the queen was in favour of the plan, there can never have been any serious prospect of Beale leaving London for York.[96] At 54, he might well have been considered too old to withstand such

[92] NT to Mr Davison, 18 May 1595, LPL MS 651, fol.133r (copy).

[93] EE to the Earl of Huntingdon, 7 April 1595, LPL MS 651, fol.100r (copy).

[94] Paul Hammer, 'The Uses of Scholarship: The Secretariat of Robert Devereux, Second Earl of Essex, c.1585–1601', *English Historical Review* 109 (1994), 26–51, 28 (note).

[95] Robert Beale to WC, 24 April 1595, BL Additional MS 48116, fols.338-345v.

[96] Trott wrote to Charles Hales that it was 'Her Maiestes pleasure that he [Beale] should himself exequute' the office (LPL MS 651, fol.289r).

a change of climate and comfort. Even Trott, ten years his junior, had to fend off concern that the move would be dangerous. 'I most humbly thancke you of your recording that I should examyne my self how I can abide a continuall estranging from the south parts,' he wrote to Charles Hales. 'Trulie I am neither of mynde nor bodie so delicate but that I maie endure a chaunge of so small disadvantage as I apprehend this to be.'[97] The assumption must have been that Beale would seek to appoint another deputy or joint-patentee, as—no doubt prompted by the flurry of interest in the vacant position—he suggested in his letter to Burghley: he requested that the queen should 'suffer me to serue by a deputye, as by my Lettres Patentes I maye'. For Essex, positioning Trott as Ralph Rokeby's replacement was the complementary manoeuvre to his success in obtaining for Thomas Smith the Privy Council clerkship, a dual campaign inspired by the (actual) death of Rokeby and the (illusory) death of Beale. By sidelining the ageing Robert Beale, Essex hoped to slip his own supporters into two politically strategic posts.

It was an opportunity that would further Essex's chief objective in the middle years of the 1590s: the consolidation of his position as a counsellor and magnate. Since his elevation to the Privy Council in February 1593, Essex had begun overtly to strengthen his power-base through the sponsorship of parliamentary seats and by pushing for crown offices for his friends and supporters. In this he had mixed results—his candidates for two senior placements, Francis Bacon as Attorney-General and Robert Sidney as Warden of the Cinque Ports, both failed.[98] More junior positions offered a greater chance of success, and the prospect of an ally in the northern council was particularly attractive for Essex, not least because of his growing interest in Scottish affairs. Planting a client in the Council in the North was more difficult than securing the Privy Council clerkship for Smith, however. In London, where he attended permanently on the queen as her councillor and as Master of the Horse, Essex was able to deploy his considerable power of persuasion. The northern deputy secretaryship required the consent of both Robert Beale, and his direct superior, the Earl of Huntingdon. As Nicholas Trott explained to Edward Stanhope on 9 April, Beale was minded 'to haue not onlie my Lord Presidents allowance but his direction in the substitution of a deputie', and he refused to

[97] NT to Charles Hales, 9 April 1595, LPL MS 51, fol.289v (copy).
[98] *PP*, chapters 4, 5 and 7; *HF*, Chapters 6 and 7.

back Trott's claim until he had received further instructions.[99] Essex's relationship with the Huntingdon family was personally close (the earl and his wife had fostered the Devereux siblings after the death of Essex's father) but politically fraught: with his firm stance on recusants and contempt for Catholic toleration, the Earl of Huntingdon's views accorded more with those held by the Cecils than by Essex.[100] The politics of the north, an area alert to recusancy and the prospect of a Catholic rising, were in general more sectarian than in the south. The Gray's Inn alumni network offered Essex a way round the hard-line inclinations of the Lord President and the Council. The tendency of Grayans to rally round their own provided Nicholas Trott with a ready-made cadre of supporters willing to press his suit with the Lord President, a personal touch that—co-opted by Essex—made up for the earl's lack of influence on the northern council compared with his sway over affairs in London. If Essex's power drew largely on the complex dynamics between favourite and monarch, he hoped to achieve his objective in York by exploiting the equally complicated webs of loyalties that existed between members of Gray's Inn.

The support of loyal colleagues could not, however, outweigh the damaging effects of rumour. Despite backing for Trott's appointment from the Grayan members of council, and Beale's promise—finally extracted in June—that he would 'propound … [his] name first to the consyderacion' of the Lord President, Huntingdon derailed these preparations by his decision 'not [to] nominate any person' as such but to appoint on merit and with regard to security considerations. The successful applicant needed to possess, as Trott himself pointed out in a letter to John Stanhope, 'competent learning in the Law … [and] Knowledge of foreign matters and Languages'; it was also important 'that he be not borne or frended within the jurisdiction of that commission'. Although he was thoroughly qualified and had a long professional life behind him in London and the south of England, Trott came from a Yorkshire family and was open to charges that he was 'enwrapped in affections and partialities' towards the north.[101] It may have been an accusation of this kind to which Trott referred when he complained to Anthony Bacon in May of an unspecified 'fiction' that had been spread abroad about him, damaging his standing.[102] By late summer,

[99] NT to Edward Stanhope, 9 April 1595, LPL MS 651, fol.78r (copy).
[100] *PP*, 31.
[101] NT to John Stanhope, June 1595, LPL MS 651, fol.186r-v (auto copy).
[102] NT to AB, 22 May 1595, LPL MS 651, fol.134r-v.

the affair was over: in August, the queen authorised the appointment of John Ferne of Inner Temple as Beale's deputy, instructing Huntingdon to admit him 'to all the duties and commodities of the office, to swear him as one of the Council in the North, and to commit to him the signet of the office'.[103] Ferne satisfied the requirements of the job, with the additional benefit that he shared the Lord President's belief in the extirpation of papists. He also enjoyed the support of Lord Burghley and his son, Sir Robert Cecil. With Ferne's appointment, the Cecils achieved another small success in the simmering competition between themselves and Essex which came to dominate the second half of the 1590s.

Honorary Admissions

Essex's attempt to use the networks sustained by Gray's Inn to his political advantage was not tactically innovative, although its failure may be illustrative of his comparatively weak hold on systems of patronage and appointment in the 1590s. As in so many other areas, he was outmanoeuvred by Lord Burghley and his son, Robert Cecil. Burghley exerted a magisterial influence over appointments thanks to his roles as Lord Treasurer and Master of the Court of Wards, two departments that included a large proportion of the government's offices.[104] By the early 1590s, after the deaths of Sir Christopher Hatton, the Earl of Leicester and Sir Francis Walsingham, Burghley's power was unmatched. With the rise of Essex, each appointment became an opportunity for competition between the established figure (and his hopeful son), and the emergent star. There is also evidence that Burghley sought to wield a more finely-grained control over Gray's Inn, which he had entered as a student in 1540 (his son Robert followed him in 1580, a few years after his cousins, the Bacon brothers). Burghley never held any official office at Gray's Inn as a barrister, although he was later to write of it as 'the place where myself came forth unto service' after the theoretical hot-housing of Cambridge.[105] But from the mid-1580s, he took a close interest in the membership of his old society. Starting in 1585, Burghley sponsored the admission of 26

[103] TNA SP 12/253, fol.118r.

[104] 'A General Collection' identifies 35 named paid positions in the treasury, making it the biggest crown department by far (Folger MS V.a.98, fol.1r-v). MacCaffrey terms Burghley the queen's 'patronage minister' ('Place and Patronage', 109).

[105] Quoted in Stephen Alford, *Burghley: William Cecil at the Court of Elizabeth I* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 29.

gentlemen to Gray's Inn, in three batches of between six and twelve men, his responsibility being marked next to each name in the register.[106] Special admission at the request of a member was the remnant of a tradition at the Inns that persons of distinction could request that their nominees be called to the bar. Although this overt nepotism was frowned upon by the end of the sixteenth century, the gift of an admission (with no automatic right to practise law) was still frequently granted to members who had performed some service: when Robert Dudley's patronage of Inner Temple was celebrated in 1561, the members who had spent the most money on the festivities were allowed to bestow one or two special admissions on gentlemen of their choosing.[107] Burghley's numerous admissions suggest that Gray's Inn was keen to retain a link with its eminent former student. The Lord Treasurer chose to extend his sponsorship to a diverse range of recipients. Some of the men may have been young enough (or sufficiently interested) to benefit from the professional education offered at the Inns. Other beneficiaries were gentlemen with established career paths, both kin and non-kin. These men were not, and did not intend to become, lawyers. It is unlikely that men such as Robert Sidney and Henry Brooke, who entered thanks to Burghley's patronage in March 1588, ever participated in the professional life of the Inns, and their attendance at social events, if it ever occurred, was as guests. Their membership was honorary, a sign of favour or a reward, and they benefited from access to the fraternal and friendly ties of loyalty that made the Inns such influential institutions: inclusion in the privileged world of the Inns of Court was an advantage for any man with ambitions in the public sphere. An additional, and worldlier, benefit of membership is revealed in the records pertaining to Robert Dudley's admission to Inner Temple. His new fellows pledged that 'no person … hereafter shall … in any wise or by any manner of means, be

[106] 28 February 1585: Thomas Morison; 15 March 1585: William, Lord Evers, George Heneage, Edward Boughton, Nicholas Luke, Charles Howard, Richard Spencer, Reginald Smith (67); 29 February 1588: Henry, earl of Southampton, Thomas Holcroft; 11 March 1588: Christopher, Baron Delvin, Robert Sidney, Henry Brooke, Anthony Cooke, Fulke Greville, [Thomas] Posthumous Hoby, Edward Fritton, Simon Killigrew, Robert Oglethorpe (66); 26 February 1589: William Cecil, Richard Hatton, Garrett Aylmer, Robert Welby, Henry Goldsmith, Edward Warryn (74) (Foster (ed.), *Gray's Inn Admissions*).

[107] Inderwick (ed.), *Inner Temple Records*, 1, 219. All the Inns had orders similar to that which obtained at Middle Temple, that 'Gentlemen are prohibited from suing by noblemen's letters or otherwise for their calling and preferment to the bar, on pain of disgrace', Charles Henry Hopwood (ed. and trans.), *Minutes of Parliament of the Middle Temple*, 3 vols (London: privately printed, 1904–05), 1, 234.

retained counsel or otherwise give any counsel, help, or aid in any matter or cause against the said Lord Robert Duddeley and his heirs'.[108] This was an extension of the prohibition that covered all Inns of Court, members of each individual house being forbidden from going to law against one another without the express consent of the benchers.[109]

Special admissions of the sort sponsored by the Lord Treasurer were granted by all four houses, often for free but sometimes on payment of anything up to £6 8s 4d.[110] For student members, a special admission, while costly, liberated them from duties and offices typically levied upon Inns of Court men (which could be onerous and expensive). Mature men, whose admission was 'special' in that their membership was honorary and entailed no obligation to follow the rules of the house, may or may not have paid entry dues. They certainly did not pay for dining or any other housekeeping fees—a significant gift, seeing that these sums were, for Lincoln's Inn as much as the others, 'the only revenewes of this House'.[111] Even if most honorary members were not greeted with the expensive 'masks, plays [and] disguisings' that welcomed Dudley to Inner Temple, the cost of entertaining them was borne by the regular members, and the financial burden of hospitality occasioned frequent intercession by the governing bodies of all the Inns.[112] The calculation seems to have been that the interest and support of well-connected, highly-esteemed and rich people was of greater value than the charge of their entertainment, or the loss of piecemeal income from waived admissions dues and commons fees.

Certainly, those who were admitted as a mark of esteem in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were typically men who had achieved a degree of financial, political or ecclesiastical success. The senior ranks of London's guilds and livery companies enjoyed a close relationship with their legal counterparts, especially in the first decades of the seventeenth century: wealthy aldermen feature strongly in the roll of honorary members at Middle Temple and Gray's Inn, the two largest Inns, and it was a rare Lord Mayor who was not also an honorary member of an Inn of Court. In the space of a single month—March 1596—Gray's Inn

[108] Inderwick (ed.), *Inner Temple Records*, 1, 217–18.

[109] J. Douglas Walker (ed.), *The Records of the Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn. The Black Books*, 4 vols (London: H.C. Cartwright, 1897–1904), 2, xxx.

[110] Dugdale, *Origines Juridiciales*, sig.Y1r.

[111] Walker (ed.), *Lincoln's Inn Records*, 2, 144. The specifics of special admission are addressed in Inderwick, *Inner Temple Records*, 1, 238.

[112] Inderwick (ed.), *Inner Temple Records*, 1, 219–20.

welcomed into its ranks a visiting Bohemian nobleman, Jan Divíš, baron von Žerotín, and the queen's long-standing gentleman-usher Richard Brakenbury, who had for several decades been responsible for managing courtiers' admission to the privy chamber.[113] By the end of the 1590s, Gray's Inn had honoured, by way of a small selection, William Camden, Lancelot Andrewes, Jean Hotman, John Whitgift, Richard Fletcher (the bishop of Worcester), Humphrey Tyndall (the dean of Ely), and several more royal body-servants.[114] The City was represented by the aldermen Sir Richard Martyn, Henry Byllyngsley, John Garrard, Thomas Lowe, Edward Holmden, Leonard Halliday and William Craven.[115]

Most of these men would not have been expected to perform the sort of patronage activities undertaken by Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, who in 1576 paid for new chambers to be built at Inner Temple.[116] But many of the honorary members enjoyed a proximity to money or power that made them valuable friends: Sir John Spencer, the legendarily-wealthy merchant who was admitted, while a serving Lord Mayor, during the Gray's Inn Christmas festivities of 1594–1595, was a money-lender to the crown and to other leading aristocrats; William Fowler, secretary to King James's wife, Anne, was made an honorary member of Middle Temple in 1604.[117] Of particular interest to Nicholas Trott when he was planning his application for the northern secretaryship would have been the fact that the two previous secretaries, Henry Cheke and Robert Beale, had been granted honorary membership of Gray's Inn in recognition of their role.[118] What these men could offer was a willingness to carry the good name of the society into whichever corridors of power they walked, and to repay the

[113] Foster (ed.), *Gray's Inn Admissions*, 87 (where Žerotín appears as 'Johannes Dionysius'); Otakar Odložilík, 'Karel of Žerotín and the English Court (1564–1636)', *Slavonic Review* 15 (1936), 413–25, 421; Mears, *Queenship and Political Discourse*, 263.

[114] William Camden, August 1592 (81); Lancelot Andrewes, March 1590 (77); Jean Hotman, January 1588 (72); John Whitgift, March 1593 (82); Richard Fletcher and Humphrey Tyndall, February 1594 (83). Thomas Conway, another gentleman usher, was admitted in March 1598, along with Randle Belling, one of the queen's shewers (93) (Foster (ed.), *Gray's Inn Admissions*).

[115] Sir Richard Martyn and Henry Byllyngsley, February 1591 (78); John Garrard, Thomas Lowe and Edward Holmden, March 1599 (96); Leonard Halliday and William Craven, August 1600 (99) (ibid.).

[116] Inderwick (ed.), *Inner Temple Records*, 1, 285–6.

[117] Foster (ed.), *Gray's Inn Admissions*, 87; Ian W. Archer, 'Spencer, Sir John (d.1610)', *ODNB* (accessed 21 August 2015); Hutchinson, *Notable Middle Templars*, 96.

[118] Foster (ed.), *Gray's Inn Admissions*, 65 and 68 (Cheke is entered twice), 103.

gift of inclusion in the societies' closed world with such friendly services as they could reasonably perform. The figuring of honorary membership as the extension of friendship is suggested from the timing of the admissions. Special admissions took place in August, at the summer reading, or during the festive season between All Saints' and Shrovetide (November to March), with the largest number by far occurring in February and March to coincide with Candlemas, the principal feast at all four Inns of Court and the final celebration of the pre-Gregorian year. We have seen that Inns revels used the opportunity of theatrical display to reinforce their values of chivalric comradeship and belief in classical friendship. Such occasions were often private, designed for the members alone, but events which marked the end of a sequence of revels—the figurative restoration of order after engineered disruption—were sometimes attended by outsiders.[119] The device of friendship performed at Gray's Inn on 3 January 1595, which marked the return to amity of the Grayans and Inner Temple, was attended by the earls of Shrewsbury, Cumberland, Northumberland, Southampton and Essex, the Lords Buckhurst, Windsor, Mountjoy, Sheffield, Compton, Rich and Mounteagle, and 'a great number of Knights, Ladies and very worshipful personages'.[120] The timing of the honorary admissions suggests that the entry of a handful of such 'worshipful personages' was an integral part of the society's festivities, a friendly welcome to eminent new arrivals that functioned as a concrete example of the values of amity and loyalty enacted by the revels themselves.

Lord Burghley's involvement in this sort of admission can best be understood as that of a self-interested broker. By facilitating the entry of eminent or deserving men into Gray's Inn, he aimed to profit from the ties of loyalty and gratitude thereby created. He ensured that there was a distinct Cecilian mark on affairs at Gray's Inn, as there was at the Treasury and the Court of Wards. He drew the society into a portfolio of institutions in which he had an interest, an influence that he ensured was passed down to his son. The approach favoured by the Earl of Essex was quite different. As keen to break the Cecils' dominance as Burghley was to continue it, he did not have the same access to the Inns of Court. He was,

[119] Dugdale quotes an Inner Temple regulation that banned 'strangers' from the Hall except those 'as shall appear and seem to be of good sort and fashion' (*Origines Juridiciales*, sig.V3v). The outsiders were not just men: female guests were entertained at Inner Temple, but they dined separately in the library (sig.X3r).

