

THE LETTERS OF LADY ANNE BACON

1. [Anne Cooke] to her 'good reader', 1548

Published, prefatory letter. B. Ochino, *Sermons of Barnadine Ochine of Sena godlye, frutefull, and very necessarye for all true Christians*, trans. anon¹ (London, 1548), sigs A2r–A4r.

Addressed (sig. A2r): The interpretour to the gentle reader, healte in Christe Jesu.

Death (good reader), as scripture declareth, and our dayly experience practeseth, to all mankynde is a thing most certeine and sure. For who is he that shall lyve and not se nor tast of deathe's cuppe; the longest lyvers at length dyed, neyther kyng ne² keyсар³ can avoyde the duyte of death, but of necessitie, as al are of earth and ashes, so shall they returne into the same.

Notwithstandynge thys that sure we be to dye, yet when it shall come, the Lord hath lefte secret to hys owne wysdom, chefelye bycause we shulde ever kepe watche, and warde, and be styll in aredines⁴ wyth our lampes burnyng to wayte upon the bridegrom, whych commeth we can not tell when, whether at mydnyght, or at the cocke's crowynge, wherfore our mayster Christ gave us warnyng that we shulde be alwayes wakyng, and loke vigilantly for he cometh closlye lyke a thefe, wythoute warnyng us, at what houre he wyll come.⁵

Then as he findeth every man, so wyll he judge hym, and where the tree falleth, whether it be towarde the south or north, there it lyeth;⁶ there is then no respite to be had, but streyght waye due execution of Godde's justice shal come upon all fleshe. Happy is he therefore,

¹ **anon** Anne's translations of five of Bernardino Ochino's sermons were published anonymously in 1548, only appearing under her own name in the 1551 edition. For the 1551 edition, see **2** below.

² **ne** nor.

³ **keyсар** Caesar.

⁴ **in aredines** in readiness.

⁵ **chefelye . . . come** Anne was here alluding to the parable of the ten virgins in Matthew 25:1–13, and to the warnings to be vigilant in Mark 13:35 and Luke 12:39.

⁶ **where . . . lyeth** See Ecclesiastes 11:3.

whome hys maister at hys returnynge fyndeth wakyng, for hym shall he put in auctoritie over all hys treasure.⁷

And for so moche as then the [ma]tter shall hange al together in clearenes of conscience, whyche at that tyme shall accuse a man, or defende hym, acordynge as he hath kepte it cleane with vertues, or stayned wyth vices (for in the booke of menne's concience are all theyr dedes layed uppe, to be opened at the audit day of our death) me thynk nothyng can be a greater staye to the concience⁸ of man, then to know how he ought to go owt of thys present lyfe, and what to cary wyth hym to hys account, or leve behynd hym in the world.

In consyderation wherof I have translated into my natyve spech out of Italien a sermon of maister Barnardine Ochin,⁹ teaching how a true Chrysten ought to make hys last wyll, and for so moche as the divell is at that instant of deth very bragging busyly wyth man, and diversly troblith hym, and the justice of God on the other side fearith hym, I have, to staye and strengthen the conscience on thes behalves, turned into English two sermons enstructyng us how to aunswer the divel when he tempteth us at what tyme, and by what meanes to quiet our myndes, as touching God's justice. Other two have I also translated, whych enforme us of the true workes that God requireth of us, and the way to go to heaven, and that our saviour, Christ Jesus, hath by hys most precieuse death purchased for us paradise with out our deservynges.

Wich fyve sermons taken out of the first part of Maister Barnardine sermons,¹⁰ as they be wrytten and publyshed of good zeale to the wealth of many, so it is thy curtisye (gentle reder) to accept them in good parte, and pardon my grosse tearmes as of a begynner, and beare wyth my translation, as of a learner. Obteynynge thys of the good reader, I shalbe redye and wyllynge hereafter when God geveth better knowlege (accordyng as my talent wyll extende) to turne mo¹¹ godly sermons of the sayd Maister Barnardine into Englishe for the enformacion of all that desyre to know the truth. For they truely conteyne moch to the defacyng of al papistrie, and hipocrysie, and to

⁷**maister ... wakyng** This is an allusion to Luke 12:35–40 and an inversion of Mark 13:34–36. The description 'in auctoritie over all hys treasure' may recall Acts 8:27.

⁸**conscience** conscience.

⁹**Barnardine Ochin** Bernardino Ochino, the Italian evangelical. See the Introduction, p. 5.

¹⁰**five ... sermons** Anne's five 1548 sermons were translated from the first book of Ochino's published Italian sermons, his *Prediche de Bernardini Ochini da Siena: novellamente ristampate & con grande diligentia rivedute & corrette*, 5 parts (Geneva, ?1543–1562). There is some confusion over the publication dates of the first two parts of the *Prediche*; a letter at the end of the second part is dated 7 April 1543, which gives some indication as to dating.

¹¹**mo** more.

the advancement of the glorye of God, and of the benefytes of Christ Jesus.¹² To whom wyth the holye ghost be all honoure and glorye for ever and ever. So be it.

God save the kyng and graunt us the truthe of hys worde.

2. *Anne Cooke to Lady F*,¹³ 1551

Published, prefatory letter. B. Ochino, *Fouretene sermons of Barnardine Ochyme, concernyng the predestinacion and eleccion of god* (London, 1551), sigs A3r–A4v.

Addressed (sig. A3r): To the right worshypful and worthyly beloved mother, the Lady. F., hyr humble daughter wysmeth encrease of spirituall knowledge, with ful fruition of the fruites thereof.

Since the orygyal of what so ever is, or may be converted to ani good use in me, hath frelye proceded (though as the minister of God) of youre Ladyshype's mere carefull, and motherly goodnes, as well in procuryng all thynges thereunto belongeinge, as in youre many, and most godly exhortacyons, wherein amonge the rest it hath pleased you, often to reprove my vaine studye in the Italyan tonge, accompting the sede thereof, to have bene sowen in barayne, unfruitful grounde (syns God thereby is no whytte magnified), I have at the last, perceived it my duty to prove howe muche the understandyng of youre wyll could worcke in me towards the accomplyshyng of the same. And for that I have wel knownen your chyfe delight to rest in the destroyng of man hys glorye, and exaltynge wholly the glory of God, which may not be unles we acknowledge that he doth fore se and determyne from wythout begynnyng al thynges, and cannot alter or rewarde after our deserved worckes, but remayne stedefaste, accordyng to

¹²**For . . . Jesus** These five sermons are far less Calvinist than the second set of Ochino's sermons translated by Anne and published in 1551, containing only a few references to election and reprobation. See *Cooke Sisters*, p. 59.

¹³**Lady F** There has been debate over the precise identification of Lady F, referred to as 'beloved mother' in the letter. Beginning with John Gough Nichols, some historians have identified 'Lady F' as Anne's maternal grandmother, Lady Jane Fitzwilliam, third wife of Sir William Fitzwilliam. However, this Lady Fitzwilliam made her will in January 1541 and it was proved on 25 October 1542, so it seems unlikely that Anne was addressing her long deceased grandmother in this letter. It is surely more likely that she is here addressing her actual mother, Lady Anne Fitzwilliam. For J.G. Nichols, see his *Narratives of the Days of the Reformation*, Camden Society, old series, 57 (London, 1859), p. 313. For Jane Fitzwilliam's will, see J.W. Clay (ed.), *North Country Wills: abstracts of wills held at Somerset House and Lambeth Palace, 1383–1558*, Surtees Society 116 (Durham, 1908), p. 136.

hys immutable wyll,¹⁴ I have taken in hande to dedicate unto youre Ladyship this smale number of sermons (for the excelent fruit sake in them contened) proceding from the happy spirit of the santified¹⁵ Barnardyne, which treat of the election and predestination of God, wyth the rest (although not of the selfe title) a perteynig¹⁶ to the same effect to the end it might appere, that your so many worthy sentences touching the same, have not utterly ben without some note in my weake memory, and al be it, they be not done in such perfection, as the dignitie of the matter doth requyre, yet I trust and know, ye wil accept the humble wil of the presenter, not weghing¹⁷ so much the excelncy¹⁸ of the translation, al thoughte of ryghte it oughte to be such as should not by the grosnes therof deprive the auctor of his worthynes. But not meanynge to take upon me the reache to his hygh style of theologie, and fearyng also, least in enterprisyng to sette forth the bryghtnes of hys eloquence, I shuld manifest my selfe unapte to attaine unto the lowest degre therof, I descend therefore to the understanding of myne own debilitye. Only requiring that it may please youre Ladyshippe to vouchsafe that thys my smal labor may be alowed at your handes under whose protection only it is committed wyth humble reverence, as yeldyng some parte of the fruite of your motherly admonitions, in this my wyllinge servyce.

Your Ladyshyppe's daughter most boundenly obedient.
A.C.

¹⁴**whych . . . wyll** The pastoral ramifications of Calvinist doctrine were at the heart of this set of translations, which Anne drew from the later sermons in the second book of Ochino's *Prediche* (see above, p. 52, n. 10).

¹⁵**santified** sanctified.

¹⁶**a perteynig** appertaining.

¹⁷**weghing** weighing.

¹⁸**excelncy** excellency.

3. Mildred Cooke Cecil to Anne Cooke,¹⁹ [after 9 July 1552]²⁰

Draft/copy in Walter Haddon's hand.²¹ Latin. BL, Lansdowne MS 104, fos 156r–157v. 2pp.

Addressed (fo. 156v): *ἀννῆ κοκῆ ἀδελφῆ γλυκύτατη*²²

Mea soror, Cantabrigis fui. Tuum vidi Haddonum, quem amabis, si sapiis, et plane tuum esse statues. Nihil illi praeter fortunam deest, nec haec quidem diu abesse potest in tanto reliquorum concursu vel ornamentorum, vel oportunitatum. Interim erit brevi, mediocris conditio, quae tuam potest honestam et ingenuam quietem sustentare. Neque minimum cogitare velis quid ortu tuo, quid communi tuorum expectatione, quid summa spe patris dignum sit; aut cum haec cogitas (ut certe debes) simul illud pondera, nullam fere rem in ipso principio se universaliter solere effundere, sed quaedam esse temporum intervalla, et certos quasi gradus vitae, quibus ad perfectionem ascendi solet. A[d] me specta, quae licet nunc affluente sum et ubere fortuna, tamen principio spem non rem sequuta sum. Idem in Checo repitum est, et iterum in Smitho, qui in eisdem eruditionis et ingenii fortibus ad huiusmodi famam profluxerint. Cur non iis in Haddonno sit tuo consequiturum. Sed patris voluntas tibi resistit; difficilis sane locus et lubricus; tamen, aut iis quod ille vult Deus efficiet, aut illum ita praemolliet, ut in hac tum incerta vita, non omnia velit certa postalare. Sed tamen ante omnia tibi in illius autoritate acquiescendum esse arbitror, quam si Deus ad hanc causam accommodaverit, licet fundi nonnihil haereant, nec quicquam, sit preter Oxoniensem conditionem et Regium vectigal infusum, optabilior est cum his parvis facultatibus Haddonus quam sexcenti sunt ex hoc aulico strepitu quorum, quasi pecudum solas externas videre licet corporum exuvias mentem vero tanquam porcis iures illis pro sale datam esse. Scis quanti te semper fecerim; tibi tam vehementer non suaderem nisi res valde improbaretur sed tamen ad te refero, nam et in Haddonno et in omnibus, hoc tibi semper positum et fixum sit alios ut audias, sed hac in causa tibi ipsa obtemperandum esse statuas.

¹⁹**Mildred ... Cooke** See the Greek address below. The sister writing to Anne must be Mildred, owing to the internal references to her marriage. See p. 56, n. 25.

²⁰**[after 9 July 1552]** William Cecil visited Cambridge on 9 July 1552, presumably with his wife, Mildred, given the contents of this letter. The letter refers to Walter Haddon's Oxford post; although he was not formally appointed to the mastership of Magdalen College, Oxford, until October 1552, the previous incumbent had been prevailed upon to resign before July that year and letters had been sent to the college from the king, recommending Haddon as his successor. For Cecil's visit to Cambridge, see C.S. Knighton, *Calendar of State Papers Domestic, Edward VI, 1547–1553* (London, 1992), p. 238. For Haddon and Magdalen College, see H.A. Wilson, *Magdalen College* (London, 1899), pp. 97–98.

²¹**Draft/copy ... hand** See the discussion of the letter's composition in the Introduction, p. 36.

²²*ἀννῆ ... γλυκύτατη* [Greek, transliteration and direct] 'To her dearest sister, Anne Coke'.

Tua enim res agitur et quidem totius vitae. Plurima vellem, sed in itinere sum itaque non licet. Post videbimus. Vale.

Tua soror tui amantissima.

[*Translation*]

My sister, I have been in Cambridge.²³ I saw your Haddon, whom you will love, if you have sense, and will decide that he is completely yours.²⁴ He lacks nothing except good fortune and this indeed cannot long be wanting where there is such a combination of other distinctions and advantages. Meanwhile there will be for a short time a middling status which can sustain your honourable and free-born tranquillity. Please consider not the least what may be worthy of your birth, of the shared expectation of your family and of the very high hopes of your father; or when you consider these things (as you certainly should) at the same time you must reflect on this, that hardly anything tends in all cases to pour forth at the very beginning, but that there are certain periods and certain stages of life which usually have to be scaled in order to reach perfection. Look at me; although I now have an abundant and plentiful fortune, nevertheless at the beginning I followed hope and not actual things.²⁵ The same is true in the case of Cheke,²⁶ and again in the case of Smith,²⁷ who have progressed to a reputation of this kind in the same quickening of learning and talent. Why should there not be a similar outcome also in the case of your Haddon? But your father's will stands in your way. This is a difficult and slippery place, to be sure. And yet, either God will bring about what he wants, or he will soften him in such a way that in this life, which is at present uncertain,

²³**Cambridge** Mildred Cooke Cecil had a close relationship with her husband's *alma mater*, St John's College. There is evidence of her personal patronage of the college in her later years: a copy of a letter she wrote to the college, accompanying her gift of a polyglot bible, is still extant. See *Cooke Sisters*, pp. 30, 36, 84, 188; BL, Lansdowne MS 104, fo. 158r.

²⁴**Haddon . . . yours** Walter Haddon, the civil lawyer, had been a Cambridge fellow from 1536, and was friends with Sir John Cheke and Roger Ascham. Haddon sought the assistance of Mildred Cecil with his suit for her sister Anne's hand, as seen in this letter, but he also drew on his friendship with William Cecil. For Haddon's later letter to William Cecil, see BL, Lansdowne MS 3, fo. 19r; 11 November 1552. Haddon recorded the eventual rejection of his suit in poetry. See *Cooke Sisters*, p. 205.

²⁵**I now . . . actual things** Mildred had become the second wife of William Cecil in December 1545, when he was only the chief clerk of the Court of Common Pleas. The accession of Edward VI marked the beginning of his advancement in governmental service. See S. Alford, *Burghley: William Cecil at the Court of Elizabeth I* (London, 2008), pp. 33–49.

²⁶**Cheke** Sir John Cheke, father of William Cecil's first wife, had been appointed royal tutor to the future Edward VI in 1544. His standing rose after Edward's accession in 1547 and he was knighted in 1551.

²⁷**Smith** Sir Thomas Smith was another figure whose career accelerated with the accession of Edward VI; he became secretary of state in 1548 and was knighted in 1549.

he will not wish to demand everything be certain. But above all I think you should give in to his authority, which if God accommodates to this case, although they refuse to pour forth anything, and there is nothing apart from his Oxford status and the payment of the royal honorarium, Haddon is more desirable with these small resources, than six hundred from this courtly din, of whom one can only see the external skins of their bodies, as of cattle, while you would swear that their mind has been given as it were to the pigs to serve as preserving salt.²⁸ You know how much I have always tried to do for you; I would not have urged you so forcefully if the matter were not greatly disapproved of, but nevertheless I return to you, for in the case of Haddon and all things, may this always be set and fixed for you that you should listen to others, but in this case you should decide to obey yourself. For it is your business which is at stake, and indeed the business of your whole life. I would like to write more, but I am on the road and thus it is not possible. Afterwards, we shall see. Farewell.

Your sister who loves you most dearly.

4. *Nicholas and Anne Bacon to William Cecil, 18 August 1557*

Holograph, in Nicholas Bacon's hand from 'I and my wyff', in Anne Bacon's hand from 'We at Bedfordes'. CP 152/19, fo. 27r–v. 1p.
Endorsed (fo. 27v): 1557 18 August Mr Bacon

I and my wyff thank you of your letter and are glad that my syster Margaret hath for health sake goton lyberte and of my sister Elizabeth's recovery.²⁹ Your goddowghter³⁰ (thanks be to God) ys somewhat amendyd, hir fyfts beyng more easy but not delyvdyd of

²⁸**the external skins . . . salt** Mildred has drawn this idea from Cicero, who in turn derived it from Chrysippus; the suggestion is that life is only given to a pig – whose primary function is to be eaten – to prevent it going bad, acting therefore like salt. See Cicero, *De finibus*, 5.13.38 and *De natura deorum*, 2.64.160. Erasmus also quoted Cicero in his *Adages*. See D. Erasmus, *Adages Iii to Iviroo*, ed. R.A.B. Mynors, *Collected Works of Erasmus*, XXXI (Toronto, 1982), p. 89.

²⁹**my syster . . . recovery** Anne's sister Margaret Cooke served Mary I at court, but she may also have stayed with the Cecils during this period. Another sister, Elizabeth Cooke, had lived with the Cecils in Wimbledon since her father's departure for Continental exile in 1554. For Elizabeth's stay with the Cecils, see E. Powell (ed.), *The Travels and Life of Sir Thomas Hoby, Kt of Bisham Abbey, Camden Miscellany* 10, Camden Society, 3rd series, 4 (London, 1902), pp. 126–127.

³⁰**goddowghter** Presumably Susan Bacon, Nicholas and Anne's daughter, who died in infancy. An image of Susan is included in a tree of Jesse showing the offspring of Nicholas Bacon by both his wives. See *Cooke Sisters*, p. 208.

eny. Yt ys a doble tertian that holds hir and hir nurse a had a syngle but yt ys gone clerly.³¹ To morow by the grace of God by tenn of the clock I will be at Chanon Rowe³² and yf I shall lyke ^upon the syght I shall be glad^ to joyne with you for the hangyng. My dowt ys whether Mr Coferrer³³ be at hys howse. There be other thyngs I had rather bye than eny you wryght of; yf they be to be sold as at our next metyng I shall shewe you.³⁴ Only the feare of provysion for warr ys the let of thys provysion mete for peace. Thus wysshying to you and my lady as to our sylffs, we byd you farewell. Wreton at Bedfords³⁵ thys present Wednysday 1557 by

your brother and sister
in lawe NBacon.

We at Bedfords ar no less glad of Wymbledonns³⁶ welfare, and specially of litle Nann's,³⁷ trusting for ^all^ this shrewed fever to se ^her and myne^ ~~then~~ play fellows many tymes. Thus wyshing *contynuan*s³⁸ of all goode thyngs to yow all at once because your man hasteth away and my husbände to dyner.

Your loving sister,
ABacon.

5. *Anne Bacon to Matthew Parker, 27 June 1561*

Holograph. Parker Library, MS 114a, p. 124. 1p.

Please yt your grace, at the sute of one Fyzwylliams which hath ben your grace's servaunt, I am so bowlde as to be a means to yow for your favour towardes hym, wherof he is an earnest craver whylest he

³¹ **doble tertian . . . clerly** A single tertian fever is characterized by an attack every alternate (i.e. third) day, whereas a double tertian is marked by two sets of paroxysms every other day.

³² **Chanon Rowe** William Cecil began negotiations for a house in Cannon Row in Westminster in 1550 and kept the residence until Elizabeth's reign. See Alford, *Burghley*, p. 43.

³³ **Mr Coferrer** Sir Richard Freeston was cofferer of the household until 1558. See S.T. Bindoff (ed.), *History of Parliament: the House of Commons, 1509–1558*, 3 vols (London, 1982), II, pp. 571, 583.

³⁴ **There . . . shewe you** This is presumably a reference to the sale of Anne of Cleves' effects in August 1557. William and Mildred Cecil bought several kirtles and gowns at the sale in Chelsea. See BL, Lansdowne MS 118, fo. 78v.

³⁵ **Bedfords** A manor close to Gidea Hall in Essex.

³⁶ **Wymbledonns** The Cecils had lived at the Old Rectory in Wimbledon since 1550.

³⁷ **litle Nann's** Anne Cecil, born in December 1556.

³⁸ **contynuan**s [Latin] 'continuing'.

served your grace. I nether was acqwaynted with hymse[lf] ner yet understoode that he was my cosyn.³⁹ Yf I had, I wolde have ben his frende sooner. But ^now^ that I know so much, I besech your grace to be his goode Lorde, that yt wyll please yow to remitt eny thyng past and to graunt hym your favour and also goode worde, yf occasyon so serve. I promiss your grace I do heare some honest report of hym or elce I wolde not thus troble yow. Yf my sute may stande hym in steade more then others as he hath heretofore labored herin he sayth, your own ^howse^ can well wyttness. I shall take my selff much beholdinge to yow on his behalff. For though I can do ether frend or kynn but small pleasure, yet I wolde gladly procure them my husbände's goode opinion of them and wellcome them to me, which I do not now so effectually tyll he have recovered your goode cowntenance and report agayn. Wherin he entendeth to wayt shortly on your grace hymselff and I also trust that he shall retorn with obteynng of your favour. And thus I wysh your grace much godly success.

From my house this 27 of June 1561.

Your grace's well wyller,
ABacon.

6. *Matthew Parker to Anne Bacon, 1564*

Published, prefatory letter. J. Jewel, *An Apologie or Answere in Defence of the Churche of Englande*, trans. Anne Bacon (London, 1564), sigs 1st unpaginated leaf r–2nd unpaginated leaf v.

Addressed (1st unpaginated leaf r): To the right honorable learned and vertuous Ladie A. B.,⁴⁰ M.C.⁴¹ wisheth from God grace, honoure, and felicitie.

Madame, according to your request I have perused your studious labour of translation profitably imploied in a right commendable work.⁴² Whereof for that it liked you to make me a judge, and for that the thinge it selfe hath singularly pleased my judgement, and delighted my mind in reading it, I have right heartely to thanke your Ladiship, both for youre owne well thinking of me, and for the comferte that

³⁹**my cosin** Anne was related to the Fitzwilliams on her mother's side. Her mother, also named Anne, was the daughter of Sir William Fitzwilliam (d. 1534) of Gaynes Park, Essex.

⁴⁰**A.B.** Anne Bacon.

⁴¹**M.C.** *Matthaei Cantuariensis* [Latin] 'Matthew of Canterbury', i.e. Matthew Parker, the archbishop of Canterbury.

⁴²**I have . . . work** Anne had translated John Jewel's *Apologia Ecclesiae Anglicanae* (London, 1562) from Latin into English. Jewel's text was written for a foreign, scholarly audience and it justified the secession from Catholicism using scriptural and patristic sources.

it hathe wrought me. But far above these private respectes, I am by greater causes enforced, not onely to shewe my rejoyse of this your doinge, but also to testify the same by this my writing prefixed before the work, to the commoditie of others, and good encouragement of your selfe. You have used your accustomed modestie in submitting it to judgement, but therein is your prayse doubled, sith⁴³ it hath passed judgement without reproche. And whereas bothe the chiefe author of the Latine worke⁴⁴ and I, severallye perusinge and conferringe youre whole translation, have without alteration allowed of it, I must bothe desire youre Ladship, and advertise the readers, to thinke that wee have not therein given any thinge to any dissemblinge affection towards you, as beinge contented to winke at faultes to please you, or to make you without cause to please your selfe; for there be sundry respectes to drawe us from so doinge, although we were so evil minded, as there is no cause why we should be so thought of. Your own judgement in discerning flatterie, your modestie in mislikinge it, the layenge open of oure opinion to the world, the truth of our friendship towards you, the unwillingnesse of us bothe (in respecte of our vocations) to have this publike worke not truly and wel translated,⁴⁵ are good causes to perswade that our allowance is of sincere truth and understanding. By which your travail, Madame, you have expressed an acceptable dutye to the glorie of God, deserved well of this Church of Christe, honourable defended the good fame and estimation of your owne native tongue, shewing it so able to contend with a worke originally written in the most praised speache,⁴⁶ and besides the honour ye have done to the kinde of women and to the degree of ladies, ye have done pleasure to the author of the Latine boke, in deliveringe him by your cleare translation from the perills of ambiguous and doubtful constructions, and in makinge his good woorke more publicly beneficiall; wherby ye have rayseed up great comforte to your friendes, and have furnished your owne conscience joyfully with the fruit of your labour, in so occupieng your time, whiche must needes redounde to the encouragement of noble youth in their good education, and to spend their time and knowledge in godly exercise, havinge delivered them by you so singular

⁴³ **sith** since.

⁴⁴ **chiefe author . . . worke** John Jewel, the bishop of Salisbury.

⁴⁵ **this publike worke . . . translated** There had been another English translation of the *Apologia*, published in 1562. Parker's suggestion that this earlier English translation was flawed was designed to obscure governmental intentions with Anne's new translation. See *Cooke Sisters*, pp. 61–62, 65–71.

⁴⁶ **good fame . . . speache** There were reservations about the ability of the English language to match the richness of Latin at this time. Anne's translation, however, draws on colloquial English to engage with its readers. See *Cooke Sisters*, pp. 68–69.

a president. Whiche youre doinge, good Madame, as God (I am sure) doth accept and will blesse with increase, so youre and ours moste vertuous and learned soveraigne Ladie and Mastres shal see good cause to commende, and all noble gentlewomen shall (I trust) hereby be alured from vain delights to doinges of more perfect glory. And I for my part (as occasion may serve) shal exhort other to take profit by your worke, and followe your example, whose successe I beseeche our heavenly Father to blesse and prospere. And now to thende bothe to acknowledge my good approbation, and to spread the benefit more largely, where your Ladishippe hath sent me your boke written,⁴⁷ I have with most hearty thankes returned it to you (as you see) printed, knowing that I have therein done the beste, and in this poynte used a reasonable pollicye, that is, to prevent suche excuses as your modestie woulde have made in staye of publishinge it.⁴⁸ And thus at this time I leave furder to trouble youre good Ladishippe.

M.C.⁴⁹

7. *Matthew Parker to Anne Bacon, 6 February 1568*

Copy. Inner Temple, Petyt MS 538.47, fos 59r–62v. 4pp.

Endorsed (fo. 62v): Mathew Canterbury to my Lady Bacon of her husband's binding a poore man to give v li a year to a kinsman of his in Cambrige.

Madame, my hartie salutations to your Ladyship presupposed, *in Christo servatore et iudice*.⁵⁰ I understand that ye use otherwhiles to be a good solicitor to my Lord your husband in the causes of the pore for justice, &c, and I doubt not that ye remember the Christian duetie ye beare to him as well in respect of conscience to Almighty God, as for his honorable estimation and fame to the world. *Et hoc est esse, juxta divinam ordinationem, vere adjutorium salutare coram Adam datum a Deo, tempore vanitatis nostrae*.⁵¹ Upon which grounde I thought good, nowe in thend of the terme,⁵² after my Lorde's angrie busynes nye defrayde, to write a fewe wordes to you; to my Lorde I perceive I maye not write, except

⁴⁷**writen** written.

⁴⁸**you[r] Ladishippe ... publishinge it** Given that Anne had already seen her translations of Ochino in print under her own name, this is simply a modesty trope. See Ochino, *Fourtene sermons*, trans. A[nne] C[ooke].

⁴⁹**M.C.** See p. 59, n. 41.

⁵⁰**in ... iudice** [Latin] 'in Christ the saviour and judge'.

⁵¹**Et hoc ... nostrae** [Latin] 'And this is to be, according to God's ordinance, truly an aid to salvation, given by God in the presence of Adam in the time of our vanity'.

⁵²**terme** The Hilary 'term' of the legal year.

they be *placētissima*⁵³ and therefore I shall stayer my hande. My Lorde, as by his fewe lynes written to me in awnswere to my frindlye lettres, dothe saye he hathe conceived that he thought not to have heard at my handes before I had spoken with himself, and not so contented, but sent me an harde awnswere in worde by my mann yet externe to us bothe, whome I wished not to have knownen any inckling of our private dealinges so privatelie, I saye, written of my partie, that I tell you the truthe, *coram Deo servatore meo*,⁵⁴ the talke not opened nor conferred within any signification to my yokefellowe,⁵⁵ though yet, I trust not so great a daye bodye⁵⁶ and without God's feare, and can consyder bothe reason and godlynnes.⁵⁷ Yet I have kept my greife within myself from her, not as to have you thinke that such a matter were to be much regarded, howsoever it be taken of such two as we maye be esteemed, but that I have used frindship towarde my Lord in all poyntes, whatsoever he conceiveth. But I am sorye he can so some conceive displeasantielie againste me not deserved, I saye, and to abyde thereby not deserved, for I ment not only prudently but christianlye, godlie and frindlie, howsoever yt be taken. The testimonye of my conscience shall make me take this his storme quietlie to Godwarde, rather offering him in my prayers to God, then carefull of any submission as having offended, which I entended not, as fawtie.⁵⁸ In his conceyving (as he writeth) for to have suspended my such writing till I had heard from him or spoken with him &c, ye shall understand that the partie whoe came up with the Duke's Grace's lettres resorted to me a little before dynner, and shewed me in his talke that he was appoynted to come againe that afternone to have received his lettres to the Duke's Grace in awnswere &c. Whereupon I thought the tyme present such as that before he should write to his Grace to put to his wisdomes and consyderation so much as I did write, for after that tyme yt had bin to late

[*fo. 59v*] to speake with himself who at that after none had no leysure if I had come to him, and yet sending my lettres by that messenger nor making him prevye of the sending &c. But, concerning the matter yt self, forsothe I am sure I did so reasonablie write that if he had bin

⁵³ *placētissima* [Latin] 'most pleasing'.

⁵⁴ *coram . . . meo* [Latin] 'in the presence of God, my saviour'.

⁵⁵ **yokefellowe** Matthew Parker's wife, Margaret Harleston Parker.

⁵⁶ **daye bodye** Overly concerned with daily matters, as opposed to loftier thoughts.

⁵⁷ **yokefellowe . . . godlynnes** Margaret's virtue was apparently well known to her contemporaries, as Nicholas Ridley praised 'the fame of her virtue in God' in 1551, although he had not met Margaret personally. See J. Bruce and T.T. Perowne (eds), *The Correspondence of Matthew Parker* (Cambridge, 1853), p. 46.

⁵⁸ **fawtie** faulty.

the prince of the realme, or I but his chapleyn, I might have written privately as I did. And where he findeth lacke in me that I did so write, peradventure I might finde some lack in him for not staying his displeasure till he had knowne what great cause he had I had to write, yea much more then I did write both in conscience and in good love of frindship. Madame, be not offended with my plainenes as though I would make comparison with him. I knowe his office, I knowe his giftes of God, and his place, and yet maye Matthewe Parker write privately to Nicolas Bacon in matter of good frindship without offence. In all humilitie of heart I will not stick to submytt my self to his page of his chamber and will be admonished by him in reason, though he were myne enimye, and againe in doing myne office to God, and my duetie of frindship to them whome I will sincerely love and honor. I will not be abashed to saye to my prince that I thinke in conscience in awnswering to my charging, as this other daye I was well chidden at my prince's hande, but with one eare I heard her harde words, and with thother and in my conscience and heart, I heard God. And yet her highnes being never so muche incensed to be offended with me, the next daye comyng by Lamhithe bridge into the feildes, and I according to duetie meting her on the bridge,⁵⁹ she gave me her verie good lokes and spake secretly in myne eare, that she must nedes countynance myne authoritye before the people to the credit of my service, whereat diverse of my Arches⁶⁰ then being with me peradventure merveiled &c. Where peradventure some bodye would have loked over the shoulders and slyly slipt awaye to have abashed me before the worlde &c. But to enter the matter of late. I sent my visitors into Norwiche, Dion's his countrye⁶¹ and myne, to set order and to know the state of the countrye whereof I heard of credible and of worshipfull persons that Gitzi⁶² and Judas had a wonderfull haunte in the countrye that *Quid vultis mihi dare?*⁶³ had so much prevailed there amonge the simonyans⁶⁴ that nowe to sell and to buy benefices, to flease parsonages and vicareages, that *omnia erant venalia.*⁶⁵ And I was

⁵⁹**Lamhithe ... bridge** The archbishop of Canterbury's seat was Lambeth Palace in London, surrounded by fields in Parker's time.

⁶⁰**Arches** Formally the dean of the Court of the Arches. However, at this time the term also meant an archbishop's official. See G. Elton, *Studies in Tudor and Stuart Politics and Government* (Cambridge, 1974), p. 97.

⁶¹**Dion's his Countrye** By Dion, Parker presumably means Zeus and so is referring to the paganism of the county of Norfolk.

⁶²**Gitzi** Gehazi was a covetous Old Testament figure. See 2 Kings 5:20–27.

⁶³**Quid ... dare?** [Latin] 'What will you give me?' See Matthew 26:15.

⁶⁴**simonyans** Those who practise simony, namely the buying and selling of benefices.

⁶⁵**omnia ... venalia** [Latin] 'everything was for sale'. This is a reference to Sallust: see *Bellum Jugurthinum*, 8.1: '*Romae omnia venalia sunt*' ('In Rome, everything is for sale').

enformed the best of the countrye not under the degree of knightes, were infected with this sore⁶⁶

[*fo. 60r*] so far that some one knight had fower or fyve, some other seven or eight benefices clouted together, fleasing them all, defrauding the Crown's subjectes of their duetie of prayers, some where setting boyes and there serving men toe beare the names of such lyvinges. Understanding this enormitye, howe the Gospell was thus ^universally^ pynched to the discouraging of all good laborers in God's harvest I ment to enquier of it, &c. In such inquisition was presented at Norwiche that my Lord had sett a serving man not ordered, a mere laye bodye, in the face of the whole citye to be a prebendarie of the churche there, and that he had an other at home at his house, an other prebendarie, and bearing them selves great under my Lorde's auctoritye, despised myne to be at the church's visitation &c. This matter hathe bin longe tossed amonge that people of theis two places thus used, which I knewe not of till my visitors came home againe, and enquiring of them first of the cathedrall church & I was enformed of theis two, of whome I tolde my Lord himself what was spoken, who not remembring their names, I ceased of talke, and yet he semed not well content that they should not doe their dueties. My commissioners unknowing to me when they were at the church charged the Deane &c to paye them no rent of their prebendes till they had shewed good cause to me of their absence. After the visitation Smythe,⁶⁷ one of them, came thether and was denyed his monye, and after came one of them to me for a letter of release. When I perceived what he was, and perceiving that yet he had honest learning, I moved him to enter order to avoyde the speache of the worlde and not to lyve so contrarie to lawes, and so to honest that smale nombre of the church, besides being but six prebendaries though they were all at home where one could hardlie be spared, not so well as in churches where be xl or l prebendes. After many wordes he awnswered me that though he had bin brought up in some prophane learning, yet in scripture he had no knowledge and thereupon would not enter into the ministerie. He there upon asked further my counsell. I tolde him that I thought yt best for him for the necessitye of life after his service

[*fo. 60v*] spent with my Lorde reserving some pension to resigne yt to such an one as were able to doe good in that church. He tolde me that certayne had offered him well, but he liked not their judgments.

⁶⁶**this sore** Repeated on fo. 60r.

⁶⁷**Smyth** Thomas Smyth, the cause of the dispute between Nicholas Bacon and Parker, was eventually deprived of his seat in 1570. For Smyth's connections with the Bacon family, see *Stiffkey*, I, p. 289.

In fyne he thought good to gratefie the whole citey and to resigne yt to Mr Walker,⁶⁸ who was desired for his gifte of preaching to continue there in the citey and so to be from the daunger of *non residens*⁶⁹ from a litle benefice he hathe in the countrey, whether he must be fayne els to goe and leave the citey destitute, for ^such^ kindes of informations be nowe redily made and heard in the King's Benche, as I heard this other daye of a verie honest man keping at his greater benefice a verie good house, is charged with *non residens* by a promoter from his lesse benefice not yet far of^o from his other, for every monethe's absence x li. This Smythe had my lettres of release to the Deane to receive his payment, after what tyme he resigned his prebend upon a penson⁷¹ of v li assured by the church, upon which vacation the Duke's Grace did write to my Lord in Mr Walker's favor, this partie travailed hether with his lettres, but he could not be admitted, the cause was answered that Smythe was bounde to my Lord to paye v li penson of his prebend to a sister's sonne of my Lorde's studying at Cambridge. The partie tolde me that my Lord made the awnswere himself, and that was the lett, when I heard yt, I was sory to heare yt of him, *qui foenum habet in cornu*,⁷² as I thinke yt will be in the Grene Yarde⁷³ a common place shortly of the preachers there. I excused the matter as well as I could, who told me the usage of this kinde of doing in all the countrie, and mervailed that they which favour the gospell should so use yt with diverse wordes more whereby I gathered the sequell what was like to followe of his repulse. In this verie article of tyme, reteyning this Walker at dynner in my house of purpose, I in dynner time did write to my Lord my lettres, only to put the matter to his wisdom and consideration, without any of the harde circumstance of the cause, howe yt was like to be taken, saving only of my Lord of Norfolk's plesuring &c, who I am suer would have taken yt thankfully to have sped, and so made yt knowne amongst his frindes in the citey, which should have, I doubt not, promoted the credit of the gospell⁷⁴

[fo. 61r] for his Grace to be the motyoner and bringer into the church and into that citey such a preacher, whereby the people of the citey might have receyved joye and gladnes, and thenemyes of the gospell disapoynted of their triumphing on that preacher, if he had sped at the

⁶⁸Walker John Walker, who was presented to a prebendal stall in the cathedral by the lord keeper on 25 January 1570. See J. Craig, 'John Walker', *ODNB*.

⁶⁹*non residens* [Latin] 'not resident'.

⁷⁰of off.

⁷¹penson pension.

⁷²*qui . . . cornu* [Latin] 'who has hay on his horn'. See Horace, *Satires*, 1.4.34.

⁷³Grene Yarde An open space used for preaching to the north of Norwich cathedral.

⁷⁴gospell Repeated on fo. 61r.

Duke's requeste &c. But all this would not serve, for the messenger sayd this v li pencion was the stop and lett &c. Marye he tolde me that my Lord would awnswere the Duke's Grace that he should be sure of the nexte vacante romme when yt chanced there. I pray God send my Lord many joyfull yeares to contynue both in life and in office till that daye and tyme, but I thinke this offer wold have bin taken in tyme, and I wishe I had borne this v li pencion of myne owne purse that the common slaunderouse speache might have bin stayed, where I feare yt will by this doing be further wondred at. But yt may be sayde, 'Let such as talke of yt, remedie yt if they can'. Oh, Madame, God is the rewarder of all good doinges, and reformer of all disorders. I see this cuntrye so much without remorse of conscience in this outrage that the stones will speak of yt, if it be not reformed. Yf my Lord be angrie with me for my plainenes, I feare not Almightye God. *Deus, ultionum Deus*⁷⁵ wilbe content, yea and he will aske accompte of me if I holde my peace, when bothe my Lord and I shall stande dreadfully before his Chauncerie, and therefore I will not so covett the favour of man to displease God. And suerlie, Madame, I coulde no lesse doe of tender heart to his estymation. And lothe would I be that his example should be alledged for diverse spoylers in that cuntrye of the ministerye, thoffice of manne's salvation, thoffice of Christe's crucifyed misteries, howsoever the carnall princes of the worlde do deride God *et omnia sacra, sed qui habitat in coelis irridebit eos*.⁷⁶ For God's love, Madame, helpe you *tanquam una caro cum viro tuo, sed ambo Christi membra charissima*,⁷⁷ to helpe to elyminate out of his house this offendicle, *ut ne ponat maculam in gloria senectutis suae. Labi et falli humanum, sed perseverare durum*.⁷⁸ I will not write that I heare reported, nor will creditt all tales. Eye on the world to carie God's good, elect and principall members of his kingdome,

[*fo. 6rv*] so to be drowned in the dregges of this mortalitye, not to regard theis so cheife causes. What shalbe hoped for in frindship if the advertising of one an other in true faithfull frindship, and to God warde, shall stirre up emnitye and disliking? Let the blinde world saye, '*Suaviora sunt fraudulentata oscula odientis, quam vulnera diligentis*'.⁷⁹ Let

⁷⁵*Deus . . . Deus* [Latin] 'God, the God of vengeance'. See Psalm 94:1.

⁷⁶*et . . . eos* [Latin] 'and all things sacred. But he who dwells in the heavens shall laugh at them'. See Psalm 2:4.

⁷⁷*tanquam . . . charissima* [Latin] 'just as one flesh with your husband, but both most dear members of Christ'.

⁷⁸*ut ne . . . durum* [Latin] 'and so that it may not place a stain on the glory of his old age. To fall and to err is human, but to perservere is obstinate'.

⁷⁹*Suaviora . . . diligentis* [Latin] 'The deceitful kisses of the enemy are more sweet, than the wounds given by a friend'. Proverbs 27:6 reads '*meliora sunt vulnera diligentis quam fraudulentata odientis oscula*', 'The wounds of a friend are faithful, but the kisses of an enemy are deceitful'.

the wise man say contrarie, '*Quam meliora sunt vulnera diligentis, quam fraudulenta oscula odientis*'.⁸⁰ I am jealous over my Lord's conscience, and over his honorable name. Yt maye become my office to him warde, though he be great in office, to heare the voyce of a pore pastor, for there is one which saithe *Qui vos audit, me audit; qui vos spernit, me spernit; qui vos tangit, tangit pupillam oculi mei*,⁸¹ as contemptible so ever the vaine world estemeth us. I have alwaye joyed in my Lord, alwaye honorablye reported him. I have in good places, and before the moste honorable, compared him with More⁸² and Audeley⁸³ for their eloquence, witt, and learning in lawe, with Bisshop Goderick⁸⁴ for his sinceritye towardes justice, althoughe they all had their faultes which God kepe from my Lord and me. The first embrued with papistrie, the seconde *omnino passim et ab omnibus*,⁸⁵ the third a dissembler in frindship who used to entertayne his evill willers verie courteously, and his verie frinds verie imperiously, thinking thereby to have the rule of bothe, whereby he loste bothe. For while his evill willers spred howe he would shake up his acquayntance, they gathered thereby the nature of his frindship towarde his olde frinds, and therefore joyed not much of his glorious interteyning, and his frinds in dede joyed lesse in him for such his discouragement that they felt at his handes. *Expertus loquor*⁸⁶ &c. Nowe what will be judged of many of the worlde, which peradventure love neither of us, if it maye be heard howe we two in that place that we be in by God's providence and the Quene's favour, bothe professing God's veritie as we doe, so longe conjoynd as we have bin nowe to fall at square, so nighe to fall into our earthlie pitt, he to contemme me, I to be dulled in my contentation towarde him? What will this worke in the common wealthe, and specially yf it⁸⁷

[fo. 62v] should breake out upon what grounde this greife is conceived and taken? I would be lothe to breake frindship with any meane bodye,

⁸⁰*Quam . . . odientis* [Latin] 'How much better are the wounds given by a friend, than the deceitful kisses of the enemy'.

⁸¹*Qui . . . mei* [Latin] 'He who hears you, hears me; he that despises you, despises me; he that touches you, touches the apple of my eye'. This seems to be a mixture of biblical sources, both Old and New Testament. Luke 10:16 includes '*qui vos audit me audit et qui vos spernit me spernit*' ('He that heareth you heareth me; and he that despiseth you despiseth me'), while Zechariah 2:3 includes '*qui enim tetigerit vos, tangit pupillam oculi sui*' ('for he that toucheth you toucheth the apple of his eye').

⁸²**More** Thomas More, lord chancellor from 1529 to 1532.

⁸³**Audeley** Thomas Audley, lord chancellor from 1533 to 1544; he was named lord keeper before he became chancellor, in May 1532.

⁸⁴**Bisshop Goderick** Thomas Goodrich, lord chancellor from 1552 to 1553; he was appointed lord keeper in December 1551.

⁸⁵*omnino . . . omnibus* [Latin] 'altogether everywhere and by everyone'.

⁸⁶*Expertus loquor* [Latin] 'I speak from experience'.

⁸⁷**yf it** Repeated on fo. 62v.

much lesse with my Lord, and yet either King or Cesar, contrarie to my duetie to God, I will not, nor entend not, God being my good Lorde. It is not the solempnitye or commoditie of myne office that I so much esteeme. I was sorie to be so accombered, but necessitie drave me, and what fate shall thrust me out, *susque deque fero*.⁸⁸ I am growne nowe into a better consideration by myne age, then to be aferde or dismayed with such vaine terriculaments of the worlde. I am not nowe to learne howe to fawne upon man, *cuius spiritus in naribus eius*,⁸⁹ or that I have to learne howe to repose my selfe quietlye under God's protectyon, against all displeasure of frinds and against all malignitye of thenimy. I have ofte sayd and expended that verse, *Cadent a latere tuo mille &c.*⁹⁰ In this mynde I truste to lyve and dye. Here I will not awnswere as a panyme⁹¹ did to a panyme, *Cur habeam eum pro principe, qui me non habet pro senatore*.⁹² But while I lyve I will praye to my Lord that all grace and good fortune maye assiste him in himself and in his posteritie, and shalbe as glad and redye to the duetie of godlie frindship to him, if it may be reasonable taken, as any one whatsoever with whome he is best pleased and lest provoked with, as any one that fawneth most upon him for his office sake, or for his vertue, to my power.

And thus reposing my self *in bona et constante conscientia*⁹³ in this brittle time, I commytt your Ladyship to God as my self. Bycause ye be *alter ipse*⁹⁴ to him, *unus spiritus, una caro*,⁹⁵ I make you judge, and therefore I transmytt the verie copie of my lettre sent to him to expend the rather of my writinge. Whereby ye may take occasion to worke as God shall move you. And thus I leave. From my house at Lamhithe, this vi of Februarie. 1567.

Your frind unfeyned in Christe,
Matthaei Cantuariensis.⁹⁶

⁸⁸ *susque . . . fero* [Latin] 'I take it, up or down'. See Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticae*, 16.9.1.

⁸⁹ *cuius . . . eius* [Latin] 'whose breath is in his nostrils'. See Isaiah 2:22.

⁹⁰ *Cadent . . . mille* [Latin] 'A thousand will fall at your side'. See Psalm 91:7.

⁹¹ **panyme** pagan.

⁹² *Cur . . . senatore* [Latin] 'Why should I have him as a leader, who does not have me as a senator?'

⁹³ *in bona . . . conscientia* [Latin] 'in a good and constant conscience'.

⁹⁴ *alter ipse* [Latin] 'another self'.

⁹⁵ *unus . . . caro* [Latin] 'one spirit, one flesh'.

⁹⁶ *Matthaei Cantuariensis* [Latin] 'Matthew of Canterbury', i.e. Matthew Parker, the archbishop of Canterbury.

8. Nathaniel Bacon to Anne Bacon, [late 1569–1572]⁹⁷

Draft in Nathaniel Bacon's hand. Folger Library, L.d.48. 1p.

Madame, I am sorie, that I am no more able than I am, to shewe that goodwill and dutie which I justly owe unto your Ladyship. A poore amendes I must confesse it is of a man endetted, only to confesse his det. A poores amendes do I nowe make, who am not a litle endetted to your Ladyship. Howe it cometh to passe that I especially am moved thus to writ, I dout not but I maie utter without havinge any ill thought therof. Your Ladyship knoweth how, beinge matched in mariage as I am, it stode me upon to have some care of the well bringinge up of my wife,⁹⁸ for these wordes of Erasmus are very trewe: *plus est bene instrui quam bene nasci*.⁹⁹ Yf she sholde have had the want of both, I had just cause to feare what might befall. Herupon, beinge not able to remedie the one, I did as mutch as in me lay to provide for the other; and therefore I sought by all the meanes I colde to have her placed with your Ladyship; and at length, though with mutch adoe [^]first and those stickinge most who had lest cause to sticke at it,¹⁰⁰ I [^]was brought the matter to passe.

This is it for which I thinke my self so greatly beholdinge to your Ladyship, in that yow were content to troble your self with havinge my wife ~~with yow~~, and not that alone, but duringe her beinge with yow to have sutch care over her and better to use her than I my self cold have wished. Yea, I often saied, and yet saie, a more strait maner of usage wolde have wrought a greater good. Yet sutch was your Ladyship's goodwill, which I will not live to be unmindfull of.¹⁰¹ For the care had

⁹⁷ [late 1569–1572] The letter refers to events since Nathaniel Bacon's marriage, in the summer of 1569. Nathaniel Bacon, Nicholas Bacon I's son by his first wife and so Anne Bacon's stepson, had married Anne, the illegitimate daughter of Sir Thomas Gresham by one of his household servants. As his new wife needed schooling in the demands of her new position, he arranged for her to live with his stepmother at Gorbambury. Nathaniel wished his new wife to spend 'half a year or a quarter' with his stepmother, so this letter must, at least, date from late 1569. For the duration of stay proposed by Nathaniel, see *Stiffkey*, I, p. 11.

⁹⁸ **beinge . . . wife** See n. 97.

⁹⁹ **plus . . . nasci** [Latin] 'it is better to have been well educated than well born'. See D. Erasmus, *Colloquies*, in C.R. Thompson (ed.), *Collected Works of Erasmus*, XXXIX (Toronto, 1997), p. 264.

¹⁰⁰ **those stickinge . . . at it** Both Sir Thomas Gresham and his wife had protested against the arrangement, with the former questioning whether Lady Anne Bacon, Nathaniel's stepmother, would use 'over sharpness' towards his daughter. See *Stiffkey*, I, pp. 11–12.

¹⁰¹ **not . . . unmindfull of** Nathaniel admitted in a letter to Lady Anne Gresham that while he had a 'great likinge' of his stepmother in some ways, 'in other things . . . it maie be I have as great mislikinge of her'. See *Stiffkey*, I, p. 12.

of her; I accompt it had of me; the good done to her; I accompt it done to me, for I perswade my self it was done in respect of me. ^But^ howsoever that be, ^at the lest^ this am I suer of, that I am he who am like to enyoye some benefit of the good which was than done ^upon^ her.

[*verso*] Your Ladyship seeth how redy I am in wordes to acknowledg this good torne. I shall desier yow, Madame, to thinke me as redy also in minde to requite the same, wherof I make faithfull promise, whensoever occasion shalbe geven. And thus I take my leave wisslinge your Ladyship long well to do.

9. *Anne Gresham Bacon to Anne Bacon* [late 1569–1572]¹⁰²

Draft in Nathaniel Bacon's hand. Folger Library, L.d.15. 1p.

My dutie most humbly remembred unto your good Ladyship. I am in good hope that your Ladyship conceiveth no ill of me, notwithstandinge that I have not sins my departure from Gorrhambury written any lettre to yow. The time hath not bene long sins my cominge from thence, and fewe convenient messengers have chaunced, at the lest none more convenient than my brother Windam,¹⁰³ who is the bearer herof. How well I am here placed in his house and how mutch to myne owne contentment, though perhappes your Ladyship hath already hard somewhat therof, yet none maie better certefie yow therof than my self, so mutch am I beholdinge to my brother and sister.¹⁰⁴ I have but litle besides to writ unto your Ladyship, except it be to acknowledg my self greatly bounden to yow for the great ^care^ that yow alwaies had of my well doinge duringe my beinge with ^yow^ which (wolde to God) it had bene soner and so might have bene longer. I am to crave that your Ladyship will take in good part this token of my goodwill untill I shalbe better able to shewe my self thankfull, and in the meane time I shall prairie to God that your

¹⁰² [late 1569–1572] See p. 69, n. 97.

¹⁰³ **my brother Windam** Two years earlier, Francis Wyndham had married Elizabeth Bacon, sister to Nathaniel Bacon and daughter to Nicholas Bacon I by his first wife, Jane Fernley.

¹⁰⁴ **placed . . . sister** Nathaniel and his bride were living with Elizabeth and Francis Wyndham in Norwich. In another letter, Anne Gresham Bacon complained of the difficulty of this scenario. See *Stiffkey*, I, p. 26.

Ladyship maie live many a yeare in all happines. Yf I might be so bolde, I wolde sende commendations to my brother Anthonie and my good brother Franck.

Most bounden to your Ladyship,
Anne.

**10. *Nicholas Bacon I and Anne Bacon to Nicholas Bacon II, Francis Boldero, and George Nunn,*¹⁰⁵
16 November 1572**

Holograph in Nicholas Bacon I's hand from 'N. Bacon C.S.'; in Anne Bacon's hand from 'I pray yow'. Chicago, 4123A. 2pp.

Addressed: To my sonne Nicholas Bacon and to my servauntes Frauncis Boldero and Georg Nunne geve theise

Complaynt is made unto me, by Buckes wief this bearer, that the will of her former husbond Howlot is broken by my servaunt Howlot. Theise ar therfor to will you to calle before you Howlot my servaunt and this bearer and her husbond Buck my servaunt also as you knowe, and after the matter fully examyned to take such order as the justice of the cause shall requyre. And yf you shall fynd eyther of the parties obstinate and not conformable to that that you shall thinke reasonable. Then to signifie unto me the state of the matter and in whom you shall fynd the default to thend I may deale therein as justice shall requyre. And so fare you well. From my howse besides Charing Crosse, this xvith of Novembre 1572.

N. Bacon C.S.

I pray ^yow^ sonne do that you may to healpe the owlde mother to lyve in quiett and comfort with her own childerine in her owlde and few dayes by liklyodd, and spare not to enforme ~~the~~ my Lorde the truth. She sayth it greveth her ~~she sayth~~ to have her childern at variance, and she is very sori for her eldest sonne.

Your father is in the gowte at this present, but his payne now is tollerable, God be thanked.

Your mother,
ABacon.

¹⁰⁵*Francis Boldero and George Nunn* Boldero and Nunn were servants of Nicholas Bacon I. See D. MacCulloch (ed.), *Letters from Redgrave Hall: the Bacon family, 1340–1744* (Woodbridge, 2007), p. xviii.

II. Nathaniel Bacon to Anne Bacon [early 1573]¹⁰⁶

Holograph draft. Folger Library, L.d.64. 1p.

Madame, I humbly thanke your Ladyship for the discharge of sutch mony as was due to the taylors for my wife. It was not my meaning that your Ladyship sholde have bene charged with ~~all~~ it, for I had takinge¹⁰⁷ order with my brother Edwarde¹⁰⁸ for the paiement of it. I understande by a lettre of my brother's how my Lorde hath a likinge that Paternoster¹⁰⁹ sholde attende upon my brethren at ther goinge to Cambridge.¹¹⁰ I told the felowe of this, and I will trewly writ your Ladyship worde what aunswere he mad me. He said he was loth to have my Lord's displeasure, but to take that paines which he had taken duringe his beinge at Cambridge before, he was no waies able.¹¹¹ For ever sins his lat siknes and the breakinge of his fote, both which happened to him at ons about two yeares past, he hath bene often trobled with paine in his bake, and likewise yf he went goeth any thinge mutch, with paine in his fote; and besides considering he was above L yeare old and he had served me and my brethren these ix or x yeares, that he were nowe loth to enter into an newe service, of whom he was not able any waie to deserve well, in as mutch as he was not able to take any paines. Herto I said that yf he went not, the let shold be judged in me, wherto he aunswered that he had before this said as mutch unto my brother Anthonie. But herof I shall talke further with your Ladyship upon my cominge to London.

¹⁰⁶ [early 1573] This letter refers to Anthony and Francis Bacon going up to Cambridge, which happened in April 1573, so the letter must have been written at least a few months earlier.

¹⁰⁷ takinge taken.

¹⁰⁸ my brother Edwarde Edward Bacon, the third son of Nicholas Bacon I.

¹⁰⁹ Paternoster Bernard Paternoster, a servant of Nathaniel Bacon's. See *Stiffkey*, I, p. 40.

¹¹⁰ my brethren ... Cambridge Anthony and Francis Bacon went up to Trinity College, Cambridge, in April 1573.

¹¹¹ paines ... able Nicholas, Nathaniel, and Edward Bacon, Nicholas Bacon I's sons by his first marriage, had all matriculated at Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1561.

12. Anne Bacon to Nathaniel Bacon, 6 August 1573

Holograph from 'ABacon'. Huntington Library, FBL3. 2pp.

Addressed: To my sonne Nathaniell Bacon at Wraxham.

Sonne, as you wrote unto me, so am I very well content with my Lady Gressham¹¹² to be godmother to your dawghter.¹¹³ And understanding by your man, who hath bene with my Lady Gressham, that she hath appoynted Mrs Read¹¹⁴ to be for her, so for me, my desire is to have my dawghter Wyndham,¹¹⁵ yf her health will so suffer it, which yf it shold not (as my hope is it will) then would I have my cosin Townesend,¹¹⁶ to take the paynes for me. For the daye (because all things will not be conveniently redie as I thinke by Sunday), my Lord and I thinke it good that it be uppon Wednesdaye next, or soner or longer by as you shall thinke best. And so have I sent word to my Ladie Gresham as her desire was. I have sent by this bearer ii peces of gowld, ^one^ for the nurse and thother for the mydwife. But my gifte for the child¹¹⁷ I cannot se (as I gladly would) send nowe by this bearer, because I cannot in so short tyme send to London for it, where it is, but assone as I shall go thether and have a fit mesenger, I will send it. The name for my part I put to the ~~diserecion~~ ^choyse^ of the mother ^for eny name she lyketh^, to whom with my hartly comendacions I wishe Goe spedie recovery with perfect healtie. From my hows at Gorhambury this vi of August 1573.

Your mother,
ABacon.

God be thanked for my dawghter's saff delyveraunce. Desyre her from ^me^ not to be to bowlde of her selff in childebed for all she is so yowng and strong.

¹¹²**Lady Gressham** Lady Anne Gresham was married to Sir Thomas Gresham, father to Nathaniel's wife, Anne Gresham Bacon.

¹¹³**godmother . . . dawghter** Anne Gresham Bacon had given birth to a daughter, also named Anne.

¹¹⁴**Mrs Read** Lady Anne Gresham's first husband was the mercer William Read; Sir Thomas Gresham was her second husband. Anne Gresham had two sons by her first marriage, so Mrs Read was presumably one of her daughters-in-law.

¹¹⁵**my dawghter Wyndham** Elizabeth Bacon Wyndham, Anne Bacon's stepdaughter.

¹¹⁶**my cosin Townesend** Jane Stanhope Townshend, wife of Sir Roger Townshend, was a distant relation of Anne Bacon's on her father's side.

¹¹⁷**my gifte . . . child** Letter 13 suggests that the gift was a cup.

**13. *Anne Gresham Bacon to [Lady Anne Bacon]*¹¹⁸
[c. October 1573]¹¹⁹**

Draft in Nathaniel Bacon's hand. Folger Library, L.d.476. 1p. Damaged.

Madame, I c[ra]v[e par]don yf any ill be thought of m[e becau]se I have not sins my delivery [before] nowe written to your Ladyship. I am su[re y]our Ladyship heareth how my husband ha[th] removed ^me^ from Waxam¹²⁰ to a house of his owne for the time to dwell upon, and I am very glad of it, and though the house be meane, yet I am very well content withall.¹²¹ I humbly thanke your Ladyship for the cup which yow bestowed upon my dawghter at her christeninge. She is nursed at Styfkey¹²² and is very well, and I dwell with in a quarter of a mile of her, so that I maie, as I will, loke unto her. Thus hartely wisshing your Ladyship a longe and happie life, I humbly [ta]ke my leave. From Cocthorpe.