[120] Bland (ed.), *Gesta Grayorum*, 35.

in fact, able to grant admissions at one of the societies. When Leicester died in 1588, Inner Temple had been quick to extend to his step-son Essex the same honorary membership they had given to the elder earl, but Essex appears to have made almost no impact on his own society.[121] Instead, his interest by the 1590s was focused on Gray's Inn, the biggest of the Inns and the one said to be most favoured by the queen.[122] His factors in this world were Anthony and Francis Bacon, and his resource the Gray's Inn circle which they had acquired in the past 15 years.

Like Edward Hyde at Middle Temple a generation later, the Bacon brothers used their association with Gray's Inn to make useful friendships with well-connected people. The brothers had been members since 1576, and although Anthony was to leave in 1579 on his extended continental tour, Francis's connection to the society remained strong, and his professional success as a lawyer made him a model for others (however frustrating he found his own lack of public recognition).[123] On Anthony's return in 1592, he made the Bacon family chambers at Gray's Inn his home, and Francis's lawyerly circle his society. We have already met some of these men: Nicholas Trott failed in his attempt to become the Earl of Essex's man in the north, but he performed a crucial financial role for the brothers, handling property sales and raising staggering amounts of money on his own credit. By October 1595, Anthony's debt to Trott stood at over £800. The loans were never fully repaid during Anthony's lifetime, and by 1601 the debt, inherited and considerably enhanced by Francis, had ballooned to more than £4000 (the friendship did not survive).[124] But during the first half of the 1590s, Trott was an eager supporter of both Anthony and the earl, and he made his financial sacrifices with good grace. In his land-management duties he was helped by Thomas Crewe, a Cheshire attorney (and future Speaker of the House of Commons).[125]

[121] Essex was admitted in the autumn of 1588, and made a single request that a Mr John Hawyes be called to be the bar at the time of his own entry, but other than that his name does not appear in the Inner Temple records (Inderwick (ed.), *Inner Temple Records*, 1, 354).

[122] This favouritism is implied by Foss, *Judges of England*, 5, 441.

[123] An undated narrative, probably from 1607, entitled 'The case of Sir Francis Bacon's precedency when Queen Elizabeth and King James counsel and also when solicitor to King James', was copied into the Inner Temple parliament records (Inderwick (ed.), *Inner Temple Records*, 2, 32).

[124] 'Mr Francis Bacon's state of his account with Trott', BL Lansdowne MS 88, fols.50–1; *HF*, 206–8.

[125] Lettre de Monsieur Trott ou Monsieur Crewe a Monsieur touchant la terre de Barly 1593' (LPL MS 649 fols.509–511).

Another useful Grayan was Henry Gosnold, who from 1594 worked for the Lord Deputy in Dublin, whence he sent intelligence on Irish matters to Anthony and to Robert Kempe, his Gray's Inn contemporary and cousin to the Bacons.[126] The group was also known to Nicholas Faunt, and it may have been through Francis or Anthony's influence that Faunt was admitted to Gray's Inn as an honorary member during the August reading of 1592.[127] It was into this circle that Anthony Standen was introduced in 1593, its comfortable intimacy a welcome change for the returning exile. These men constituted part of the intelligence apparatus that the Bacon brothers maintained for the benefit of their patrons—a contracting field of politicians and aristocrats that by 1593 or 1594 had narrowed to comprehend Essex only. From 1595, Anthony's association with the earl would become even closer, when he moved into his London house on the Strand, but before that point he and his brother saw themselves as the managers of an intelligence and scholarly consultancy: in January 1595, Francis wrote to Anthony for more work, as he had 'idle pens' with nothing to do at his house at Twickenham Park—they had already copied or composed a collection of Irish advertisements, news about the Scottish king James and various data about the Low Countries.[128] The Gray's Inn men would have been singularly well qualified to fulfil the requirements of scholarly service.[129] As professional men of affairs, Trott, Kempe, Crewe and Gosnold boasted an intellectual ability that was matched by their applied training in common law and financial services.

The men formed a congenial grouping who enjoyed spending time together at Gray's Inn, Anthony's London residence in Bishopsgate Street (which he acquired in March 1594) and the Bacon family homes in Hertfordshire. Henry Gosnold missed this sociability when he was posted to Ireland in the summer of 1594, and in a letter to Anthony he deplored the society of the locals, sending his depressed regards to 'Mr Trotte, Mr Standen, Mr Fant, Mr Crew and Mr Colman'.[130] Morgan Colman, the last of the group, was a scholar whose knowledge of the history of royal houses may have been extremely useful to Essex in the mid-1590s, as he

[126] Henry Gosnold to AB, 14 September 1594, LPL MS 650, fol.265r; 16 October 1594, LPL MS 650, fol.291r (accompanying enclosure now lost); undated, LPL MS 650, fol.353r (accompanying enclosure now lost); Hammer, 'The Uses of Scholarship', 29 (note).

[127] Foster (ed.), *Gray's Inn Admissions*, 81.

[128] *GL*, 127.

[129] Jardine and Sherman, 'Pragmatic Readers', 102–24.

[130] Henry Gosnold to AB, 14 September 1594, LPL MS 650, fol.265r.

attempted to curry favour with James VI (Colman drew up an expensively-printed genealogy of the Stuarts in 1608).[131] He became steward to the Lord Keeper, Sir John Puckering, in 1595, and it may have been in recognition of his new status that he too became an honorary Gray's Inn member in 1596.[132] The alumni circle cultivated by the Bacon brothers was notably active, and involved an unusual degree of sociable cohabitation. There is evidence that the Bacon household regularly included numerous Grayan members including Kemp, Gosnold and Trott as residents. Even at Gorhambury, Anthony liked to live with a legal entourage: writing in 1593 or 1594, Henry Gosnold extended his remembrance to Lady Bacon and 'your loose lawyer'—Thomas Crewe, whom he had mentioned earlier in the letter.[133]

This Gray's Inn coterie served Essex's interests as well as the Bacons'. From 1593, the earl was the attractive star about which the others revolved, drawn into his orbit by the increasing overlap of his affairs with Anthony Bacon's. The busy market in court news, parliamentary gossip and foreign intelligence in which all the men traded took on a distinctly partisan bent in favour of Essex. As Essex enhanced his own secretariat in the 1590s, he also improved his access to other forms of intelligence, as well as legal, financial and consultancy support.[134] The Bacon brothers' Gray's Inn circle was a valuable resource for Essex, a tightly focused complement to the nation-wide Grayan network he had attempted to harness during the Trott affair. If he was unable to exert the same overt influence over the society itself as his rival the Lord Treasurer, he was quick to take advantage of the services and favours its members could perform.

The cultivation of friendship was a skill that the Inns of Court expected of their members, and it was also something that the Inns sustained as one of their institutional values. Members had the opportunity to make

[131] Morgan Colman [*Ten sheets containing genealogies and portraits of James I and Queen Anne. With complimentary verses, addressed to Henry Prince of Wales, the Duke of York, the Princess Elizabeth, and with the coats of arms of all the nobles living in 1608 and of their wives*] (London: no printer's information, 1608). The BL copy—the only one known to survive—has no title page, but is inscribed in a seventeenth-century hand 'Pedigree of King Iames'.

[132] Foster (ed.), *Gray's Inn Admissions*, 91.

[133] Henry Gosnold to Anthony Bacon, 28 November [no year], LPL MS 653, fol.195r. In November 1593, Anthony Standen had sent his commendations to Anthony Bacon, Francis and Thomas Crewe at Gorhambury (LPL MS 649, fol.379r). Crewe had lived with Anthony before: Nicholas Faunt sent his salutations to a similar party at Gorhambury in September 1592 (LPL MS 648, fol.250v).

[134] Hammer, 'The Uses of Scholarship', 28–30.

friends with a wide variety of men. Unusually for early modern England, those friendships might cross social boundaries: the illusion that the Inns were academies for the sons of the gentry effectively levelled the playing field and laid greater stress on the value of social skills. Sociability—who associated with whom—was not merely determined by class. Members competed for friends, among peers and superiors, through displays of wit, charm and intellect. Prizes could be considerable. Friendships were for life, and members retained their loyalty to one another. Inns alumni, advanced to influential positions in England's crown and church bureaucracy, could further the careers of their colleagues. The Inns recognised and celebrated this culture of friendship through their institutional practices and cultural fictions. They jealously guarded their privileges and rights as communities of 'socii' (fellows) independent of municipal control. They were, however, open to a degree of influence and even exploitation by powerful men who sought to take advantage of the friendships that bound the fellows together.

Members of the Inns were nevertheless conscious of a certain cultural non-conformity in their promotion of friendly ties. The notion that a man might be propelled through life by the support of a particular organisation, beyond the control of family or crown, ran counter to a belief in inherited power. It was for this reason that writers from the Inns vaunted the gentility of their members. Sir John Fortescue set the trend when he explained that the cost of life at the Inns put the practice of law beyond the reach of 'poor and common people … [a]nd merchants' and limited it to those who were 'noble or spring of noble lineage'.[135] By the sixteenth century this had become a truism, constantly repeated despite evidence to the contrary. Gerard Legh dedicated *The Accedence of Armorie* to his colleagues at the Inns because of their feeling for the 'ancient tokens of armory', and he populated his lightly allegorised version of Inner Temple with 'many comly gentilmen' who paraded with a 'princes porte'.[136] Legh was not the only writer on heraldry to emerge from the Inns. John Ferne, the Inner Templar who beat Nicholas Trott to the post of northern secretary, addressed his *Blazon of Gentrie* (1586) to 'the honorable assemblyes of the Innes of Court', and, like Legh, he was particularly concerned to associate the Inns with 'Gentlemen of bloud, possessing vertue'—those, in other words, who 'can lay fiue discents successiuely and lineally, on the

[135] Fortescue, *De Laudibus Legum Angliae*, 119.
[136] Legh, *Accedence of Armorie*, sigs.¶ii.r, CCvi.v.

part of his father'. In an echo of Gerard and Palaphilos's fictional rummage through the Inner Temple archives in *The Accedence of Armorie*, Ferne asserted that

> I my selfe haue seene a Kalender of all those, which were together, in the societie of the one of the same houses, about the last yeere of King Henry the fifth, with the Armes of theyr house and familie, marshalled by theyr names: and I assure you, the selfe-same monument doth … approue them all to be Gentlemen of perfect discents.

The same could not be said of Ferne, whose father had bought his family's Lincolnshire estate in the 1570s, and whose grandfather had been a yeoman farmer in Staffordshire.[137] George Buc too was careful to stress that although

> they which are now admitted [to the Inns] are Registered by the Stile and name of Gentleman … it is an error to thinke that sonnes of Glaziers, Farmers, Merchants, Tradesmen, and Artificers, can be made Gentlemen, by their admittance or Matriculation in the Buttrie Role, or in the Stewards Booke … for no man can bee made a Gentleman but by his father.[138]

This was a disingenuous statement. As we have seen, the Inns offered precisely this sort of social mobility, and if their members affected to be concerned by it—John Ferne deplored the spectacular growth of the Inns of Court; all of the Inns passed ineffectual orders restricting admission to gentlemen's sons—the diversity of membership was part of what gave force to the ideology of fraternity and institutional loyalty at the societies.[139]

The implications of that ideology were somewhat radical. Members of the Inns of Court lived and worked in a world in which conventional dynastic alliance seemed to take a back-seat to other, more complex qualities: institutional egalité, fraternal loyalty, friendship and intimacy. Despite the fact that the majority of members married, frequently contracting advantageous matches through their connections at the Inns, the social space

[137] Ferne, *Blazon of Gentrie*, sigs.Aiiii.r, Civ.v and Giiii.r; Healy, 'Ferne, Sir John', *ODNB*.

[138] Buc, *Third Vniversitie*, sig.4O5v.

[139] In 1604, by royal command, the Inns ordered that admission be limited to gentlemen by descent. It was an order that seems wholly to have been ignored (Walker (ed.), *Lincoln's Inn Records*, 2, xxi).

of the Inns and the cultural identities they projected were wholly male.[140] The idealised commonwealth described by Gerard Legh was held together by affectionate same-sex bonds, a form of 'social erotics' that overlapped but also contrasted with another model of the social: one based on the traditional lineage loyalties of hierarchy and the family.[141] As Alan Bray observed two decades ago, male affective relationships were stigmatised in Renaissance England not when they seemed too intimate, but when they seemed to take precedence over established status relations.[142] The significant achievement of the Inns of Court was that they were able to perform strategies of intimacy that precisely diffused the sodomitical implications of male friendship, by validating male-male relationships in a virtuous context. At most, public comment extended to mockery of the stereotypical Inns gallant, decked in 'a paire of silk stockings, and a Beaver Hat'. His passion for fashionable clothing was an established urban joke: he 'laughes at euery man whose Band fits not well, or that hath not a faire shoo-tie, and hee is ashamed to bee seene in any mans company that weares not his clothes well'.[143] The implication of this ragging was not effeminacy as we understand it today. The victims were targeted for their perceived social ambition, for adopting the clothing and deportment of their superiors without the right to sartorial display that came with high birth.[144] Ridicule of flamboyant Innsmen was a response to the social advancement that was available at the Inns of Court, and a knowing gesture towards the alliances of male friendship that drove that advancement.

Such teasing easily slid off the men of the Inns of Court. Their closed shop was a powerful private social network, and remains so to this day. Even the Earl of Essex, at the height of his influence, was unable to bend the men of Gray's Inn to his will. His failure confirms the considerable potency of these networks: they could outwit even the royal favourite.

[140] Prest, *Rise of the Barristers*, 116–18.

[141] The idea is Michael Warner's, 'New English Sodom,' *American Literature* 64, 1 (1992), 19–47, 35.

[142] Alan Bray, 'Homosexuality and the signs of male friendship in Elizabethan England'. See also Jonathan Goldberg's argument that the Renaissance regarded sodomy as any act that threatened familial alliance (*Sodometries: Renaissance Texts, Modern Sexualities*) and Alan Stewart, whose *Close Readers* understands accusations of sodomy as centrally concerned with disruption in various reproductive economies.

[143] Anon., *Sir Thomas Overbury*, sigs.K4v-5r.

[144] Mario DiGangi, 'How queer was the Renaissance?', in Katherine O'Donnell and Michael O'Rourke (eds), *Love, Sex, Intimacy and Friendship Between Men, 1550–1800* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 128–47, 142.

In the next and final chapter, I turn my attention to Essex and his household. In addition to his cultivation of institutions like the Inns, the earl also attempted to sustain a personal team of close followers. He tied these men to him by means of a conscious appeal to chivalric traditions of loving service—an increasingly outmoded form whose inflexible structures were to have catastrophic consequences for the earl, Anthony and his friends in the final years of Queen Elizabeth's reign.

CHAPTER 5

Instability: Service, Love and Jealousy in the Essex Circle

Lord of my loue, to whome in vassalage
Thy merrit hath my dutie strongly knit;
To thee I send this written ambassage.[1]

The news that her elder son intended to give up his London house, which he had occupied for little more than a year, and move into the lavish home of the Earl of Essex on a permanent basis caused Anne Bacon deep disquiet. She had cared little for the townhouse in Bishopsgate Street, distrusting its proximity to the Bull Inn where 'continuall Enterludes […] infected the inhabitants there with corrupt and leude dispositions'.[2] But she was suspicious of a move that would incur expense, exacerbate Anthony's ill health, expose him to politicking courtiers such as Henry Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton, and—crucially—obscure the quality of his relationship with the earl. 'Yow have hitherto ben Estemed as A worthy Frende,' she wrote in the summer of 1595, but 'now shalbe Accounted his Folower.'[3] The mansion on the Strand, in which Anthony lived until March 1600, was to gain notoriety as the house in which Essex's twisted sense of *noblesse oblige* was encouraged by his followers to grow into treasonous size and burst out in a rebellion motivated by ambition and pride.

[1] Shakespeare, *Sonnets*, no. 26.
[2] ACB to AB, endorsed 1594, LPL MS 650, fols.187r-188v.
[3] ACB to AB, n.d. August 1595, LPL MS 651, fol.326r.

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This chapter examines afresh the lives of some of the residents of Essex House in these crucial years.

Lady Bacon's anxiety was well founded. Political great houses in the late sixteenth century were courts in miniature, riven with similar jealousies, their inhabitants motivated by the same rewards of access to and influence over the nobleman around whom they moved.[4] Here, I offer an explanation for the personality clashes among the men who served the Earl of Essex in the mid-1590s. These intense disputes destabilised the household and weakened the earl's position at a crucial time in his career. Focusing on the experiences of Edward Reynolds, the Earl of Essex's most senior secretary and an intimate friend of Anthony Bacon, I argue that for a variety of reasons, both specific to the earl's circle and reflective of wider English society, the earl's followers performed their duties in a state of confusion. The household was unstable, an instability that was to have dire consequences for the earl, his men, and late sixteenth-century political culture in general after 1599.