14. *John Walsall*¹²³ to *Anne Bacon*, 1578

Published, dedicatory letter. J. Walsall, *A sermon preached at Pauls Crosse by John Walsal, one of the preachers of Christ his Church in Canterburie* (London, 1578), sigs A2r–A5v.

Addressed (sig. A2r): *To the right worshipfull, vertuous, and his verie good Ladie, the Ladie Anne Bacon, John Walsall hartily wisheth mercy and peace from God our Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ.*

¹¹⁸ [*Lady Anne Bacon*] It cannot be conclusively proven that Anne Bacon was the recipient of this letter. However, the reference to the christening gift suggests that it may have been written by Anne Gresham Bacon to one of her daughter's godmothers and letter **12** mentions Anne (Cooke) Bacon's plans to present a gift to the child.

¹¹⁹ [c. October 1573] This letter must date from after Nathaniel and Anne had moved to Cockthorpe manor. See n. 121.

¹²⁰ **Waxham** Nathaniel and Anne had been living with Nathaniel's sister Anne and her husband, Henry Woodhouse, at Waxham in Norfolk.

¹²¹ **my husband . . . withall** In the autumn of 1573, Nathaniel Bacon rented Cockthorpe manor in Norfolk.

¹²² **Styfkey** Nicholas Bacon I had bought Stiffkey manor for his son in 1571, but it needed extensive rebuilding before the couple could move into the house. See H. Smith, 'Concept and compromise: Sir Nicholas Bacon and the building of Stiffkey Hall', in C. Harper-Bill, C. Rawcliffe, and R. Wilson (eds), *East Anglia's History: studies in honour of Norman Scarf* (Woodbridge, 2002), pp. 159–188.

¹²³ **John Walsall** John Walsall had been the household chaplain for the Bacons at Gorhambury after graduating from Oxford in 1566; he also acted as tutor to Anthony and Francis while in the Bacons' employment. He held this position until at least 1569, possibly until the brothers went up to Cambridge in 1573. See V.B. Heltzel, 'Young Francis Bacon's tutor', *Modern Language Notes*, 63 (1948), pp. 483–485.

This my present attempt and enterprise will, perhaps, minister unto the reader double cause of admiration, the one, by reason of the publishing, the other in the respect of the dedication of this simple and plaine discourse. Touching the first, albeit I may justly depose, and call God to wnesse that this sermon is thus imprinted and made common, not by any vaine desire of mine, or terrene¹²⁴ purpose in me, but at the importune suite of divers godly men both of the citie where it was preached, and of the cuntry where I inhabite. Yet I am enforced openly to acknowledge that it is my bounden dutie of my selfe, without request, every way to seeke the glorie of my God, by exhorting privately, by preaching publikely, by writing generally, to the verie uttermoste of my power and abilitie. Howbeit, I am here constrayned humbly to bewraye¹²⁵ myne owne infirmitie, with heartie prayer for greater strength. For mine own simplicitie and want of profounde knowledge, the aboundaunce of most learned volumes dayly set out, together with consideration of many curious heades and carping tongues, these so prevailed with my flesh, as neither I could, of my selfe, be moved, nor by the importunitie of others, for a good space, induced, to publishe this treatise. But at length my weakenesse was somewhat strengthened, and I persuaded, not onely by the reasons of men, whome I have good cause greatly to reverence, but also by the holy spirite of God, to collect this sermon out of my notes, and send it abroad, to the end, that, as by uttering thereof it pleased the Lord God mercifully to touch the heartes of some, so, by writing and imprinting thereof, it may like the same Lord as graciously to touch the heartes of many. So that my onely drift and purpose herein is to seeke the glorie of our good God, by attempting, as he hath inhabled mee, to reclaim the wicked, to confirme the godlie, to converte the deceived, to encourage the converted, that, as God hath created all, offered salvation to al, and nourished us all, so through his sonne our Saviour Christ, he may be glorified by us al.

This glorie of our God ought to bee of so precious and deare accounte with us, that we shoulde directe whatsoever good thing wee have to the advaancement of his glorie. This is not the doctrine of carnall man, but of that moste excellent doctour Jesus Christ, and of his holy apostle S. Paule. Christe the maister saith, 'First seeke the kingdome of God and his righteousnesse, &c'.¹²⁶ And Paule the servant, speaking of the Lord God, telleth us, that, 'Of him, throughe him, and for him, are all thinges', and therefore addeth, 'to him be glorie for ever, Amen'.¹²⁷ These, and many the like scriptures, teach us that we are

¹²⁴terrene worldly.

¹²⁵bewraye expose or reveal.

¹²⁶'First . . . righteousnesse, &c' Matthew 6:33.

¹²⁷'Of him . . . Amen' Romans 11:36.

created, redeemed, sanctified, and preserved, yea, that all the Lorde's blessings so without measure dayly powred upon us, tend to this end that his most glorious name maye bee continually extolled by us. Both Moses and Paul were so zealous for this glory, as they preferred the same to their own salvation. But alas, such is the miserable condition of the world, that few are founde willing to take anye little paine, or to susteine the short displeasure even of the vilest men, thereby to shewe their longing desire of God his glorie. Men, of all sortes, are made so drunken with their own vaine glorie, and in such manner bende them selves to maintaine that ignominious and shamefull glorie, as in the meane time, the glorie of God is cared for, accounted of, and longed for, but of verie fewe, and as it were, of an handfull, in respecte of the huge multitude of so innumerable people. From this most impure and deadly impoysoned fountaine of vaine glorie issueth the papistes' glorious opinon of their meritorious workes, their proude conceipt of man's righteousnesse, their bloudie argumentes against justification by faith, their obstinate defences of most grosse impieties, their daily coyn- ing of newe counterfeit miracles for the underpropping of their nowe falling kingdome. From this filthie puddle of vaine glorie springeth the contemptuous disdayning of overmanie to submitte their stiffe necks to the sweet and easie yoke of Christe. Hence it is that the verie angelles of God his church, and true ministers of his worde are sternly frowned uppon, injuriously thrust to the walles, and handled unreverently, unles with popishe dirige,¹²⁸ they will sing, '*Placebo*';¹²⁹ and as the Jewes willed Esay, speak '*Placencia*';¹³⁰ and with the Terentian Gnato, '*ait, aio; negat, nego*';¹³¹ that is to say, unlesse they will with Judas betray their maister Christe, and frame them selves to feede the sinfull humours of carnall men, by wilfull neglecting the severe commaundementes of Almightye God. Hence it is, that, if contempte of true religion, lothing of Christ's holy gospel, counternauncing of the wicked, cormeranting of earthly thinges,¹³² carnall talke, vaine delectations, horrible blasphemie, pride in apparell, epicurisme in diet, deceite in bargaining, unchristian conversation, if these, and the like enormities be reprov'd, and the terrible judgements of God denounced againste them, vaine glorie will then be inflamed and set on fire with revenging

¹²⁸ **dirige** dirge.

¹²⁹ **popishe** . . . *Placebo Placebo* [Latin], 'I will please', was the first word of the first psalm (116:1) in the office (vespers) for the dead, according to the Vulgate.

¹³⁰ **the Jewes** . . . *Placencia* In Isaiah 30:10, the Jews are described as only wanting to hear '*placencia*' [Latin], 'smooth/pleasing things'.

¹³¹ **ait** . . . **nego** [Latin] 'If he assents, I assent. If he denies it, I deny it'. In *Eunuchus*, Terence has the parasitical Gnatho say these lines of his patron. See Terence, *Eunuchus*, 250–253.

¹³² **cormeranting of earthly thinges** Cormorants are a traditional symbol of greed, so it seems that Walsall is alluding to the greedy gathering of worldly goods.

anger, and at daggers drawing with such preachers. Thus I might proceede to proove that vaine glorie doth every way so abound, as the advancement of God his glory is lamentably neglected.

Oh, that man had regenerate eyes to looke throughly upon, and deeply into himself, he should then wel perceive that no glorie, but all shame is due to him; he shoulde then be compelled to confesse, that whatsoever good thing he hath of the bodie or minde, the Lorde God hath there with adorned him, that he the authour therof might be glorified with and for the same. Saint Paul to extinguish and quench out man's greedie thirst of vain glory demaundeth of man this question, 'What hast thou that thou hast not received?'.¹³³ To the same ende that universall speach of Saint James may be fitly applied: 'Every good giving and every perfect gift is from above &c'.¹³⁴ Wherein the holy ghost teacheth that all the good things we enjoy, either temporall, or spirituall, they have streamed from the everlasting founteine of God his unspeakable liberalitie, that for and with the same we shoulde magnifie and praise his most glorious name. The Lord therefore in mercie graunt, that every man, in his severall vocation, may so hartely bend all his affections, giftes, welth,¹³⁵ wisdom, worship, honour, or what soever the Lorde hath blessed him withal, to the magnifying of him our most gracious and loving Father, that every one of us may with a good conscience and truly say with holy David, 'Not unto us, o Lorde, not unto us, but unto thy name, give the glorie, &c'.¹³⁶ And with Saint Paul, 'God forbid that I should glory or rejoyce, but in the crosse of our Lord Jesus Christ, whereby the world is crucified unto me, and I unto the worlde'.¹³⁷

Thinke unto (right Christian Ladie) that these words are uttered so much to instruct you, as to enforme the reader of this letter unto you. For by good experience I have comfortably found both in the right honorable my very good Lord, your wise and loving housbande, and in your good Ladiship, his godly and obedient espouse, such care of God's glorie in advauncing true religion, in demeaning your selves in the education of your children, in governing your family, in countenauncing of vertue and learning, in cherishing the poore and needie, as I might deservedly be deemed unwise, if I had not observed it; carelesse, if I did not remember it; unthankfull, if upon offred occasion, I would not testifie it.¹³⁸ But thanked be the king of eternal glorie, this your care of God his glory is so universally knowne to

¹³³**What . . . received?** 1 Corinthians 4:7.

¹³⁴**Every . . . above &c** James 1:17.

¹³⁵**welth** wealth.

¹³⁶**Not . . . glorie, &c** Psalm 115:1.

¹³⁷**God . . . worlde** Galatians 6:14.

¹³⁸**For . . . testifie it** See p. 74, n. 123.

the whole realme, and so joyfully acknowledge¹³⁹ of the godly therein, that I neede not produce my self for an experienced witnes of the same. Wherefore to conclude this branch, I will heartily offer uppe mine incessant prayers to the Lorde God, in the name of his sonne our saviour Christe, that both you, and all Christians, may daily and continually growe not onely into such contempt of vaine glory, and all vaine thinges, but also into such love and longing of his true glorie, and all heavenly things, as, in these evill dayes, ye may have the sure testimony of your owne consciences, that you have zealously sought God his glory, and in the end, through Christ, be made partakers of his eternall glorie.

As this care of God's glorie hath drawn others to desire, and me to publish this sermon, which I trust, will prevent the uncharitable suspicions of some, and stay the rash tongues of others, so me thinketh, I am to be blamed neither by you, nor of any other for dedicating the same to your Ladishippe. For, notwithstanding nothing to be therein taught, which you have not long ago learned, and nothing in such manner delivered by me, but hath ben and may be much bettered by others, yet your Ladiship, by perusing thinges already learned, shall not be altogether unprofitably occupied, and at the least this my fact shall make some outwarde shewe of mine inwarde heartie thanksgiving for the benefits bestowed upon, and the trust reposed in me your humble and faithfull servaunt.

And when I considered, that by my Lorde and your Ladiship I was first called from the universitie to teach your two sonnes (and those such children, as for the true feare of God, zealous affection to his word, obedience to their parents, reverence to their superiours, humility to their inferiours, love to their instructour, I never knewe any excell them) and also that by the same meanes I was likewise first called from teaching of children, to enstruct men, verely I coulde not but dedicate the first fruites of these my so generall labours to some of that house, whence I was first sent out to be a poore labourer in the Lord's great harvest.¹⁴⁰ You shall here find no profounde learning, no exquisite art, no curious eloquence to delight your learned eares, but finde you shal the simple truth now imprinted as it was then uttered, to comfort your Christian hearte. And I am throughly perswaded that as I have the sure warrant of God's expresse worde for confirmation of the trueth herein contained, so the holy spirite of God will in such wise affect you with a like and love thereof, that he will compel your heart to think, and your tounge to say, Amen, yea, and to confesse that,

¹³⁹ **acknowledge** acknowledged.

¹⁴⁰ **poore . . . harvest** See Matthew 9:37–38 and Luke 10:2.

albeit a sinnefull man was the homely utterer, yet the holy Ghost is the undoubted authour of the same.

Nowe least the portall shoulde be as great as the house, and the preface as long as the treatise, I will conlude and cease from further troubling you. But, I trust, not to surcease from hearty praying the Lord God so to devor¹⁴¹ the harts of your good Ladiship, of your children and whole family with the holy fire of his heavenly spirite, that ye may 'dwell in his court, and be satisfied with the pleasure of his house, even of his holy temple';¹⁴² 'that the zeale of the Lorde's house may eate ye up';¹⁴³ that with good consciences and joyfull spirites, ye may truly say, 'o Lord, I have loved the habitation of thy house, and the place wher thine honour dwelleth'.¹⁴⁴ Finally, that ye may be of that bright heavenly wheate, whiche shall bee gathered into the celestiall garner by the Lorde Jesus, who, for ever, mightily protect, and mercifully preserve you.

At Easeling by Feversham in the countie of Kent.¹⁴⁵

Your Ladiship's heartie orator, and humble servant,
John Walsall.

15. *Anne Bacon to Nicholas Bacon II, [May–July 1579]*¹⁴⁶

Holograph, excluding the address. Chicago, 4140. 2pp.

Addressed: To Sir Nicholas Bakon

Syr, as yow sent me worde by Osborn,¹⁴⁷ as soone as I understoode of my Lorde Treasurer's¹⁴⁸ coming from the coort ^this^ afternoone I lett him know what yow sayde of Nathanaell's lett of coming. That the lett shulde be trew which is named ^I am^ sorye, for it is a great pain, but to be playn, as I can not now change, when I fyrst harde his

¹⁴¹ **devor** devour.

¹⁴² **dwel . . . temple** Psalm 65:4.

¹⁴³ **that . . . ye up** Psalm 69:9.

¹⁴⁴ **o Lord . . . dwelleth** Psalm 26:8.

¹⁴⁵ **At Easeling . . . Kent** Walsall had been appointed rector of Eastling parish near Faversham in Kent in 1574. He had previously held other livings; the dispensation to hold them in plurality may have come through his service to the lord keeper. See Heltzel, 'Young Francis Bacon's tutor', pp. 484–485.

¹⁴⁶ **[May–July 1579]** It was during this period that Anne and Anthony were in dispute with Nicholas Bacon I's sons from his first marriage over inheritance issues. See below, p. 80, n. 150.

¹⁴⁷ **Osborn** John Osborne, steward and secretary to Nicholas Bacon I. See *Stiffkey*, II, p. 51.

¹⁴⁸ **Lorde Treasurer's** William Cecil, Lord Burghley, had been appointed lord treasurer in 1572.

wyffe¹⁴⁹ was come and not he, I looked not for him. My Lord Tresurer hath appointed to morow at ii of the clock in the afternoone ^to heare the matter^ and so wyll to certefye yow.¹⁵⁰ I pray God worke in your hart as ^readye^ a dispotion¹⁵¹ to ende ^well^, as I at the fyrst by his grace gave a very rare example to beginn well immediatly upon your father's death, of a most faythfull hart ever to him, and the lyke desyre to confyrm your goode will still. Yf eny yll counsell, as the worlde is full of subtiltee, go abowt to alter your own nature, which hetherto I have taken to be well enclnyed. I pray ^yow^, goode Syr Nicolas Bacon, lett it do no hurt betwyxt us where there hath ben so long a continuance of more then common amytee. Yow being the sonne, and I the wyff, and now the weedoe of the same ^good^ father and husbnde. So I byd yow hartely fare well and shalbe very glad when wee may mete together frendely. From Shudloes Howse¹⁵² this Monday.

Your well wyller alweyes,
ABacon.

16. *Anne Bacon to Théodore de Bèze, 18 May 1581*

Holograph, excluding the address. Latin. Gotha, Cod. A 405, fos 282r–283v. 2pp.

Addressed (fo. 283v): *Monsieur, Monsieur de Beze, à Geneve*.¹⁵³

Salutem in Christo Jesus.

Habes, vir eximie, jamdudum apud te, ut spero, filium meum, Antonium Bacon. Hic multumque cupiebam ut ^hinc profectus^ Genevam tuam, immo Dei potius, et faciem quoque tuam videret. Amisso patre, ingenti correptus ^est^ desiderio exteras salutandi regiones; quo morbo laborant plerique Angli hisce presertim temporibus. Faxit Deus ut in commodum Ecclesiae suae et huius regni succedat. Adjuva illum, te praecor, vir Dei, consilio tuo et in tuam tutelam suscipito eum. Egomet ignara sum quem nactus est itineris sui comitem, sed, ut conjicio, Blanchardum quendam Gallum, cui permagnam habet fidem, quemadmodum ex litteris suis mihi aliisque

¹⁴⁹his wyffe Anne Gresham Bacon. See 8, 9, 12, and 13.

¹⁵⁰My Lord . . . certefye yow Nicholas and Nathaniel Bacon, two of Nicholas Bacon I's sons from his first marriage, were in dispute with Anne and Anthony Bacon over their inheritance. Burghley, one of Nicholas Bacon's executors, attempted to settle the disagreement. For Nicholas Bacon's will, see *Stiffkey*, I, pp. 25–29. For letters from Nicholas Bacon II and Nathaniel regarding the dispute and for Burghley's responses, see *Stiffkey*, I, pp. 77–79, 81–82, 93–95, 101–107. A resolution seems to have been reached by early 1580: see *Stiffkey*, I, pp. 119–120.

¹⁵¹dispotion disposition.

¹⁵²Shudloes Howse Presumably Shardeloes manor, Amersham.

¹⁵³Monsieur . . . à Geneve [French] 'Master, Mr de Bèze, at Geneva'.

per Blanchardum ipsum traditis facile prospexi superiore mense Februario. Multo foelicior esset si vivente patre peregrinatus transmarinas vidisset terras, fultus auxilio et crebro consilio pii et vere prudentis patris; quod quidem fratri suo Edouardo benignitate Dei contigit. Verum cum secus visum est 'coelesti' patri nostro, spes mea est, Deo hortante filium meum hoc iter ingressum esse et divini Spiritus ductu illum et proficisci et in bonarum rerum cognitione indies proficere.

Dominus maritus reliquit ex me, secunda sua uxore (et sane inter secundas res meas duco, precipue duco, quod me Deus voluit talis viri uxorem esse), ex me inquam, duos tantum reliquit filios, totam spem prolis meae in iis praeterea annis, qui potissimum meo iudicio desiderant et indigent gubernaculo paternae autoritatis et cura sollicita chari parentis. Sed idem Deus qui abstulit patrem assumisit, ut confido, et me et filios meos in suam curam et patrocinium. Oro te, ut hanc meam quasi necessitate coactam audaciam ad te scribere velis excusatam habere et internum animi affectum viduae matris erga filium absentem respicere potius quam laceram et claudicantem latinitatem meam aut notare aut culpae. Valeat prestantia tua diu incolumis Ecclesiae Dei et reipublicae tuae.

Londini, 18 Maii 1581.

*Tua in Christo ABacona,
vidua Domini Custodis.*

[*Translation*]

Greetings in Christ Jesus.

You already for some time have with you, excellent sir, my son, Anthony Bacon, as I hope. I was greatly desirous that he should set out from here and see your Geneva – or rather, God's Geneva, as well as your face.

After the loss of his father he was seized by a great desire to visit foreign regions; this is a disease affecting many Englishmen, particularly in these times. May God grant that he succeeds to the benefit of his church and of this commonwealth. Assist him, I beseech you, as a man of God, with your counsel and take him into your protection.

I myself am unaware who he had as a companion on his journey but I presume it was Blanchard, a Frenchman,¹⁵⁴ in whom he has great faith, as I readily noticed from his letters delivered to me and to others by this same man Blanchard last February.¹⁵⁵ He would have been much

¹⁵⁴**Blanchard, a Frenchman** Honoré Blanchard had been a student at Trinity College, Cambridge, with Anthony and had impressed the latter with his scholarship, particularly his 'grounded knowledge in Hebrew, Greek and Latin', and his past travels 'throughout Germany, the Lowe Countreis and the most part of England'. See SP 12/147, fo. 99r–v.

¹⁵⁵**I readily . . . last February** Anthony had sent Blanchard to England in 1581 with a letter to his uncle, Lord Burghley. See *ibid.*

happier if he had travelled abroad and visited foreign lands while his father was alive, supported by the help and frequent counsel of a godly and truly prudent father, as indeed his brother Edward managed to do through God's goodness.¹⁵⁶ But since our heavenly Father deemed it otherwise, it is my hope that it was with God's encouragement that my son undertook this journey and that it was under the guidance of the Holy Spirit that he set off and makes daily progress in the understanding of good things.

My lord husband has left me, his second wife (and certainly among my blessings I especially count the fact that God wished me to be the wife of such a man), has left me, I say, just two sons, the whole hope of my offspring in these years moreover; in my judgement they particularly miss and need the guidance of a father's authority and the solicitous concern of a loving parent. But this same God who took away their father has, as I firmly believe, taken up both me and my sons in his care and protection. I beg you to excuse this boldness of mine in writing to you as something forced by necessity, and to look upon the deep affection of a widowed mother for her absent son, rather than rebuking or censuring my mangled and halting Latinity. May your excellence long remain safe and healthy for the church of God and for your republic.

London, 18 May 1581.

Yours in Christ A. Bacon,
widow of the Lord Keeper.

17. *Anne Bacon to Théodore de Bèze, 24 July 1581*

Holograph. Latin. Gotha, Cod. A 405, fos 284r–285v. 2pp.
*Addressed (fo. 285v): Domino reverendo D. Bezae.*¹⁵⁷

Accepi tuas literas, vir eximie, quae mihi merito et sunt et debent esse gratissimae, tum quod tu, vir omni eruditionis genere praestantissimus et hac nostra etate propter zaelum Domus Dei maxime celebris, non dedignatus sis ad me scribere mulierem viduam et imbecillem, tum vero quod per te certior facta sum de adventu filii mei ad Genevam. De qua re non parum hactenus anxia fui, ac vehementer optatum hunc audire nuncium diu desideravi. Ob id igitur, ex animo gratias ago Deo nostro qui Anthonium meum salvum et incolumem ad te misit.

¹⁵⁶**brother Edward . . . goodness** During his Continental travels, Edward Bacon, Anthony's half-brother, had stayed with Théodore de Bèze in 1578. See H. Aubert, F. Aubert, and H. Meylan (eds), *Correspondance de Théodore de Bèze*, 38 vols (Geneva, 1970), XVIII, p. 145.

¹⁵⁷**Domino . . . Bezae** [Latin] 'To the Reverend Lord D. Bèze'.

Biduo post acceptas tuas litteras, allatae sunt mihi literae quoque a filio inclusae in aliis ad quendam suum amicum exaratis, in quibus scribit se non modo tibi et vultu et verbis gratum venisse, verum etiam maxima cum humanitate et serio rogatu in hospitium tuum amicissime receptum fuisse. Hic vero, eloquar ne an sileam plane ignoro. Quantum enim tuae dignitati debeo propter hanc immensam ac spontaneam tuam benevolentiam erga filium, juvenem tibi penitus ignotum, nec loquendo nec scribendo satis exprimere possum. Quod si talem amicitiam erga eum tam mihi charum silentio pretermitterem, aut filium meum summae ingratiitudinis, quod nollen, aut me, matrem suam tanti beneficii parum memorem, jure incusare posse videris. Deo idcirco propitio hoc omnino relinquo, cuius instinctu, ut spero, rem illi perutilem et mihi perjucundam fecisti, cuius etiam benignitas non desinit paternum suum amorem in me et meos cum maxime opus sit semper ostendere.

Dum Anthonius apud te manet, et quo diutius eo melius mihi placet, sis illi, obtestor te, loco patris et consilio tuo et auxilio, tum ad pietatem tum ad consultius et satis tuto tua prudentia reliquum iter peragendum, si modo sit illi in animo diutius adhuc foris manere, quo Dei Optimi Maximi misericordia, assiduaque tua familiaritate et sana doctrina, morumque integritate magis auctus et ditatus cum gaudio ad suos redeat.

Vale, pater celeberrime, in Christo; me meosque precibus tuis mando.

Ex edibus meis, Gorhamburiae, 24 Julii 1581.

*In Christo Jesu
semper tua, ABacona.
Vidua Domini custodis.*

[*Translation*]

I received your letter, excellent sir, which rightly is and ought to be most pleasing to me, both because you, a man outstanding in every kind of learning and most celebrated in our day and age on account of your zeal for the house of God, were kind enough to write to me, a widow and a weak woman, and also because you informed me of my son's arrival in Geneva. I have up till now been not a little anxious about this and I have long wished to receive this news which is greatly desired. And so for this, I heartily thank our Lord who has sent my Anthony safe and sound to you.

Two days after I received your letter, a letter was delivered to me also from my son enclosed in another letter written to a friend of his,¹⁵⁸ in which he writes that he has not only arrived and been welcomed by you with a friendly countenance and words, but that he has also been received in a most friendly manner and with the greatest kindness and

¹⁵⁸ a letter . . . of his Anthony Bacon sent a raft of letters, including one to Mildred Cooke Cecil, his aunt, back to England in July 1581. See, for example, Edinburgh University Library, Laing MS iii. 193, fos 116a–116b.

a serious entreaty into your hospitable house. But here I am entirely unsure whether I should speak out or remain silent. For I cannot express in speech or in writing how much I owe your dignity for the immense and unasked-for kindness you have shown my son, a young man who is a complete stranger to you. But if I were to pass over in silence such friendship towards him who is so dear to me, you would seem to be able justifiably to accuse my son of extreme ingratitude, which I would not wish, or me, his mother, of failing to remember such a great kindness. And so with God's favour I completely leave this, at whose urging, so I hope, you did this thing which benefits him so much and gives me so much pleasure, whose goodness even now does not cease, ever to show his fatherly love towards me and my family when it is most necessary.

While Anthony remains with you – and the longer he stays, the happier I am – act as a parent to him, I beseech you, giving him your counsel and assistance, both for the sake of piety and so as to carry out the rest of his journey more advisedly and safely by means of your wisdom, if now he decides to remain abroad still longer; so that by the mercy of our Almighty God, and by your continued intimacy and wise teaching, his moral integrity may develop and grow richer and he may return to his family with joy.

Farewell, most distinguished father, in Christ; I commit myself and my family to your prayers.

From my house at Gorhambury, 24 July 1581.

Ever yours in Christ Jesus,
A. Bacon,
widow of the Lord Keeper.

18. *Théodore de Bèze to Anne Bacon, 1 November 1581*

Published, dedicatory letter. French. T. de Bèze, *Chrestienes meditations sur huit pseumes du prophete David composees et nouvellement mises en lumiere par Theodore de Besze* (Geneva, 1581).¹⁵⁹

Addressed: A Madame, Madame Anne Bacon, vefve de feu Monseigneur Nicolas Bacon, garde des seaux de royaume d'Angleterre.

Madame, estant le livre de Pseumes de singuliere recommandation entre tous ceux de la saincte escriture, il y a quelque temps qu'après m'estre employé à la traduction et exposition d'iceux, je me suis mis aussi à esbaucher quelques

¹⁵⁹T. de Bèze . . . (Geneva, 1581) There are very few extant copies of the early editions of Bèze's meditations in French. For a discussion of the availability of these early editions, see Aubert, Aubert, and Meylan, *Correspondance de Théodore de Bèze*, XXII, p. 186.

meditations sur ce subject, ayant choisi comme pour un essay les sept Pseaumes pieçà nommez penitentiaux, pour estre lors specialement dediez à ceux lesquels, après avoir satisfait à la penitence publique et canonique, estoient r'alliez au corps de l'Eglise, le tout pour mon instruction et consolation particuliere.

Et depuis encores ayant esté requis d'une grande et vertueuse Princesse de luy dresser quelque formulaire de prieres, je les ay reprins en main et polis aucunement, en esperance mesmes de les publier: ce que n'estant venu à effect par le soudain decez d'icelle Dame, je les ay gardez entre mes papiers comme chose de peu de prix: où ils fussent demeurez, n'estoit qu'à la venue de Monsieur Antoine Bacon vostre fils par deçà, voyant qu'il prenoit plaisir à ce petit ouvrage, et d'autre part ayant cognu par les lettres Latines desquelles il vous a pleu m'honorer, les grandes et singulieres, voire extraordinaires graces desquelles Dieu vous a douee, et desquelles je recognoy un vray pourtrait en vostre dict fils, je me suis persuadé que ne prendriez à desplaisir que ce petit livret, portant vostre nom sur le front, vous fust présenté pour tesmoignage de l'honneur et reverence que je porte à la vertu vostre et des vostres: esperant aussi qu'en cest estat de veufage auquel il a pleu à Dieu que soyez reduite par le decez de ce tres vertueux et à bon droict tres-renommé Seigneur, Monseigneur Nicolas Bacon vostre mari, et tres digne garde de seaux d'Angleterre, vous y trouverez quelque consolation après la lecture de ces grands et saints docteurs Grecs et Latins qui vous sont familiers, pour vous confermer de plus en plus en la meditation des choses spirituelles, et en ceste constance et patience Chrestienne de laquelle le Seigneur vous a tellement ornee, qu'en vous est vrayement recognue ce chrestienement magnanime courage que j'ay veu par deçà reluire en feu de tres-heureuse memoire Monseigneur Antoine Koouk Chevalier, durant les grandes calamitez publiques du royaume, et particulieres à luy et à toute sa maison. Voilà le fondement de mon dessein, lequel s'il vous plaist avoir pour agreable, comme je vous en supplie tres-humblement, ce me sera peut estre une occasion de passer plus avant en ceste besongne, aydant nostre Seigneur, lequel je requiers, Madame, vous accroissant ses plus grandes graces, vous conserver avec toute vostre tres-noble famille tres-longuement en toute saincte et entiere prosperité. De Geneve, ce premier de novembre, 1581.

*Votre bien humble et obeysant serviteur,
Theodore de Besze.*

[Translation from T. de Bèze, Christian meditations upon eight Psalmes of the prophet David, trans. J.S. (London, 1582) sigs A4r–A5v]

Addressed (sig. A4r): To my lady, the lady Anne Bacon, widowe of the deceased Syr Nicolas Bacon Knight, Lord Keeper of the great seale of England.

Madame, among other bookes of holy scripture, that of the Psalmes wel deserveth to bee singularly recommended to us. It is nowe some time, since having bestowed some payne in translating and expounding the same, I gave my selfe also to take some more libertie of dealing with them by way of meditating upon that subject, choosing (as it were for an assaye) the seven psalmes called some time Penitential,

because they were appointed to such as after having satisfied open and canonical penance, were reunited to the body of the Church, wholly doing it for my particular instruction and consolation. After this, being required by a great and vertuous princesse, to frame for her some forme of prayers,¹⁶⁰ I tooke them afresh into my hands, polishing them over, and that with hope of publishing them, which being letted by the sodayne decease of that Lady, I reserved them among my papers as things of no great price, where they had lyen still, had not bene the comming of master Anthony Bacon your sonne, into these partes. Whom when I sawe to take pleasure in this litle piece of woork, and againe knowing by the Latin letters wherewith it hath liked you to honour me,¹⁶¹ the great and singular, yea extraordinarie graces wherewith God hath indewed you, and whereof I acknowledge a very paterne in your said sonne, I perswaded my selfe that it should not be displeasing to you, if this small volume carying your name upon the browe, were offered to you, in testimonie of the honour and reverence I beare to the vertue of you and yours. Hoping withall that this estate of widowehode whereunto it hath pleased God to call you by decease of that right vertuous and of right renowned Lord, my Lord Nicolas Bacon, your husband and most worthy Keeper of the seale of England, you might perhaps therein finde some consolation, after the reading of those great and holy doctors of Greeke and Latine so familiar to you, for your better confirming in the meditation of spiritual things, and in this constancie and Christian patience wherewith God hath so beautified you, that in you is verily acknowledged that Christianly high minded courage, which I sawe in these partes shining in the deceased, of very happy memorie, Syr Anthony Cooke Knight, during those great calamities publike to the realm, and particular to him and his whole familie.¹⁶² See the ground of my purpose, which if it may please you to take in good part, which I very humbly crave, it may be perhaps an occasion of proceeding in this busines, our Lord ayding, whom I beseeche, Madame, that increasing in you his greatest graces, he will preserve you and your verie noble familie, long in all holy and perfect prosperitie.

From Geneva this first of November. Anno 1581.

Yours very humble and serviceable to commaunde,
Theodore Besze.

¹⁶⁰**great . . . prayers** Bèze may have been inspired by Jeanne d'Albret, whom he had met in 1571. See S. Barker, *Protestantism, Poetry and Protest: the vernacular writings of Antoine de Chandieu* (Aldershot, 2009), p. 250.

¹⁶¹**the Latin . . . me** See **16** and **17**.

¹⁶²**which I sawe . . . familie** During the reign of Mary I, Anthony Cooke had embarked upon a self-imposed Continental exile.

**19. Anne Bacon to William Cecil, Lord Burghley,
26 February 1585**

Holograph. BL, Lansdowne MS 43, fos 119r–120v. 2pp.

Addressed (fo. 120v): To my very goode Lorde, the Lorde Tresurer of Englande

Endorsed (fo. 120v): 26 February 1584. The Lady Bacon for the preachers.¹⁶³

I know well, myne especiall goode Lorde, it becometh me not to be troblesome unto your Honor at eni other tyme, but now cheeffly in this season of your gretest¹⁶⁴ affayres and small or no leasure. But yet because yesterdaye's morning spech, as in that I was extraordinarily admitted yt was your Lordship's favour, so fearing to stay to long I cowlde not so playnly speak ner so well receive your answer therto as I wolde truly and gladly in that matter, I am bowlde by this writing to enlarge the same more playnly and to what ende I did mean.¹⁶⁵ Yf it may like your goode Lordship, the report of the late conference at Lambath hath ben so handled to the discrediting of those learned that labour for right reformation in the ministry of the gospell, that it is no small greff of mynde to the faythfull preachers, because the matter is thus by the othersyde caried away as though the `ir` caswe cowlde not ~~not~~ sufficiently be warranted by the worde of God.¹⁶⁶ For the which proffe they have long ben sadd sutors and wolde most humbly crave still both of God in heaven whose cause it is and of her Majestie, their moste excellent sovereign here in earth, that they might obtain qwiect and convenient audience ether before her Majestie her selff, whose hart is in God his hande to towch and to turne, or before your honours of the counsell, whose wysdome they greatly reverence. And yf they can not strongly prove before yow owt of the worde of God that Reformation which they so long have

¹⁶³**26 ... preachers** This endorsement is in Burghley's own hand. An addition to the endorsement seems to be in a later hand: 'that they might bee allowed to shew their reasons before the Queen and her Counsel'.

¹⁶⁴**gretest** greatest.

¹⁶⁵**But ... did mean** Anne was admitted through her brother-in-law's, Burghley's, favour into the House of Commons when Whitgift gave his response to a petition against his 'Three Articles', which had led to the suspension of many godly clergymen. In a particularly heated session, Whitgift dismissed every point of the petition.

¹⁶⁶**the report ... God** A two-day conference on Whitgift's articles had been hastily convened at the request of the earl of Leicester in December 1584. Owing to lack of time, discussion had been kept to limited issues; objections to the Prayer Book were not treated at all and Walter Travers evaded an attempt by Whitgift to discuss their more radical objections to the government of the Church. See P. Collinson, *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement* (London, 1967), p. 269.

called and cryed for to be according to Christ his own ordinance, then to lett them be rejected with shame owt of the church for ever. And that this may be better don to the glory of God and tru understanding of this great cause, they reqwyre fyrst leave to assemble and to consult together purposely, which they have forborn to do for avoyding suspetion of privat conventicles.¹⁶⁷ For hetherto though in some writing they have declared the state of their, yea God his cause, yet were they never allowed to conferr together and so together be hard fully. But now some one and then some two called upon a soden unprepared, to fore prepared, to catch them rather then gravely and moderatly to be hard to defend their right and goode cause. And therefore for such weyghty conference they appeale to her Majesty and ^her^ honorable wyse cownsell, whom God hath placed in hyghest authority for thadvancement of his kingdom, and refuse the byshopps ^for judges^ who are parties partiall in their own defence, because the¹⁶⁸ seek more worldely ambition then the glory of Christ Jesus.¹⁶⁹

For myn own part, my goode Lorde, I wyll not deny but as I may I heare them in their publyck exercyses, as a cheff duty commanded by God to weedoes,¹⁷⁰ and also I confess, as one that hath fownde mercy, that I have profyted more in the inwarde feeling knowledg of God his holy wyll, though but in a small measure, by such syncere and sownde opening of the scripture by ^an^ ordinary preaching, within these 7 or 8 yeres then I dyd by hearing ^odd^ sermons at Powles¹⁷¹ well nigh 20 yeres together. I mention this unfaynedly the rather to excuse this my bowldness toward your Lordship, humbly beseching your Lordship to think upon their sute and, as God shall move your understanding hart, to further yt. And yf opportunitie will not be had as they reqwire, yet I once again in humble wyse am a suter¹⁷²

For thinnes of the paper I write in the other leaff. For my yll eyes.

[fo. 120r] unto your Lordeshipp that yow wolde be so goode as to chewse ii or iii of them which your Honour lykes best and lycence them before your own selff or other at your plesur to declare and to prove the truth of the cause, with qwiet and ^an^ attentyve eare. I have harde them say

¹⁶⁷**which . . . conventicles** The 1581 *An Act for Retainig the Queen's Subjects in their Due Obedience* decreed the various punishments due to those gathering in Conventicles, although it was primarily targeted at Catholics.

¹⁶⁸**the** they.

¹⁶⁹**the seek . . . Jesus** For a similar conclusion on the role of bishops, see 22.

¹⁷⁰**a cheff . . . weedoes** For scriptural commandments to widows, see in particular 1 Timothy 5:3–16.

¹⁷¹**Powles** Paul's Cross, an open-air pulpit in the churchyard of St Paul's cathedral.

¹⁷²**a suter** Repeated on fo. 120r.

or¹⁷³ now they wyll not come to dispute or argew to brede contention, which is the maner of the byshopps' hearing, but to be suffred patyently to lay down before them that shall commande they¹⁷⁴ excepted, how well and certainly they can warrant by the infallible towchstone of the worde the substantiall and mayn grownde of their cause. Surely my Lorde I am perswaded yow shulde do God acceptable service herin. And for the very entier affection I owe and do beare unto your honour, I wysh from the very hart that to your other rare gyfts sondrywyse yow were fully enstructed and satisfied in this princypall matter, so contemned of the great rabyes to the dishonoring of the gospell so long amonst¹⁷⁵ us. I am so much bownde to your Lordship for your comfortable dealing towards me and myne as I do incessantly desyre that by your Lordship's meanes God his glory may more and more be promoted, the greved godly comforted and yow and yours abowndantly blessed. None is prevy to this and in dede though I heare them, yet I see them very seldom.

I trust your Lordship wyll accept in best part my best meaning.

In the Lorde dutifully and most hartely,
ABacon.

20. *Michel Berault*¹⁷⁶ to *Anne Bacon*, 19 July [1585–1589]¹⁷⁷

Copy. Latin, with Greek words. BL, Harleian MS 871, fo. 75r–v. 1p.
Addressed (fo. 75r): Observandissimae dominae Annae Bacon Michael Beraldus verbi minister salutem in Christo Deo.

Fieri non potest, nobilissima religiosissimaque Domina, quin tibi quantacumque constantia ac firmitate animi praedita, Domini Antonii Bacon filii tui merito carissimi diuturna in his regionibus turbulentissimo praesertim tempore mora ac inde nata eius absentia atque desiderium, et solitudinis et molesiae plurimum

¹⁷³ or before.

¹⁷⁴ they Repeated.

¹⁷⁵ amonst amongst.

¹⁷⁶ **Michel Berault** Michel Berault (Bérauld), a French Protestant theologian, was a minister in Montauban. In 1598, he published a *Brieve et Claire Défense de la Vocation des Ministres de l'Évangile* (*A Brief and Clear Defence of the Vocation of the Ministers of the Gospel*) in Montauban, in reply to the writings of the French Catholic convert Jacques du Perron.

¹⁷⁷ **19 July [1585–1589]** Berault dated the letter in New Style dating, but it is here given in the Old Style equivalent. Anthony Bacon was resident in Montauban by 24 October 1584 and he left in 1590; he was in Lisle-sur-Tam in July 1590, so it seems unlikely that the letter would have been sent that year, as it refers to his continued stay in Montauban. For Anthony's movements in France, see *Troubled Life*, pp. 102, 125, 544. It is most likely that this letter dates from either July 1586 or July 1587: see pp. 92–93, n. 178.

attulerit. Nam ut maternum animum omittam qui propensior fere in primogenitos esse solet ac proinde omnis mali metuentior, tum Dominus Deus pro sua in suos liberalitate eum tot tamquam raris cum animi tum corporis exornavit, ut eius discessus non popularibus modo, sed etiam alienigenis qui semel excellens eius ingenium, singularem comitatem placidosque mores noverint, non minus futurus sit gravis, quam aspectus quibus frui licet iucundus; tum hac tempestate tam graves tam repentini subinde intervenerint casus etiam iis, qui ubique terrarum, praecipue vero in hac infaelici Gallia tutissimo loco esse videntur ut nis sit mirum quod cum praetiosissimum pignus loco non solum a tuo conspectu, verum etiam a praesidio procul remoto habeas, omnia adversa atque infausta suspiceris et reformides, nec non ut te cura et metu filium periculo exolvias tum ad te denique revocare quam primum cogites, studeas, omni denique ope ritaris, horum equidem nihil a verae parentis officio alienum aut discrepans, ad quod malevoli quidam vel potius malesani homines conati sunt, ut audeo tibi longe meliora de filio iure expectanti persuadere. At si iam commemoratus filius vel captus loci amoenitate et civium nostrorum deliciis, obsequiis, blandimentis illectus, ultra Montalbani moras proderes neceret atque produceret, vel purae religionis, quam a teneris didicerat, taedio a patriae conspectu in qua Deus per Christum unice colitur, a qua superstitio omnis eiulat singulari Dei beneficio abhorreret plane cum ipsa humanitate; nedum cum veritate pugnat. Certo autem certius est ei postquam sese huc paulo antequam coniurationis Guisiacae consilio in apertam vim erupisse, ut alteri pedi ex laxatione in comitatu regis Navarroe accepta, graviter affecta mederetur, nullam quamvis cupienti summaque cura reditum in patriam quaerenti, oblatam hinc exeunti, sine aperto salutis discrimine rationem fuisse; tantum abfuit ut Rupellae portum quot unde navigaret in Angliam, tuto pervenire posset. Enim vero, si qua forte militum manus satis firma et idonea perrumpendis quae passim struebantur insidiis in Xantones aut Pictavos profectura quod bis aut ad summum ter toto hoc quinquennio contigit diceretur hinc extrema εφοδτω inopia (ut interim nihil dicam de aeris alieni magnitudine, quod sui etiam frugalissime imo tenuissime victitans tanto tempore traxerat) illinc valetudo parum prospera, nec dicam adversa, ita sanctissimis eius consiliis obstiterunt et refrarunt. Ut non sine summo animi sui dolore, in hoc obscuro Galliae angulo carpendum ei adhuc fuerit, prout in clarissima luce orbis Christiani cuius dignus est versaretur. Quamquam neque urbis ignobilitas, neque iniquitas temporum ita virtutibus eius tenebras offundere potuerunt, quin permultis mihi vero in primis et exemplo et sermonum gravitate in his comunibus miseris praeluxerit. Quocirca nunquam dubitabo palam affirmare cum quisquis ille fuerit, qui aliter vel dixerit vel scripserit, suam magis impudentiam, quam latissimi et ornatissimi iuvenis innocentiam prodissse. Cum a me stet non dubia veritas, nequaquam vereor, ne ulla unquam ullius etiam disertissimi oratoris eloquentia aut vagorimi veteratoris, calliditas huic testimonio fidem derogare aut me mendacii coarguere posse. Quamobrem ego matri aequi satisfaciendi, ac tuendae filii existimationis studiosus, te colendissima Domina oro atque obtestor et si fas est moneo atque hortor, ut si quam graviorem de filio opinionem quasi aliquid de veteri in Deum

vel in patriam, vel denique in te ipsum studio remiserit comprehendisti, eam me sponso rem protinus deponas, tibi que persuadeas multo plus animo eius accessisse quam de pecuniis decessisse, hocque quinquennali usu et exercitationi profectionem filium pietate reliquisque virtutibus quam aetate factum, quod ipse brevi $\sigma\alpha\nu\ \theta\epsilon\omega$ praecipua cum animi voluptate cognosces et experieris. Vale. Datum Montalban. Quarto Calendas Augusti novo calendo anno Domini.

[Translation]

Addressed: Michel Berault, minister of the word, sends greetings in Christ God to the most honourable lady Anne Bacon.

It is impossible most noble and most pious lady, for you who are endowed with such great constancy and firmness of mind, not to be affected by a great deal of anxiety and concern because your son, Lord Anthony Bacon, who is justifiably very dear to you, is staying a long time in these parts at this particularly turbulent time. His absence must cause you great longing. But I say nothing about the maternal mind which tends to be almost more partial towards first-born children and therefore more fearful of every evil; furthermore the Lord God, by his generosity towards his own, has adorned him with so many rare gifts of both mind and body that his departure will be no less serious than the sight of him is pleasing to those who can enjoy them, not only to his countrymen but also to foreign-born men who have come to know his outstanding talent, his singular courtesy, and peaceable nature. Moreover at this time such serious and sudden things have happened repeatedly to those who seem to be in the safest place anywhere in the world, but particularly in this wretched country of France, so that it is not surprising since you have this most precious dear son not only far from your sight but also from your protection, you suspect and fear that everything is calamitous and unlucky and also that you may free your son from danger by solicitude and anxiety, so you plan, try and strive with all your efforts to bring him back to you as soon as possible; of which is nothing foreign from or at odds with the true role of a parent against whom some ill-willed or unsound men have striven, as I dare to persuade you who are justifiably awaiting far better things from your son. But since your already-mentioned son has been captured by the pleasantness of the place and seduced by the delights, services, and kindnesses of our citizens, so he voluntarily contrives to prolong his stay at Montauban because he finds it useful, or through its pure religion, which he had learned from his tender years, wearied from the sight of his homeland in which God is solely worshipped through Christ, bewailed by all superstition, utterly horrified by the singular benevolence of God fighting with humanity itself, nay even with truth. Certainly it is clearer to him that after he came here a little

before the Guise conspiracy deliberately erupted into open violence, so that by means of a period of rest received in the retinue of the king of Navarre, he might be healed in the other foot which had been seriously affected, there was no reason for him to leave here without an obvious and sudden improvement in his health, despite his desire to do so and even though he sought a return to his own country as a matter of the greatest concern. So far was he from being able to reach La Rochelle safely, from where he should sail to England, having realized that to go forth hence without clear health to be reckoning with danger. For indeed, if by chance a troop of soldiers sufficiently strong and suitable for breaking the ambushes (which were being set up everywhere) was to set out against the people of Saintes and Poitiers, which has happened twice or at most three times in this whole period of five years, there would be said to be, as a result, an extreme shortage of travelling supplies (to say nothing of the size of the debt which he had drawn out for such a long time by living very frugally, indeed very meagrely), or on the other side hardly prosperous, not to say bad, health would have hindered his most sacred plans and blown them in the opposite direction. So that not without the greatest mental anguish, he had to live in this dark corner of France until now, in so far as he should live in the brightest light of the Christian world of which he is worthy. Although neither the dishonourable nature of the city nor the wickedness of the times could extend the darkness over his virtues and prevent him shining forth to many and to me, especially by his example and the gravity of his conversation in these shared miserable conditions. For this reason I will never hesitate to affirm publicly that whoever it was who said or wrote differently, has revealed his own shamelessness rather than betraying the innocence of the most generous and distinguished young man. Since undoubted truth stands by me, I in no way fear that any eloquence of even the most learned orator or the cunning of a roaming crafty fellow could ever revile the fidelity from this testimony or prove me a liar. For this reason I am eager to satisfy the mother and to protect the son's reputation and I beg and beseech you, most worshipful lady, and, if it is proper, I warn and urge you that if you apprehend some more serious opinion about your son, such as if he has fallen away at all from his former devotion towards his homeland, towards God, or lastly towards you yourself, you should immediately set aside the matter,¹⁷⁸ with me as your pledge, and you should persuade yourself

¹⁷⁸**I warn . . . the matter** It is unclear as to what Berault is referring to. Anthony had earned the wrath of Charlotte d'Arbaleste du Plessis-Mornay, owing to his failure to marry her daughter, to her reluctance for Anthony to be repaid a debt by her husband, and for his siding with Michel Berault, who was intent on enforcing the sumptuary rules against the ornate headwear which she favoured. Anthony later revealed that he believed 'false

that he has gained much more spiritually than he has lost financially, and that he has increased in piety and other virtues more than in years during the practice and efforts of these past five years, as you will find and experience yourself shortly, God willing, with particular pleasure of mind. Farewell. Written at Montauban on 29 July in the new calendar year of the Lord.

21. *Thomas Wilcox*¹⁷⁹ to Anne Bacon, 25 September 1589

Published, dedicatory letter. T.W. [Thomas Wilcox], *A short, yet sound Commentarie; written on that woorthie worke called; The Proverbes of Salomon* (London, 1589), sigs A2r–A4v.

Addressed (fo. A2r): To the honorable and his very good Ladie, the Ladie Bacon, T.W. wisheth abundance of all felicitie outward and inward in this life, and afterwards eternal blessednes through Christ in that life which lasteth for ever.

Amongst the great, unmeasurable and infinite benefites, that God most rich in mercie and faithfull in performance, hath given unto men of all estates and degrees, in this last (though worst) age of the world, as evident and infallible testimonies of his singular love and bountie towards them, and as notable instruments to drawe and allure them soundly to knowe, unfeignedlie to love, and reverently to feare him alone that is the only giver thereof, this in my poore judgement (good Madame) seemeth unto me (and I hope that others inlightned from God are of the same minde with me) not the least nor to be reckoned in the last place, namely, the excellent and most wonderfull light, not of manifold tongues onely, as Hebrew, Greeke, Caldee, Siriake, Latin, &c, neither yet of sundrie arts alone, as grammar, rhetoricke, logicke, musicke, arithmetick, geometrie, &c, but of the holy scriptures and Christian religion speciallie; all which doubtles

suggestions and surmyses' from du Plessis and his wife to have reached his mother, and his uncle, Lord Burghley, confirmed that 'Plessy complayned here of yow'. See LPL 659, fos 25r, 104v, 106r. For more on Madame du Plessis-Mornay's dispute with Michel Berault, see *A Huguenot Family in the XVI Century: the memoirs of Philippe de Mornay Sieur du Plessis Marly written by his wife*, trans. L. Crump (London, 1926), pp. 71, 198–217. It could also be that Berault is referring to Anthony's prosecution for sodomy. Informal testimony against Bacon was taken in August 1586; there was a second, formal hearing in November 1587. The outcome of these hearings seems to be that Anthony was sentenced for the crime, but that Henri de Navarre appealed on his behalf and had him released. Alan Haynes has suggested that the bad feeling held towards Anthony by du Plessis and his wife may have been connected to his prosecution. For Anthony's arrest, see *Troubled Life*, pp. 108–111; and A. Haynes, *Invisible Power: the Elizabethan secret services, 1570–1603* (Stroud, 1994), pp. 105–106.

¹⁷⁹**Thomas Wilcox** For Anne Bacon's support of the godly clergyman Thomas Wilcox, see the Introduction, p. 26.

being heretofore through Sathan's malice and man's ignorance, not cast aside amongst wormes and moathes, by little and little to wast and consume them, but sumptuouslie laied in grave, and deeply buried, and that almost without hope of quickning, God (that alwaies had and hath the fulnes of power in his hand) hath been pleased now at the last, for the overthrowe of superstition, idolatrie, and wicked life, and for the advauncement of his glorie, and furtherance of men's salvation, to recall as it were even from the grave it selfe, and revive from the dead. Wherin howsoever the Lord have graciouslie vouchsafed to declare his incomprehensible power, accomplishing so miraculous a worke, and to manifest his unspeakable love not onely in the multitude and varietie, but in the evidencie thereof, so that even bleare eyed men and barbers (as is in the common byword) may cleerely perceive the same, yet the strength of sinne hath so not onely obscured, but as it were defaced, though not the sight, yet the power and efficacie of God's favour, with the fruites and effects which should followe thereupon, that some through naturall blindness and dimnes of their eyes cannot behold them; other some againe through dumnes of mouth, and having their tongues tied, will not acknowledge them; other some againe through want of good judgement, do with polluted hands irreverently receive them; and almost all through prophanenesse of hart, and cursed corruption unsanctifiedlie (if not irreligiouslie) use them. So fewe are there found in the world now adaies that profite by them to faith unfeigned, and humble thankfulnes before him that plentifully hath provided the same for their good, if they could tell how to accept and use the same. The contemplation and memorie wherof (I willingly and unfeignedly confesse it) leaveth behind it no small skarre, but a great wound rather in mine heart, and that not only so much for mine owne iniquitie in that behalfe (though I knowe the same to bee high and hainous) as for the common abomination, that every where as a mightie streame that will not be stopped, and forcible floud that cannot be withstood, overfloweth all, and for the fearefull desolation that in all probabilitie and likelihood of man's judgement will ensue thereupon, because howsoever God be of long suffering and great goodnes, yet he cannot, nor will not (for we are sure he is zealous over his owne glorie) continuallie suffer the vile and abominable of the world to trample and tread under their beastlie feete his exceeding blessings and singular favours. And yet I cannot hide this within my selfe, but must of necessitie breake foorth into the declaration thereof, that I am againe somewhat recomforted, in that whether soever I cast mine eyes whether at home or abroad, I certainlie beholde, and that without deceit of sight, some amongst all estates and degrees of men, high, lowe, rich, poore, young, olde, noble, unnoble, magistrates, ministers, and people, and sundrie of them of

my Christian acquaintance, on whose behalfe I daylie offer up unto God through Christ the duetie of thanks giving, perswading my self further, that there is upon the face of the earth a mightie number besides (though not known to me) whom God hath pleased in the multitude of his mercies doubtles, and for much good towards them and others in them, not onely to single and cull out as it were from the huge heape and wicked fellowship of the polluted and prophane, but richlie to replenish and adorne them (as it were with most precious pearles) with the singular graces of sound knowledge, stedfast faith, comfortable feeling, unfeigned obedience, and sundrie such like holie and heavenlie gifts. Amongst whom, your sexe rightly considered, and the place you have been in wisely respected, and your present estate well weighed, I know fewe matchable with you (good Madame, flatterie is farre from my words, I humbly thanke God for it, and I hope pride removed farre from your selfe in hearing your owne praise, as I with envie may bee from others as in regard of your due commendation) and not many to go beyond you. For though to be borne not onlie of worshipful parents, but of a sanctified stock, be some thing both before God and man; and though learned and holie education bee a good helpe towards the reformation of our corruption, and as it were the instilling of another nature into us; and though to be richlie joyned in holy matrimonie be a token doubtles of God's great favour and love; and though to have in the undefiled mariage bed, a blessed seed and lawfull issue, be special blessing and mercie from God; and though to leade and live a vertuous and unreprouable life in the sight of men (who are wont neglecting themselves, with evill and curious eyes to looke upon others) bee a happie thing (with all which favours you have by the divine providence, been even laden as it were in your birth, bringing up, youth, old age, virginitie, mariage, widowhood and posteritie); yet because many bee degenerate and start aside from their ancestors' godlines; and some through carelesnes cause to perish the cost that hath been bestowed upon them in good bringing up; and others make themselves both in single and married life lothsome to the Lord, and infamous before men, because either they have begun well, or have not held on unto the end; and other some by evill example, have done the children of their wombe more hurt in the world, than they have done them good in bringing them forth to behold the light of the sunne; and other some have added to the weakenes of their sexe, not watchfulnes against sinne, as their duetie required, but laied the raines of their severall iniquities and manifold incitements to evill in their owne neckes; and many have misused their places of honor and credit to all licentiousnes of the flesh, and carelesnes of God, and of the waies of his worship, and so consequently of eternal salvation; (from all which inconveniences and mischiefs the

Lord hath mercifullie kept you in everie condition of life wherein he hath been pleased to place you) me thinketh you have wherein to rejoyce, and that not onlie so much in the things themselves, freeilie and plentifulle bestowed upon you, as in the happie continuance and mightie encrease of these his goodnesses in you, you also having received grace from God to beautifie them with an unblameable and holy conversation. By meanes whereof it is come to passe, that as you are much beloved at home in the midst of God's saints and faithfull servants here, and these not onlie common professors, but many worthie ministers (for kindnes towards whom, and particularlie towards my selfe, I doo humblie here in all our names thanke God, and you as his gracious instrument), so you are made truly famous abroad in forraine Churches and countries, and highly revered of many worthie men there, indued doubtles with singular graces for God's glory, and the building up of the bodie of the fellowship of saints. But what meane I to enter into this broad field of Christian commendation, where breath would rather faile me, and time I am sure, with abilitie to wade into it as I should, than matter any manner of way bee wanting. Give me leave therefore (good Madame), I beseech you, to desist from your praise (which I knowe you doo not willingly heare, though it be deserved as on your part, and though perhaps it might bee as a quicke spurre in the dull sides of others to provoke them to good things) and to turne my speach to exhortation rather and comfort. The course that you are entered into, and the race that now you have a long time runne in, is holie and honorable. Hold on therefore in the same chearefullie, notwithstanding the manifold hinderances that within and without bee cast in your way to turne you aside, if it might be; and bee not wearie of well doing at any hand, for as you knowe that your profession requireth it, so God hath promised that the time will come wherein you shall reape (as the saints of God have done before you), if you faint not. Let the assured faithfulness and infinite power of him, that hath in his word made you large promises, be a pricke unto you herein. And forasmuch as he hath given you grace to begin well, and to hold on hetherto, doubt not, but he hath both the will and the deed in his owne hands to bestowe them where and as it pleaseth him, will make perfect in you every good worke, even till the day of Jesus Christ. Is it possible, that that incorruptible crowne of eternall glorie, which in his onely beloved he hath prepared for you, should fade away? Upon these things, I beseech you (having cast away worldly cares), fixe continuallie the eye of your faith, that you may end your old yeeres in the Lord's peace, and be indeed gathered unto your fathers comfortablie, saying, as that holie apostle old Paule saied, 'I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith; from hence forth there is laied up for me

the crowne of righteousnes, which the Lord the righteous judge shall give me at that day; and not to me onely, but unto all them also that love his appearing¹⁸⁰. Your learned father, your honorable husband, your loving brother, your deare sisters some of them, and (if I be not deceived) some also of your owne holie seede (all of them having yeilded up their spirites in the faith and feare of God) are I doubt not gone thether before you;¹⁸¹ and why should you your selfe, or any other thinke that you should be sundred from them? As for the lengthning of your life, above many before reckoned, surely God hath done it for his owne glorie, and the good of his Church, into which also you being religiouslie gathered as a sound member thereof, you have even in that an assured testimonie given unto you, that warfaring here with his saints as you doo, against sinne, the world and the divell, you shall in good time, through him that hath loved you and washed you in his bloud, become more than a conqueror, and eternallie triumph together with them and the rest in heaven. Till which time, as I rest resolved, that God the author and perfecter of every good thing in all his, will not withdrawe his gracious hand from you in any grace, speciallie spirituall and heavenlie. So I am certainlie perswaded that manie such as are led by his spirit, and know you in Christ Jesus, and love you in the trueth, will not (God ayding them) neglect any duetie either outward or inward, that possiblie they can performe to further that worke. Amongst whom I, though the least and most unworthie, as in respect of my selfe, yet tied thereto by the duetie of my profession from God, and bound to it by sundrie favours received from you, will in my poore measure strive to do, though not so much as others, neither yet so much as I owe (which I freelie acknowledge as being privie to mine owne disabilitie and insufficiencie that way, and not utterlie unacquainted with other men's fulnes and unheaped store) yet what God hath or shal be pleased to enable me to accomplish. Which that your good Ladiship may be the better assured of, I am bold now to present unto you, and to publish under your name some short notes and meditations of mine (long since written for the dearest friend I had in the world) uppon that worthie booke of Salomon's *Proverbes*. What it is, I leave to you, and the Church of God to judge of; and yet this much I hope I may without pride protest, that though it

¹⁸⁰I have ... appearing 2 Timothy 4:7–8.