There is a scholarly consensus that the career of the Earl of Essex—his soaring heights, followed by his catastrophic revolt and execution—represented the end of something. For Mervyn James, it was the ideals and goals of a code of honour whose time had passed. For Alexandra Gajda, it was the belief that a great noble like Essex could carve out for himself a role as an independent political leader under an increasingly authoritarian monarchic government, while Janet Dickinson has argued that the revolt can be read as an earnest attempt by a peer with a grievance to come into the presence of the monarch and present his case—an act that, while arguably constitutional, had become by the end of Elizabeth's reign indistinguishable from *lèse-majesté*.[5] Building on these conclusions, and following directions laid down by Alan Bray in his work on the changing significance of friendship and service in the sixteenth century, I argue that part of the anachronistic world-view represented by Essex and propounded by his

[4] David Starkey, 'Introduction: Court history in perspective', and Neil Cuddy, 'The revival of the entourage: the Bedchamber of James I, 1603–1625', in Starkey (ed.), *The English Court: From the Wars of the Roses to the Civil War* (London: Longman, 1987), 1–24 and 173–225.

[5] Mervyn James, 'At a crossroads of the political culture: the Essex Revolt, 1601', in *Society, Politics and Culture: Studies in early modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 416–65; Alexandra Gajda, *The Earl of Essex and Late Elizabethan Political Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); Janet Dickinson, *Court Politics and the Earl of Essex, 1589–1601* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2012).

followers concerned the conception of, and language used to articulate, service.[6] This chapter circles back to consider the ardent language of early modern friendship discussed in Chap. 2. Here, I explore how the same terms and conventions were deployed in an overtly institutional and political way, as a language that bound together the earl's men. But this tactic was inflexible, old-fashioned and inconsistent. The conflict between the earl's view, and the changing conception of the nature of service in the culture at large, contributed to the cracks in the fabric of Essex's household and the unravelling of his fortunes in the closing years of the queen's reign.

I begin with an overview of Essex's secretariat and an account of Edward Reynolds's duties and political influence. I move on to explain how Reynolds figured himself and his role in his correspondence with Essex, Anthony Bacon and others. His chosen mode of self-presentation—as a loyal vassal, and worthy of notice solely on account of his faithfulness and duty—accorded with a particular ideal that drew on a combination of historic lordly service and a veneration for classical amicitia that was popular among members of the Essex circle. Variations of this model are to be found in the correspondence of the earl, Anthony Bacon, and the Spanish defector, Antonio Pérez. Certain men in the Essex circle cultivated an approach to service and loyalty that demanded an overt acknowledgement of affection and emotional obligation, with an associated denial of intellectual, professional or technical skill (in itself a common modesty topos). This was not, however, a mode that was consistently adopted by Essex's followers: Henry Wotton, employed by the earl from December 1594, represented a 'new' type of follower, keen to advertise his own abilities and happy for his careerist objectives to be known to his colleagues. Such divergent styles of service struggled to co-exist in the earl's household, and generated conflict and dispute in the 1590s. A model for how relations between master and servant could be spectacularly soured is to be found in the unfortunate story of Godfrey Aleyn, sent abroad as secretary to Antonio Pérez in 1595. I finish with the suggestion that personal, communicative and cultural differences such as these were not germane only *within* the earl's household—they also had an impact on the wider political stage. As a complement to his commitment to martial glory at the expense of *politique* foreign relations, Essex believed passionately in the idea of service relations that were based on the unswerving adoration

[6] Alan Bray, 'Homosexuality and the signs of male friendship'; Bray, *The Friend*.

of a charismatic master. The wilder sort of language that both of these preferences brought with them marked the earl and his followers out for marginalisation in the later part of the 1590s, and caused an irreparable breach with Essex's own master—the queen.

The Shape of Essex's Secretariat

Edward Reynolds fulfilled an important role in the small staff of men who supported the Earl of Essex.[7] From 1595 onwards, he was responsible for managing epistolary and face-to-face access to his master, as well as the more administrative duties that fell to a secretary to discharge. Reynolds also handled negotiations with foreign and domestic politicians in the earl's absence, took part in the formulation of Essex's policy objectives, and managed the dissemination of intelligence and propaganda beneficial to his cause. Much of this has been obscured by the extent to which Reynolds erased his own contribution to the earl's affairs, not for reasons of political expediency but because such demanding and skilful labour was largely inexpressible in the language with which Reynolds chose to articulate his service. This language will be explored in detail in due course; for now it is necessary to sketch out the nature of his duties.

The bulk of the surviving material documenting Reynolds's activities for Essex dates from 1595, when Anthony Bacon moved into Essex House as the earl's resident intelligence expert and archivist. By this point, Edward Reynolds had been in the earl's service for some seven years. From occupying a post as secretary to Sir Amias Paulet during his custody of Mary, Queen of Scots, Reynolds took up a position as the Earl of Essex's junior secretary, under Thomas Smith, in 1588.[8] With Smith's transfer to the clerkship of the Privy Council in 1595, Reynolds's significance was both heightened and diluted: he became by default senior secretary, but some of the earl's increasingly complex secretarial requirements were now shared among three new members of staff.[9] Henry Wotton, recently returned from a lengthy continental tour, had been taken on in December 1594 through the good offices of his half-brother Sir Edward Wotton,

[7] Hasler (ed.), *House of Commons 1558–1603*, 3, 286–7, and Paul E.J. Hammer, 'Reynolds, Edward (d.1623)', *ODNB* (accessed 18 August 2015).

[8] Writing to Sir Robert Cecil in 1597, Reynolds offered a résumé of his secretarial career: 'I served Sir Amice Poulet during the whole time of his charge of the Scottish Queen … I have ever since served my lord of Essex, nine whole years' (*HMCS*, 7, 332–3).

[9] Hammer, 'The Uses of Scholarship', 28; BL Additional MS 48116, fols.338-345v.

a friend of Anthony Bacon's (the Wottons and Bacons were also kin by marriage).[10] In the autumn of 1595, Wotton and Reynolds were joined by Henry Cuffe, fellow of Merton College, Oxford, and Regius Professor of Greek at the university, and William Temple, fellow of King's College, Cambridge, and an established Ramist logician.[11] Essex now had something approaching a full secretariat, most of whom were lodged in Essex House along with his steward, Gelly Meyrick, and a fluctuating corps of family members.[12] Anthony Bacon's move must have owed something to this institutional consolidation: perhaps the extra messengers and copied documents necessary to keep him in the loop in Bishopsgate Street were regarded as unjustifiable. Whatever the reasons for these domestic and administrative changes, Essex House was now a busy political headquarters. One figure who seldom stayed at the house was the earl himself. Along with Edward Reynolds, he spent much of his time at Court, returning to his London residence to entertain or for meetings with his newly-enlarged secretariat.[13]

Reynolds's duties also underwent an alteration with the changes to Essex's staff. During the duopoly with Smith, Reynolds had remained at the earl's side, even when he went campaigning in Portugal in 1589 and France in 1591. After 1595, Reynolds stayed at home, performing his long-standing role as the earl's personal secretary when his master was at Court, and discharging what had been Smith's duties—representing Essex's political interests in his absence—when the earl was away.[14] When Essex was in England, Reynolds was his 'cheife confident secretary',

[10] Edward Wotton's letter of recommendation, n.d. December 1594, LPL MS 650, fol.321r; Logan Pearsall Smith, *The Life and Letters of Sir Henry Wotton*, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1907); A.J. Loomie, 'Wotton, Sir Henry (1568–1639)', *ODNB* (accessed 18 August 2015).

[11] Hammer, 'Uses of Scholarship', 29; Paul E.J. Hammer, 'Cuffe [Cuff], Henry (1562/3-1601)', *ODNB* (accessed 18 August 2015); A.L. Rowse, 'The Tragic Career of Henry Cuffe', in *Court and Country: Studies in Tudor Social History* (Brighton: Harvester Press, 1987), 211–41; Alan Stewart, 'Instigating Treason: the Life and Death of Henry Cuffe, Secretary', in Erica Sheen and Lorna Hutson (eds), *Literature, Politics and Law in Renaissance England* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 50–70. For Temple, see Hasler (ed.), *House of Commons 1558–1603*, 3, 481–2, and Elizabethanne Boran, 'Temple, Sir William (1554/5–1627)', *ODNB* (accessed 18 August 2015).

[12] *PP*, 131 and 277; *GL*, 138; Charles Lethbridge Kingsford, 'Essex House, formerly Leicester House and Exeter Inn', *Archaeologia* 73 (1923), 1–54.

[13] *HF*, 172–3.

[14] Hammer, 'Uses of Scholarship', 32.

entrusted with his seal and with responsibility for his correspondence and papers.[15] In addition to scribal and safeguarding duties, Reynolds also managed access to his master, an important responsibility at a time when the earl was attempting to extend his network of followers through his patronage of courtiers, crown appointees and soldiers. As demonstrated in Chap. 4, the earl made significant efforts to pull such strings as were within his reach in the 1590s in order to win favours for friends or place them in useful offices. He was attractive to a wide constituency of people: his visible presence at the queen's side, his reputation as a committed martialist, his known support for scholarship, his identity as a hero of the international Protestant cause and his simultaneous belief in pragmatic religious toleration lent him broad appeal, for all that the range of these contrasting qualities frequently diminished the force of his influence.[16] Reynolds was a loyal although not necessarily impartial doorkeeper. Given the quantity of paperwork with which Essex and his staff were confronted, some form of administrative triage was essential and it was Reynolds who pressed certain suits on his master—while, consequently, holding others back. In January 1597, he wrote to Anthony:

> It will be late ere my Lord come to bed, and therefore I cannot do what I would most willingly in Mr Dr Fletchers cause but I will leave your lettres to be pervsed this night sealed, in Mr Pitchfordes handes, and in the morning refreshe the remembrance thereof, in as effectual manner as I can. The like I will do for young Mr Davison aswell to put his Lordship in mynd of his own purpose & resolution of writing and sending … I will also showe all your other remembrances in hope that after these hollydayes he will take some fitt opportunity to dispatche them. Amongest the rest Monsieur Castels bill shall be effectually remembred to the Master of Requestes.[17]

As Reynolds often made clear, Anthony's letters deserved priority delivery by virtue of his intimate involvement with Essex's affairs, but he also indicates in this letter the methods he used to push certain cases—in this instance, Giles Fletcher's suit to be freed from his late brother's debts,

[15] The phrase is to be found in AB to Henry Hawkins, 12 June 1596, BL Harley MS 286, fol.258r.

[16] *PP*, 269–315; Dickinson, *Court Politics*, 99–113; Gajda, *Essex*, 141–88; Hugh Gazzard, 'The patronage of Robert Devereux, second earl of Essex, c.1577–1596', unpublished DPhil thesis, University of Oxford, 2000.

[17] ER to AB, 6 January 1596/7, LPL MS 654, fol.29r.

a dispatch for Francis Davison, then travelling on the continent, and the application of Jean Castol, minister of the French Protestant church in London, for naturalisation—to the front of the queue for the earl's attention.[18] He commented routinely that he 'put his Lordship in mynd', or 'refreshe[d] the remembrance' of something.[19] He was able to vary the mode of his approach depending on his master's mood. Although he explains in the letter quoted above that Essex retired too late to permit any lobbying last thing at night, on other occasions the hour afforded the only window of opportunity: 'His Lordship hathe bene so busye all this daye,' that delivery of a letter 'could not be conveniently done. When he commeth to bed, will be a very fit tyme.'[20] On New Year's morning 1597, he told Anthony that the previous day had been an ill-advised time to approach the earl, 'and the night worse, for that his Lordship came late to bed a looser (but not by much) at play'.[21] Reynolds's well-judged solicitation on behalf of a suitor was an important aspect in the process of delivering a letter of request to the earl. He makes clear above that the letters from Anthony on behalf of Dr Fletcher are to be left in the hands of Essex's servant Pitchford, still sealed, in order that Reynolds can be there the next morning to accompany the written request with a spoken appeal, delivered 'in as effectual manner as I can'. Such advocacy was valuable: in February 1597, Reynolds was embarrassed to receive £10 from the brother of Ralph Lord Eure, Warden of the Marches in the North, 'for the good office (as it pleaseth hym to say) done towardes my Lord' (Eure). Despite the fact that a rule 'current in the Court … marketh all rewardes from men of quality acceptable', Reynolds returned the money, perhaps concerned that such a substantial gift would make him more beholden to Lord Eure than he wished: '[i]f it had bene a payre of silk stockens, or a guift of some other nature and lesse value I think I should not have had any such scrupull'.[22] Whether Reynolds ever accepted such glad-handing is unknown, but his influence and intimacy with the Earl of Essex were common knowledge,

[18] Reynolds observed that even when the earl was withdrawn in his chamber, Anthony's letters '[have] accesse at all tymes' (ER to AB, 17 February 1596/7, LPL MS 655, fol.64r).

[19] ER to AB, 4 January 1596/7, LPL MS 654, fol.91r; 14 February 1596/7, LPL MS 655, fol.53r; 23 February 1596/7, LPL MS 655, fol.56r. Anthony also nudged Reynolds to 'put my Lord in mynde to wright' to suitors or clients (AB to ER, n.d. January 1596/7, LPL MS 654, fol.107r).

[20] ER to AB, 30 December 1596, LPL MS 660, fol.195r.

[21] ER to AB, 1 January 1596/7, LPL MS 654, fol.89r.

[22] ER to AB, 4 February 1596/7, LPL MS 655, fol.68r.

and he was a familiar figure at Court. Rowland Whyte, secretary to Sir Robert Sidney, knew he needed to '[step] to Mr Reinals' when he wanted to arrange an interview between his master and the earl.[23]

Reynolds's political significance increased when Essex was out of the country. In 1596, during the Cadiz expedition, and 1597, when Essex led the unsuccessful assault on the Spanish treasure fleet off the Azores, Reynolds represented the earl's interests at court, dealing with members of the English governing establishment and continental diplomats, particularly the French emissary, Henri de la Tour d'Auvergne, Duc de Bouillon, and the agent for the United Provinces, Noel Caron. In 1596, the situation with the French was delicate: the prospect of attainable glory on the Iberian coast had caused Essex precipitately to abandon his obligations to France and engage on a mission that drew men and resources from the English army intended for the support of Henri IV. Essex's absence from the English-French commission assembled to draw up a 'league offensive and defensive' against Spain in the spring of 1596 was noted, and made Reynolds's position as the earl's man awkward.[24] As he wrote to Essex on 6 May:

> I mett Mr de la Fonteine with the Duke who tould me that they did quarrell & fall out with your Lordship euerye day, who had drawen them into the bryers, & departed when you should haue hollpen them out & now they are at the deuocion of the father & the sonne & can effect nothing to any purpose.[25]

The duc de Bouillon's presence in England was in large part due to the concerted efforts of Robert de la Fontaine (minister of the French church in London and a close friend of both Reynolds and Anthony Bacon), Antonio Pérez and the Earl of Essex to forge a treaty between England and France for a combined assault on Spain, and the accusation relayed by Reynolds that the earl had ensnared the Frenchmen into a thorny and unsatisfactory diplomatic tussle, only to set off as soon as they arrived on a unilateral military action, had some merit. Affronted, Bouillon turned his attention to Lord Burghley and Sir Robert Cecil ('the father and the

[23] Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report on the Manuscripts of Lord De L'Isle and Dudley Preserved at Penshurst Place*, 6 vols (London: HMSO, 1925–66), 2, 219.

[24] Birch, *Memoirs*, 2, 1; Wernham, *Return of the Armadas*, 69–81; MacCaffrey, *Elizabeth I: War and Politics*, 202–7, 495–500; *PP*, 250–1.

[25] ER to EE, 6 May 1596, LPL MS 657, fol.108r-v.

sonne').[26] Reynolds was tasked with repairing this breach, which he did in the course of a long interview in French with the duke on 18 May when he managed not only to persuade Bouillon 'to impart vnto [him] his knowledge and iudgement of the French affayres'[27] but also to convince him of the earl's loyalty to that country's cause:

> [T]o shewe your Lordships constancie I interpreted vnto him your last lettre vnto me, which I had communicated before to Monsieur de la fontaine by your commaundment and namelie that pointe wherein your Lordship said yow are aboute to doe more for the publicke and for all our frendes then they can hope fore, and that yow would either goe thoroughe withe it, or of a Generall become a Moncke at an howres warninge[.] Whiche your Lordships resolution he did much commende.[28]

Reynolds undoubtedly also drew the duke's attention to the earl's declaration in the aforementioned letter that 'I haue loued the Duke more then all the strangers of christendome allmost more then all of mine owne Cuntry', although it is likely that he neglected to translate the next sentence in which he accused the French visitors of being 'vnquiet harted': they 'know not our Queene and state so well as I doe for they feed the Queene in her irresolution wherin though they first vndo me they shall next vndoe themselues'.[29] Reynolds's important role as conduit and mediator between the earl and the French was recognised by Bouillon:

> After he had commanded me to take spetiall care of his lettres to your Lordship and to recommende his best loue and affection to yow, he said he would likewyse sende to your Lordship by Monsieur de la fontaines meanes whensoeuer anie worthy matter occurred. I told him that your Lordship had expreslie left me here for those services, which he liked verie well. He was at first doubtfull to deale so freelie with me in those thinges but saith he yow are my Lordes secretary and I thinke are acquainted withe greater matters betwixt vs.[30]

[26] Anthony Standen made use of the same formulation when describing his encounters with the Cecils: 'After dyner I meane to goo visit the ffather and sonne the holly ghost be wythe me' (AS to AB, 15 August 1593, LPL MS 649, fol.244r).

[27] ER to EE, 6 May 1596, LPL MS 657, fol.108r-v.

[28] ER to EE, 18 May 1596, LPL MS 657, fols.109-111r.

[29] EE to ER, 10 May 1596, LPL MS 657, fol.140r.

[30] ER to EE, 18 May 1596, LPL MS 657, fols.109-111r.

Reynolds was one of a number of men surrounding Essex who had an influence over the policies that he followed. The roles of Henry Cuffe, Henry Savile, Arthur Atey, Antonio Pérez and Anthony Bacon in formulating and refining foreign policy objectives are well understood, but Reynolds was not a mere mouthpiece or message-carrier.[31] Just as he could use his position to speak for certain suitors, and modify the manner in which a message was delivered, so he had considerable leeway in the style with which he chose to relay his master's pronouncements. In the afterglow of Cadiz, Essex ordered Reynolds to lobby the French and the Dutch through their representatives in London for the redeployment of the victorious English forces in the recapture of Calais, recently seized by Spanish-aligned Leaguers. Essex entrusted him with a distinctly hawkish message, the contents of which would have confirmed in the minds of the earl's detractors that he was a magnate with a dangerously independent streak:

> [T]his is onlie for your owne eyes and after for the fire. Yow shall goe to Mr Caron and to Monsieur la Fontaine and tell them I am retorninge withe this Armie, that is stronge riche and prowde[;] that they knowe the difference of perswadinge to leuie an Armie and soliciting to vse an Armie alredie formed and disiplined[,] besides the difference in the service of these 2 Armies willbe as greate[.] Let them therefore make both themselues and their Masters [*illegible*] and see whether they can get this Armie to be kept together till we maie treat of conditions for the seige of Callais.[32]

Given Reynolds's caution in matters of forward foreign policy, it may be the case that his delivery of the message by mouth had the effect of tempering Essex's self-presentation as a would-be Coriolanus.[33] At separate private meetings with de la Fontaine and Caron in early August, he 'deliuered the *effect* of that which your Lordship gaue me in charge'

[31] Alexandra Gajda, '*The State of Christendom*: history, political thought and the Essex circle', *Historical Research* 8/213 (2008), 423–46; Gajda, *Essex*, Chapters 2 and 6; *PP*, 299–315; Warren Boutcher, 'Montaigne et Anthony Bacon: la *familia* et la function des lettres', trans. Ariane Smart, *Montaigne Studies* 13 (2001), 241–76.

[32] EE to ER, 23 July 1596, LPL MS 658, fol.136r.

[33] The figure of Coriolanus, 'a gallant young, but discontented Romane', was later an irresistible parallel for preachers seeking to draw instruction from Essex's fall (William Barlow, *A Sermon preached at Paules Crosse … With a short discourse of the late Earle of Essex, his confession, and penitence, before and at the time of his death* (London: Matthew Law, 1601), sig.C3v).

(my emphasis). Whether or not Reynolds also delivered the martial bravado of his master's original message is not known, but he wrote up the emissaries' objections in meticulous detail, concluding the letter to the earl with his own observation that Essex's return had happily hindered the progress of his enemies' objectives to pack the Court with anti-Essex 'officers and Councellors'. But he sounded his own note of caution, too: '[t]heir mallice worketh still, and her Maieste is muche incensed'. The implication that Essex should abandon plans for Calais and return to England to secure his position was clear.[34] Two years previously, during Francis Bacon's campaign for the attorney-generalship, Reynolds's colleague Anthony Standen had recognised that Essex required a degree of firm management to keep his mind focused on a task: 'he muste continually be puld by the eare as a boye that learneth ut, re, me fa.'[35] The earl's followers, Reynolds included, were able to use a range of tactics to steer their master in a direction that they considered appropriate.

Reynolds's most important contribution to the Cadiz affair was his central role in the publicity campaign that followed the action. From the start the mission had been controversial, and news of its success did not prevent Essex's enemies from casting the earl's leadership in poor light: Henry Brooke, his especial foe, suggested that 'all this service was but a matter of chance: that your Lordship went to seeke blowes at aduenture without any certen knowledge.' Brooke made the voyage sound like a rash game of chance: 'what,' he asked, 'yf the fleete at Calez had bene departed[?]'. Others were quick to ascribe the victory to the 'sea faction' under Sir Walter Raleigh rather than the 'land faction' under Essex.[36] In order to counter the political gamesmanship that he anticipated after the battle, Essex ordered Henry Cuffe, who had travelled with him to Spain, to put together a document that became known as 'The True Relation', a collectively-authored account described by Cuffe as 'a discourse of our great Action at Calez penned very truly according to his Lordships large enstructions' with Essex's interlinear additions '*extremam manum*', and designed to represent the success of the raid as wholly down to the earl.[37]

[34] ER to EE, 10 August 1596, LPL MS 657, fol.106r-v.

[35] AS to FB, LPL MS 650, fol.81r; Birch, *Memoirs*, 1, 154.

[36] ER to EE, 10 August 1596, LPL MS 657, fol.106r-v.

[37] Cuffe to ER, n.d. July 1596, LPL MS 658, fol.88r-v; Alan Stewart, 'The Making of Writing in Renaissance England: Re-thinking Authorship Through Collaboration', in Margaret Healy and Thomas Healy (ed.), *Renaissance Transformations: The Making of English Writing (1500–1650)* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009), 81–96.

Drafted while the fires of Cadiz were still smouldering, Cuffe was dispatched as carrier with all speed to England, and when he fell sick on the way he sent the discourse with the earl's instructions on to Reynolds. The text was to be set in print as soon as possible, and Cuffe was brazen about the need for pseudonymous authorship so that no 'slender guesse may be drawen who was the penneman':

> [C]onferre with Mr Griuill [Fulke Greville] whether he can be contented to suffer the 2 first letters of his name to be vsed in the inscription … If he be vnwilling you may put R.B. which some noe doubt will interpret to be Mr Beale but it skillest not. The originall you are the rather to keepe because my Lord charged me to cause ether you or Monsieur ffountaine to turne ether the whole or the summe of it into French and to cause it to be sent to some good personage in those partes.[38]

As the instruction to arrange for translation suggests, 'The True Relation' was not to be confined to an English readership. In a letter sent at the same time as Cuffe's dispatch, Essex further commanded that the manuscript be shown to Thomas Bodley, then an agent in the Low Countries, as well as de la Fontaine and Anthony Bacon, who was expected to arrange for its publication in Scotland.[39]

The 'Relation' did not make it to the press, as the manuscript was seized and unauthorised accounts of the expedition banned by the Privy Council, but Reynolds and Anthony Bacon laboured with some success to ensure scribal publication, so that the account was able to 'passe very shortly into all partes and speake all languages … For Scotland Mr Bacon doth his parte for the Low Cuntries Mr Bodely and Monsieur de la Fontaine for France to whome I gaue a coppy translated into French.'[40] Reynolds also took pains to 'procure a publicke thanksgeving for this great victory' from the Archbishop of Canterbury in accordance with Essex's wishes.[41] Writing to him on 9 August, he reassured his master that despite the hindrances placed in his way, the earl's message was getting through:

> I may not forgett to lett your Lordship vnderstand how honourably my Lord Arch Bishop hath carried himselfe towardes your Lordship in procuring a

[38] Cuffe to ER, n.d. July 1596, LPL MS 658, fol.88r-v.
[39] EE to ER, 1 July 1596, LPL MS 658, fol.135r.
[40] ER to EE, 9 August 1596, LPL MS 658, fols.259-260v.
[41] EE to ER, 1 July 1596, LPL MS 658, fol.135r.

> thanksgiuing for this victory which once was graunted to be generall in all partes but afterwards restrayned by her Maiestes commaundement for London only. And how yesterday their was a sermon preached at Paules by a Chaplaine of his who very truly & with great applause sounded your Lordships worthy fame. Your iustice wisedome valour & noble cariage in this action making many comparisons of your Lordship with the cheifest generalls; & much inueghing at such as extenuated this happy victory.[42]

Reynolds was over-optimistic: the queen's clampdown on unauthorised accounts had severely limited the earl's propaganda effort. But the failure was no fault of Reynolds. The Cadiz controversy reveals his activities at the centre of Essex's political and media operations.

Figuring Reynolds

Despite Edward Reynolds's active involvement in the earl's affairs in the 1590s, a historical observer would at first glance find it difficult to deduce his importance from the language Reynolds used to articulate his relationship with the earl, Anthony Bacon and others. He favoured a discourse that situated these relationships somewhere on a continuum between the venerable idea of lordly service, and the intense sort of Ciceronian *amicitia* discussed in Chap. 2. In part, this was a natural consequence of the nature of intimate secretaryship, but Reynolds's language in his surviving letters also reflects a thorough-going commitment among various members of the Essex circle to an interpretation of service that depended on the frequent and ardent expression of highly emotional language. Reynolds figured himself in accordance with styles that were demonstrated by his fellows and superiors.

In his letters, Reynolds chose to present his privileged and confidential position as arising from a sort of dogged loyalty and affection for the earl and the men who served him. Despite his relative youth (he was in his mid-thirties between 1595 and 1597), he presented himself as an ageing retainer: he was Essex's 'faithfull and old servant'; he was 'old, and wearing out of date' by 1596.[43] In part, this was a deliberate tactic to distinguish himself from his secretarial colleagues. Although Wotton, Cuffe and Temple were not much his junior in years, Reynolds felt unsettled by the

[42] ER to EE, 9 August 1596, LPL MS 658, fols.259-260v.

[43] ER to EE, 18 August 1596, LPL MS 658, fol.258r; ER to AB, n.d. September 1596, LPL MS 659, fol.92r.

new arrivals and his 'long faythfull and painfull seruice' contrasted with their much shorter histories.[44] But it also tallied with his belief that serving the earl was a matter of faithfulness and loyalty. Reynolds was noticeably reluctant to define his employment in Essex's secretariat in terms that drew attention to his technical skills or intellectual training. Instead, he located his merits almost solely in his capacity for prolonged and dutiful service. In this, he was in agreement with Angel Day, the author of *The English Secretorie*, who in his 1599 edition, which featured a new essay on the 'partes, place and office of a Secretorie', explained that he was 'not of the opinion of the multitude, who holde that the praiseable endeuour or abilitie of well writing or ordering of the pen, is the matter that maketh the Secretorie', but rather his value was to be found in his 'affinitie … of trust and fidelitie' with his master.[45] Lord Burghley's secretary, Michael Hickes, expressed himself in very similar terms when he wrote of

> [his] cheifest hope & comfort … that my syncere & Dutifull affection towards his Lordship in this service accompanied with a Carefull endeavor & Diligence to performe as muche, as shall lye in my power, shall sarve … in some parte to excuse, or at the least to cover my manyfold wantes & imperfections

which, in Hickes's case, included a laborious scribal hand and very poor French.[46] These were real hindrances, and Hickes initially struggled in Burghley's employ.[47] There is no evidence that Reynolds was ever anything less than competent, but his epistolary mode was consistently self-effacing. In the summer of 1596, during a dispute about an additional secretary (of which more below), Reynolds urged Anthony to persuade the earl to dismiss the new man in his favour: 'of me, delyver your favourable opinion, not of any sufficiency, (for I knowe howe small it is) but of my dewtifull affection to his Lordships service, which is as greate as any … in England'.[48] On the same issue, Reynolds revealed in another letter to

[44] ER to AB, 5 January 1596/7, LPL MS 654, fol.83r-v.

[45] Angel Day, *The English Secretary, or Methode of writing of Epistles and Letters*, 2nd edn. (London: P.S. for C. Burbie, 1599), sig.Nn1v.

[46] Michael Hickes to Vincent Skinner, n.d., BL Lansdowne MS 107, fol.166r.

[47] Alan G.R. Smith, *Servant of the Cecils: The Life of Michael Hickes, 1543–1612* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1977), 37.

[48] ER to AB, 19 August 1596, LPL MS 658, fol.166r.

Anthony that he might be compelled to resign, in which case he hoped for financial compensation from Essex:

> My Lord is noble & honourable, & never sent strangers from hym discontented, in whome there was any merit, or in whome he found any affection to his service. For merit I can pleade but little; because all I can do is nothinge; but for affection to perform all acceptable service, I trust his Lordship will (if he should be asked) witnes that it hath not bene wanting: and I will presume to appeale to your knowledge herein.[49]

Reynolds's self-effacement has led commentators to conclude that he was conscious of an intellectual inferiority to the other men in Essex's secretariat. Paul Hammer suggests that he 'felt uneasy at the comparison between the scholarly brilliance of his new colleagues and his own abilities, which had become dulled by years of service away from the groves of academe', and points out that he was 'rather defensive' about his Latin which, as Reynolds put it, 'I knowe is barbarous having not writen so much these seven yeares.'[50] His modesty on this subject may be a facet of his general commitment to self-abnegation: denial of his own ability was prompted by Anthony's request that he, rather than Henry Wotton, see to a letter for the Grand Duke of Tuscany and the Doge of Venice. Anthony wanted the letter 'rather clad ether in your owne or Mr Temples Lattine then in my Cosen Wottons Italien'.[51] Henry Wotton was known as a 'linguist of great experience' and had particular responsibility in Essex's circle for Italy, but Anthony nonetheless regarded Reynolds's Latin as more suitable for letters to high-ranking foreigners (Wotton's vernacular was a metal 'of to basse alloy to be currant with [such] princes as the Duke of Florence and the most principall antient cheife Senators of Venice.')[52] It was Reynolds's attitude to his own capabilities that contrasted so markedly with his fellow secretaries, rather than the nature or extent of his skills. Although he was not a professional academic like Cuffe and Temple, he had been elected to a fellowship

[49] ER to AB, 19 August 1596, LPL MS 658, fol.228r.

[50] Hammer, 'The Uses of Scholarship', 34. The letter which Hammer quotes is ER to AB, 13 October 1596, LPL MS 659, fol.331r. Reynolds repeated the sentiment in another letter two days later (ER to AB, 15 October 1596, LPL MS 659, fol.379r).

[51] AB to ER, 13 October 1596, LPL MS 659, fol.317r.

[52] ER to AB, n.d. December 1596, LPL MS 660, fol.214r; AB to ER, 8 October 1596, LPL MS 659, fol.314r. A fluent Latin letter from Reynolds to Antonio Pérez is n.d. November 1596, LPL MS 653, fol.78r.

at All Souls College, Oxford, had taken his MA, and managed the earl's correspondence in English, French and Latin. He was rather better qualified than Wotton, who had only progressed as far as his BA at Oxford.[53]

Partly this attitude reflected his role: as Essex's secretary, his job required permanent attendance on the earl and a necessary sublimation of his own political and social identity into that of his master. Nicholas Faunt, whom Reynolds knew through his friendship with Anthony Bacon, analysed the nature of the relationship between a Principal Secretary (the high political office held by Sir Francis Walsingham until his death, and unfilled for much of the 1590s) and his own personal secretary in a discourse written in 1592. In it, Faunt stressed that the ideal confidential secretary should not 'serue his owne turne' but wholly 'yeeld himself to that calling or business … he must cast of[f] the care of his private estate to th[']end hee may chiefly attend and intend this service, which assuredly will requier a whole man'.[54] The nature of the role Essex carved out for himself in the mid-1590s was analogous to the Principal Secretary's, especially with regard to his involvement in foreign affairs, and Reynolds evidently felt the same as Faunt about the obligations of attendance; it is probably relevant that Reynolds did not marry until around 1599, the period of Essex's disgrace and withdrawal from active politics.[55] His service at the earl's side was an intimate, arduous and at times tedious occupation, necessitating frequent travel as the court migrated from palace to palace, and as the earl's business took him to London, his estate at Barn Elms and elsewhere.[56] As he complained to Anthony in September 1596, 'I come seldome to London; I wayte and attend hard at Court.'[57] The growth in Essex's secretariat had not resulted in any slack time for Reynolds. The earl's promotion to the Privy Council in 1593 and his hugely expanded foreign intelligence operation generated an enormous quantity of paperwork. Supervision of this correspondence was the secretary's responsibility: 'My fellowes take no compassion of me, but let the burthen of the service lye vpon me at Court and abrode.'[58] Attendance on Essex was a job that took all of Reynolds's waking hours,

[53] Hammer, 'Reynolds', *ODNB*; Loomie, 'Wotton', *ODNB*.

[54] Hughes (ed.), 'Nicholas Faunt's "Discourse"', 501.

[55] Reynolds began courting Katharine Mills, a widow of Southampton, in 1598 or the very start of 1599 (the first surviving letter to Katharine is January 1599, SP 12/270, fol.47r). The date of their marriage is unknown, but Hammer presumes it to have been at some point in 1599 (Hammer, 'Reynolds', *ODNB*).

[56] *PP*, 121–3, 130–2, 317.

[57] ER to AB, [17?] September 1596, LPL MS 659, fol.96r.

[58] ER to AB, [4?] November 1596, LPL MS 660, fol.63r.

with business being dispatched from breakfast to bedtime—the earl's occasionally mercurial behaviour only made things worse.[59] Reynolds wrote to Anthony with some frustration in March 1597:

> My Lord hath bene private these 3 howres, and was suddenly gone throughe the garden before I could come at hym: when he returneth to his chamber: I will shewe hym your letter, & refresh the remembrance of your memorials once more: His Lordship seemeth not so myndfull of these ordinary busines as he hath bene.[60]

That spring, as the Azores mission neared, was a particularly demanding time for all his servants, and the earl's 'infinite busines' took its toll on his mood:

> He is in continewall labor. I think the husbandman endureth not more toyle. I wisshe it were lesse, for it maketh him the more hard to please in his service as all busines are accompanied with a kind of chagrin & full of fascherie, as the french phrase is.[61]

Discontentment or ill health made Essex difficult to serve, as both conditions caused him to retreat into aggressively solitary contemplation. Henry Wotton later wrote that when Essex's 'humours grew tart' he would betake himself to 'certayne suddaine recesses; sometimes from the court to Wanstead, other whiles into Greenwich, often to his owne chamber, doors shut, visits forbidden'.[62] On 17 February 1597, he was 'so pryvat … through his indisposition' that Reynolds was unable to get anything done at all.[63] Three days later the situation had not improved:

> I haue bene as a prisoner these fiue or sixe dayes, because my Lord hath bene so hym self by reason of his indisposicion. The busines that hath accosted

[59] Reynolds was at the earl's side from first thing in the morning to 'when he commeth to bed' (LPL MS 660, fol.195r).