¹⁸¹holie seede ... before you Two of Anne's daughters, Mary and Susan, had died in infancy. See *Cooke Sisters*, p. 208.

bee not exquisite like unto the worthe workes of manie Bezaleels¹⁸² in our age, yet it is sound; and though it bee not finelie polished, either in fitnes of wordes, or great store of arte, yet the trueth it is I hope, and never a whit the more to be misliked, because it is naked and plaine, but the rather to be imbraced of God's people; who I hope will shewe me this favour, that as they wil not reject any good thing in it for any evil that may be found or suspected to be therin, neither yet admit any evil for the good's sake, but in a discerning spirit refuse the one and receive the other; so they will assist me with their praiers to God for the increase of any good thing that is within me, to God's glorie, and the benefite of his people; and in much love, according to the spirit of love wherwith they are replenished, either Christianly cover that which is amisse, or curteouslie cure it. And as for you (good Madame) though I rest perswaded that it shall bee well accepted of you, yet can I not but againe and againe beseech you to receive it, not only as from the hand, but as from the heart of him, who, if either his poore praiers in absence, or speach in presence, or any thing els either within him or without him, could any many manner of way, either further you, or answere some part of that Christian kindnes which he hath received from you, would not bee wanting in any duetie toward you or yours that God shal inable him to performe. Now the very God of peace sanctifie you throughout and grant that your whole spirit, soule and bodie may be kept blameles unto the comming of our Lord Jesus Christ. London, the xxv. of this September 1589.

Your good Ladiship's, as very much bounden,
so in al things very readie in Christ to his poore power,
T.W., the Lord's unworthie servant.

¹⁸² **Bezaleels** See Exodus 31:1–5.

22. Anne Bacon to Anthony Bacon, 3 February 1592

Holograph. LPL 653, fos 343r–344v. 2pp.

Endorsed (fo. 344v): lettre de Madame

Addressed (fo. 344v): To my sonne Antonie Bacon geve theis

The grace of God be dayly multiplied in yow, with mercy in Christ our Lorde.

That yow are returned now at length, I am right glad.¹⁸³ God bless it to us both. But when I harde with all that Lawson, who I foresuspected stale hence unto yow, and so belyk hath wrought upon yow again to your hurt to serve his own turn as heretoofoore, how welcome that cowlde be to your long greeved mother, judg yow.¹⁸⁴ I can hardly say whether your gowt or his company was the worse tidings. I have entreated this gentleman Mr Faunt¹⁸⁵ to do somuch kindnes for me as to jorny to yow, because your brother is preparing your logging at Grayes Inn very car[e]fully for yow. I thanke God that Mr Faunt was willing so to do and was very glad because he is not only an honest gentleman in civill behaviour, but one that feareth God in dede and wyse with all having experience of our state and is able to advyse yow both veri wysely and frendly. For he loveth yourselff and needeth ^not^ yours as others have and yet dissemble with yow. He doth me pleasure in this, for I cowlde not have fownde 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^ counsell. This one cheffest counsell your christian and naturall mother doth geve yow, even before the Lorde, that above all worldely respects yow carie yourself even at your first coming as one that doth unfeinedly profess the tru religion of Christ and hath the love of the truth now by long continuance fast settled in your hart and that with judgment, wysedome and discretion, and are not ether afraid or ashamed to testify¹⁸⁶ the same by hearing and delighting in those religious exercises of the syncerer sort, be they French or

¹⁸³**That ... glad** After bad weather delayed his crossing, Anthony Bacon landed at Dover on 4 February 1592.

¹⁸⁴**But ... judg yow** Anne had long mistrusted Thomas Lawson, an English Catholic, and Anthony later alleged that his mother was the reason for Lawson's ten-month imprisonment in 1588. For more details, see the Introduction, p. 12.

¹⁸⁵**Mr Faunt** Nicholas Faunt, secretary to Francis Walsingham and then William Cecil, Lord Burghley, had met Anthony Bacon in Paris in 1580 and they had remained friends and long-term correspondents.

¹⁸⁶**ashamed to testify** 2 Timothy 1:8: 'Be not thou therefore ashamed of the testimony of our Lord'.

Englysh.¹⁸⁷ *In hoc noli adhibere fratrem tuum ad consilium aut exemplum, sed plus dehinc.*¹⁸⁸ Yf yow wylbe wavering (which God forbid, God forbyd) yow shall have examples and ill encoragers to many in these dayes and that αρχ επισκοπος¹⁸⁹ since he was βουλευτής ἐστὶ ἀπολεία τῆσ ἐκκλησιασ μεθ ἡμῶν, φιλεῖ γὰρ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δοξάν πλεον τῆσ δοξῆσ τοῦ χριστου.¹⁹⁰ Beware therefore and be constant in godly profession without faynting and that from your hart. For formalitee wanteth none with us but to ^{to} common. Be not readi of speche nor talk sodenly but where discretion reqwireth and that soberly then. For the propertie of our world is to sownde one at first comming and after to contemn. Curtesy is necessary, but common, too common familiaritee in talkyng and words is veri unprofitable and not without hurttaking *ut nunc sunt tempora.*¹⁹¹ Remember yow have no father and yow have litle inowgh, yf not too litle regarded your kinde and no symple mother's holsome advyse from time to time. And as I do impute all most humbly to the grace of God whatsoever he hath bestowed upon me, so dare I affirme it had ben goode for yow everi way yf yow had followed it long er this. But God is the same who is able to heale both mynd and bodie, whome in Christ I besech to be your mercyfull Father and to take care of yow, gwyding yow with hōly his holy and most comfortable spirit, now and ever. אמן.¹⁹²

Let not Lawson, that foxe, be acquainted with my lettres. I disdayn both it ^{and} him. He commonly opened undermyningly all lettres sent to yow from councell or frends. I know it and yow may to much yf God open your eyes, as I trust he wyll. Send it back to be sure by Mr Faunt sealed. But he wyll pry and prattle. So fare yow well and the Lorde bless yow and kepe yow from evell.

3 February.

Your mother,
ABacon.

¹⁸⁷ **be they French or Englysh** Anne's support of the French Stranger Church in London is extolled in other letters. See also **138** and **142**.

¹⁸⁸ **In . . . plus dehinc** [Latin] 'In this, do not follow your brother's counsel or example. But more hereafter'.

¹⁸⁹ **αρχ επισκοπος** [partial Greek transliteration] 'Arch bishop'. John Whitgift had been the Archbishop of Canterbury since 1583.

¹⁹⁰ **βουλευτής . . . χριστου** [Greek] 'councillor, he is the destruction of the Church among us, for he loves his own glory more than the glory of Christ'.

¹⁹¹ **ut . . . tempora** [Latin] 'as the times are now'.

¹⁹² אמן [Hebrew] 'Amen'.

I trust yow with your servants use prayour twyse in a day having ben where Reformation is. Omitt it not for eny. It wilbe your best credit to serve the Lorde duly and reverently and yow wylbe observed at first now. Your brother is to negligent herin. But do yow well and zealously. It wilbe lookt for of the best [^]learned[^] sorte and that is best.

23. *Francis Bacon to Anne Bacon, 18 February 1592*

Copy. LPL 648, fos 8r–9v. 2pp.

Endorsed (fo. 9v): Mr Francis Bacon to my Lady Bacon 1591

Madame, Alderman Haywood¹⁹³ is deseassed this nyght; his eldest sonne is fallen ward. My Lord Treasurer doth not for the most part hastily dispose of wardes.¹⁹⁴ It were woorth the obtayning if it were but in respect of the widow, who is a gentlewoman much commended. Your Ladyship hath never had any ward of my Lordship. It was to early for my brother to begynne with a sute to my Lord before he had seen his Lordship. And for me, I dar¹⁹⁵ at this tyme reserve my Lord to be my frend with the Queen. It may please your Ladyship to move my Lord and to promise to be thankful to any other my Lord oweth pleasure unto. Thear would be no tyme lost hearin. And so I most humbly take my leave.

From my lodging this xviii of February 1591.

Your Ladyship's most obedient sonne,
Francis Bacon.

¹⁹³**Alderman Haywood** It would seem that Francis is referring to Sir Rowland Hayward, as he was the only Hayward/Haywood to serve as a London alderman in the sixteenth century. However, Hayward died on 5 December 1593, so Francis may have been given incorrect information. For sixteenth-century London aldermen, see A.B. Beaven, *The Aldermen of the City of London* (London, 1908), pp. 17–224.

¹⁹⁴**My Lord . . . wardes** Lord Burghley was master of the Court of Wards from 1561 to 1598.

¹⁹⁵**dar** dare.

24. Anne Bacon to Anthony Bacon, 28 February 1592

Holograph. LPL 648, fos 6r–7v. 2pp.

Endorsed (fo. 7v.): lettre de Madame 1591

Addressed (fo. 7v): To my sonne Antony Bacon at Grayes Inne

*Gratiam et salutem in Christo.*¹⁹⁶

I am looking for Redborn writings.¹⁹⁷ Yow will not think how loth most part of the neybourns be yow shulde sell it away. Some counsell rather to lease it is much better. They counsell to sell Colney Chappell¹⁹⁸ and Meriden lease¹⁹⁹ or some such smaller thing. Though less did ryse, yet one might borow some. God sende yow above all his true feare in your hart and goode health to do your long discontinued duty to her Majestie and cowntry. I pray yow be carefull and kepe goode diet and order. It is here marvelous colde and sharpe, too sharpe yet for yow, I think. On Thursday or ~~Wensday~~ Fryday I mean to be at London, yf the Lorde wyll be so. Many syck hereabowte and one of my howsholde since I came. Yf I come not shortly, I wyll send your boy, who is trobled with colde and wylling to be with yow. I wolde gladly yow had well seene her Majestie but be in some goode state of health fyrst and regard it carefully for eny, with God his blessing. The Lorde kepe yow both from evell and gwyde your wayes to please him and encrease your health. Looke well to your servaunts and ^to^ your own things.

Gorhambury *ultimo Februarii*²⁰⁰ 1591.

Your mother,
ABacon.

¹⁹⁶*gratiam . . . Christo* [Latin] ‘Grace and salutations in Christ’.

¹⁹⁷**I am . . . writings** Redbourn rectory was purchased by Nicholas Bacon I in 1560. See *Wealth of the Gentry*, p. 48. Anthony’s inheritance of the lease had caused much dispute with his half-brothers, Nicholas and Nathaniel Bacon. See **15**.

¹⁹⁸**Colney Chappell** Colney Chapel in Hertfordshire was held in fee by Anthony Bacon. See *VCH, A History of the County of Hertford*, 2 vols (London, 1908), II, p. 269; *Wealth of the Gentry*, p. 102.

¹⁹⁹**Meriden lease** Nicholas Bacon had leased meads in Meriden (also known as ‘Meryden’ and ‘Laggershott’) in Warwickshire. See *Stiffkey*, II, p. 39. The lease was bringing in £8 a year in 1579, when the meads first came into Anthony’s possession. See LPL 647, fo. 97r.

²⁰⁰*ultimo Februarii* [Latin] ‘the last day of February’.

25. Anne Bacon to Anthony Bacon, 2 March 1592

Holograph. LPL 648, fos 12r–13v. 2pp.

Endorsed (fo. 13v): lettre de Madame, ma mere datee du 2 de mars 1591

Addressed (fo. 13v): To my sonne Anthony Bacon

*Gratia in Christo.*²⁰¹

The goodeman Finch²⁰² amongst others is desirous to se yow and commeth purposely. Yt may be yow remember him. When yow are better acquainted with him and can rightly judg yow shall have cause to lyke well of him. He is carefull for my business, honest and trusty; I thank God for him. I cannot yet go hence as I thought. Lawrence²⁰³ partly can tell. I wolde gladly here how all things go with yow; I wrote lately to yow. Beleve not everyone that speakes fayre to yow at your fyrst comming. It is to serve their turn. When your health and leisure serveth to be here, yow shall know diversites of frend by dealing in your absence and yet ‘My yowng master’ in their mowths. I commende yow both to the grace of God in Christ Jesu, who bless yow and kepe yow from evell.

Gorhambury 2 *Martii* 1591. Regard your health and serve the Lorde in truth.

Your mother,
ABacon.

26. Anne Bacon to Anthony Bacon, 17 May 1592

Holograph. LPL 648, fos 167r–168v. 2pp.

Endorsed (fo. 168v): Lettre de Madame ma mere de Gorambery receue ce 18eme may 1592

Addressed (fo. 168v): To my sonne Anthonie Bacon

God bless yow dayly more and more both in sowle and bodie. I send to know how yow do. For my selff I am but *languescens*²⁰⁴ but in goode

²⁰¹ *Gratia in Christo* [Latin] ‘Grace in Christ’.

²⁰² **goodeman Finch** John Finch (d. 1593) of Nicholls and Butler’s Farm, Redbourn.

²⁰³ **Lawrence** Lawrence was later described by Francis Bacon as a ‘servant’ of his mother’s (9x). The Lawrences were a large family in St Albans and were closely involved with town affairs; John Lawrence had served as mayor in 1575. For the Lawrence family, see *Corporation Records*, pp. 19, 21, 29, 32, 42–43, 48.

²⁰⁴ *languescens* [Latin] ‘Languishing’ was a term associated with illness at this time. See *OED*.

chere and comfort, I thank God. The goodeman Rolff,²⁰⁵ my tenant at Burston²⁰⁶ but lately recovered, is desyrous to see yow. He is an honest man and a kinde tenant and of discretion and dealing. I sent my man Bury to direct him and to see yow and your brother, how it is with yow both. I humbly thank God for the comfortable company of Mr Wyborn and Wylblud.²⁰⁷ Thei may greatly be afraide of God his displeasure which worke the woefull disapointing of God his worke in his vineyarde²⁰⁸ by putting such to silence in these bowlde sinning dayes. *Haud impune ferent*,²⁰⁹ come when it shall. God encrease in yow true knowledg and stablish²¹⁰ your hart in the love of his eternall truth. *^Cura ut valeas*.²¹¹ Gorhamburi 17 Maii 1592.

Your mother, ABacon.

Think on your lettre wysely. Be not overruled still with by subtile and hurtfull hangers on.

²⁰⁵**goodeman Rolff** The Rolfe family was spread throughout the surrounding area. William Rolfe, a mercer, was mayor of St Albans in 1573 and 1586; his son, Rafe, was also a member of the Mercers' Company. Given that Anne describes goodman Rolfe as 'honest' and 'kind', it is unlikely that he is James Rolfe, official to the archdeaconry of St Albans. Rolfe is not recorded as a tenant in the 1569 survey of Burston. See *Corporation Records*, pp. 16, 16, 21, 32, 39, 43, 55, 292; H. Chauncey, *The Historical Antiquities of Hertfordshire* (London, 1826), p. 394; HALS XI/2.

²⁰⁶**Burston** Nicholas Bacon was granted Burston manor in 1545, along with Thomas Skipwith. Bacon received licence to alienate the manor in 1566. See *VCH, A History of the County of Hertford*, 2 vols (London, 1908), II, p. 425.

²⁰⁷**Mr Wyborn and Wylblud** Percival Wyborn and Humphrey Willblood (sometimes known as Wildblood) were both godly preachers who had been deprived of their livings for their nonconformity. Wyborn had been appointed as a household chaplain by Nicholas Bacon in 1560 and Gorhambury continued to offer him a refuge during Anne's widowhood. Wyborn stayed at Gorhambury at various points throughout the early 1590s, assisting the household in its spiritual edification. Anne Bacon appointed Willblood to the living of Redbourn on 25 November 1589, but he was deprived in 1592, although remaining in Hertfordshire under Anne's household patronage. He was licensed again in 1594 to officiate and teach in the archdeaconry, but was forbidden from preaching or acting as a schoolmaster. Through Anne's intercession, he was eventually instituted to the living of Pinner vicarage in 1601. See *Cooke Sisters*, pp. 176–177, 180–181.

²⁰⁸**his worke in his vineyarde** The parable of the wicked husbandmen is told in Matthew 21:33–46, Mark 12:1–12, and Luke 20:9–19.

²⁰⁹*Haud impune ferent* [Latin] 'they will not escape unpunished'.

²¹⁰**stablish** establish.

²¹¹*Cura ut valeas* [Latin] 'Take care of your health'.

27. Anne Bacon to Anthony Bacon, 24 May 1592

Holograph. LPL 648, fo. 172r–v. 1p.

Endorsed (fo. 172v): lettre de Madame ma mere, de Goramberi, ce 27eme may 1592

Addressed (fo. 172v): To my sonne Antony Bacon at Grayes Inn

*Gratia et salus.*²¹²

That yow encrease in amending I am glad, God continue it every way. When yow cease of your prescribed diet, yow had nede I think to be very warie both of your soden chang of quantite and of season of your feading, specially suppers late or full. Procure rest in convenient time. It helpeth much to digestion. I verely think your brother's weake stomack to digest hath ben much ~~begun~~ caused and confirmed by untimely ^{late} going to bed and then musing *nescio quid*²¹³ when he shuld slepe and then in conseqwent by late rising and long lying in bed. Werby his men are made slewthfull and himself continuall syckly. But my sonns hast not to harken to their mother's goode counsell in time to prevent. The Lord ^{our heavenly Father} heale and bless yow both as his sonns in Christ Jesu.

I promyss yow touchng your coch, yf it be so to your contentation, it was not wysdome to have ^{it} seene and known at the coorte.²¹⁴ Yow shulbe so much pleased to lende and your man for gayn so ready to agree that the discomodite theroff wylbe as much ^{as} the comoditie. I wolde your health had ben such as yow neded not to have provided a coche but for a wyffe, but the wyll of God be don. Yow were best to excuse yow by me that I have desired the use of it, because as I fele it to true. My going is allmost spent and must be fain to be bowlde with yow.

It is lyke Robert Baylye and his sonne have ben to seeke some commoditee of yow. The father hath ben but an ill tenant to the wodd and a wayward payer and hath forfayted his bonde, which I entende not to lett slipp. His sonne a dissolute young man and both crafty. Lykewyse young Carpenter²¹⁵ may sue to be your man. Be not hasty. Yow shall finde such young men pround and bowlde and of no service but charg and discredit. Be advised. Overshoote not your selff undiscretely. I tell yow, plain folk in apperence wyll qwickly comber one here and they wyll all seek to abuse your want of experience by so

²¹² *Gratia et salus* [Latin] 'Grace and health'.

²¹³ *nescio quid* [Latin] 'I know not what'.

²¹⁴ **touchng . . . the coorte** For Anne's advice regarding the use of the coach, see also **28**.

²¹⁵ **young Carpenter** Presumably either Thomas or Anthony Carpenter; their father, Edward, died in 1597. The 1609 survey reveals that Thomas held considerable lands in Redbourn. His brother, Anthony, surrendered three acres of meadows to the trustees of Francis Bacon in 1620. See HALS X/C/7/A and 'Catalogue of field names', p. 30.

long absence. Be not hasty but understand well first your own state. There was never less kindness in tenants commonly then now.

Vale in Christo,²¹⁶

24 *Maii* 1592.

Your mother, ABacon.

Let not your men see my lettres. I write to yow and not to them.

Yf yow nede eny writings from hence, let me know in time. I stay till next weke because of a coort, yf the steward can.²¹⁷ *Cura ut valeas*.²¹⁸

28. *Anne Bacon to Anthony Bacon, 29 May 1592*

Holograph. LPL 648, fo. 178r–v. 1p.

*Endorsed (fo. 178v): Lettre de Madame ma mere le 29eme may 1592 l[e] William Hoult.*²¹⁹

Addressed (fo. 178v): To my sonne Antony

I am glad and thank God of your amendement. But my man sayde he harde yow rose at 3 of the clock. I thowght that was not well so sodenly from bedding much to rise so early, newly owt of your diett. Extremittees be hurtfull to whole, more to the syckly. Yf yow be not wyse and discrete for your diett and seasoning of your doings, yow wylbe weakish, I feare, a goode while. Be wyse and godly too and discern what is goode and what not for your health. Avoysde extremittees. What a great fawt²²⁰ were it in yow to take colde to hinder your amendement being not compelled but upon voluntary indiscretion. Seing the cost ^of phisick^ is much, your payn long, your amendement slow and your duty not yet done, geve none occasion by negligence. Yow go *ut vulgo dicitur*²²¹ of your own errand. I lyke not your lending your coch yet to eny Lorde or Ladie. Yf yow once begin yow shall hardely end; but that in hope yow shall shortly use it, I wolde it were here to shun all offending. It was not well it was so soone ^sene^ at coort to make talk and at last be mocked or mislyked. Tell your brother I councell yow

²¹⁶ *Vale in Christo* [Latin] ‘Farewell in Christ’.

²¹⁷ **I stay . . . steward can** The lord of the manor appointed the steward as the presiding officer in English manor courts. For more details, see the Introduction, p. 32.

²¹⁸ *Cura ut valeas* [Latin] ‘Take care of your health’.

²¹⁹ *Lettre . . . Hoult* [French] ‘Letter from the mistress, my mother, the 29 May 1592, [delivered] by William Hoult’. There is an additional endorsement in the same hand on this folio, repeating ‘*lettre de Madame, 1592*’.

²²⁰ **fawt** fault.

²²¹ *ut vulgo dicitur* [Latin] ‘as it is commonly said’.

to send it no more. What had my Lady Shrewssbury²²² to borow your coche; your man for mony and sombody elce for their ^vain^ credit wyll work yow but displeasure and loss and they have thanks. *Disce sapere huius modii rebusque et ne quid temere.*²²³ In hast, late this Sabbath.

*Vale et cura ut valeas et Deo placens.*²²⁴

AB.

29. *Anne Bacon to Anthony Bacon, 29 June 1592*

Holograph. LPL 648, fo. 177r–v. 1p.

Endorsed (fo. 177v): lettre de Madame 1592

Grace and health. I am very glad yow draw to a goode ende. Er yow deale with Mr Elsdon I pray yow regarde my due which is a C li at Michall tyde.²²⁵ L marks due last Annunciation,²²⁶ the C marks for the next now at harde frutes.²²⁷ I have had great comber and evell payment and wyll not folysly at thend loose by craft. Yf yow deale with Elsdon, be very well advised. For he is heat and peradventure stepp over and geve yow the lurch at a pinch. Be wyse and circumspect; these days are full of fraude.

My man sayde yow wolde ^wyshe to^ have strawberries ^to still^.²²⁸ I have sent, I thinke, all there be ^and^ this day gathred. I had had ment to ^have^ stilled for my selff, but they be as well thus. I sende them by the boy of my kitchen, a shrewd witted boy and pretely caterchised, but yet an unhappy untowarde ^crafty^ boy. He wyll mark, I warrant, yow throughly. I looke for him again at night. I pray yow stay him not. I have so charged him. He is able inowgh to do it, God wylling. Do not pitie; it wyll make him worse. Yf yow geve him vi d of your own selff, it is too much. Let me know towching yow and towching me as yow

²²²**Lady Shrewssbury** Presumably Mary Talbot, the countess of Shrewsbury, rather than Elizabeth Talbot (Bess of Hardwick), the dowager countess.

²²³**Disce . . . temere** [Latin] ‘Learn to be wise in matters of this kind and to do nothing rashly’.

²²⁴**Vale . . . placens** [Latin] ‘Farewell, take care of your health, and please God’.

²²⁵**Michall tyde** 29 September, the feast of St Michael the Archangel, was one of the quarter days, the days on which payments were traditionally due.

²²⁶**Annunciation** 25 March, Lady Day, was the feast of the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary, another quarter day.

²²⁷**harde frutes** Lammastide, 1 August, was the feast of the First Fruits and one of the cross-quarter days, which fell between the quarter days of the year.

²²⁸**strawberries to still** Distillations of strawberries were thought to have numerous medicinal properties, including treating inflammation of the bladder and of the feet and hands. Anthony Bacon may therefore have used such distillations to treat his gout and kidney stones. See N. Culpeper, *The English Physitian Enlarged* (London, 1653), p. 347.

have cause. It is here very hote in dede. Let not your men drink wyne this hote wether, nor your brother's nether; tell him. Diverse syck of hote agews.²²⁹ God kepe us sownd in the fayth and send us health and a care to please God above all.

All ^the^ strawberyes were gatherd in the oke woodd. None or as none in garden and orchard. It is ever hote and dry here. I thank your brother for Mr Wylblud. Much goode may he do for such and take no hurt by the others, I pray God. Impart this because I mean to both my lettre. God ever bless yow both in Christ our Lord. Gorhambury 29 *Junii* 92.

Your mother,
ABacon.
Xηρα.²³⁰

Let none other see this.

Do yow think on your stock with Burbage.²³¹ I heare he challengeth liberally your father.

30. *Anne Bacon to Anthony Bacon, 6 July 1592*

Holograph. LPL 648, fo. 200r–v. 1p.

Endorsed (fo. 200v): lettre de Madame 1592

I pray God yow have don well and wysely. I feare yow have yealded to th[a]t which was first shott at, I meane Barly.²³² Mr Maynarde's²³³ frendshipp is then less to be accompted of in that ~~point~~ ^dealing^, yf he also²³⁴ were sowght in thother to drive to that. I am sorry for it and must nedes be worse for yow as I yet can think.

²²⁹ **hote agews** fevers.

²³⁰ *Xηρα* [Greek] 'widow'.

²³¹ **Burbage** William or, more likely, his son, Edward Burbage. William was the troublesome tenant of Pinner park and farm, a property left to Anthony by his father. See D. du Maurier, *Golden Lads: a study of Anthony Bacon, Francis and their friends* (London, 1975), pp. 45, 48, 51. Anthony took Edward Burbage into his service, although he admitted that he suffered much 'unthankfulness' from the younger Burbage. *Ibid.*, p. 102.

²³² **Barly** Barley in Hertfordshire, comprising the manors of Abbotsbury, Minchenbury, and Hores, which Anthony Bacon inherited from his father. The negotiations to sell Barley were not concluded until late 1593. See *Wealth of the Gentry*, p. 102; 'Money-lenders', p. 241.

²³³ **Mr Maynarde's** Henry Maynard, who served as a secretary first to Nicholas Bacon I and, after his death, to his brother-in-law, Lord Burghley. See R.C. Barnett, *Place, Profit, and Power: a study of the servants of William Cecil, Elizabethan statesman* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1969), pp. 94–103.

²³⁴ **also** likewise.

Baithforde sayd yow desyred some moe²³⁵ straburies [^]sende[^].²³⁶ Almost the last through stealers. The weather here is veri hote and dry and seasonable rayn wyshed, if it please God, by whose wyll and favour I mean to be at London on Saturday next upon some cause.

The uppermost [^]straburis²³⁷ are goode to be eaten and were more choycely gatherd for that purpose for yow or your brother. The Lorde direct yow both with his holy spirit and bless yow.

6 July 1592 Gorhambury.

Your mother,
ABacon
and
late Lordkeper's wydow.

31. *Anne Bacon to Anthony Bacon, 14 July [1592]*²³⁸

Holograph. LPL 653, fos 326r–327v. 2pp.

Endorsed (fó. 327v): lettre de Madame

Grace and health.

I sende [^]to[^] yow, sonne, by this boy bearer to know your deternynation, with God his mercy and favour. When, what and how in dede I mistooke it when yow spake of one your page, as yow called, but after I remembred he is tall and not one of your litle boyes. Write what yow wolde I send, and when and whether yow have eny stuff sent upon Monday that I may send for it upon Tewuesday to the town. Make it readie yf yow do send, upon ~~to-morrow~~ Saturday because of the Sabbath. Knight²³⁹ knowes the order. I sende yow pescodds.²⁴⁰ I think ~~not veri~~ [^]goode better for your frende then your selff. Byd they be tenderly soden²⁴¹ because they be great. I wolde be loth to encrease your payn eny way but yf yow tast, let it be at diner and not at night and soden in goode care.

A few strawburies, pease of the first and those of the last almos[t ha]d. God bless yow both and kepe yow from synn and evell. Wryte

²³⁵ **moe** more.

²³⁶ **sende** sent.

²³⁷ **straburis** strawberries.

²³⁸ **14 July [1592]** The internal references in this undated letter to Knight and to Peter are inexact. The letter has been placed here owing to Anthony's request on the 29 June 1592 for strawberries (29), although it could equally date from another year.

²³⁹ **Knight** Thomas and Robert Knight both initially served Nicholas and Anne Bacon as 'grooms ordinary'. See *Stiffkey*, II, p. 55. By the 1590s, it seems that Thomas still served Anne at Gorhambury, while Robert Knight served her son Anthony. Thomas Knight acted as a juror for the Gorhambury manorial court in 1596. See HALS X/B/3/A.

²⁴⁰ **pescodds** peas (in the pod).

²⁴¹ **soden** boiled.

your mynde and forbyd the boy of speche. Peter²⁴² and the other must nedes go on foote. Yow wyl[] go but softly. Let me know perfectly as yow may. I look for the boy at night; dispatch him, I pray yow. Many wycked stalkers abroad. 14 July Gorhambury.

Your mother,
AB.

32. *Anne Bacon to Anthony Bacon, 24 July 1592*

Holograph. LPL 648, fos 196r–197v. 2pp.

Endorsed (fo. 197v): lettre de Madame 1592

Addressed (fo. 197v): To my sonne Antony Bacon at Grayes Inne

I thank yow for your lettre but I understand not that one cheffe point, nor do not desyre yet. But yow had nede be veri circumspect and wyse. Beware in such matters how yow venture before yow be called by God and your prince. I assure yow I aske not, nor know not where Lawson ^{is}. But this I counsell. Be very ware that his veri subtile and working head work not to your comber. Yow have ben long absent and by your sickliness cannot be your own agent and so wanting right judgment of our state may be much deceived. That which yow did for the merchanntes was scantily well taken and fell not owt as yow looked;²⁴³ and I remember once yow dealt ^{with Matinian}, I wot ^{not} now, wherfore it is a goode whyle since, but both envy and also dislyke did appere. Some dowting your sowndeness in religion, yow were so great with some ^{such} great papists then. Have a sure warrant and grownd, least yow may purchase encombrance without goode success contrary to your expectation. Be not to bowld with *κυριω θησαυραριω*.²⁴⁵ Loose not his *φιλιαν*,²⁴⁶ yow know what I mean. God geve yow understanding in the best things and direct your

²⁴²**Peter** Presumably Peter the cook, mentioned in 32, and not ‘petit Pierre’, a servant of Anthony Bacon’s.

²⁴³**That . . . yow looked** Anthony Bacon had attempted to help the English merchants in the French town of Blaye in obtaining passage up the river Garonne to Bourdeaux. However, some of the merchants repudiated his efforts, with one of them apparently stating that Anthony Bacon had no authority to meddle in the matter, either from the Privy Council or from the merchants themselves. See R. Wernham (ed.), *List and Analysis of State Papers: foreign series III: June 1591–April 1592* (London, 1980), p. 358.

²⁴⁴**Matinian** Presumably a reference to Jacques de Goyon, comte de Matignon, the lieutenant-general of Henri III, who protected Anthony in Bordeaux against accusations that he was the ‘receptacle of all rebellious Huguenots, [his] pen their intelligencer and director of their commotions’. See *Troubled Life*, pp. 92–93. This word is, however, much obscured by the binding.

²⁴⁵*κυριω θησαυραριω* [Greek] ‘lord treasurer’, William Cecil, Lord Burghley.

²⁴⁶*φιλιαν* [Greek] ‘friendship’.

mynde to walk wysely and religiously. Be not overcredulous nor to open. *Sub omni lapide latet anguis.*²⁴⁷ Get health to serve God and your cowntry as he shall enable and call yow. And so the Lorde multiply his grace in yow with goode health to please him in all things. I thought goode to write thus much unto yow. *Cogita tu ipsi.*²⁴⁸ Cast it not abowt to be seene. When yow can welcome in the Lorde, send me worde. *Vale et bene vale.*²⁴⁹ Gorhambury 24 *Julii* 1592.

Your moother,
ABacon.

I malice not thowgh to justly must mislyke Lawson, but take yow great heede he still play not upon yow to serve more him selff then your goode. No ill warning this. Be not yet too forward in state matters. Wyse have withdrawn *hisce diebus.*²⁵⁰ On Monday last week Grimell and Ayre came hether as yow appointed thei sayde and this Monday one browght hether for yow from Mr Gray dosen ½ pigeons, whereof I send yow the doson and ii caponetts and ii ducklins, which I send all by Peter, my cooke. I wolde your brother's cooke were lyke him in Christian behaviour and yet a yowng man and mery. Geve him a shilling because he had goode wyll to cary them on foote.

AB.

33. *Anne Bacon to Anthony Bacon, 25 December [1592 or later]*²⁵¹

Holograph. LPL 653, fo. 366r–v. 1p.
Endorsed (fo. 366v): lettre de Madame

I have sent *even invita*²⁵² ii hogghsheds²⁵³ of my howsehold bere, which I cowlde very yll spare having but litle store for ii places. I much rather

²⁴⁷ *Sub . . . anguis* [Latin] 'A snake lurks under every stone'. Anne seems to be conflating various proverbs here. Virgil records the line '*Latet anguis in herba*' ('A snake lies hidden in the grass') in his *Eclogues*, whereas Erasmus records the adage '*Sub omni lapide scorpius dormit*' ('Under every stone sleeps a scorpion') in his *Adagia*. See Virgil, *Eclogues*, 3.93; D. Erasmus, *Adages: Iii to Iviioo*, ed. R.A.B. Mynors, *Collected Works of Erasmus*, XXXI (Toronto, 1982), p. 344.

²⁴⁸ *Cogita tu ipsi* [Latin] 'Take heed of yourself'.

²⁴⁹ *Vale et bene vale* [Latin] 'Farewell and goodbye'.

²⁵⁰ *hisce diebus* [Latin] 'these days'.

²⁵¹ **25 Dec [1592 or later]** Rudolph Bradley was appointed as vicar of Redbourn in October 1592, so this letter could not have been written before 25 December 1592, but equally could date from a later December.

²⁵² *even invita* [Latin] 'reluctantly'.

²⁵³ **hogghsheds** hogsheads. A hogshead was a large vessel for holding liquids.

desyred your aboard. I do not heare that Mr Trott²⁵⁴ or eny other such gentleman is with yow, elce I wolde have sent yow a peece or two brawn, but I know your selff eates none and I do not mean Barnes shulde make it scrambling²⁵⁵ breakfast meate.

I harde avowched that Mr Bradley²⁵⁶ did not preach this day. Ether he is excommunicat or two careless of his charg, specially among such a people who lyke eny save a faythfull and paynfull preacher. Now belyke Robin Hoode and Mayde Marian are to supply with their prophan partes, for leave is geven.

Well yf yow stayed here tyll after, yow had ~~ben~~ spent your tyme ^no dowt^ more comfortably and profitably ^every way^. Sneaking Smith babbells he wyll come and see yow and so moe²⁵⁷ but yow know and I hope consider the best for yow. God bless yow and be with yow.

Avoyde and *cura*²⁵⁸ yow sharpen not the gowt; *ne te acrius tractet*.²⁵⁹ I send iiiii pewter candlesticks. Gorhambury 25 December.

I am sorry my men must loose the exercises of religion for carieng to morow. And besyd I am bownd to have my servants to go to the howse of God with me. For goode example too.

Your mother,
ABacon.

34. *Anne Bacon to Anthony Bacon, 22 January 1593*²⁶⁰

Holograph. LPL 649, fos 15r–16v. 2pp. Damaged.

Endorsed (fo. 16v): lettre de Madame dattee du 23eme de janvier 1593

I pray God direct your wayes to please him in all things and send yow health of body to able yow to performe goode things. Consider wysely your own state. Troble not your rest, nor breake it unseasonably in no wyse. Looke not for nedefull health yf yow leave not untymely watching and disordryng your naturall qwiett sleepe by occupieng your head owt of time and tune. Use not ^yet^ company at meales

²⁵⁴**Mr Trott** Nicholas Trott was a barrister at Gray's Inn and a long-term creditor of the Bacon brothers. See *History of Parliament*, III, pp. 531–532.

²⁵⁵**scrambling** makeshift.

²⁵⁶**Mr Bradley** For more details about Bradley, see the Introduction, p. 26.

²⁵⁷**moe** Deride or mock, presumably to mock Anne.

²⁵⁸**cura** [Latin] 'you must take care'.

²⁵⁹**ne . . . tractet** [Latin] 'it should not tear you more sharply'.

²⁶⁰**22 January 1593** The dating of this letter is somewhat confusing as Anne wrote the date as 22 January 1592, whereas it is endorsed as 1593; presumably Anthony's secretary was here following the European practice of the year beginning on 1 January, not the English practice of starting the year on 25 March.

to make sytt long and to procure commers to your hurt. Eate not fruther²⁶¹ toyes after your meales to provoke superflous drinking; that use wyll brede but rawnes of stomack and make yow ^long^ wearish. I pray be godly wyse to consider; be not to ready nor open in talk. *Sub omni ^latere^ latet anguis his diebus.*²⁶² Because I hard yow mislyked your too strong drink, well may yow do so still and by observation yow shall finde it best for yow not to sharpen your gowt humour. Yet this present I sende yow ^bere^ brewed in September and above xvi weeks owlde or thereabowtes; I think it is not so heady as yours is and yet too strong alone for meate. I sende it through by myn own cart, because it shuld not twyse troubled being so stale. Yf it come well to morow as I trust, anon after the settling in the seller,²⁶³ the vent wolde be qwycly lyft upp and stopt straye again. It is not lyke to work much because brewd so long and yf it had not ben styrred it wolde have lasted good tyll Easter, I think. Let it be well and after looke so for leaking or running after carriage and not seet sett too low behynde. Knight²⁶⁴ knowes well and wyll care. The other hogshed is of ordinary beere but ^one^ a weeke owlde; not to be dronk these vi weeks onless²⁶⁵ cariag prevent by new working. The other hogshed I think may be dronk of after 3 dayes settling. Stale ordinary had I none but a cant²⁶⁶ in a pype vessell. Be your own taster; your men are ready to dispraise your drink early upon no cawse (specially Jaqwes²⁶⁷ who can better skill of French water and wyne then Englysh beere) and to a syckly body it is not goode to dispraise rashly and fondly, and be not to mixe in your tast, but judg aryght. The Lorde Jesus heale and helpe yow both and encrease his grace daily in yow, and do well and wysely. 22 January 1592.

Your mother, ABacon.

Burn this.

²⁶¹ **fruther** further.

²⁶² **Sub . . . diebus** [Latin] 'A snake lurks under every stone these days'. See p. 111, n. 247.

²⁶³ **seller** cellar.

²⁶⁴ **Knight** Robert Knight. See p. 109, n. 239.

²⁶⁵ **onless** unless.

²⁶⁶ **cant** portion.

²⁶⁷ **Jaqwes** Jacques Petit, Anthony's Gascon servant. See G. Ungerer, 'An unrecorded Elizabethan performance of Titus Andronicus', *Shakespeare Survey*, 14 (1961), pp. 102–109.

35. Anne Bacon to Anthony Bacon, 25 January 1593

Holograph. Latin and English. LPL 649, fo. 23r–v. ip. Damaged.

*Endorsed (fo. 23v): lettre de Madame envoyée le maresihal et receue le 25eme de janvier 1593*²⁶⁸

Modo post meridiem audiivi oppidanos Albanenses elegisse denuo duo illos priores burgessos, scilicet Conisbeum et Maynardum. Procul dubio ab initio ita statuerant, videri tamen vellent captare benevolentiam tuam in offerendo. Sic astuti sunt et dissimulantes egregie et plus experiendo senties. Profecto pro re ipsa non est quod cures, pro modo tractandi, ne sis minus anxius, non tanti est. Plures adhuc loci sunt [. . .]. Cura ut bene valeas et animo et corpore, ne negligas statum tuum. Deus propitius suo tempore te placido vultu respiciet. Interim sis bono animo, prudens et cautus et nullo modo locum dato podagrae vell per cibum, potum, aut intempestivas vigiliis. Si semel solide convalescas, Deus dives est in misericordia et in munificentia suis filiis. Hoc raptim.

25 Januarii 1592.

Mater tua, ABacon.

I had written the above before my men returned. Truly I do not understande the inclosed writing. I pray yow sende in my name to the Lord Treasurer by your brother. For I know not how to speak or write to him in the matter. I send it herinclosed again. Shew your brother this. It was sent in his lettre; it wold not be delayed.

[*Translation*]

Just after midday I heard that the townsmen from St Albans had chosen once again those principal burgesses, namely Conisby and Maynard.²⁶⁹ Without doubt they had decided this from the beginning, but they would wish to appear to capture your good will in making an offer. They are so cunning and so good at pretence, as you will learn more by experience. Undoubtedly you would not care for the thing itself and not for the way of behaving. Do not be too anxious; it is not of such great importance. There are still many places.²⁷⁰ Make sure you stay well, both physically and mentally, and do not neglect your condition. God is on your side and in his time he will grant you his favour. Meanwhile be of good spirit, be prudent and careful and do

²⁶⁸ *lettre . . . de janvier 1593* [French] 'letter from the mistress, sent by the farrier, and received on the 25th of January 1593'.

²⁶⁹ **the townsmen . . . and Maynard** Humphrey Conisby and Ralph Maynard were elected as MPs for St Albans in 1593, as they had been in 1586 and 1588–1589 and would be again in 1597. See *Corporation Records*, p. 302.

²⁷⁰ **There . . . places** Anthony Bacon was elected MP for Wallingford in Oxfordshire in 1593. See *History of Parliament*, I, p. 372.

not let your gout get the better of you, either by what you eat, drink, or through keeping late hours. Once you properly recover, God is rich in mercy and in generosity to his children. This in haste.

25 January 1592.

Your mother, ABacon.

36. *Anne Bacon to Anthony Bacon, [5 February 1593]*²⁷¹

Holograph. LPL 653, fo. 361r–v. 1p.

Endorsed (fo. 361v): lettre de Madame

Her Majestie, God his holy spirit be in her and direct her, is upon coming nere now to my Lord Tresurer's there to lodg this night. Mr H Clark²⁷² was to see me, and asking him whether he send not my pardons in therle of Lecester's tyme, he sayd he dyd and therle discharged it wylling without fyne.²⁷³ His advise is I shuld bring to my Lord at my next going a ^some^ breff notes wherof and in what yeres and how and he sayth yf I wyll, he wyll follow this too as he dyd the other. He sayth he saved my profit well ^then^. I pray yow show Mr Crew²⁷⁴ thus much, for I wyll speak with my Lorde as soone as conveniently I may after her Majestie's going, I wold gladly have the writing to morow and I wyll sende for it as Mr Crew appoints me with the Lorde's goode

²⁷¹ [5 February 1593] The letter mentions both a pardon for alienation of land and a stay by the queen at one of Lord Burghley's houses. For the pardon for alientation, granted on 8 February 1593, see below, n. 273. It therefore seems that the letter must date from Elizabeth I's visit to Cecil House in London, which began on 5 February 1593; Anthony was still in France during the queen's 1591 progresses to the lord treasurer's properties. For Elizabeth's royal visits to Lord Burghley, see M. Hill Cole, *The Portable Queen: Elizabeth I and the politics of ceremony* (Amherst, MA, 1999), pp. 209–210.

²⁷² **Mr H Clark** Henry Clark was the receiver for Nicholas Bacon while lord keeper. See *Stiffkey*, II, p. 52.

²⁷³ **Mr . . . without fyne** Nicholas Bacon I had acquired land from Ralph Rowlett by indenture on 23 July 1566, comprising the manors of Minchenbury, Abbotsbury, and Hores in Barley and the manor of Napsbury; Sir Ralph Rowlett's second wife had been Margaret Cooke, sister to Anne Bacon. A new indenture was issued between Henry Goodere and his wife, Rowlett's heirs, and Nicholas Bacon I on 1 May 1574, shortly before sentence for validity was passed on Rowlett's will. Nicholas Bacon did not obtain a licence to alienate these lands from Goodere, held in chief, which seems to be the cause of Anne's anxiety in this letter; **39** mentions the value of Napsbury and the Barley manors. A pardon was granted, for a fine of 20s., on 8 February 1593. See The National Archives, PRO 11/53, fo. 248r; C. Leighton (ed.), *Calendar of Patent Rolls 35 Elizabeth I, Part I to Part X* (Kew, 2000), p. 92.

²⁷⁴ **Mr Crew** Thomas Crewe was a godly young lawyer. See A. Thrush (ed.), *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons, 1604–1629*, 3 vols (London, 2010), III, pp. 736–747.

wyll. The former sent by Mr Crew ^to^ Gorhambury I returned in next lettre to yow within 3 dayes after the receit.

*Vale et cura ut bene valeas. Abstineto ab intempestivis horis in cena et in somno. Vigiliae debilitant vires et animi et corporis in valetudinariis noxi.*²⁷⁵

37. *Anne Bacon to Anthony Bacon, [c.5 February 1593]*²⁷⁶

Holograph. LPL 653, fo. 250r–v. 1p.

Endorsed (fo. 250v): lettre de Madame

Sonne, me thinke it were very nedefull that Mr Fuller²⁷⁷ dyd see the notes. What thei be and in what maner and to have his certein counsell with Mr Crewe's in what sort I were best to move my Lorde. As I remember it goeth in Mr Goodyere's name, but that was I take it to make the better and stronger assurance for his part as one of Sir Ralph Rowlett's herres.²⁷⁸ To bedwarde. For hyndring your rest troble not your self later but sure it were well to have his advyse, Mr Fuller's, set down plain for me. God bless us.

38. *Anne Bacon to Anthony Bacon, [c.5 February 1593]*²⁷⁹

Holograph. LPL 653, fos 330r–331v. 2pp.

Endorsed (fo. 331v): lettre de Madame sans datte

Ever since I cam to my loging, save that I wrote a few wordes to my Lorde to that purpose as yow know, I have wayted at my Lord's chamber to have it delivered this night with promys for his so doing. For my Lord is both ill handled with the gowt and stomack syck with

²⁷⁵*Vale . . . noxi* [Latin] 'Farewell and take care in order that you are in good health. You must in future abstain from unreasonable hours in dinner and sleep. Sleeplessness weakens the strength of both body and mind in those who are invalids'.

²⁷⁶**[c.5 February 1593]** The reference to Henry Goodere suggests this letter was written close to **36**, **38**, and **39**, as the pardon for alienation related to land acquired from Goodere and his wife. See above, p. 115, n. 273.

²⁷⁷**Mr Fuller** Presumably Nicholas Fuller, the lawyer and politician. He was admitted to Gray's Inn in 1563, so he may have known the Bacons through that connection, although he also acted for the godly in various trials in the early 1590s, which again may have brought him to Anne Bacon's attention. See *History of Parliament*, II, pp. 161–162.

²⁷⁸**As I . . . herres** Henry Goodere had been made a ward of Sir Ralph Rowlett, his maternal grandfather, on his father's death in 1546.

²⁷⁹**[c.5 February 1593]** This letter is undated, but the internal references to Burghley suggest that it was written at a similar time to **36**. Burghley had been 'dangerously sick' in early January 1593 and was only making a slow recovery. See S. Alford, *Burghley: William Cecil at the Court of Elizabeth I* (New Haven, CT, and London, 2008), p. 316.

all and tyll ^now^ lettres owt of France cowlde not be deliverd to him wherabout he now is. I dyd not use Mr Maynarde²⁸⁰ but another whome I have used when occasion served and he promiseth yf it may well, he wyll this night. Mr Maynarde refuseth to deale with the person as unfitt, he sayth, for that or eny other ^such^ thing now. I desyred him to say nothing of my motion thus for that.

Your brother presumeth to much, he knoweth too well upon what late cause I have to geve not onely motherly but godly advise. His profession is not ^or^ ought not to be of vayn devises and unprofitable.²⁸¹ 'Be ye holy as I am holy', sayth God by his prophett.²⁸² Let him reade the 5 to the Ephesians towching unclean speachs and thought.²⁸³ Trust in the Lord with all this hart, sayth the wysedom of God, and not in thin own. Read the 3rd of the Proverbes.²⁸⁴ The apostle sayth, or rather the holy gost, 'yf eny man think him selff, let him be a foole in this world that he may be wyse'.²⁸⁵ *Outre*²⁸⁶ gwdance marres many or disgraces many goode gyfts. God geves grace to the humble.²⁸⁷ God bless yow both and geve yow upright mynds to live in ^his^ feare and walk in his truth,²⁸⁸ the sownde preaching wheroff consiseth not all in ~~wysdom of words~~ ^the wordes^ men's wysdom but in the power and evidence of the spirit,²⁸⁹ which God graunt.

Your mother, ABacon.

Read not my lettres ether scoffingly or carelesly, which hath ben used to much. For I humbly thank God I know what I write and counsell.

39. *Anne Bacon to Anthony Bacon* [c.5 February 1593]²⁹⁰

Holograph until 'Vale in Jesu Christ, AB', thereafter in another hand.
LPL 653, fos 359r–360v. 2pp.

Endorsed (fo. 360v): lettre de Madame

Mr Crew coming hether to me, I thank him and even newly returned from my Lord Tresurer, I purposed to have come to yow to tell yow of

²⁸⁰**Mr Maynard** Henry Maynard, Burghley's chief secretary.

²⁸¹**His profession ... unprofitable** See Titus 3:9.

²⁸²**Be ... prophett** See 1 Peter 1:16 and Leviticus 11:44.

²⁸³**Let ... thoughts** Ephesians 5:1–20.

²⁸⁴**Trust ... Proverbes** Proverbs 3:5.

²⁸⁵**The apostle ... wyse** 1 Corinthians 3:18.

²⁸⁶**Outre** [French] 'unorthodox' or 'improper'.

²⁸⁷**God ... humble** James 4:6.

²⁸⁸**walk ... truth** Psalm 86:11.

²⁸⁹**the wordes ... spirit** 1 Corinthians 2:4.

²⁹⁰ [c.5 February 1593] Letter 39 seems to have been written after 38.

my Lord Tresurer's answer to me for pardon of alienation. For myne own opinion, I never looked but for such an answer which was it must nedes be compownded now, for nether my late Lorde's priviledg, ner my opteining the lyke of the erle of Lecester since my Lorde's death cowlde warrant him being put in trust by the Queen to geve away that which was here ~~and~~ as now it was; and that therle had it as an officer, but now none such. Reply was but hardely taken, he was so very earnest. He wyllde to see the notes and then he wolde helpe to compownd as he might deale with the deputie for the Queen. It fell owt that as upon a sudden I saw her Majestye, so very gratusly saluted and asked of yow, seming to pitie your hard handling gowt. She hoped this spring wolde be better. To morow as opportunitie wyll serve I wolde again to my Lord Tresurer. I pray yow sende me the perfect value of the manours of the rent as bowght by your father. Apsbury I know is 16 li by yere. I take it that yours in Barly is above xl li. Yf yow sende to Mr Clark, this bearer shall go.

*Vale in Jesu Christo.*²⁹¹

AB.

I remembre very well that my Lorde Kepar's pryvilege was allowed of by the Erle of Leicestre in the former that I declared to my Ladye. But for what land it was, I is not now²⁹² remembre nor no notes thereof be with me but all were delyvered to my Ladye. I thinke my Lorde of Leicestre might since chosen²⁹³ whether he would have allowed pryvilege in that case or no.

40. Anthony Bacon to Anne Bacon, 25 March 1593

Draft. LPL 649, fo. 89r–v. 1p.

Addressed (fo. 89r): To the honorable and his verie good Ladie mother

Endorsed (fo. 89v): *A Madame le 25me de mars 1593*

Madame, I humblie thanke your Ladyship for your lettres and will not faile to remember and endeavour to followe your Ladyship's wise and kinde advise, as also to save a spetiall care not to goe too fast, both in respect of my self and your Ladyship's horse.

²⁹¹ *Vale in Jesu Christo* [Latin] 'Farewell in Jesus Christ'.

²⁹² **I is not now** Presumably 'is' was included by mistake.

²⁹³ **might since chosen** Presumably there is a missing word here and it should instead read 'might since have chosen'.

It is verie trewe that Mr Mayor²⁹⁴ and 3 of his brethren were with me one Frydaie laste and brought me their commission²⁹⁵ ^under the broad seale^ by them ~~renew~~ lately renewed and increased by the puttinge in of Mr Raffe Coinsby,²⁹⁶ Mr Harry Butler,²⁹⁷ Mr Haydon²⁹⁸ and my self placed next, the foure knights which, yf it had bene possible, I would verie willingly have refused, beinge as litle desirous as yet able to attend ~~therunto~~ to suche matters. But your Ladyship knoweth ^verie well^ that it beinge done by my Lord Keeper's²⁹⁹ appointment upon their motion, altogether without my knowledge, it can not be undone but upon my particular sewte, which upon conference with my brother I will advise yf I ^maie^ make to my Lord Keeper, without seeminge to disdaine that which my eequals have ^accepted^.³⁰⁰ In the meane time, I have excused my self unto them, as also to Mr Frewicke³⁰¹ and Mr Clark³⁰² who came likewise the next daie, that I could not be at their sessions ~~nor would not under~~ till it should please God to enable me with some furder strengthe and refused flatly to be a comissioner in this late jarre fallen out betwixt Mr Steward³⁰³ and Mr Clarke of the one side and the mayor with the moste parte one the other side, which they did both earnestly require me ~~require them~~ to promise to accepte ^when^ they should have procured the same from the Lords of the Councell. And so assuringe your Ladiship that neyther in suche, muche lesse in greater matters, I will not medle but by ~~dewtie~~ conscience and dewty ^and^ warranted by ~~good~~ the best allowance, I most humbly take my leave with remembrance of my humble dewty and besече God to strengthen and comforte your Ladyship every waie.

Your Ladyship's moste humble and obedient sonne.

Redborne, this 25th of Marche 1593.

²⁹⁴**Mr Mayor** Francis Babbe was mayor of St Albans in 1593.

²⁹⁵**commission** Commission of the peace.

²⁹⁶**Mr Raffe Coinsby** Sir Ralph Coningsby of North Mimms, Hertfordshire. Coningsby was made a JP of Hertfordshire in 1591. See A. Thrush (ed.), *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons, 1604–1629*, 3 vols (London, 2010), III, pp. 628–629; J.R. Hankins, 'Local government and society in early modern England: Hertfordshire and Essex, c.1590–1630' (unpublished PhD thesis, Louisiana State University, 2003), p. 57.

²⁹⁷**Mr Harry Butler** Sir Henry Butler of Bramfield in Hertfordshire.

²⁹⁸**Mr Haydon** Sir Francis Heydon of Watford, Hertfordshire.

²⁹⁹**Lord Keeper's** Sir John Puckering was lord keeper from 1592 to 1596.

³⁰⁰**But . . . accepted** Anthony Bacon was made a justice of the peace in 1594. See Hankins, 'Local government and society', p. 384.

³⁰¹**Mr Frewicke** Henry Frowick had been steward of St Albans from February 1590. See *History of Parliament*, II, pp. 160–161.

³⁰²**Mr Clark** John Clark was mayor of St Albans in 1577 and 1592. See *Corporation Records*, p. 292.

³⁰³**Mr Steward** Henry Frowick. See above, n. 299.

41. Anne Bacon to Anthony Bacon, 15 April 1593

Holograph. LPL 649, fos 99r–100v. 2pp.

*Endorsed (fo. 100v): lettre de Madame receue ce 16 avril 1593 le gantier.*³⁰⁴

Addressed (fo. 100v): To my sonn Mr Antony Bacon at Grayes Inn

The g[]over my neighbour upon going to London for his own busines tolde me of it sodenly after [^]this[^] Sabbath forenone sermon that he must go to London and that earely to morow. I am desirous to know how your health is, how matters after Parlement go to private folk *nempe*³⁰⁵ Mr Moric[e],³⁰⁶ your cosin Hoby,³⁰⁷ and *si vis*³⁰⁸ your brother too. God graunt us all faythfull harts in pietie and religion and wyse and discrete in godly practise. Yf eny lack wysdome, ask of the Lorde and receive *ut ait Jacobum apostolus*³⁰⁹ for his geves³¹⁰ with all Christian fortitude to beare upp a goode conscience. I hast to the church again. God make yow able to heare publick instructions to your great comfort. I cowlde wyllingly heare of Barly procedings. For your state of want of health and [^]of[^] mony and some other things towching yow both *οὐκ ἐὰ με εὔδειν ἡσυχωσ*.³¹¹ God bles yow both with goode and godly encrease in Christ.

Easter *ut aiunt*³¹² 15 April.

Your mother,
AB.

³⁰⁴*lettre . . . le gantier* [French] ‘Letter from the mistress received 16 April 1593 by the Glover’.

³⁰⁵*nempe* [Latin] ‘namely’.

³⁰⁶**Mr Moric[e]** James Morice, an attorney of the Court of Wards and MP, instituted an attack in Parliament in February 1593 against Whitgift’s use of the *ex officio* oath in the High Commission when questioning clergy on his expanded twenty-four articles; Morrice had described the oath as ‘an ungodly and intolerable inquisition’. As a result, he was summoned before the Privy Council for his outburst, confined for eight weeks, and stripped of his lucrative position as attorney for the Court of Wards. Upon his release, Morrice visited Anne’s sister Elizabeth Cooke Hoby Russell, and asked her to intercede on his behalf for a new position. She applied to her nephew Robert Cecil by letter in May 1593. See *Cooke Sisters*, pp. 174–175.

³⁰⁷**cosin Hoby** Edward Hoby, the son of Elizabeth Cooke Hoby Russell, Anne’s sister. He had just been publically rebuked by the queen for insulting a fellow parliamentary committee member, Sir Thomas Heneage, and placed under house arrest.

³⁰⁸*si vis* [Latin] ‘if you will’.

³⁰⁹*ut . . . apostolus* [Latin] ‘as says the apostle James’. Anne is here recalling James 1:5.

³¹⁰**geves** gifts

³¹¹*οὐκ . . . ἡσυχωσ* [Greek] ‘do not allow me to sleep peacefully’.

³¹²*ut aiunt* [Latin] ‘as they say’.

42. Anthony Bacon to Anne Bacon, 16 April 1593

Draft. LPL 649, fos 103r–104v. 2pp.