[60] ER to AB, [5/8?] March 1596/7, LPL MS 656, fol.24r.

[61] ER to AB, 8 March 1596/7, LPL MS 656, fol.75r.

[62] Henry Wotton, 'Of Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex; and George Villiars, Duke of Buckingham: Some Observations by way of Parallel, in the time of their estates of Favour', in *Reliquiae Wottonianae. Or a Collection of Lives, Letters, Poems; With Characters of Sundry Personages and other Incomparable Pieces of Language and Art* (London: Thomas Maxey for R. Marriot, G. Bedel and T. Garthwait, 1651), reprinted in Walter Scott (ed.), *A Collection of Scarce and Valuable Tracts …* (The Somers Tracts), 13 vols (London: T. Cadell. W. Davies, W. Miller, R.H. Evans, J. White, J. Murray and J. Harding, 1810), 4, 154–65, 157.

[63] ER to AB, 17 February 1596/7, LPL MS 655, fol.64r.

> me here hath bene very small, but the attendance is as much necessary in sickenes as in health, and somewhat more, for that the tymes of imployement are so incerten, & the offence of absence greater.[64]

For over eleven years, from 1588 until at least 1599, Reynolds's life revolved around the Earl of Essex: his emotional, intellectual and physical closeness to the earl was total. Even when family matters arose, the earl's interests were central. In August 1596, Reynolds's 'bad brother' Augustine was found to have embezzled money collected under Essex's licence to claim the import duty on sweet wines. The effect on Reynolds was devastating, both financially (he had to repay the stolen money himself) and emotionally—he wrote to Sir Robert Cecil that shame and grief had overwhelmed him at the thought that the scandal might prejudice his master.[65]

Reynolds's absorption in the life of his master goes some way to explain the intensely personal terms with which he conceived his relationships with the earl and those nearest to him. Several years after the earl's fall and execution, Reynolds felt himself sufficiently close to the interests of the Devereux family to write a concerned note to the late earl's teenage son, Robert, an intimate of the Stuart prince, Henry, reminding him of his obligations to his king and country, an intrusion justified by '[t]he trewe and everlasting loue which I beare to the memory of your late thrice worthy father'.[66] This was not simply the effect of nostalgia. During his period of service it was his habitual practice to identify himself as the earl's devoted personal servant. 'I am wholly his Lordships perpetuallie deuoted to his seruice', he wrote in January 1597.[67] Most frequently, his fierce loyalty found expression in letters to Anthony Bacon, in which his respect and admiration for Anthony was mixed with his love for his master. For Reynolds, Anthony was the earl's avatar, deserving of all the credit and worth due to one who sat only slightly below greatness. His 'chief care,' he wrote in November 1596, was to do Anthony—'being next after my Lord'—'all acceptable service, as to the gentleman in England to whome I hold my selfe most bound'.[68] Anthony's own painstaking service to the earl lent his relationship with Reynolds a pleasing intimacy: both men

[64] ER to AB, 20 February 1596/7, LPL MS 655, fol.66r.
[65] *HMCS*, 6, 359.
[66] ER to the third Earl of Essex, 22 October 1605, TNA SP 14/15, fol.159r-v.
[67] ER to AB, [5?] January 1596/7, LPL MS 654, fol.83r-v.
[68] ER to AB, 14 November 1596, LPL MS 660, fol.59r.

were committed to the same ultimate goal, and if Reynolds considered himself Anthony's junior, it was a matter of great satisfaction that the efforts he might expend on his behalf were in the cause of a greater good:

> Sir I haue shewed your lettre of remembrances to my Lord, who semeth to haue spetiall care of everye particular therein recommended, and god willing my dayly solicitation shall not be wanting either in that, or any thinge elce it shall please you to commit vnto my trust: to whome I do & will more studiouslye and zealouslye seeke to yeld all contentement by all dewtifull & honest offices, and services, then all the world besides, I except only one, to whome I knowe your self do yeld the like honor with me.[69]

Gratifyingly, Anthony was quick to pick up on Reynolds's language and used similar terms when he paid compliments to the secretary. In August 1596, Anthony testified to 'mine owne knowledge and proofe of your faithfull zelous harte and indefatigable minde in serving his Lordshipp' and praised his 'intire deuotion diligence and fidelity which hath taken so deep impression in my minde as that I aspire to nothing more then to deserue the true loue of so rare a seruant by witnessing the truth to so noble a Master'.[70] A few months later Reynolds needed another fillip, and Anthony reached for the same phrases: he admired Reynolds's 'intire deuotion and faithfull diligence to and in his Lordships seruice … [which possesses] intirely your honest harte'.[71]

Reynolds maintained this high pitch of emotional involvement in his friendship with Anthony Bacon, an intimacy aided by the fact that Anthony became his confidant and champion in the newly-enlarged secretariat. His support when Reynolds felt threatened by his new colleagues prompted a flood of heartfelt thanks:

> I can not omit in all my lettres, to geve you a tast of my thankfull disposicion for your great favors[,] not that I can by any woordes sufficiently expresse the same, but that you may knowe what I would do, if ability & meanes served: which I will dispayre to be ever aunswerable to your merites; which are so many; or to my affection; which no abilitye can equall.[72]

[69] ER to AB, 16 October 1596, LPL MS 659, fol.327r.
[70] AB to ER, 22 August 1596, LPL MS 658, fol.202r-v.
[71] AB to ER, 9 October 1596, LPL MS 659, fol.315r.
[72] ER to AB, 3 January 1596/7, LPL MS 654, fol.101r.

Reynolds's pre-existing inclination to present himself as poor in merit but rich in affection in relation to the Earl of Essex provided a language for his friendship with Anthony: in the formulation favoured by Reynolds, the favours of a meritorious patron could only be repaid with affection from a lowly and unskilful supplicant. Reynolds pushed the conventions of this model further in his letters to Anthony than he did with the earl, pledging in return for his 'exceeding great favors … my faythfull love',[73] and defining their relationship in explicitly affective terms:

> Sir. When I haue filled whole sheetes of paper, all I can say is, to present vnto you my best thankes for your exceeding great favors, which you heap dayly vpon me, and cannot be expressed in whole volumes. Therefore because all I can say, is to yeld all dewtifull thankes, I do offer the same from a most affectionate and trewe hart vnto you, as to the dearest frend I haue in this world, of whose honorable favour I will endevour to be held worthy, by all services so long as I lyve.[74]

Reynolds took care to inscribe the special nature of his friendship with Anthony in the subscriptions he appended to his routine letters, varying a standard 'Yours wholy and trewly devoted'[75] with elaborations that included 'Yours wholy and constantly bound and devoted' and even 'yours by solemne vowe faithfully devoted'.[76] On one occasion he gestured poetically towards the inadequacy of language to capture the full scope of his feelings: 'I can add nothing to my former professions; neyther can any thinge be added to my trewe affection, being ever Yours wholy and constantly.'[77] These subscriptions contrast with those intended for others: to Essex, he is 'Your Lordships most humble and faythfull seruaunt', and

[73] ER to AB, n.d. January 1596/7, LPL MS 654, fol.74r.

[74] ER to AB, 29 January 1596/7, LPL MS 654, fol.80r.

[75] ER to AB, 9 March 1596/7, LPL MS 656, fol.33r. With minor variations, this was Reynolds's most common formulation in his letters to Anthony: 'Yours perfect and trewly devoted' (1 October 1594, LPL MS 648, fol.100r); 'Yours wholy and faithfully devoted' (9 October 1596, LPL MS 659, fol.329r); 'Yours treuly & faythfully devoted' (3 January 1596/7, LPL MS 654, fol.27r).

[76] ER to AB, [5/8?] March 1596/7, LPL MS 656, fol.24r; ER to AB, n.d. September 1596, LPL MS 659, fol.88r.

[77] ER to AB, 14 January 1596/7, LPL MS 654, fol.99r.

to correspondents of a more workaday nature he is 'your very assured freind', also the formulation most used frequently by Anthony to Reynolds.[78]

Reynolds's language in his letters to the Earl of Essex and Anthony Bacon reflected his status in the household of a senior noble, and tells us something about the way he chose to conceive of his position as a servant to one and intimate friend to the other. He was reliant on his patron for present security and future prospects and took pains to form bonds of obligation with influential men such as Anthony who could facilitate his advancement. The languages of friendship and service comprehended these bonds of mutual (or one-sided) indebtedness, and Reynolds was not unusual in articulating this debt in such seemingly emotional terms.[79] Much of this book has been concerned with the way in which these conventions operated in practice. In terms of the position in which Reynolds placed himself in relation to Essex, his language implies a close adherence to the idea of lordship, a concept that was becoming antiquated even in the sixteenth century: a relationship of honour maintained between a superior and an inferior through the pledging of faithfulness on one side, and lordly protection and just dealing on the other.[80] In both cases, intimate friendship and lordly service, the striking emotionality of Reynolds's language can be explained away as a trick of the light. We are detecting, in Alan Bray's terminology, the 'traces' of a forgotten set of 'rhetorical gestures' that served to negotiate the complex set of exchanges that constituted a relation of service or friendship in the early modern period.[81] But such a conclusion glosses the messy, conflicted and changing nature of the relationships in the Essex circle in particular. Reynolds's language reflected an enthusiasm for conceptualising duty in unusually personal terms that was shared by some (but not all) members of that circle, including Reynolds, Anthony Bacon, the earl and other followers,

[78] ER to EE, 6 May 1596, LPL MS 657, fol.105r; ER to John Wake, Lieutenant of Salcey Forest, 30 July 1596, LPL MS 658, fol.99r. For examples of Anthony's subscriptions in his letters to Reynolds, see 3 January 1596/7, LPL MS 654, fol.109r and 7 February 1596/7, LPL MS 655, fol.76r.

[79] Lisa Jardine and William Sherman, 'Pragmatic Readers: knowledge transactions and scholarly services in late Elizabethan England', in Anthony Fletcher and Peter Roberts (eds), *Religion, Culture, and Society in Early Modern Britain: Essays in honour of Patrick Collinson* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 102–24; Alan Bray, 'Homosexuality and the signs of male friendship in Elizabethan England'; Bray, *The Friend*, chs 2 and 4.

[80] Mervyn James, 'English politics and the concept of honour, 1485–1642', in *Society, Politics and Culture*, 308–415, 330.

[81] Bray, *The Friend*, 6, 26.

notably the Spanish exile, Antonio Pérez. This style was one that drew on two heritages: a reverence for the bonds of classical amicitia as interpreted by humanism; and the chivalric code of honour that tied followers to their lord with an appeal to loyalty and friendship. Neither of these heritages were in themselves eccentric in the context of the late sixteenth century, a period which saw an enormous public appetite for discourses on chivalry and idealised male friendship.[82] But both institutions had, to varying degrees, evolved from living cultural forms into rhetorical modes that retained only the language and gestures of the original form. Men might speak the language of honour and amicitia while acting in ways that owed more to pragmatism and a developing idea of public service.[83] For Essex and his circle to adhere so wholeheartedly to both an ideal and a language of impassioned service *was* unusual by the 1590s. As we will see, those members of the circle who did not adopt the style attracted resentment and conflict, but for the rest of the present section I will focus on the men in the Essex household who demonstrated their commitment to this mode in their letters.

For Anthony Bacon, the focus of his affections was the Earl of Essex. The earl gave him a professional purpose and provided an outlet for his considerable talents. Anthony's service in his cause made use of the experiences he had gathered and the acquaintances he had made during his 12-year absence on the continent, a spotted history that he sought to cleanse by putting his experience and acquaintance at the disposal of one of the queen's most senior servants. Anthony was painfully conscious that his lost years of, in his words, 'obedyence, care and expenses' in France had reaped 'no other fruites then iealousies, suspitions, and misimputations' when he returned to England and began rebuilding his relationship with his uncle Lord Burghley. As he explained to his aunt, the dowager Lady Russell, during a fraught interview at Essex House in September 1596,

> [W]hen on the one side at my first cominge ouer I founde nothinge but faire words which make fooles faine, and yet euen in those no offer, or hopefull assurance of reall kindness, which I thought I might iustlie expecte at his Lordships [Burghley's] hands, who had inned my ten yeares haruest

[82] For more on the vogue, especially in the 1580s and 1590s, for heraldry and chivalric virtue, see Dickinson, *Court Politics*, 5–23.

[83] Michael Hicks, *Bastard Feudalism* (London: Longman, 1995), 201–7; Felicity Heal, *Hospitality in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999).

> in his owne barne without anie halfpennie chardge, and on the other side vnderstood the Earle of Essex his care vertues and perfections and the interest he had worthelie in my Souueraines fauour, together withe his spetiall noble kindenes to my germaine brother … I did extremelie longe to … mete withe some oportunitie to make the honourable Earle knowe, howe muche I honoured and esteemed his excellent guiftes, and howe earnestlie I desired to deserue his good opinion and loue.[84]

Anthony's account of this conversation was written explicitly for the earl, and the sentiments expressed in it are consistent with the terms used by both men in their correspondence. Essex praised Anthony as 'a gentleman whose vertue I reuerence, and loue his person' and wished for 'better and oftner occasions to shew you my loue and howe worthily I thinke it is placed'.[85] In the postscript of a letter of secret instructions sent to Reynolds, he made Anthony's special position clear: 'When I say in the beginning of my lettre that this is onlie for your owne eyes I exclude all men but Mr Anthony Bacon who in all these things is to me as the hande with which I write this commende me vnto him a 1000 times.'[86] As Essex's right-hand man, Anthony also had the privilege of absolutely private correspondence with the earl, veiled even from the sight of the other secretaries. In October 1596, Reynolds assured him that

> my Lord taketh all possible care of your private lettres, and if I happen to take vp any (as it falleth out very seldome), I do make a religion to delyver them to his Lordship, vnseene being fit for no mans eyes elce; vnles it be such as he geveth me, containing matters of remembrance only.[87]

For his part, Anthony most often expressed his devotion to the earl with the trope that the honour of his favours put him beyond the power of speech. Writing of his reunion with the earl after his return from Cadiz, he told Reynolds,

> [a]s I was very happily surprized yesternight at Supper by the most comfortable presence of my singular good Lord so confesse I freely vnto yow that

[84] AB to EE, n.d. September [1596] [endorsement faded], LPL MS 659, fols.23-26v.
[85] EE to AB, n.d., LPL MS 653, fol.178r and the same to the same, n.d., fol.212r; Birch, *Memoirs*, 1, 161 and 148.
[86] EE to ER, 23 July 1596, LPL MS 658, fol.136r.
[87] ER to AB, 15 October 1596, LPL MS 659, fol.379r.

> my eyes were so rauished with so sweet & deare and [*sic*] obiect as that they did vsurp ouer my minde & tong.[88]

Elsewhere he wrote of 'the vnspeakable comforte and ioy to inioy my Lords presence' and the 'vnspeakable kindnes' he had been shown.[89] Such kindness frequently took the form of favours for Anthony's friends, family and suitors, from commissions for soldiers to livings for robustly Protestant preachers, a form of patronage that was less to do with the earl's own religious convictions than the constant pressure of Lady Bacon, relayed through Anthony, who was unremitting in her support for reformed clerics.[90] Such evident favour was a public matter: writing to the keeper of Salcey Forest in Northamptonshire to arrange the dispatch of one of the earl's bucks to Anthony, Reynolds warned the forester to have 'spetiall care of the seruing of this Warraunte bycause it is for a gentleman whome I know my Lord doth dearly loue and respect as much as any gentleman in England'.[91] Henry Wotton's later sketch of the earl's household arrangements, although shot through with residual bitterness and written with objectives particular to the Stuart years, gives an indication of the special treatment Anthony received. He described how '[t]he Earle of Essex had accommodated Master Anthony Bacon in a partition of his house, and had assigned him a noble entertaynement.' Anthony's position in Essex House was unassailable: with the earl he was 'commonly *primae admissionis*, by his bed-side in the morning', a suggestive image of professional and personal intimacy that ignores the fact that Essex was frequently absent from his London house.[92]

The earl's preferential treatment of Anthony was of a piece with his enthusiastic support for his followers. It has been noted that Essex threw himself into campaigns for his friends, seemingly regardless of the likelihood of success and blind to the political realities behind

[88] AB to ER, 18 August 1596, LPL MS 658, fol.188r.

[89] AB to ER, 22 August 1596, LPL MS 658, fol.202r-v; AB to ACB, 22 September 1593, LPL MS 649 fol.312r (copy).

[90] See AB to ER, [8/9?] March 1596/7, LPL MS 656, fol.91r for a typical discussion of the steps Essex and his followers could take to prefer a cleric 'vppon my Mothers recommendacion'. For a thorough analysis of Lady Bacon's religious patronage, see Mair, 'Anne, Lady Bacon', 212–60.

[91] ER to John Wake, Lieutenant of Salcey Forest, 30 July 1596, LPL MS 658, fol.99r.