Endorsed (fo. 104v): une lettre a Madame le 16 d'auvrile 1593

My dutie most humblie remembred. I assure my self that your Ladyship as a wise and kinde mother to us both will neyther finde it strange nor amise, yf tendringe first my brother's helth, which I know by myne owne experience to depend not a litle upon a free mynde and then his credit, I presume to put your Ladyship in remembrance of your motherlie offer to him the Sonneday yow departed, which was that to help him out of debt, yow would be content to bestowe your whole interest in Markes upon him.³¹³ The which unlesse yt would please your Ladyship to accomlishe out of hande, I have juste cause to feare that my brother wilbe put to a verie shrowde plondge,³¹⁴ eyther to forfeyt his revercyon to Harvie,³¹⁵ or els to undersell yt verie muche, for the avoydinge of both which great inconveniences, I see no other remedy then your Ladyship surrender in tyme. The formall drafte wherof I referr to my brother him self, whom I have not anie way as yet made acquainted with this my motion, neyther meane to doe till I heare from yow. The ground wherof beinge onlie a brotherlie care and affection, I hope your Ladyship will thinke and accept of yt accordingle, beseechinge yow to beleve that beinge so neare and deare unto me as he is, that cannot but be a greef unto me, to see a mynde that hath givne³¹⁶ so sufficient proof of yt self, in havinge brought forth manie good thoughts for the general, to be overburdened and cumbered, with a ~~continual~~ care of clearinge his particular estate. Touchinge my self, my dyet, I thanke God, hitherto hath wrought good effect, and am advised to continewe this whole month, not medlinge with anie purgative phissicke more then I must needs, which wilbe but thrise duringe my whole dyet; and so I moste humblie take my leave.

From Graise Inne this 16th of Aprill 1593.

³¹³**yow . . . upon him** Anne had conditionally granted Marks manor to Francis Bacon on 1 January 1584. They had jointly leased Marks to George Harvey in October 1584. See 'Money-lenders', p. 239.

³¹⁴**plondge** plunge, i.e. dilemma.

³¹⁵**to forfeyt . . . to Harvie** On 26 April 1592, Francis Bacon had mortgaged Marks to its lessee, George Harvey, with £1,300 repayable on 30 April 1593. Harvey had written to Anthony Bacon regarding his repayment on 24 February 1593. See LPL 648, fos 153r–154v; 'Money-lenders', p. 240.

³¹⁶**givne** given.

43. Anthony Bacon to Anne Bacon, 16 April 1593

Draft. LPL 649, fo. 105r–v. 1p.

Endorsed (fo. 105v): une lettre a Madame 16iesme d'auvril 1593

My humble dutie remembred for answear to your Ladiship's leter which I receyved this daye by the glover, havinge dispatched Spencer³¹⁷ in the morninge, maye yt please yow to be advertised that Sir Edward Hobbie was at libertie before the laste daye of the Parliament, but not without a notable publicque disgrace, layed upon him by her Majestie's royall senseur, delivred emongest other things by her self, after my Lord Keeper's speeche, which summe saye was much inferior to his first in the begininge; the effecte of that which her Majestie uttered your Ladiship shall receyve here inclosed.³¹⁸ Diverse gentlemen that werre of the Parliament and thought to have retourned into the contrie after the ende thereof, are stayed by her Majestie's commandment for beinge pryve, as yt is thought, and consentinge to Mr Weyntworth's matter.³¹⁹ The earle of Essex hath bin twyse verie earnest with her Majestie touchinge my brother, whose speeche beinge well grounded and directed to good ends, as yt cannot be denyed but yt was, I doubt not but God in his mercey will in tyme make yt an occasion of her Majestie's better opinion and lykinge.³²⁰ I have not yet gonne through with anie for Barlie, neyther can conveniently, though I would, tyll the tearme. And so I humblie take my leave.

From Graise Inne this xvith of Aprill 1593.

Madame, havinge ended my letter and before the glover parted from my lodginge, my man Spencer aryled by whome I received your Ladiship's leter, which I communicated immediatly to my brother, who hath written his owne answear.

³¹⁷**Spencer** Presumably Edward Spencer. He was a nephew of Alderman Spencer and a servant of Anthony Bacon's. Edward Spencer and Anne had a series of disagreements between 1593 and 1594. For more details, see the Introduction, p. 33, and *Cooke Sisters*, pp. 219–223.

³¹⁸**the effecte . . . inclosed** The enclosure no longer survives.

³¹⁹**Mr Weyntworth's matter** Peter Wentworth had met with several other parliamentarians prior to the start of the session in February 1593 to discuss how to pursue the issue of the succession in the Commons. He was subsequently sent to the Tower, where he died in 1597. See D. Dean, 'Peter Wentworth', *ODNB*.

³²⁰**but God . . . lykinge** Francis Bacon had angered the queen with his parliamentary opposition to her subsidies in March 1593. See *Troubled Life*, pp. 143–145.

44. Anne Bacon to Anthony Bacon, 17 April [1593]³²¹

Holograph. LPL 653, fos 318r–319v. 2pp.

Endorsed (fo. 319r): lettre de Madame recue ce 17ime avril

For your brotherly care of your brother Francis' state yow are to be well lyked and so I do as a Christian mother that loveth yow both as the chyldern of God. But as I wrote but in few wordes but yesterday by my neighbour, the state of yow both doth much disquiert me, as in Greeke wordes I signified shortly. I am sure ye both do or shulde remember what I sayde to and of yow both at my coming hether, speaking of myn own syckliness and styll long wishing strength and so lyke of but short continuance, that I was in mynde allmost to make none of yow both myn executors, as well for my buriall, as I dyd wyll, as also that those that greatly abused and spent yow both and with whome yu³²² were so besotted to my very hart's greeffe shulde beare eny stroke in my appointed matters and howse after my death and truly but for evydence I am still in the same mynde. And how God wyll dispose my mynde herin as yet I know not. Goodes shall I leave none as mony or plate; as I may with God his leave, I wyll geve to my servants before as I am able. I have ben too ready for yow both till nothing is left. And surely though I pitieth your brother, yet so long as he pities not him self but keepeth that bloody Peerce,³²³ as I towlde him then, yea, as a coch companion and bed companion, a prowde, prophane, costly fellow, whose being about him I verely feare the Lord God doth mislyke and doth less bless your brother in credit and otherwyse in his health. Surely I am utterly discouraged [to] make a conscience further to undoe my self to maytein such wretches as he is. That Jones³²⁴ never loved your brother in dede but for his own credit, lyving upon your brother and thankles bragg[ing], though your brother wylbe blynd to his own hurt and picking such vyle³²⁵ his wycked cowntry men to supply in his absence. The Lorde in mercy

³²¹ [1593] This letter must date from 1593 as it responds to 42.

³²² yu you.

³²³ **bloody Peerce** There is some debate over the identity of Peerce. He has previously been identified as Antonio Pérez, the former secretary of Philip II, who befriended the Bacon brothers after his arrival in England in 1593, but that is based on a mistranscription. It is certainly 'Peerce' in the manuscript, presumably the same character labelled 'Percie' in 45. It seems likely that this is Henry Percy, a servant of Francis Bacon's. For Percy, see *Bacon Letters and Life*, I, p. 244. For Pérez's time in England, see G. Ungerer, *The Correspondence of Antonio Pérez's Exile*, 2 vols (London, 1974–1976).

³²⁴ **Jones** Presumably Edward Jones, who wrote to Francis Bacon on 16 August 1593. For his letter to Francis, see BL, Additional MS 28167, fos 5r–6v. For more on Jones, see *History of Parliament*, II, pp. 382–383.

³²⁵ vyle abase.

remove them from him and evell from yow both, and geve yow a sownde judgment and understanding to order your selffs in all things to please God in tru knowledg and in his tru feare unfeyned, and to harken to his worde which onely maketh wyse in dede. Besydes your brother towlde me before yow twyse [^]then[^] that he entended not to parte with Markes and the rather because Mr Mylls³²⁶ wolde lend him 500 li and as I remember I asked him how he wolde come owt of dett. His answer was meanes wolde be made without that and mentioned Jenings³²⁷ and Cornellis.³²⁸ It is most certein tyll first Edney,³²⁹ a fylthy wastfull knave, and his Welch men, one after another. For take [o]ne and they wyll still swarm ill favoredly [^]did so land him as in a train[^]. He was a towards yowng gentleman and a sonne of much goode hope in godliness, but truth he hath norished most synfull powde villans wyllfully.

[*Left-hand margin*] I know not what other answer to make. God bless yow both with his grace and goode health to serve him with truth of harte.

Make no errors in your phisyc k tyme. Gorhambury, 17 April. ABacon.

[*fo. 319r*] Yf your brother desyre a release to Mr Harvy, let him so reqwyre it him [^]self[^] and but upon this condition by his own hande and bonde I wyll not. That is that he [^]he[^] make and geve me a true note of all his detts and leave to me the hole order of the receipt of [^]all[^] his mony for his lande to Harvy and the just payment of all his detts thereby. And by the mercy and grace of God it shalbe performed by me to his qwiet discharge without cumbring him ~~and~~ and so his credit. For I wyll not have his cormorant seducers and instruments of Satan to him committing fowle synns by his cowntenance to the displeasing of God and his godly tru fre[n]ds. Otherwyse I wyll not,
pro certo.³³⁰

AB.

³²⁶**Mr Mylls** William Mills, clerk of the Star Chamber since 1572–1573. See A. Pollard ‘Council, Star Chamber, and Privy Council under the Tudors’, *English Historical Review*, 37 (1922), p. 534.

³²⁷**Jenings** This is most likely to be Gabriel Jennings of Collye Rowe in Dagenham, as Francis Bacon had borrowed £200 from him in 1590. See ‘Money-lenders’, p. 239.

³²⁸**Cornellis** Michael Corneillis, merchant and creditor to Essex. See CP 58/31.

³²⁹**Edney** Francis Edney was granted £200 in Francis Bacon’s will. See *Bacon Letters and Life*, VIII, p. 543.

³³⁰**pro certo** [Latin] ‘for certain’.

45. Anne Bacon to Anthony Bacon, [18 April 1593]³³¹

Holograph. LPL 653, fos 301r–302v. 2pp.

Endorsed (fo. 302v): lettre de Madame

I received somewhat late yesterday all sent by the glover. All the notes savour of discontent myxed. God turn all to the best. Your continuance in dett still, I feare still. Often and diverse surveies³³² and no goode effect marreth, I dowt, the bargain. But looke yow, yf troubles threaten, purchasers wylbe lowe. *Mora trahit periculum*.³³³ I send herin your brother's lettre.³³⁴ Construe the enterpretation. I do not understand his enigmaticall fowlded writing. O, that by not harkening to holsome and carefull goode counsell and by continuing still the meanes of his own great hindrance he had ^not^ procured his own early discredit, but had joyned with God that hath bestowed ^on him^ goode gyfts of naturall wytt and understanding. But the same goode God which hath geven them to him wyll I trust and hartely pray to sanctifye his hart and the right use of them to glorifye the gever with them to his own inwarde comfort.

The scope of my so called by him circumstances, which I am sure he must understand, was not to use him as a warde; a remote phrase to my playn motherly meaning and yet, I thank the Lorde and the hearing of his worde preaced,³³⁵ not voyde of judgment and conceving. My playn purpose was and is to do him good, but seing so manifestly that he is robbed and spoyled wyttngly by his base exalted men, which with Welch wyles praye upon him and yet beare him in hande the³³⁶ have other mayntenance, because their bowlde nature wyll not acknowledge, I dyd desyre onely to receive the mony to discharge his detts in dede and dare not trust such his riotus men with the dealing withall. I am sure no preacher nor lawyer nor frende wolde have mislyked this my doing for his goode and my better satissfieng. He perceaves my goode meaning by this and before too, but Percie³³⁷ had wynded him. God bless my sonne. What he wolde have me do and when for his own goode as I now write, let him return plain answer by Fynch.³³⁸ He was his father's first chis³³⁹ and God wyll supply yf

³³¹ [18 April 1593] 45 was presumably received the day after 44.

³³² **surveys** surveys.

³³³ **Mora . . . periculum** [Latin] 'Delay brings danger'. This was a common proverb: see P. Collinson, 'Thomas Wood's letters', in P. Collinson (ed.), *Godly People: essays on English Protestantism and puritanism* (London, 1983), p. 89.

³³⁴ **I send . . . lettre** The letter is no longer extant.

³³⁵ **preaced** preached.

³³⁶ **the** they.

³³⁷ **Percie** See p. 123, n. 323.

³³⁸ **Fynch** John Finch. See p. 103, n. 202.

³³⁹ **chis** The Middle English 'chis' is akin to choice or dear (*OED*).

he trust in him and call up upon in truth of hart, which God grant to mother and son.

[*Left hand margin*] I sende the fyrst flyte of doves to yow both and God bless yow in Christ.

AB.

46. Anne Bacon to Anthony Bacon, [c.22 May 1593]³⁴⁰

Holograph. LPL 653, fos 328r–329v. 2pp.

Addressed (329v): To my sonne Antony Bacon

God in mercy looke upon yow and geve yow a goode issue of your phisick. Baylye Waggoner towlde me from yow, yow had not yet sent to my cosin Kempe³⁴¹ for the 15 li and that Mr Crew wolde not receive the 4 li till I was wylling to say whylest I had it and the copieng and the ^law^ cownsellors had had fees all ready of him. But as he wyll. I wolde Mr Crew these holy dayes³⁴² mowght have but seene what spoyle Carter makes with his coales burning but most of all hurting the steimmes with burning the spray so nygh them. Fynde fawt, no amendment but my lease doth allow all. I wolde his lease were a litle neerer lookt into for he seemes to make the uttermost spoyle and so dryve to forfait when it is at worst. Cross is gon to be maried, I know not now where eny lyeth and am loth to look more my selff. Yow shall do well not to make William Dell eny hope of enterainment. He is but a nawghty subtill felow though he speaks fayre and to say troth, your kind lyeries be for men of better credit. For his leyde towng and behavour hath got him but litle credit in the parish. I met homeward hether Humphrey *Lanio*³⁴³ in your cloak; me thowght a butcher dyd scase³⁴⁴ become and much less such a troblesom fellow and ill favored as Dell. Thomas Knight hath sent yow a feasant hee tooke on Saturday last; I cowlde not ^send^ it sooner. I was content and but hardely to lett Hamlett tary at Shafforde for his wyffe's sake and bidding him trust whether I lyved or departed, he greened upon me and sayde he had better hope; then so from whence yow know best. His alehowsing and trading to London weekly hath made him careless of all there, besyde the liberty he hath suffred to let vyle vagabond and their nawghty packs both ^haunte^ lodg about the woodds and

³⁴⁰ [c.22 May 1593] This letter seems to have occasioned Anthony's response in 47.

³⁴¹ **cosin Kempe** Bartholomew Kemp's wife was the daughter of Nicholas Bacon I's sister. Kemp served as a treasurer to Nicholas Bacon I while he was lord keeper and was later a Chancery clerk. See *History of Parliament*, II, pp. 390–391.

³⁴² **these holy dayes** The rogation days prior to Ascension Day.

³⁴³ **Lanio** [Latin] 'Butcher'.

³⁴⁴ **scase** Anne was here using a sixteenth-century spelling of 'scarce'.

made that walk a common passage to my howse continually, so that the gate and grownd is seldom without them rownd about. I prepare and new wash the fashions with ii payre of shetes of Gorhambury fyttest to cary, and 4 pilloberes,³⁴⁵ a sqware cloth diaper, a doson lyke napkins. Send me worde when and what elce yf yow nede by Bury. Write not your selff, but burn this.

[*Left-hand margin*] It may be Ewarde³⁴⁶ is come to yow. He went away on a sudden, lyke as he is a whet and tipsy verlett. Yow shall have a goode perish catch of him. He pickt a qwarell for this nonce³⁴⁷ it seems. My two cheffe serveyce horses are syck. God helpe me.

47. *Anthony Bacon to Anne Bacon, 22 May 1593*

Draft. LPL 649, fos 132r–133v. 2pp.

Endorsed (fo. 133v): une lettre a Madame 1593

My most humble dewtie remembred. I have receyved xv li of my cosen Kemppe, for the which, as also for that your Ladyship sente me by Badtforde, I humblye thanke your Ladyship. For the foure pounds I cannot as yet get Mr Crewe ^as yet^ to take that will needs make me his pursbearer and yet moste willinglie undertakes anie paines in your Ladyship's or your sonnes' busines. The gentleman is of justlie of your Ladyship's minde that the same cuninge *compagnon*³⁴⁸ Carter will make as great havocke as he can and then give that over. As for Deall, I have given him no kinde of promise but willed him onlie to live honestlie hereafter, howsoever he had bene heretofore, yf he desired my favour and good will. The provicion of linninge³⁴⁹ which it hath pleased your Ladyship to speciefie in your letter semes to me verie sufficient which yf I may receyve The time for ^of sendinge of yt I referr to your Ladyship's discrecion. In what sorte Edward camm to me, how sorrie he is of your Ladyship's displeasure and readie to acknowledge and repaire his faults and what answere I gave him, I hope Mr Wybo^r^n and Mr Wilplet³⁵⁰ will trewlie and

³⁴⁵ **pilloberes** pillowcases.

³⁴⁶ **Ewarde** Presumably Edward Spencer. See p. 122, n. 317.

³⁴⁷ **for this nonce** for this purpose.

³⁴⁸ **compagnon** [French] 'companion'.

³⁴⁹ **linninge** linen.

³⁵⁰ **Mr Wilplet** There is some uncertainty over the identification of Mr Wiplet (also spelled Welplet in **56** and **104**). It may refer to Andrew Willett. His father, Thomas Willett, was the rector of Barley in Hertfordshire from 1571 to 1598, after which his son almost immediately filled the position. Andrew Willett dedicated a verse to Anne Bacon in his *Sacrorum emblematum centuria una* (London, 1592), sig. Frv. Or 'Wiplet' may instead mean Humphrey Willblood (see p. 104, n. 207) as, phonetically, the spelling is relatively similar.

indifferentlie advertice your Ladyship, ~~without whom~~ ^who may be assured that wyth owte your^ good lykinge, how necessarie soever such a one is nowe ^for me^ and like to be more and more hereafter, I meane to passe with him and recover some other when and where I may, and so I most humblie take my leave.

From Graise Inne this 22th of May 1593.

Your Ladyship's moste humble and obediente sonne.

48. *Anne Bacon to Anthony Bacon, 25 May 1593*

Holograph. LPL 649, fos 121r–122v. 2pp.

*Endorsed (fo. 122v): Lettre de Madame receue ce 25 may 1593 le baille*³⁵¹

Addressed (fo. 122v): To my sonne mister Anthony Bacon at Grayes Inn

It is but cownterfayt whatsoever he moveth yow and Mr Wyborn to write.³⁵² In dede as I might I kept him from his former starting to the town to tiple which liberty he will craftely seeke and loves to well. He is but an irefull pevish fellow yf he be looked into and checked for his loose demeanour from which I restrained him. And how your horskeper and others ryght emboldened him I know not, but sure I am he purposely wrangled to be gon diverse tymes. But that he was for a soldiour I had parted with him or³⁵³ this and I care not for his servyce. Let him go lyke a prowde ignorant verlet. Let him be talking and stepp abroad ^unseasonably^ and cloake ^it^ with lies. He is lyke him selff. I trust to have some honest man for my horses never prosper since he came to them. He wylbe ready to borow and pay at leasure. That which he had of me fownd him well in my service but he had a secret nawghty vent and so wyll still, warrant yow, yf he once may after a while dissembling get a litle credit. God send yow encrease of his grace and favour and health. How doth Barly? The linnen sometyme next weeke. Pierre weepes for new cloths. I wyll pay for it and let his apparell be made here, except his cote or elce made more large, the last was but spoyled by Redborn taylour, made so scant, and taylours now so abhominably scant, both men's and boye's hose before, that their fylthiness is ready to be sene upon every stepp, going or stooping. A most beastly and sinful custome now. So ungodly becomes England under the holy and pure gospels. Yf yow wolde have your horse here

³⁵¹ *Lettre . . . le baille* [French] 'Letter from the mistress, received 25 May 1593, by the bailiff'.

³⁵² **It is . . . write** This is likely to refer to Edward Spencer, considering the references in this letter and in 47.

³⁵³ **or** before.

in the soyle, sende worde how to be ordered in writing and how long. Onselow mendes slowly, yf he do. God helpe me.

[*Left-hand margin*] Your mother, AB.

49. *Anthony Bacon to Anne Bacon, 28 May 1593*

Draft. LPL 649, fo. 135r–v. 1p.

Endorsed (fo. 135v): une lettre a Madame 1593

Incomplete address (fo. 135r): To the right.

My most humble dutie remembred. Mr Crewe, as I thinke, will weyght upon your Ladyship ~~on day~~ ^{on day} toward the ende of the next weeke, till which tyme your Ladyship may deferre, yf yow thinke good, the delivrie of thwrit³⁵⁴ that I send yow here inclosed, which Mr Crewe receivd from my cosen Kemp. Your Ladyship's lining³⁵⁵ will stande me in noe lesse steade here before I goe to the Bath,³⁵⁶ then at the Bath, concyderinge my brother takes his provision with him to Twitnam.³⁵⁷ For the time of my departure, I cannot presentlie set yt downe but my next, havinge once spoken withe Earle, I shalbe able particularlie to advertice your Ladyship eyther the continewance or alteration of that my purpose. Good Mr Wyborn, I thanke him, was here with me this afternone, whose companie I was bould to request to the Bath, yf I went, which I thanke him he did not denie though not flatlie resolved. Thus besechinge God longe to preserve your Ladyship, I most humblie take my leave. Graise Inne 28th May 1593.

Your Ladyship's most humble and obedient sonne.

50. *Anne Bacon to Anthony Bacon, 31 May 1593*

Holograph. LPL 653, fos 363r–364v. 2pp.

Endorsed (fo. 364v): lettre de Madame

Grace and health in Christ.

I have sent yow some linnen, the parcells herin closed; parte of myne from London and part from Gorhambury, as the ii payr of fyne

³⁵⁴**thwrit** the writ.

³⁵⁵**lininge** linen.

³⁵⁶**the Bath** By the late sixteenth century, there were five baths within the city of Bath in Somerset. See J. Eglin, *The Imaginary Autocrat: Beau Nash and the invention of Bath* (London, 2005), pp. 26–27.

³⁵⁷**Twitnam** Twickenham Park was Francis Bacon's chosen retreat in the 1590s; he had a personal lease from 1595, although it had previously been leased by his half-brother Edward Bacon since 1574. See 'Money-lenders', p. 243.

shetes and the v pilloberes,³⁵⁸ almost all I have. For Edward I leave to yow; God send yow a better servant of him then I have had, but I have had but his carcase a goode whyle. But yet yf necessite do constrian³⁵⁹ I wyll use his soldior's servyce yf he be not at Bathes, though against my wyll. Upon a soden he is but an ignorant irefull wranglour, yf fawt be fownde, howsoever he deserveth and loveth shipp³⁶⁰ conningly. He wyll peradventure dissemble a while and now he may talk and tiple and have his nose over the manger [^]idlely[^]. Sorie, some what a [^]wit[^],³⁶¹ he cam for his clothes yesterday. I denied not for the value, for his best he had [^]in[^] my service and mony in his purse, yf he typled not it way. But that I denyed him was to make him know his pevish pride. For grieved yet with the loss of my speciall noble horse *ut ita dicam*,³⁶² and Onslow not well, in talk in justly of his carelessness he both lyed and wrangled disdaynfully with me. Wherupon loth to troble my selff I bad with these wordes, 'A man master wolde go ny to breake thy head for this speach, but I byd the gett the owt of my syght lyke a lyeng prowde verlett'. Wherupon glad belyke he went immediatly to the stable and took his cloake and sworde and jetted away lyke a jack. He was here both christianly and too well used here. I wryte this to tell yow the trowth howsoever he lyeth. Yet yf your necessitee compelleth, yow take him, as yow think goode, and kepe him in order for your servyce. God geve yow much goode of the Bathe. Yowng Mr Alexander here doth say they dyd him no goode and some think yf your gowt be hote the heate of that water doth rather farther the gowt then the patient. I trust yow have well consulted and considered before.

To Mr Crew hereafter.

[*Left-hand margin*] And the Lorde in mercy be with yow and geve goode and blessed success in Christ our Lorde and health and hope.

*ultimo*³⁶³ May 1593 Gorhambury. Your mother, ABacon.

I hope your horse comes to yow sownde and well.

³⁵⁸ **pilloberes** pillowcases.

³⁵⁹ **constrian** constrain.

³⁶⁰ **shipp** In the sense of his own affairs or fortunes.

³⁶¹ **wit** aware, understanding.

³⁶² **ut ita dicam** [Latin] 'so to speak'.

³⁶³ **ultimo** [Latin] 'last'.

51. Francis Goad³⁶⁴ to Anne Bacon, June 1593³⁶⁵

Holograph. LPL 650, fo. 206r–v. 1p. Faded.

Endorsed (fo. 206v): De Monsieur Gode a Madame mere de Monsieur 1594³⁶⁶

Addressed (fo. 206v): To the right worshipful my Ladie Backen, this be delevred at Gras Enn.³⁶⁷

Madam, my duty rembred. I thought yt my duty to write to your Ladiship for in that I havinge founde divers and sondry tymes your good kindnes towrds³⁶⁸ me and beinge her³⁶⁹ I cold do no lese then in part to your Ladishipe the stayt of this rwuene³⁷⁰ kingdom.³⁷¹ For the Kinge him selfe,³⁷² he ys in good helth and sences my cominge owyer not annye thinge don agayn. The ienymye³⁷³ her hath byn a partinge on a pese, but not nothinge down but adiuys by the King's inmyes to intrape him by som on³⁷⁴ way or other. The which yf the³⁷⁵ cold bringe to pas then that ys al the hayfe so longed shouted at. Her was apounted theor of inne ametinge³⁷⁶ of al the nobilite of the Kinge's sid, but as yt not don but brocken of that is quyt and yt is thought nothinge but treson. So that the Kinge ys cominge downe hether with his powres and to help them her or eyls the Spannerd is lyck to get al her. In Peckerdie,³⁷⁷ yf he do not com in tym, this wars ys nothinge but to consume men and tresur without getinge of ether honnor or credite. Her was 2000 as brafe Ingles men,³⁷⁸ when I cam owyer, as is

³⁶⁴**Francis Goad** Described later by Anne as 'a Christian Captain', Goad was resident at Essex House in April 1596, so seems to have been part of the earl of Essex's wider circle. See **148**.

³⁶⁵**June 1593** Francis Goad dated his letter in the New Style, so depending when during the month he wrote the letter, it could have fallen in May 1593, according to the Old Style of dating.

³⁶⁶**De . . . 1594** [French] 'From Mr Goad to the mistress, mother of the master, 1594.' This is incorrectly endorsed as 1594, as Goad himself gave the year as 1593.

³⁶⁷**To the . . . Enn** Goad also began an additional address on fo. 206v, which he then crossed through: 'To the right honorable'. By 'Gras Enn', Goad was referring to Gray's Inn.

³⁶⁸**towrds** towards.

³⁶⁹**her** here (used throughout the letter).

³⁷⁰**rwuene** ruinous.

³⁷¹**the stayt of this rwuene kingdom** Goad described Henri IV's struggles to claim the crown of France, prior to his abjuration of Protestantism the following month, on 25 July 1593.

³⁷²**The Kinge himselfe** Henri IV of France.

³⁷³**ienymye** enemy.

³⁷⁴**on** one.

³⁷⁵**the** they.

³⁷⁶**ametinge** a meeting.

³⁷⁷**Peckerdie** Picardy.

³⁷⁸**brafe Ingles men** brave Englishmen.

in England and now not too to be seen and yet newer came to sarwys and to consome any man but manye ded for want, and som rayn awaye and the pesentes hath kiled manye awon.³⁷⁹ This ys howr Majestie's men and tresur consumed. In that the Kinge's counsel ys most of them papes³⁸⁰ and known to be as pencheners unto the Kinge of Spayn. In my openyon, look not for beter wares her then yow her³⁸¹ of by my leters. So longe thing as so handled as the be. Yt is God that must remedi yt and a godlye counsel and not counsel of papest to set a Kinge in his kengedom to gowerrn a prodistant King.

[*fo. 206v*] For as fast as we and his frend do to his good, the rest of his counsel bing papes³⁸² seike to undieue yt so that yt ys to be ferred³⁸³ he may continue as he doute but not get the thinge which is his right. This with my duty to your Ladishipe, I comyt you and yours to the Almighty[y]. Amen.

Your to command,
Francis God.

In Depe³⁸⁴ the [] June³⁸⁵
styl nowe 1593.

I do pray God blesse our good prencis and grant us pesse and that thowse in England wold but rember the benifet the hayf by hour Majestie's³⁸⁶ and the pesse the resefe by God and hour. Yf you war her to se the mesorye of this contry yt wold mack anye Cristen hart to rwe yt; not bred nor drinck to get her in the contry but water and yf yow do fynd in on places bred in 20 myl not anye but what ys in gret castel and townes as Depe or such lick. The Lorrde deliwer England from yt and sen[d] yt. I do newer se the lick, I pray to God. Amen. Yf yt shold com yt will be grevs unto us for mor then we thinck for be cawse of our long pesse.

³⁷⁹ **manye awon** many a one.

³⁸⁰ **papes** papists.

³⁸¹ **her** hear.

³⁸² **binge papes** being papists.

³⁸³ **ferred** feared.

³⁸⁴ **In Depe.** In Dieppe. Francis Goad also wrote to Anthony Bacon from Dieppe in May 1593. See LPL 649, fos 114r–119v. In one of these letters he asked to be remembered to the 'good Lady your mother'. See LPL 649, fo. 116r.

³⁸⁵ **the [] June** The date is missing from this letter. Perhaps Goad intended to add the date just before dispatch.

³⁸⁶ **the hayf by hour Majestie's** they have by her majesty's.

52. Anthony Bacon to Anne Bacon, 2 June 1593

Draft. LPL 649, fo. 190r–v. 1p.