[92] Wotton, *Reliquiae Wottonianae*, Somers Tracts, 4, 158–9.

the endeavours.[93] His suits on behalf of Francis Bacon for the post of attorney-general in 1593–1595 and Sir Robert Sidney for the wardenship of the Cinque Ports in 1597 demonstrate the extent to which his desire to support his friends could tip into single-minded obsession. Lobbying the queen for Francis's preferment in March 1594, he succeeded in moving her to nothing but irritation, at which point he declared 'in passion' that 'while I was with her I could not but solicit for the cause and the man I so muche affected and therefor I would retire myself till I might be more gratiously hearde', an exit line that prefigured a brief but characteristic withdrawal to his chamber.[94] He had already made his commitment to Francis clear, in an ill-humoured exchange with Sir Robert Cecil in January of that year: 'the Attorneyship for ffrances ys that I must have,' he had insisted, 'and in that will I spend all my power, might, autoritye and amytie, and with toothe and nayle deffende and procuer the same for hym against whomsoever.'[95] When the death of the elderly Lord Cobham in 1597 left the post of Warden of the Cinque Ports vacant, Essex sought the position for Sir Robert Sidney over the more likely successor, Cobham's eldest son, Henry Brooke. Essex's implacable dislike of Brooke was the reason for his particular dedication to this cause, but he expressed it in similarly personal terms to his advocacy of Francis: 'I mean resolutely to stand for it [the office] myself against him [Brooke].'[96]

Like his secretary Edward Reynolds, Essex employed a register that Alexandra Gajda has termed 'strikingly emotive' in his letters of recommendation on behalf of clients, even those in pursuit of relatively humble offices—writing in support of one John Bowen Phillips to be made JP in Pembrokeshire, Essex informed Lord Keeper Puckering that he would account his help a 'spetiall curtesie, and add it to manye otheres whereby your Lordship continuallye by satisfying my lik requests doth tye me unto yow'.[97] It was, as Paul Hammer observed, a 'point of honour' for Essex to pursue suits to their conclusion once he had become involved in them, a loyalty that made him an extremely attractive figure, for all that his actual powers of patronage were limited.[98] This popularity added substantially

[93] Gajda, *Essex*, 143–4; Paul E. J. Hammer, 'Patronage at Court, faction and the earl of Essex', in Guy (ed.), *The Reign of Elizabeth I*, 65–86, 76.

[94] EE to FB, 28 March 1594, LPL MS 650, fol.148r (copy); Birch, *Memoirs*, 1, 166.

[95] AS to AB, 3 February 1593/4, LPL MS 650, fol.81r.

[96] *HF*, 188; *LL*, 2, 48.

[97] BL Harley MS 6996, fol.130r (quoted in Gajda, *Essex*, 143).

[98] *PP*, 293–8, 297.

to Reynolds's workload, as Essex was frequently importuned by courtiers who distracted him from more pressing business. Anthony Standen remarked that 'in Court, ytt is hard negotiatinge wythe my Lord for the multitudes that overwhelme hym', an impression corroborated by his other followers: Henry Wotton remembered that his chamber was 'commonly strived with friends or suitors of one kinde or other', and Reynolds found himself battling 'roughe Cavaliers' who so 'pulled and troubled' his master that there was 'neyther tyme nor place for any of vs to sollicite hym in matters of his service'.[99]

The brand of highly-personalised, emotionally heightened service practised by certain members of the Essex circle provides a context in which to understand the behaviour and language of the Spanish defector Antonio Pérez during his time in England under the Earl of Essex's protection in 1593–1595. Invariably described by scholars of the period as 'flamboyant' or 'glamorous', the former secretary to the King of Spain entered the earl's orbit during a diplomatic mission to England with the French envoy, the vidame de Chartres in 1593; he contrived to remain Essex's guest until the summer of 1595.[100] With his knowledge of the workings of the Escorial and his insights into Spanish policy objectives, Pérez was an invaluable intelligence resource in his own right as well as being the lodestar for a network of continental informers that exceeded even Anthony Bacon's.[101] Conscious of his worth, Essex made Pérez welcome, entrusting him to the care of Thomas Smith and Francis and Anthony Bacon (much to their mother's displeasure).[102] Essex also granted him an allowance of about £20 per month. Pérez repaid this kindness in the manner modelled by his hosts, with an effusion of loyal gratitude that found its form in public statements of favour and elaborate epistolary declarations of service and devotion. Anthony's friend, Nicholas Faunt, meeting Pérez at a dinner hosted by his kinsman John Harrison, the high master of St Paul's School, remarked that 'of the Earle (as I heare he hath particular occasion)

[99] AS to AB, 5 April 1594, LPL MS 650, fol.182r; Wotton, *Reliquiae Wottonianae*, Somers Tracts, 4, 160; ER to AB, n.d. September 1596, LPL MS 659, fol.88r.

[100] 'Flamboyant': *HF*, 161; *GL*, 127; Robert Gittings, *Shakespeare's Rival: A Study in Three Parts* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1976), 26; 'glamorous': Gajda, *Essex,* 11. See also Gustav Ungerer, *A Spaniard in Elizabethan England: The Correspondence of Antonio Pérez's Exile*, 2 vols (London: Tamesis Books, 1974–6).

[101] *PP*, 132 and 180–1; Ungerer, *Spaniard*, 1, 296–7.

[102] Hammer, 'Uses of Scholarship', 33; Ungerer, *Spaniard*, 1, 221.

he speaketh without all exception for his yeares'.[103] Pérez's passion for the earl determined the style in which he corresponded with him. Organising a meeting for the next day, he managed to work an elaborate metaphysical conceit into the mundane arrangements:

> Today I desired to meet you. I should say that more briefly: I desired you, for he who loves is carried around in the orbit of his desire. Truly in the orbit, for desire is carried hither and thither by the heart, the centre of love, and approaches the beloved just as in orbit on this side and on that. Not in sight, not in speech—not just in one action alone, nor in the effect of one part—does love rest: it encompasses the beloved entirely, and it will inevitably possess him. Farewell, and very early in the morning expect me.[104]

Pérez used the same tone—erudite, intimate, tinged with an arch and private eroticism—in letters to the Bacon brothers, as in this message to Anthony in which he affects to be wounded that Francis invited him to dine by written letter:

> Your brother invited me to dinner. He has wounded me in writing—his pen being the most rabid and biting of teeth. As if he himself were above blame—some kind of chaste vestal virgin. You can tell immediately what this imagined modesty of his is all about. For I am just the same. Those who claim to love modesty are in fact the most bold of men, and submit to force, and enjoy the excuse of being taken by force, like the Roman matron in Tacitus who consented to be raped by her lover. But alas, if you do not read these letters before dinner, the provocation behind his viciousness towards me will not be clear to you.[105]

Pérez took his stylistic cue from the men with whom he had the most intimate or most voluminous correspondence, including Anthony Bacon and the Earl of Essex. We are detecting here a coterie style that was both reflective and constitutive of the ways the members of the circle actually

[103] NF to AB, 11 February 1594, LPL MS 650, fol.114v.

[104] Epistle 75, *Ant. Perezii ad Comitem Essexivm, singularem Angliae Magnatem, & ad Alios* (Paris: no printer's information, 1603), sigs.G3v-4r, translation Bray, *The Friend*, 48. That this letter eventually ended up in Pérez's published collection suggests it was less a carelessly dashed off note, and more a mannerist composition. Whether it was ever sent as a 'real' letter is immaterial: it presents the relationship with Essex that Pérez wished to present to the world.

[105] Ungerer, *Spaniard*, 1, 490–1, translation *HF*, 163.

regarded loyalty and service: as institutions celebrated for being held together by affection, intimacy, and even ardour—and expressed with an appropriately emotional language.

The Coming Men

If such language was common among some of the men in the Essex circle, it was by no means consistently practised. The employment of Henry Wotton in late 1594 or early 1595 heralded the arrival of a man who regarded secretarial service in a different light to either Edward Reynolds or Anthony Bacon. Entering Essex's service after five years on the continent, Wotton brought with him a self-proclaimed expertise on matters pertaining to Italy and central Europe, and a correspondence network that encompassed Siena, Florence, Rome, Venice, Geneva, Heidelberg, Speyer, Basel, Vienna, Prague, Utrecht and The Hague.[106] Unlike the Francophile Anthony, whose long residence abroad had bred an ecumenism that sometimes put him in conflict with Essex's more militantly Protestant colleagues, Wotton returned from his travels with his faith and political world-view largely unchanged, a quality noted by his friend John Donne:

> But, sir, I advise not you, I rather do
> Say o'er those lessons, which I learnt of you,
> Whom, free from German schisms, and lightness
> Of France, and fair Italy's faithlessness,
> Having from these sucked all they had of worth,
> And brought home that faith which you carried forth,
> I throughly love.[107]

Wotton had spent much of his time in the libraries of Italy and Germany, and he was the author of at least one briefing paper on the Holy Roman Empire.[108] His experience, and his acquaintance with significant European scholars and political figures, allowed him to advertise his own knowledge in matters of foreign policy, a solipsistic approach to service that was

[106] Loomie, 'Wotton', *ODNB*; Smith, *Wotton*, 1, 299–301.

[107] John Donne, 'To Mr Henry Wotton ('Sir, more than kisses')', lines 63–9, in Robin Robbins (ed.), *The Complete Poems of John Donne*, revised edn. (Harlow: Longman, 2010), 87–8.

[108] Alexandra Gajda, '*The State of Christendom*', 423–30.

to unnerve Reynolds in particular. The older secretary was sensitive to the sharp-elbowed tactics of his new colleague, who appeared willing to ignore established habits of precedence. In February 1597, Wotton caused outrage by dispatching a letter from the Earl of Essex to his agent in Venice, Dr Henry Hawkins, without first showing it either to Reynolds or to Anthony, 'which he had reason to do the rather for that he might be assurd you had something to write to the Doctor[,] and my Lord had left those thinges wholy to your addresse'. To make matters worse, Wotton brushed off the mistake with an insouciance that verged on insolence:

> he made sleight aunswere, & sayd that he had a double of them, which you might see & send yf it pleased you. This caryeth a great showe only of greate confidence of iudgement in hym, & of his own abilitye, or vnwillingnes to be censured, or neglect of those whome he should better regard.[109]

Wotton's casual appropriation of the correspondence re-ignited a former dispute: he had been responsible for an extraordinary administrative failure in the summer and autumn of 1596 when letters of introduction from the earl intended for Dr Hawkins had somehow ended up in the possession of a London merchant, publicly displayed in a shop window. Anthony had resolved the problem, soothing Hawkins with apologies for Wotton's 'prank' and privately fuming to Essex about the junior secretary's 'treachery'.[110] A few months after the second Hawkins *faux pas*, Wotton and Reynolds again exchanged 'crosse woordes', this time about a passport for a visiting Bohemian, Jan Divíš, baron von Žerotín, who had recently been accepted as an honorary member of Gray's Inn (perhaps through the support of the Bacon brothers at Essex's request). Wotton had allegedly attempted to intercept the licence and deliver it to its recipient, 'to pick a thank of the Baron' and reinforce his right to handle all German affairs.[111] Wotton's smooth confidence upset Reynolds, not least because such assuredness contrasted with his own self-effacement—a mode of expression so entrenched that he rhetorically undercut his own abilities even while complaining about Wotton's ambition:

> Mr Wotton is alredy Secretary for Transilvania, Polonia, Italye, Germanye, and if I were gon (so he hath vaunted) would haue also my charge, making

[109] ER to AB, 23 February 1596/7, LPL MS 655, fol.54r.
[110] Hammer, 'Uses of Scholarship', 36; Ungerer, *Spaniard*, 2, 170–2.
[111] ER to AB, 9 March 1596/7, LPL MS 656, fol.65r.

> some comparisons of sufficiency betwixt my selfe & hym … But I repeat not this, as any whit moved with those speaches or reprochfull termes, for I desire only to please & content my Lord, & not Mr Wotton, or any other that doth or shall contentiously or vpon humor seek to disgrace me, howe mean soever my sufficiency be in their eyes, which I will acknowledge to be far vnder that which such a place as I hould requireth.[112]

A good deal of the discord between Reynolds and Wotton can be ascribed to personality clash (Wotton's early twentieth-century biographer conceded that many of his colleagues regarded him with 'a certain suspicion of his sincerity and good faith'[113]), but Reynolds was also conscious that the new appointments—certainly Henry Wotton and Henry Cuffe—had a quality that distinguished them from other secretaries. 'I must confesse they are all sufficient men,' he explained to Anthony, 'but I finde none of my own humor but Mr Temple' (William Temple, the third new secretary employed after Thomas Smith's departure).[114] In part, Reynolds's discomfort had its origin in the sort of men these new appointments were, or purported to be. While he described Temple as a 'godlie sufficient Secretarie', he identified Wotton primarily as a 'great languaged Traueller' and Cuffe as a 'learned scholler'.[115] This was not at root an assessment of their skills or qualifications—as we have seen, William Temple was also, like Cuffe, a published academic—but an indication of the identity that Reynolds believed each man chose to present. Those identities—careerist and self-determined—contrasted with his ideal of service, and could not be accommodated in a definition that conceived of the master–secretary relationship in wholly personal terms. Reynolds's refusal to contemplate the potential benefits of a secretary employed for his technical skills, rather than his capacity for faithful service, is demonstrated by his response to the possibility of a fourth new appointment, Edward Jones, the former secretary to Sir Thomas Heneage and Lord Keeper Puckering, in the summer of 1596:

> If there were any extraordinary partes, or any rare guiftes, in the partye commended, whereby my Lord might be the better served, I would be rather glad, then grieved at his intertaynement, althoughe my Lord hath

[112] ER to AB, n.d. December 1596, LPL MS 660, fol.214r.
[113] Smith, *Wotton*, 1, 28.
[114] ER to AB, 19 August 1596, LPL MS 658, fol.166r.
[115] ER to EE, 18 August 1596, LPL MS 658, fol.258r.

> more then inoughe alredy, & I amongst them the meanest; but I cannot vnderstand any such fame of hym. I thinke you knowe the man. His name is Iones, he sometimes served Master Vicechamberlain, & the late Lord Keeper, He is a great translator of books, & is preferred by Mr Waade for a spetiall man of language.[116]

Reynolds explicitly removed from the comprehension of 'extraordinary partes, or … rare guiftes' the skills inherent in being a 'great translator of books, and … a spetiall man of language'. Like Angel Day and Nicholas Faunt, Reynolds conceived of his role as secretary primarily in relational terms that brought to the fore his ability to keep the counsel of his master and provide diligent, faithful and secret service. For Nicholas Faunt, the prime requirement of discretion and trustworthiness in a secretary was achieved through the 'special loue and affeccion hee beareth towards his Master, the same beeinge grounded likewise upon some testimonie of his masters good opinion and repicracall love borne vnto him'.[117] Angel Day was even more explicit: the 'neereness and attendance' demanded by such a role generated an affection between master and secretary that grew to a 'feruencie' and thence to a 'simpathie vnseperable' between the two.[118] This conception was a flattering image for a secretary to sustain, and tallied well with Reynolds's increasingly old-fashioned sense that his duty to a noble lord was based around an offering of faithfulness in exchange for visible favour and support from his powerful patron (what Francis Bacon would term 'countenance' in his essay 'Of Followers and Friends').[119] For Reynolds, the idea that a man might be taken on to perform important and confidential services for the Earl of Essex simply as a result of a disinterested assessment of his abilities was extremely disturbing.

The controversy surrounding Edward Jones was a flash-point for Reynolds, because it exposed the limitations of his conception of service, based as it was around a dated idea of lordly duty and an idealised view of a secretary's privileged position. Reynolds's response to Jones's mooted appointment also exposed the potential combustibility of relations within the Essex circle: for Reynolds, the earl's decision was only legible as a denial of countenance and a withdrawal of favour, to which the only meaningful reply was a concomitant denial of faithful service. Like his master, whose

[116] ER to AB, 19 August 1596, LPL MS 658, fol.166r.
[117] Hughes, 'Nicholas Faunt's "Discourse"', 501.
[118] Day, *English Secretary*, sig.Oo3r.
[119] Kiernan (ed.), *Oxford Francis Bacon XV: Essayes*, 148.

reaction to being crossed by the queen was peremptorily to withdraw from her company (either briefly or for an extended period of time), Reynolds's response to perceived ill-usage was similarly dramatic: he tried to resign. His understanding of service and the language with which it was articulated left him very little rhetorical wiggle-room or indeed any option other than retreat. As Essex found when his relationship with the queen soured, a language of lordly service (or indeed courtly love) did not permit negotiation and compromise.

Reynolds had responded badly when Essex hired three additional secretaries after Smith's promotion to the Privy Council in 1595, conscious of the implication that the outgoing senior secretary was worth the labour of three men.[120] The earl's decision in the aftermath of the Cadiz expedition to take on Edward Jones as an additional foreign language secretary was a snub that Reynolds regarded as the last straw. He wrote in some distress to Anthony on 18 August:

> I appeall to your iudgement howe little it can be to my creditt in the world, when it shall be sayd that for our Mr Smith, his Lordship receved fower others. I protest vnto you that this affliction of mynd … hath gone very neare my hart; and I will despaire to remove it … I beseche you Sir accuse me not of causeles ielousye or discontented humores: but impute my complaint to a iust care of my poore credit, which is dearer to me then me lyfe; and when I loose but one iott of it with his Lordship, I will desire no more to behold the light.[121]

Reynolds decided that the public nature of this perceived disgrace required a public response—or at least the show of one. In 'the extremity of melancholy', and without waiting to hear Anthony's advice, he wrote another letter, this time addressed to the earl, which he 'resolue[d] to leave to his Lordships viewe'.[122] This was a letter of resignation:

> But the greefe that hath broken my harte is, that after all this time and monie spent; after so faithfull and honest service, after the intertainment of so manie others, after my vnsuportable losse, your Lordship hath receiued a fith Secretarie, and a good parte of my former credit and imployment is caried an other waie, by reason whereof I hold my self vtterlie disgraced,

[120] Laying out his grievance in 1596, Reynolds reminded Essex that he had served the earl 'without anie other Colledge [colleague]' than Thomas Smith for seven years, before 'your Lordship … intertained 3 secretaries' on Smith's preferment (ER to EE, 18 August 1596, LPL MS 658, fol.258r).

[121] ER to AB, 18 August 1596, LPL MS 658, fol.210r.

[122] ER to AB, [18/19?] August 1596, LPL MS 658, fol.155r.

> and thoroughe melancholie greefe and wants am made vnfit to serve yow, and indeede I see little vse of me amonge so manie other sufficient menn. I have chosen rather to liue like a begger then with discredit and disgrace, and am retired to obscurity the poorest Secretarie that ever served so noble and bountyfull a person … I leaue the key of my Cabinett sealed vp with Sir Gellie Mericke where your Lordship shall finde all your papers in good order. For my self I neuer desire to be sene more of your Lordship but will spende my time in sighing for my hard fortune, and prayinge for your honorable estate and the greatest hapines your harte can wishe.[123]

As the final sally in a battle over hurt pride, the letter was devastating. But it is unlikely that Reynolds ever intended to send it to the earl, still less that he planned to leave it lying open to public view. Instead, he sent the draft with a covering letter to Anthony, explaining his intentions 'vnles your wise councell do overrule me'.[124] The hint was hardly necessary. Anthony responded at once to this impulsive plan: 'yow should reserue your lettre for the last refuge … permitt me to morrow to sound my Lord a loofe of [aloof off], in the best sorte my small discretion can deuise touching your selfe … I would be loth yow should as yet deliuer your lettre.'[125] His urgent reply crossed with another letter from Reynolds, in which he pondered again the wisdom of so spectacularly burning his bridges:

> In the extremity of grief I sent you this day a note; which as then, so nowe I intreate you may be only for your sight, vntill I may haue tyme to speak with you, by whose wise Councell I will govern my self … I beseche you Sir to burne these lettres.[126]

The gesture towards a dramatic final exit had been sufficient to guarantee Anthony's assistance in the matter, and Reynolds was able to lay out his case more objectively in the third letter he wrote that day:

> I am not malicious towards hym [Jones], or any other, neither will I ever seeke to hinder any honest mans good or preferment; nor contradict my Lordes honourable purposes to intertayn men fitt for his service: This only I beseche you to beleve, that I only respected in my complaint and moane made vnto you, my poore creditt, somewhat blemished by so many of our profession, whereas before, for 7 yeares space, 2 were held sufficient: and

[123] ER to EE, 18 August 1596, LPL MS 658, fol.258r.
[124] ER to AB, [18/19?] August 1596, LPL MS 658, fol.155r.
[125] AB to ER, [18/19?] August 1596, LPL MS 658, fol.187r.
[126] ER to AB, 19 August 1596, LPL MS 658, fol.166r.

> my sufficiency hath bene the more called in question, because my Lord hath had this humor only since Mr Smithes preferment, which makes the world to iudge that he did all the service: whereas indeede the burden lay vpon my shoulders for the most part … But as his Lordship hath ever studied to do hym [Smith] good and laboured his preferment to great place, for his woorthe: so I trust he will at last for my faythfull and honest services, haue me in remembrance; and prefer me to some place, nowe he is so well and so fully provided and furnisshed of Secretaryes: for I see nowe I shall not lyve with some of them, without envye.[127]

For Reynolds, the injustice of his situation was that the earl's disregard for his faithful service damaged his public reputation as a secretary—his 'creditt'. This was a matter of honour, but it was also a matter of employability. His claim to require a new position away from Essex's secretariat, 'nowe I shall not lyve with some of them, without envye', was not the first time he had explored the possibility of a new job, for all his proclaimed loyalty. During 1594 and 1595, Reynolds attempted to secure a position as Clerk of the Signet (a role which went eventually to Nicholas Faunt); in 1596, he sought to obtain the third reversion of the clerkship of the Privy Seal; in 1596 and 1597, he turned his attention to the clerkship of the Avery, the chief officer of the royal stables under the Master of the Horse; in 1597, he failed to win a reversion to a post at the Court of Requests, as well as the job of Surveyor of the Queen's Ordnance (despite writing in unseemly haste when he heard the incumbent was 'dangerously sick, and past hope of recoverie').[128] His final effort to win higher place while in the Earl of Essex's service was between 1597 and 1599, when he hoped to become secretary to the Court of Wards, on the understanding that Essex would be granted control of the office.[129] In most, if not all, of these cases, the earl was complicit and indeed instrumental in furthering

[127] ER to AB, 19 August 1596, LPL MS 658, fol.228r.

[128] Clerkships of the Signet and Privy Seal: ER to EE, 18 August 1596, LPL MS 658 fol.258r; clerkship of the Avery: ER to AB, 1 January 1596/7, LPL MS 654, fol.89r; Court of Requests: ER to Sir Robert Cecil, 3 August 1597, printed in *HMCS*, 7, 332–3; surveyorship of the ordinance: ER to AB, 12 March 1596/7, LPL MS 656, fol.12r and TNA SP 12/265, fol.147r.

[129] Captain Chamberlain to ER, 1597: 'Let no man be secretary to the Court of Wards but yourself, for my father bid me tell you it will be worth 400*l* a year' (*HMCS*, 7, 531). The prize was a long time in the offing: Reynolds wrote to Katherine Mills at the start of 1599, 'if my Lord be Master of the Wardes, I am promised a very contented fortune' (TNA SP 12/270, fol.47r).

Reynolds's suits, and with his help Reynolds was successful in securing the reversion of the clerkship of the Privy Seal and, in 1597, a burgess's seat in Parliament for Andover.[130] In 1596, the dishonour and disgrace he felt at the 'multitude of Secretaryes' was in large part due to his fear that his public reputation would suffer and threaten his chances of winning a profitable government post.[131]

But Reynolds's prediction that he would not be able to work with his new colleagues 'without envye' should be taken seriously, and brings us back to the notion that he detected in them an antipathy of character. Edward Jones, the 'great translator of books' was, along with Cuffe the scholar and Wotton the linguist, something different to and perhaps less than a secretary, as Reynolds understood the role, and their advent diminished in his eyes the honour of the office. The professionals, bringing with them technical skill and independent ambition, upset the balance of faithful service and lordly reward that Reynolds believed he sustained with Essex. Like the author of *A Health to the Gentlemanly profession of Seruingmen* (1598), who mourned the passing of the days when the love 'betwixt the Maister and the Seruant … was in manner equall with the Husbandes to the Wyfe' and deprecated the new breed of covetous self-made men ('[i]t is Money they minde, Golde they grope after, and Gayne they groane for'), Reynolds distrusted the intentions of the new arrivals.[132]

These abrasions and conflicts had a damaging effect on Essex's secretariat in the middle years of the 1590s, seeding internal divisions among his men even as the factional dispute that would arise at the end of the decade between Essex and Cecil (or, indeed, Essex and the rest of the court) began taking root.[133] The origin of these internal conflicts was cultural. Reynolds was not so very different from Wotton in his desire for enrichment and success. Wotton tried boldly to stake his claim to Italian and German affairs, and made semi-earnest play for Reynolds's job too, while Reynolds had his eye more or less constantly on other government offices, suits '[w]hich I doe not propound I protest with any desire to free my selfe of this seruice then the which I hould nothing more deare', as he put it delicately to

[130] Hammer, 'Reynolds', *ODNB*.

[131] ER to AB, n.d. September 1596, LPL MS 659, fol.92r.

[132] I.M. [Gervaise Markham?], *A Health to the Gentlemanly profession of Seruingmen: or, The Seruingmans Comfort* (London: W.W., 1598), sigs.C2v and G3r.

[133] *PP*, 341–404; MacCaffrey, *Elizabeth I: War and Politics*, 453–536; the essays in Guy (ed.), *The Reign of Elizabeth I*.

Anthony in December 1596.[134] The difference was to be found in the way the men regarded their service to their master. Men like Wotton who made their ambitions transparent rendered the traditional language of service obsolete: 'faithfulness' could hardly be assumed in the upwardly mobile. We have seen how these differences of opinion could breed discord and misunderstanding in the Essex secretariat. At its worst, differing views about the nature of service held by master and servant could lead to a catastrophe. Such a disaster occurred when Antonio Pérez hired as his travelling secretary a man called Godfrey Aleyn, recently taken on by the Earl of Essex.

Antonio Pérez and Godfrey Aleyn

Godfrey Aleyn was still young, but by no means green, when he entered the Earl of Essex's service in June 1595. Aged about 30, he had already spent nine years in the employment of Sir William Spencer, deputy lieutenant of Oxfordshire, and some time under Robert Bowes, ambassador to Scotland and treasurer of Berwick (for whom Godfrey's father John had also worked). Grammar-schooled and proficient in Latin, he was placed at Antonio Pérez's request as his secretary in the household of English servants who followed him to France in August 1595.[135] Attending on Pérez, an internationally-significant figure deserving of great honour, was an intoxicating experience for Aleyn: at St Germain, he kissed the hand of Henri IV's sister, Catherine of Navarre; at a town near Chauny in Picardy he witnessed a siege and 'escaped many a daunger', and wrote excitedly of his hope 'before I retourne into England to become a handy soldiour'.[136] He considered himself constitutionally fit for such a life: 'allreadye I have been glad of good strawe to lye vpon[,] wheron I have slept in my clothes

[134] ER to AB, 30 December 1596, LPL MS 660, fol.212r.

[135] In a letter of 5 November 1595, John Aleyn reminded his son that 'for his great love towards you,' Pérez 'made spetiall choyse of you' (LPL MS 653, fol.104r-v). Godfrey himself later wrote to Essex that '[y]our Lordship knows how & what means he [Pérez] sought to have me with him into ffrance, when as for my part I was so vnwilling to goe with him, as I was neuer resolued to goe before I was commanded by your Lordship' (LPL MS 654, fol.126r-v). Ungerer discusses Godfrey Aleyn's misadventures in *Spaniard*, 2, 4–9, and prints extract of his letters in 2, 38–67. Ungerer assumes Pérez harboured an infatuation for the younger man that turned suddenly sour. Alan Bray analyses Ungerer's extracts in *The Friend* (62–4), and regards the relationship as one of uncomplicated love and countenance in exchange for service.

[136] Godfrey Aleyn to AB, 20 September 1595, LPL MS 652, fol.67r; Godfrey Aleyn to Robert Ansloe, 14 November 1595, LPL MS 652, fol.152r.

viii nights together as soundly as euer I did in my lyfe'. Yet more thrilling was Antonio Pérez's attention and interest. Early in November 1595, Pérez made the nature of his preference clear in a private conversation that Godfrey related to his father:

> My Master called me vnto him th'other daye and amongst many good promises he willed me to tell him what thinge I wold moste desyer he shold doe for me. I aunswered him that I only desired him to love me. He againe asked me (not being satisfied with that aunswere) and I aunswered him againe the same. He then assured me that he loved me as his owne sonne and wold doe as much for me as for his owne sonne and willed me earnestly to tell him of any thinge wherin his lettres might pleasure me and he protested to me that he wold both wright to the Queen and to my Lord [of Essex] in my behalf and that so earnestly that I shold not be denyed me sute. Saying further that my Lorde promised to doe me any pleasure soe I did please him with my service.

Aleyn's response to Pérez's assertion of favour was in the first instance dutiful and appropriate: he claimed that his master's love was a sufficient recompense for the services he performed. As a rhetorical gesture, such behaviour situates this exchange in the mode of idealised service favoured by Edward Reynolds. But in Aleyn's case the gesture was a hollow one. Receiving Pérez's declaration without any firm objectives currently in hand, he took immediate steps to convert his master's promise of reward into a concrete opportunity for preferment. He continued to his father:

> Therefore I praye you learne out some sute that I might in tyme sett him in hand, and of the obteining of it I doe not once doubte what soeuer it be allthoughe it be worth a thowsand pounds by the year. I praye you let slipp no tyme herein but as soone as ever you cane, give me notice of some thinge worthy the havinge: for I doe not doubte that I assuredly beleev that god appointed this man to doe vs all good.[137]

Aleyn understood Pérez's extension of favour to mean a categorical promise. Writing to a friend a few days later, he crowed that

> I neither want meat, drinke, nor money, nor hope of further benefittes. The loue of my Master dayly encreaseth towards me, and soe much (I knowe)

[137] Godfrey Aleyn to John Aleyn, 10 November 1595, LPL MS 652, fols.145-6r.

> he loues me, as yf he know of any thinge that I wold desyre of him I am perswaded he wold preuent my desyer in giuing it before I shold aske it.[138]

Buoyed by his master's warmth, and by the promise of 50 crowns (£12 6*s*) to pay for a new suit at Pérez's anticipated investiture as a knight of the Order of the Holy Spirit, Aleyn went on a lavish shopping spree, sending home for six and a half yards of purple satin, three yards of fine black cloth, nearly four yards of purple taffeta sarsenet and almost eight yards of black taffeta, a quantity of fine black lace, plenty of sewing silk, a pair of purple silk stockings, four pairs of Spanish leather shoes, one pair of walking boots 'after the frenche fasshion', one pair of winter boots 'very wyde at the topps and bigg euery where and of very good leather', a square felt hat lined with velvet and trimmed with a black scarf, and six pairs of gloves.[139] As far as Aleyn was concerned, Pérez's favour—tied up as it was with the potency of earls and monarchs—was his ticket to future security and material wealth.

What the Spaniard's patronage did not do was guarantee Aleyn's discretion, or ensure that his loyalty passed wholly from his old employers to his new master. Even in the flush of Pérez's attentions, when he was 'farr better contented then euer I was in my lyfe', Aleyn considered himself beholden to both Sir William Spencer and Robert Bowes, writing to the former on 12 November with a pledge that 'allthoughe I haue an other Master, yet will I be your seruant as long as I lyue' and providing details of his 'nowe Master['s]' projected pension from the French crown.[140] He sent a letter with very similar contents to Bowes, probably on the same day.[141] It was with either extreme naivety or deliberate cunning that Aleyn then took to copying Pérez's letters to Essex and sending the duplicates to Bowes:

> I haue sent vnto you copyes of three lettres wrytten to my Lord Essex read them I praye yow and excuse my bad wrytinge of them for that tyme wold not suffer me to wryte them fayrer. I beseech you read them to your self and consider of them. They were wrytten by him whom I am with nowe.[142]

[138] Godfrey Aleyn to Thomas Harrold, 12 November 1595, LPL MS 652, fol.155r.

[139] Godfrey Aleyn to AB, 9 November 1595, LPL MS 652, fol.237r-v. Godfrey's various requests for supplies and clothing from England are LPL MS 652, fols.76r, 144r, 150r-v and 153r.

[140] Godfrey Aleyn to William Spencer, 12 November 1595, LPL MS 652, fol.151r.

[141] Godfrey Aleyn to Robert Bowes, n.d November 1595, LPL MS 652, fol.322r.

[142] Godfrey Aleyn to Robert Bowes, 13 November 1595, LPL MS 652, fol.156r.

Possibly Aleyn had decided that Bowes's friendship with the Earl of Essex meant that the breach of confidence did not signify, and he later claimed that Pérez's habit of reading aloud his letters led him to believe their contents were of no importance.[143] He made little effort to hide the copies in dispatches he sent back to Anthony Bacon, despite his father's request that he write 'in more darke manner', which is how the betrayal was discovered by Anthony and the earl in December.[144] Henry Wotton was sent out to France with a bogus reason for Aleyn's immediate recall, and on his arrival at the court in Richmond he was committed to custody, before removal on Essex's warrant to the Clink in Southwark. His father John, implicated in the letter-copying, was also arrested and placed in the Marshalsea.[145]

By the time of his rendition, Aleyn was disillusioned with Pérez. In an undated, ciphered letter to his father—apparently coded in response to John's request for circumspection, and probably written in early December—he revealed that his enthusiasm for Pérez had not lasted long, and had cooled when it became apparent that his master's benevolence and generosity were dependent on his mood:

> I think I shall not stay with him long he is so inconstant in his determinations, & such are his humours euerye day increasing more & more strange as I am not wise enough to vse my selfe to, as I may allwayes please him, And to speake truth, the King allreadye beginneth to be weary of his humours, insomuch as I am sure he can not endure here long … yet doe I determine to doe the best I can to please him, because I haue a desire to stay with him so long as I can, only bycause I haue an intent to gett knowledge in such matters as I begin to be acquainted with which I hope will be much for my benefitt hereafter.[146]

Perhaps it had also become clear that Antonio Pérez's promises did not amount to an office worth a thousand pounds per year, or even a costly suit of black and purple satin. The castles Godfrey Aleyn had built in the air would evaporate for good once he was back in England and imprisoned

[143] Godfrey Aleyn to EE, n.d. January 1595/6, LPL MS 654, fol.126r-v.

[144] 'Examination of Godfrey Aleyn', 7 January 1595/6, LPL MS 651, fol.16r.

[145] Birch, *Memoirs*, 1, 346–9; Ungerer, *Spaniard*, 2, 4–5. Godfrey's papers were evidently impounded at this point, which is how they came to be in Anthony Bacon's possession.

[146] Godfrey Aleyn to John Aleyn, n.d. 1595, LPL MS 652, fol.323r (contemporary deciphered copy).

for petty treason, but they were growing insubstantial even while he was in France, as the chances of self-improvement he saw in his service with Pérez—military experience, proficiency in French and Spanish, practice in Latin—were suborned to the needs of a demanding master. Certainly, at some time between early November (when Aleyn wrote in such high spirits of his standing with Pérez) and Christmas (when he was incarcerated in Richmond), relations between master and secretary collapsed. Writing to the Earl of Essex from prison in January 1596, Aleyn accused Pérez of deliberately plotting his downfall because of his 'displeasure':

> he seing my vnwillingnes to stay with him, for he would often tell me in his anger that he wold send me one day into England to my Cost, when I would answere him desiring him that if his pleasure was not to do me any good, that he would do me noe harme.[147]

This was a steep fall from Aleyn's expectations of preferment. The root of the breakdown lies, I suggest, in the ciphered letter to John Aleyn quoted above. From Godfrey Aleyn's perspective, the discovery that his master was 'inconstant in his determinations' was a blow after the rash boasts he had made of prosperity and place; for Pérez, the suspicion that his secretary's objectives were wholly self-centred—Aleyn's intention to stay in his service was 'only … to get knowledge in such matters … [which] will be much for my benefitt hereafter'—was an affront to his idea of true service and an intolerable rejection of his special attention. This was more than enough to breed a 'disliking' between the two. When the nature of Aleyn's treachery was revealed, Pérez's fury was extreme: the man was a 'Judas', and a 'Satan'.[148]

Antonio Pérez, like the Earl of Essex, deployed a rhetoric of intense affection and favour as a tool to ensure satisfactory service from his followers; unlike Essex, he failed to modulate it in a way that would be intelligible to the men who served him. Aleyn, carried wholly away by fantasies of favour, did not understand the rhetoric for what it was. Pérez's promises were not guarantees of future security at all. Instead, they were standard clauses in a master–servant contract, and valid only in the most general terms for the duration of service, or the durability of Pérez's whim—whichever was the shorter. When Robert Naunton, a Cambridge

[147] Godfrey Aleyn to EE, n.d January 1595/6, LPL MS 654, fol.126r-v.
[148] Ungerer, *Spaniard*, 1, 383–4, 389.

man in Essex's service, arrived as Pérez's substitute secretary in January 1596, he was greeted with similarly excessive language of estimation and favour. Pérez wrote to Essex hailing his new secretary's learning and eloquence in typically sensual terms: he welcomed his arrival 'in order that he [Naunton] might instruct and polish' the 'raw and unrefined' Pérez, like a masterful *inamorato* teaching his lover the ways of the world (the image is Pérez's).[149] Naunton, however, understood the nature of the privileged reception he had been granted. He wrote to the Earl of Essex:

> We dine alltogether with my lord [ambassador Sir Henry Unton] but I afterwards with Signor Antonio, who hath more want of Company: These fauours be farre aboue my merit but I must most of all esteme of their trustes and forwardnes to communicate with me what with conuenience they may for my best informacion: Which as I feell the Comfort of it only through your lordships Commendacion, so must I consecrate the use of it, & all the pore powers I have, to your lordships seruice.[150]

Naunton recognised that such favours as he received from Pérez were those that came his way as part of the very much more significant bonds of obligation and favour that tied the Earl of Essex to Antonio Pérez. More importantly, he realised that Pérez's bestowal of countenance was simply an extension of credit: he could not cash in his master's favour for a tangible reward. Godfrey Aleyn was not so clear-sighted, and fatally mistook Pérez's rhetorical generosity for a material promise.

Misunderstanding has also been at the heart of recent re-appraisals of Essex's rebellion. Janet Dickinson has argued that Essex regarded his behaviour in February 1601 as entirely consistent with the tactic he had always adopted when dealing with the queen—a form of 'rough wooing' that incorporated a dramatic narrative of discord, retributory heroics and triumphant return to favour. It was the earl's tragedy that by 1601, he could not see that the queen was no longer receptive to theatrics such as these.[151] Alexandra Gajda has shown that Essex's wholehearted support for Ciceronian concepts of active citizenship, combined with a bleakly Tacitean view of court corruption, gave an 'ideological coherence' to his desire to free the queen of evil counsel—but also permitted his enemies

[149] Ungerer, *Spaniard*, 1, 424–5; 2, 11–14.

[150] Robert Naunton to EE, February 2 [1596], LPL MS 655, fol.169r; Birch, *Memoirs*, 1, 399–400.

[151] Dickinson, *Court Politics*, 51–64.

to portray him as an ambitious rabble-rouser, treasonously set on turning Elizabeth's people against her.[152] It is not the object of this book to offer another analysis of the events of 1601. But I want to suggest that the traces of Essex's final, fatal misreadings can be found in the relationships I have analysed in the foregoing pages. The men who articulated their loyalty to Essex and his cause in the hot-house language of passionate friendship and lordly service did so in the knowledge that the earl placed enormous value on their devotion. Henry Wotton commented later that Essex had been 'in love with his passions'—he was, after a fashion, in love with those of other people, too.[153] In the aftermath of the rebellion, the staunch loyalty of his closest allies was noted: William Killigrew claimed that Christopher Blount 'and dyvers more had vowed their lyves for [Essex]: and would spend them for him'.[154] The Earl of Southampton 'promised to venture my fortune and life for the earl' in a rising 'by my best frendes'.[155] But this contrasted with the indifference of the wider population. Ferdinando Gorges realised that Essex's decision to 'depende upon the giddy multitude' of the city of London had been seriously misguided.[156] The form of intense personal loyalty favoured by the earl, and the mode of unbalanced ardour used to express it, were not generally practised in 1601. Nor had they been in 1595–1596, when Henry Wotton clashed with Edward Reynolds and Godfrey Aleyn misunderstood the favours granted by Antonio Pérez. Friendship and service were in flux in the late sixteenth century, and misreading a relationship could be catastrophic—as the Earl of Essex came to realise.

After his master's disgrace and execution, Edward Reynolds left London, '[betaking] himself to voluntarye banishement, and … entring into a monasticall lyfe (as it were) out of the world'.[157] His experiences at the earl's side in 'that unhappy family' had left a scar.[158] Writing to a friend

[152] Gajda, *Essex*, 27–66.

[153] Henry Wotton, 'The Difference and Disparity Between the Estates and Conditions of George Duke of Buckingham, and Robert Earl of Essex', in *Reliquiae Wottonianae*, sigs. F7r-G11v, sig.F12v.

[154] 'Testimony of William Killigrew', TNA SP 12/279/13 fol.21r.

[155] Gajda, *Essex*, 61.

[156] BL Cotton MS Julius F.VI, fol.451v-452r. Essex's failure to rouse the city to his cause is encapsulated in his unsuccessful appeal to the armourer William Pickering: 'not for me, Pickering?' (*HMCS*, 11, 67).

[157] ER to John Rawlins, 2 January 1601/2, TNA SP 12/283a, fol.9r-v.

[158] Henry Wotton to Sir Robert Cecil, 23 May 1603 (printed in Smith, *Wotton*, 1, 317–18).

at the start of 1602, Reynolds advised him to stay well away from 'places where you may heare and see the course and condition of the world'. In such a hazardous environment, friends could be as dangerous as enemies: 'There be manie that stand sentinells at mans lipps, and watch all advantages: and the wisest man that is, may sometimes be overtaken, especially when zeale and affection beareth sway.'[159]

[159] ER to John Rawlins, 2 January 1601/2, TNA SP 12/283a, fol.9r-v.

Conclusion

Take all my loues, my loue, yea take them all,
What hast thou then more then thou hadst before?[1]

By the time Edward Reynolds had settled himself in his 'monasticall' retirement, the Essexian circle of which he had been a part was no more, its members dead, disgraced or already estranged from their over-reaching lord. Francis Bacon began distancing himself from the earl in the late 1590s; during Essex's hearing at York House in 1600 for misconduct in the Irish campaign, and his trial for high treason in 1601, Francis took a leading role in the prosecution.[2] Henry Wotton, abroad on Essex's business at the time of the uprising, prudently remained overseas, waiting until the start of the new reign before he sought the patronage of Sir Robert Cecil.[3] Henry Cuffe, along with Gelly Meyrick, suffered a traitor's death at Tyburn in March 1601. The earl himself was beheaded in the yard of the Tower of London on 25 February. Anthony Bacon was at this point still alive. Lodged in a house in Crotched Friars, close to the Tower, his health entirely broken, he left no record of his reaction to his notorious patron's fall, or the execution and exile of his colleagues. Within months he too was dead, buried with little ceremony in the church of St Olave, Hart Street,

[1] Shakespeare, *Sonnets*, no. 40.
[2] *HF*, 228–32, 240–7.
[3] Loomie, 'Wotton', *ODNB*; Hammer, 'Uses of Scholarship', 42.

W. Tosh, *Male Friendship and Testimonies of Love in Shakespeare's England*, DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-49497-9

on 17 May.[4] The events of 1601 closed the window on late sixteenth-century life and political culture offered by the Anthony Bacon papers.

My aim in *Male Friendship and Testimonies of Love in Shakespeare's England* has been to argue that the pleasures, duties and obligations of friendship were a significant force in the lives and careers of sixteenth-century Englishmen. Being a man in early modern England involved learning about, and making use of, the structures of friendship between men. These structures could facilitate a form of institutional fraternalism, as at the Inns of Court. There, an educated population drew on revered conceptions of chivalric brotherhood and classical-humanist friendship to give respectability to their networks of mutual assistance and professional loyalty. Elsewhere, exchanges of instrumental friendship were the essential transactions that sustained day-to-day life, and I have argued that the early modern prison was notable for its reliance on, and promotion of, useful friendships. The principles of classical *amicitia*, allied to an intense form of lordly service, invigorated the relationships of master and servant in noble households such as the Earl of Essex's (although as we have seen other modes of service challenged one based on the articulation of disinterested devotion). Friendship was a deeply affective bond, and, in the sixteenth century, intimate friendship between men was routinely praised as the purest and most noble form of human relation. This was not literary cant: in the example of Nicholas Faunt, we see a man who drew great comfort from the virtue and power of—as he saw it—perfect friendship with Anthony Bacon. The cultural valorisation of male friendship in the sixteenth century, and the institutions that evolved to sustain it, granted the networks of association between elite men a degree of autonomy: as Anthony demonstrated, it was possible to negotiate a path through life that did not depend on the support of kin or the creation of new alliances through marriage.

My concern throughout this study has been to argue that the networks and institutions through which Anthony pursued his life and career—the 'friendship spaces' of early modern culture—were part of the establishment. Most often, intimate bonds between men served to 'double lock' the privileges of patriarchal power: men benefited from the wealth and influence they accrued through advantageous marriages, even as they furthered their careers and made new connections through their male friends. The exceptional esteem enjoyed by idealised friendship in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries allowed those who sang its praises to do so

[4] *HF*, 252; *GL*, 258.

with abandon, both in the abstract and, as we have seen in the examples of Nicholas Faunt and Edward Reynolds, in the case of a particular friend. In a society which stressed the importance of mastery over one's passions, friendship was a relation (perhaps the only worldly relation) into which men were permitted to enter with their souls aflame.

Doubtless there were individuals or groups who placed a special emphasis on the significance of intimate friendship between men. For these people, the 'social erotics' of friendship, service and patronage between men were worthy of particular celebration.[5] When Anthony joined the Earl of Essex's household staff in 1595, he entered just such a community, and we have seen how Reynolds, the earl and Antonio Pérez, among other members of the household, made use of a language of masculine love. Other followers and clients of the Essex circle responded to the group's favoured mode of emotional expression, too. One was William Shakespeare, some of whose early sonnets—those hailed by Francis Meres in his 1598 review of contemporary English poetry as Ovidian 'sugred' verses which circulated amongst his 'priuate friends'—were almost certainly written for the nobleman who had already stood patron for his longer narrative poems, *Venus and Adonis* and *The Rape of Lucrece*, Essex's friend, Henry Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton.[6] He was probably the young man whose 'sweet forme' was fairer than a summer's day, the bearer of a 'Womans face' but a 'man in hew', the 'Master Mistris' of the poet's artful passion.[7] If Southampton was the intended recipient, then we can assume that the sonnets were also handed around his own 'private friends' when he called at Essex House. Shakespeare was shrewd enough to realise that here was a group of young men among whom a collection of verses celebrating intimate, devoted and erotic homosocial connection would find a keen readership.[8]

[5] Warner, 'New English Sodom', 35.

[6] Francis Meres, *Palladis Tamia. Wits Treasury. Being the Second Part of Wits Common wealth* (London: P. Short for Cuthbert Burbie, 1598), sigs. Oo1v-Oo2r. For the identity of Shakespeare's dedicatee, and the subject(s) of the first 126 sonnets, see Katherine Duncan-Jones (ed.), *Shakespeare's Sonnets* (London: Arden, 1997), 45–69.

[7] Shakespeare, *Sonnets*, nos. 13, 18 and 20

[8] Joseph Pequigney, *Such Is My Love: A Study of Shakespeare's Sonnets* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1985), 42–101; Jonathan Bate, *The Genius of Shakespeare* (London: Picador, 1997), 39–44, 51–3; Katherine Duncan-Jones, *Ungentle Shakespeare: Scenes From his Life* (London: Arden, 2001), 80–1, 130–3; Bruce R. Smith, 'Shakespeare's Sonnets and the History of Sexuality: A Reception History', in Richard Dutton and Jean E. Howard (eds), *A Companion to Shakespeare's Works. Volume 4: The Poems, Problem Comedies, Late Plays* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2005), 4–25.

For some individuals, like Anthony, the structures of male friendship were not simply objects of praise. They operated as an *alternative* social system to the usual mode of dynastic marriage and lineage production. We will never know why Anthony avoided marriage, given that he could have expected a wife to provide both the financial capital and personal care he came increasingly to need. Instead, his requirements were met by his servants, friends and patrons, a set-up of his own choosing that Anthony presumably found to his liking. Not everyone was happy with the idea that friendship between men offered a complementary—or alternative—mode of living. Lady Anne Bacon looked on in horror as her sons wilfully turned away from their expected roles as husbands, fathers and householders. As she saw it, Anthony and Francis were reliant on the intermittent favours of their patrons, and vulnerable to exploitation by other men in their circle. Lady Bacon's letters resounded with anxieties about the followers and servants who surrounded them: 'be not overruled still by subtile and hurtful hangers on'; 'yowr men overrule yow'; 'looke well to your servants'.[9] She despaired that both men lived beyond their means, egged on by untrustworthy friends who exploited them for financial gain, 'cormorant seducers and instruments of satan' whose vices encompassed obscure 'Fowle synns' as well as well as more straightforward extortion. It was in the context of such concern that she railed against 'that bloody peerce [Percy]', an unidentified member of Francis's household who has sometimes been mistaken for Antonio Pérez, a 'coch [coach] companion and Bed companion A prowd prophane costly Fellow' whose godless influence damaged her younger son's credit and health.[10] It was these 'seducers' who weakened her sons' hold on their expenditure, and who drove them to sell off and mortgage their patrimonial properties—a course of action that served to further reduce Anthony and Francis's value as potential husbands.[11] Lady Bacon's main task—and her principal way of expressing maternal affection—was to secure the future of her children, both financially and professionally. That she was constantly thwarted in her desire to settle her sons in households of their own explains in large part the bitterness and disappointment in her letters to her children, and her own unhappiness in later life.[12]

[9] ACB to AB, 17 May 1592, LPL MS 648, fol.167r; n.d. May 1594, LPL MS 650, fol.187r; 29 February 1591/2, LPL MS 648, fol.6r.

[10] ACB to AB, 17 April [1593], LPL MS 653, fols. 318r and 319r.

[11] Mair, 'Lady Bacon', 107 and 144.

[12] Barbara J. Harris, *English Aristocratic Women, 1450–1550: Marriage, Family, Property and Careers* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 100.

Did Lady Bacon's concern mask a less expressible fear about her sons' sexual choices, as her rage about the mysterious Percy might suggest? Did Anthony (and Francis) regard their manner of living, defined by relationships with other men, as a form of sexual identity, analogous to modern notions of sexuality? These are questions that it is impossible, at this distance, to answer. Taking the affective turn will bring us to the threshold of a door into past psychologies; it will not take us through it. Nicholas Faunt called his heartfelt letters to Anthony 'testimonies of affection', and that is probably how we should understand the Bacon papers in Lambeth Palace Library: as the record of a set of relationships that, while private, had public signification, the 'testimony' of which might have currency in the wider world. But we should also recognise that Anthony's society, whatever its legal and social prohibitions against sodomy and other forms of 'transgressive' sexuality, offered something that even today's culture lacks: a universally-accepted language to celebrate expressions of intimacy between men. Available to all, the language was no doubt of particular value to those whose sexual choices tended to their own rather than the opposite sex. Anthony's letters and Shakespeare's sonnets to the young man represent cultural spaces where early modern men articulated passionately held feelings for each other: they represent, in other words, expressions of queer desire in contexts which are wholly early modern.

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