Endorsed (fo. 190r): une lettre de Madame 1593

My dutie most humblie remembred. I have receyved all the linninge³⁸⁷ accordinge to your Ladyship's note, for the which I render your Ladyship most humble thanks. My journie to the Bath is must be [^]deferde[^] for a monthe at the least and I knowe not whether for altogether this yeare, upon ~~oeccasion~~ most importante and necessarie occasion, that toucheth me nearer then myne health. Your Ladyship shall receive a booke,³⁸⁸ which the printer therof de Piux³⁸⁹ brought unto me this morninge, accompanied with Mr Castor,³⁹⁰ one of the Frenche ministers, who both requested me to conveye the same unto your Ladyship as a remembrance and token from good Mr Bezea,³⁹¹ who God be thanked is as well as one of his yeares can be. ¶ To whom yf it please your Ladyship to wright anie thinge they have promised [^]me[^] to attend heare [^]upon Friday next[^] for the same. My brother goeth this daye to Twynham, and ~~would~~ will nedes boroughe Mr Crewe, of one who in that respect shall not be able to wayght on your Ladyship. The Earle of Essex wrote me this daye that her Majestie is thoroughlie appeased and that shee standeth onlie to [^]uppon[^] the exception of his yeares, for his present preferment,³⁹² but I doubt not, saithe my Lord, I shall over come that difficultie verie soone and that her Majestie will shewe yt by good effects, and so I most humblie take my leave.

From Graise Inne, this 2th of June 1593.

³⁸⁷linninge linen.

³⁸⁸a booke Anne was presented with the most recent edition of Theodore de Bèze's meditations on the Penitential Psalms: T. de Bèze and G. Buchanan, *Sacratiss. psalmi Davidis* (Geneva, 1593). It also contained George Buchanan's psalm paraphrases. Bèze had already dedicated the French edition of his meditations to Anne in 1581 and the English translation of the following year bore the same dedication. See **18**; T. de Bèze, *Chrestienes meditations sur huict pseumes du prophete David composees et nouvellement mises en lumiere par Theodore de Besze* (Geneva, 1581); T. de Bèze, *Christian meditations upon eight Psalmes of the prophet David*, trans. J.S. (London, 1582).

³⁸⁹de Piux Jean le Preux, the Genevan printer.

³⁹⁰Mr Castor Jean Castol, assistant pastor of the Calvinist French Stranger Church in London from 1582 to 1601.

³⁹¹Mr Bezea Theodore de Bèze. According to Percival Wyborn, Bèze often sent correspondence to England via the French Stranger Church. See H. Robinson (ed.), *The Zurich Letters*, 2 vols (Cambridge, 1842), I, p. 190.

³⁹²that shee . . . preferment Anthony is here reporting the earl of Essex's efforts to advance his brother, Francis, to the position of attorney-general.

53. Anthony Bacon to Anne Bacon, 8 June 1593

Draft. LPL 649, fo. 187r–v. 1p.

Endorsed (fo. 187v): une lettre a Madame le 8me 1593

My duty most humblie remembred, with like thankes to your Ladyship for increasinge my ³⁹³smalle[^] store of lynninge. Accordinge to your Ladyship's wyse counsell I have begone, ~~and~~ thanks be to God therefore, and meane to continewe to ineure my self as much I can to ³⁹⁴the[^] open ayre. Mr Crewe is not yet returned from Twytynham which is the cause I keepe Sir Jhon Broc[^]ket's letter to shew unto him. Mr Castor,³⁹⁵ the Frenche minister, and the printer of that booke which Mr Bezea sent your Ladyship cam to me at the same ³⁹⁶tyme[^] that Bashford arrived, to know yf your Ladyship would wright or commande any thinge to Mr Bezea, who ³⁹⁷both[^], to be plaine with your Ladyship, gave me at their first cominge, and now likewise, to understande that Mr ³⁹⁸Bezea[^] expected more then a leter from your Ladyship. In consideration whereof, as also to revive my ancient acquaintance with the good ould father,³⁹⁹ I was bould to sende him in your Ladyship's name and myne owne a ~~girdle of gould~~ a present ⁴⁰⁰not[^] of bare monie[^] ~~to the valewe of xx marke~~ but otherwise imploied to the valewe of xx marke, accompanied with a leter of myne owne to him self, and two more to two other of my espetiall friends at Geneve. And so I most humblie take my leave besechinge God longe to preserve your Ladyship. Graise Inne the 8th June.

Havinge ended my leter, Mr Crewe arived after super from Twytynham, who, after I had redd Sir Jhon Brocket's leter, said ~~he never~~ that he looked for as muche at his handes and yet seeinge yt hath pleased your Ladyship to make choice of him, your Ladyship must now expect what his cosen will doe of him self or by his precurement. Maye yt please your Ladyship to excuse Bashford for staieinge for my only occasion.

³⁹³lynninge linen.

³⁹⁴Sir Jhon Brocket's Sir John Brocket (c.1540–1598), a Hertfordshire county gentleman and neighbour of Anne Bacon's. See *History of Parliament*, I, p. 486.

³⁹⁵Mr Castor See above, p. 133, n. 390.

³⁹⁶to revive . . . father See 16 and 17.

54. Anthony Bacon to Anne Bacon, 15 June 1593

Draft. LPL 649, fo. 188r–v. 1p.

Endorsed (fo. 188v): une lettre a Madame mere le Monsieur le 15me de juin 1593

My deutie most humblie remembred. Maie it please your Ladyship to hould me excused, yf by reason of the good companie, which I have not wanted ^nether can nor thus house^, both at dinner and souper; namelic since my brother's returne hether, whose cheefest ease and comforte ^duringe his sicknes^ is by companie, as also in respect of the arrivall of a gentleman from beyonde sea whom ^it pleased^ her Majestie to ~~appoint~~ ^command^ ^my Lord Tresorer to direct^ to repaire and remaine here with me,³⁹⁷ I be so bould as to desire your Ladyship to spare me, yf yow cann, one hogshedde of the same beare I had laste and three others of a later brewinge, as also the standinge cuppe³⁹⁸ double guilte, which ~~it my~~ pleased my ^late^ father to lefted me.³⁹⁹ The earle of Essex, I thanke his Lordship, sent me yester daie thre warrantes for three bucks and writt unto me he would not faile to be with me this eveninge to see my brother and my self, and to speake withe gentleman, who I ~~send~~ parteth this daie ^moringe^ in my coatche to my Lord Tresurer at Tyballs.⁴⁰⁰ ~~and so I most~~ Yf your Ladyship likewise could spare me two geldings to accompany my coatche which I shall have occasion and meane, God willing, dalie to imploie, they should be ~~most~~ no lesse welcome then they are necessarie. Your Ladyship shall not neede to doubt but that I will have a speciall care of them and so I most humblie take my leave. June 15th.

³⁹⁷ **as also . . . with me** Anthony Standen, the English Catholic, had just returned to England after a twenty-eight-year Continental exile. A double agent, his cover with the Spanish had been ruined en route. He had arrived at Gray's Inn on 13 June. For Standen's return and his reception from Burghley, see P. Hammer, 'An Elizabethan spy who came in from the cold: the return of Anthony Standen to England in 1593', *Historical Research*, 65 (1992), pp. 277–295.

³⁹⁸ **the standinge cuppe** A standing cup was a goblet with a base.

³⁹⁹ **which . . . lefted me** Nicholas Bacon's will specified leaving a standing cup to his brother-in-law, William Cecil. While the will does not expressly state that Anthony was left another standing cup, he did inherit half of all the household goods at Gorbambury on his father's death. See *Stiffkey*, I, p. 26.

⁴⁰⁰ **Tyballs** William Cecil, Lord Burghley, had bought Theobalds estate in Hertfordshire in 1564.

55. Anne Bacon to Anthony Bacon, [15 June 1593]⁴⁰¹

Holograph. LPL 653, fo. 251r–v. 1p.

Endorsed (fo. 251v): lettre de Madame

About beginning of the next weeke, sonne, I mean, yf it please God, to stepp to London to see and know how it is with yow for your health and business and not long after to send some beere. July wyll come on a pace for your brother's dett to Cornelis.⁴⁰² The Lorde God shew mercy to yow both and direct and bless yow as chyldern and kepe yow from evell every way. My fyne black hoby⁴⁰³ for servyce is complying, not well. God save the beast; I know not how to do for servyce yf it continue.

Gorhambury.

56. Anthony Bacon to Anne Bacon, 15 June 1593

Draft. LPL 649, fo. 189r–v. 1p.

Endorsed (fo. 189v): une lettre a Madame le 15 1593

My dutie most humblie remembred. ¶ After I had dispatched my letter by Risbrough, my bayliffe of Barlie, I receyved your Ladyship's by Mr Welplet,⁴⁰⁴ wherein perceyving your Ladyship's purpose to come one Mondaye or Tewesdaie to Wilssons Howse, I thought it my dutie to advertice your ^Ladiship^ that there is no place in London more dangerous nor where thinfection is more ryffe then ^in^ that parishe. Therfore beseche your Ladyship to see one weeke more paste. My brother, God be thanked, is almost red of his ague,⁴⁰⁵ and my self will not faile to let ^certifie^ your Ladyship understand ^by letter^ by letter or what soever it shall please your Ladyship to understande, eyther concerninge my brother or my self.

Graise Inne *juin* the 15th of *juin* 1593.

⁴⁰¹ [15 June 1593] This undated letter preceded 56.

⁴⁰² **Cornelis** Michael Corneillis. See p. 124, n. 328.

⁴⁰³ **fyne black hoby** A small or middle-sized horse.

⁴⁰⁴ **Mr Welplet** See p. 127, n. 350.

⁴⁰⁵ **red of his ague** rid of his acute or high fever.

57. Anne Bacon to Anthony Bacon, 26 June 1593

Holograph. LPL 649, fo. 153r–v. 1p.

Endorsed (fo. 153v): lettre de Madame, 1593

Addressed (fo. 153v): To my sonne

Sonne, goodeman Grimwell⁴⁰⁶ of Barly came this morning hether, very sadd upon a speche he had harde yow were abowt to lett his ferm to another, yet hopeth better both for your promiss and the receit of some money upon it. Goode sonne, kepe your worde advisedly spoken, it is a Christian credit. Be not sodenly removed nor beleve hastily, but know whome and how. Sure yf that disposition be fownde and observed in yow once it wylbe wrowght upon to your hindrance in estimation and profit. Besydes that the grandefather, father and sonne have there continued. I think once upon a sale of woodd ^in your absence^, I hard that the Grimwells had dwelled there above a vi^{xx}⁴⁰⁷ years. The man is willing to do as much as another. The same person that now wolde, I wot not what ^reversion^, in your absence was backwarde and rather hindred wood sales and other things. He wolde fayn have had goode^man^ Finch with him to yow but I can in no wyse now spare him, mowyng and other businesses come on. It is here marvelous hote and dry and grass burn away, God helpe us. I pray yow comfort Grimell's hart and kepe just promises justly and be not credulous lyghtly and so the Lorde bless yow and gwyde yow with his holy spirit in his feare. Be not to frank with that papist.⁴⁰⁸ Such have seducing spirits to snare the godly. Be not too open; sit not upp late, nor disorder your body that yow may have health to do goode service when God shall appoint. Gorhambury 26 Junii 1593.

Your carefull mother,
ABacon.

58. Anne Bacon to Anthony Bacon, 3 July [1593]⁴⁰⁹

Holograph. LPL 653, fo. 317r–v. 1p.

Endorsed (fo. 317v): lettre de Madame

I sende purposely. I can ^not^ tell what I ayled. But still I suspecte a dilatory bargayning; to have goode assurance is requisite but your tytle

⁴⁰⁶**Grimwell** Anne spells the name of this Barley tenant variably, even within this letter. For Grim[w]ell, see also **32**.

⁴⁰⁷**vi^{xx}** One hundred and twenty. For a discussion of the use of Roman numerals in medieval and early modern England, see A.G. Petti, *English Literary Hands from Chaucer to Dryden* (London, 1977), p. 28.

⁴⁰⁸**that papist** Presumably Anthony Standen. See **54** and **60**.

⁴⁰⁹**3 July [1593]** The discussion of the sale of Barley estate and Marks manor suggests that this letter dates from 1593.

and case made weaker by it, I think is not wysely or skillfully handled. I wolde have no speach of dowte at all; let not my man this bearer understande eny thing by your selff or your men. For thowgh honest and pretely spoken for his kinde yet he *is* *satis lingue et non insulsus*.⁴¹⁰ Surely I suspect there is some drift to fetch Barly from yow, but yow wyll, I trow, not so discredit your selff; and possible some have hereby pried wylbe mistrusted there too. I pray be ware and wyse in your own doings and not too open. The worlde is full of false semblance. Yow have ben very long absent and so must of brobalitee⁴¹¹ be yet to seek in your own state and sycknes is dangerous.

What yow mean to bring, trunks or such. Robert Knight knowes the cariag dayes. To leave your logging withowt one to lye I feare were not saffe. Yf it will stande yow to stay my man till next day, as yow have cause do, other wyse I appoint his return *eodem die Deo propitio*.⁴¹² I pray yow shew your brother. I wolde have the two kallenders very saffly returned *hether*⁴¹³ and Mr Wyblud's lettre *ad archiepiscopum*⁴¹⁴ and all Redborn evidence with all the apertinance⁴¹⁵ Marcks lease and all saffly deliverd to my cosin Kempe, with a note therof to him and another to me. Yf my man know of your coming, charge him with secresy. I have prepared for yow as well as I can the chamber next the great parlour as fittest for your ease being no better in your lymms.

The *^Lorde^* make yow better and better dayly. Take care of your all writings and bewraying⁴¹⁶ unadvisedly. Yf I wyst yow came not this weke; I wolde make a jorney but for ii dayes to speake with a frende. *Fac certiore et valete eo citius scirem*.⁴¹⁷ God be *^with^* us in mercy in all our doings and goings. I thank God that the learned men did visit yow, as tokens of his favour. Make profit of it.

3 July. Burn this well marked.

Mater tua,⁴¹⁸
ABacon.

⁴¹⁰ *satis . . . insulsus* [Latin] 'talkative enough and not stupid'.

⁴¹¹ *brobalitee* probability.

⁴¹² *eodem . . . propitio* [Latin] 'the same day, God willing'.

⁴¹³ *the two . . . hether* This may be a reference to the puritan apologia, *A Parte of a Register*, published in 1593. See discussion in the Introduction, pp. 26–27.

⁴¹⁴ *ad archiepiscopum* [Latin] 'to the archbishop'.

⁴¹⁵ *apertinance* appurtenance.

⁴¹⁶ *bewraying* betraying yourself.

⁴¹⁷ *Fac . . . scirem* [Latin] 'You must make more certain and you must be effectual so that I might swiftly know'.

⁴¹⁸ *Mater tua* [Latin] 'Your mother'.

59. Anne Bacon to Anthony Bacon, [early July 1593]⁴¹⁹

Holograph. LPL 653, fo. 322r–v. 1p.

Endorsed (fo. 322v): lettre de Madame

Addressed (fo. 322v): To my sonnes

*Si valetis, ut cupio est.*⁴²⁰ I cam, I humbly thank God, well hether and before I think your brother was risen, *sed non in laudem nec pro valetudine.*⁴²¹ For I was ^at^ Ailbons⁴²² befor 9 of the clock and rode but a convenient pace. I sende purposely to know how and what is or whether owght ^is^ by me to done.⁴²³ I have charged to come a way next morning *si Deus voluerit*⁴²⁴ by 3 of the clock both for his health and for that his leasure was scant now to have come. It is hote here early or elce I am very fainty.⁴²⁵ For I feele it so. Yf yow have eny thing dispatch by v or six of the clock at farthest. For my man riseth very early two mornings ^together^ to avoyde heat and dust and goeth on foote, not used but upon such request of me. Looke well to your selff, servants and logging and the God of mercy be with⁴²⁶ yow and kepe your mynds in the knowledg and love of him and his holy law.

These be the last partriches kylled yesterday, thinking ^once^ my man shulde have come this morning but it cowlde not be.

*Valete in Christo ut filii altissimi.*⁴²⁷

I pray yow make no spech of your comming since it is no better with yow. Yf yow write to me for eny thing secretly it shalbe don, God wylling.

Your mother.

Shew your brother.

⁴¹⁹ [early July 1593] This letter is undated, but the internal evidence suggests that it was sent after 58. Anne mentioned making a journey in 58 and she also complained of the heat that summer in 57 and 61. Furthermore, Anthony was also planning to visit in July 1593, as revealed in 55 and 61.

⁴²⁰ *Si . . . est* [Latin] 'If you are strong, that is my wish'.

⁴²¹ *sed . . . valetudine* [Latin] 'but not for praise nor for the benefit of health'.

⁴²² **Ailbons** St Albans.

⁴²³ **to done** to be done.

⁴²⁴ *si . . . voluerit* [Latin] 'God willing'.

⁴²⁵ **fainty** Inclined to faint, sickly.

⁴²⁶ **with** Repeated.

⁴²⁷ *Valete . . . altissimi* [Latin] 'Farewell in Christ as the sons of the most high'.

60. Anthony Bacon to Anne Bacon, 18 July 1593

Draft. LPL 649, fos 223r–224v. 2pp.

Endorsed (fo. 224v): Lettre a Madame le 18me de july 1593

My most humble dutie remembred with the like thanks to your Ladiship for your kinde remembrance and care of me and myne estate every waye, which howe weake and meane soever it be, or maie seeme to be in the eye of the world, ~~ether~~ both for health ~~or~~ and wealthe, yet so longe as it shall please God to strengthen the same with his grace and to blesse me with the inwarde comforte of a Christian and honest minde, in the course of my lyfe I have juste cause with a thankfull patience to attend his good pleasure for the betteringe of mine estate with temporall and externall blessing. Concerninge Mr Standen, as ~~he hath~~ I have saide here to fore, so maie it please your Ladyship to rest assured that his companie neyther hath nor shall with God's helpe prejudice me eyther in mynde or bodie and therfore I judge it ⁱⁿ no wyse conveniente that your Ladyship should shewe by letter or otherwise anie discontentment of his aboade here, so longe as it shall please her Majestie to like therof. Nether have I nede, I thanke God, to trouble my Lord Tresorer in demandinge his Lordship's helpe by loane of anie somme to satisfie my debtes; the effects of whose good will towards me, accordinge to his Lordship's often protestations and not altogether without my deservinge, I would eyther request to some good purpose or els not at all, especiaillie consideringe the more free I keepe my self, the mor bould I maie be with his Lordship in my brother's behalf, whose benefite and ~~preferment~~ ^{advancement} I have and shall alwaies esteeme as mine owne. Our most honourable and kinde frende the Earle of Essex was here yester daie three howers and hath most frendlie and freelie promised to set up, as they say, his whole rest of favour and credit for my brother's preferment before Mr Cooke, whensoever the now Atournie shallbe removed to the ^{place} of the Rowles.⁴²⁸ His Lordship tould me likewise that

[fo. 224v] he had already ~~tould~~ moved the Queene for my brother and that she tooke no exceptions to him but said that she must first dispatch the Frenche and Scotishe Ambassadors and her busines abroad before she ~~medle with~~ ^{thinke of} suche ^{home} matters, and so I most humbly take my leave.

Twitinham this 18th of Julie.

⁴²⁸**for my brother's . . . Rowles** Gilbert Gerard, master of the rolls, had died in February 1593. It was correctly assumed that he would be replaced by Sir Thomas Egerton, the current attorney-general, leaving that position vacant. Edward Coke became attorney-general in April 1594.

61. Anne Bacon to Anthony Bacon, 31 July [1593]⁴²⁹

Holograph. LPL 653, fos 338r–339v. 2pp.

Endorsed (fo. 339v): lettre de Madame

Addressed (fo. 339v): To my sonne Anthony Bacon at Gray's Inne

I pray God to bless your coming and allweies in Christ. I make litle speech of it. Have regarde to your easy cariag this veri hote weather; best alone yow shall finde it. 4 horses as yow wyllde. Yow will not ryde fast for your selff and the horses being grass and will quickly take hurt in this heate; one specially very fast which Mr Selwin⁴³⁰ wyll lyke and use ^well^. Me thowght your coch d[y]d jogg and shake uneasely. Be carefull yow do not be bowlde at the fyrst. Leave goode order for your chamber and loging in safety. No more brute of the town suspition. God kepe us sownde in mynde and body.

I send Mantell's⁴³¹ subtile and combersome lease to be consydrd. The three yeres' terme endeth the day or two at most after Bartolomew;⁴³² He takes all tyll then. I wolde know surely yf I do take the remeintyth after that day. Whether I hinder my right for this somer's ^hole^ comodites, which is to me the hole yere's profitts. At this present thus it standeth. Theris unpaid to me the last halff yere of the Annunciation⁴³³ and now this sommer frutes ^due^,⁴³⁴ which is an C markes, in all one C li. I pray yow speak to your brother to sende sownde and sure advyse and make a goode agreement, yf he can, with down payment, yf he can, *quia indigeo*,⁴³⁵ or elce what I must and may saffly do after Bartolomew. Goode cownsell. The Lorde be with us in mercy and kepe yow both from synn and evell.

[*Left-hand margin*] Your mother, ABacon. Gorbambury *ultimo Julii*.⁴³⁶

⁴²⁹**31 July [1593]** Anne sent this letter to Anthony at Gray's Inn. As he had moved to Bishopsgate Street in April 1594, the letter probably dates from the previous summer. Furthermore, the summer of 1593 was a particularly hot one, as testified to by Anne's and Anthony's letters.

⁴³⁰**Mr Selwin** Edward Selwyn, an old friend of the Bacon brothers.

⁴³¹**Mantell's** Hugh Mantell, Anthony's steward at Gorbambury.

⁴³²**Bartolomew** The feast of St Bartholomew the Apostle was on 24 August.

⁴³³**Annunciation** See p. 107, n. 226.

⁴³⁴**this sommer's frutes due** See p. 107, n. 227.

⁴³⁵**quia indigeo** [Latin] 'because I require it'.

⁴³⁶**ultimo Julii** [Latin] 'last day of July'.

62. Anne Bacon to Anthony Bacon, 14 August [1593]⁴³⁷

Holograph. LPL 653, fos 303r–304v. 2pp.

Endorsed (fo. 304v): lettre de Madame

Addressed (fo. 304v): To my sonne Mr Antony Bacon

I was and am very sori when I understoode by Mr Trott your returned payn of the gowt more paynfully. I pray the Lorde sende yow the best counsell and goode success with all. As I wrote before unto yow, beware of issues never without danger and be well advised. I am of an opinion that yow with a constant order ^do not^ prevent taking colde in the affected lymmes and that yow kepe your selff to close and too much owt of the ayre which maketh yow apter to be towched. For it is not almost possible but yow must be tender with keeping in and ^in^ your bed so continually. The gowt is named *pulviniarius morbus*⁴³⁸ because it lyketh softness and ease. Goode sonne, call upon God to take patiently his correction and using ordinary goode means have comfort and hope yet of better and endeavour it as yow may, with yea with some travell of body more then heretofore. Yow eate late and slepe litle and very late, both enemies to a sownd and short recovery. Make not your body by violent and uncessant pullyng and phisick practise unmete and unable to serve God, your prince and cuntry, but procure next care of tru godliness, your health of body, and make not night day nor day night by disorder^ly^ discowrsing and watching to hinder ^and decay^ both mynde and body. God bless yow, counsell and comfort yow. I had gotten Mr Wyborn's goode ^wyll^ to have come unto yow as I wrote before, but this ^great^ chang of your health and other syck too there makes him ^and^ me dowt of eny opportunittee now, so he stayeth, I am sory, and wyll shortly return to his own howse. Mr Trott continueth frendly wylling to take paine and care for your matters. I desyre to know how it proceadeth with Barly; come not to uneqwall nor unusuall conditions in no wyse. It may be God wyll sende helpe for mony borowing and yet not known, and I wyll prove all my frends rather with his grace and ayde.

[*Left-hand margin*] He took small rest here and interteynment in goode part and hasted early hence. Kepe yee your howse in Christian order exercise.

14 August.

Your mother, ABacon *Xηρα*.⁴³⁹

⁴³⁷ **14 August [1593]** This letter mentions the sale of Barley, which was concluded in September 1593.

⁴³⁸ *pulviniarius morbus* [Latin] 'the cushioned disease'.

⁴³⁹ *Xηρα* [Greek] 'widow'.

63. Anthony Bacon to Anne Bacon, 15 August 1593

Draft. LPL 649, fos 262r–263v. 2pp. Damaged and faded.

*Endorsed (fo. 263r): A Madame mere de Monsieur et une autre a Monsieur Wyborn, ce une autre a Jhan Finche, le 15 aout 1593.*⁴⁴⁰

Madame, I can but give your Ladiship moste humble and hartie thanks for your continuall care and remembrance of me and my estate testified aswell by your Ladyship's lettres as by my good frend Mr Trott's particular relation unto me. Whereupon groundinge my selfe, as upon moste fare foundation, I have accordinge to good and sounde advise I sett doune and sente to Alderman Spencer and his counsell that which in conscience and equitie accordinge to my trewe meaninge and worde ought to satisfie him.⁴⁴¹ Whom I have plainlie assured that yf he meane to leape over the limites of conscence⁴⁴² and equitie for his profit, I, with juste reason for my credit, will rather imploie my nearest and dearest frends then ascervile⁴⁴³ my self to unusual and unreasonable inconveniences. His answerre I looke for to morrowe whereof I will not faile to advertice your Ladiship. My brother is still at the coarte in reasonable good health, God be thanked, the dangerous and unlooked for changes. France and Scotlande trouble much and posses her Majestie's minde,⁴⁴⁴ who in worldlie discourse seemeth to have as much neede, nowe as ever, of God's mightie and mercifull protection by Christien sinceare and timelie counsell. And with remembraunce of my ~~moste~~ humble dewtie to your Ladiship, I take my leave.

Twicknam Parcke this 15th of Auguste 1593.

⁴⁴⁰**A Madame . . . 1593** [French] 'To the mistress, mother of the master, and another to Mr Wyborn, and another to John Finch, on 15 August 1593.' The draft of Anne's letter is written on the verso folio (262v), along with the draft of a letter to John Finch; on the recto side is a draft letter to Percival Wyborn, in response to some spiritual counsel which he had attempted to give to Anthony.

⁴⁴¹**I sett . . . him** Anthony had begun negotiations with John Spencer for the sale of Barley. See 'Money-lenders', p. 241; *Wealth of the Gentry*, p. 102.

⁴⁴²**conscence** conscience.

⁴⁴³**ascervile** asservile, i.e. to make subservient.

⁴⁴⁴**Fraunce . . . minde** Presumably Henri IV of France's abjuration of the Protestant faith on 25 July 1593.

64. Anne Bacon to Anthony Bacon, 20 August [1593]⁴⁴⁵

Holograph. LPL 653, fos 333r–334v. 2pp.

Endorsed (fo. 334v): lettre de Madame

Addressed (fo. 334v): To my sonne Mr Antony Bacon

Sonne the Lorde in mercy all weyes [^]be[^] with yow. I am desyrus to know the ende of Barly matter; I pray do wysely herin for your selff and be not readely removed from the best advyse and determynation, but [^]ever[^] in goode things be constant with circumspection and judgment. I send yow v partriches from Thomas Knite. Dell, under pretence for yow, makes revell ~~and~~ [^]in[^] my grownd here and leaves allmost none. He every yerre hath new scollers⁴⁴⁶ and such as by and with him learne to steale and spoyle the game, and where yow have two, he geves and selle 1/2 dosen at least. I know him nowght and a great lyir and very bowlde shameless [^]and flattring[^] fellow for his own turn. I pray cowntenance him not to the dislyke of your honest neighbours and your own discredit. When I am in heaven, do as God shall gwyde yow, but known nawghty persons⁴⁴⁷ use not, nor enterteyn not for eny tattler. Experience wyll teach yow to your cost, I warrant yow, yf yow be hasty that way.

The Lorde bless yow both and though yow answer not *more solito*.⁴⁴⁸ When yow were beiond sea, my particulers written, yet I hope yow allow and wyll follow the advyse to your own goode for health and other wyse. And so I commend yow to the love of God in Christ, who bestow goode health upon yow with dayly encrease. I am very sory yow have no learned man. It may be Mr Wyborn, yf he can, will hereafter. Let your servaunts and hole howse exercyse godlynes with prayours and psalmes reverently, morning and evening.

Gorhambury 20 August.

Your mother,
ABacon.

⁴⁴⁵**20 August [1593]** This letter has been dated to 1593 because Anthony responded to its points with **65**.

⁴⁴⁶**scollers** scholars.

⁴⁴⁷**nawghty persons** See Proverbs 6:12.

⁴⁴⁸**more solito** [Latin] 'as usual'.

65. Anthony Bacon to Anne Bacon, 20 August 1593

Draft. LPL 649, fos 264r–v. 1p.

Endorsed (fo. 264v): A Madame mere de Monsieur le 20me d'aoust 1593

My moste humble dewtie remembred. I could not sende your Ladyship anie certaine advertisement whether I were to breake of or proceed with Alderman Spencer before this daie, when it pleased him nowe the thirde time to come hither and parted but a litle before your man's arryvall, and nowe what hath passed and beene agreed betwixte us, your Ladyship shall understande by Mr Trott's lettre.

As for Dell, he never had promisse of anie favour from me further forth, then he should shewe himself dewtifull to your Ladyship and honest to his neyghbours, but speciall warnings not to spoile the game, and threatinings yf he did, which I hope he will not so soone sett so light by. Towchinge ~~may~~ ^my^ not answeringe particularlie your Ladyship's lettres as some points maie require it, so in matter of advice and admonition from a parent to a childe, I knowe not fitter nor better answerre then signification of a dutyfull acceptance and thanks, unlesse there were juste cause of replie, which howe reasonable soever it be, manie times is more offensive then a respective silence. Yester daie after my longe reste forced by my goute, I had a verie shrewd fitte of the stonne,⁴⁴⁹ which I have now paste over, havinge voided three, the leaste as bigge as a barlie corne, by which discharged, God be thanked, I am muche eased. And so I moste humblie take my leave.

Twicknam Parcke this 20 of August 1593.

Your most humble and obedient sonne,
Anthony Bacon.

⁴⁴⁹**fitte of the stonne** Attack of kidney stones.

66. Nicholas Trott to Anne Bacon, 20 August 1593

Copy. LPL 649, fos 248r–249v.⁴⁵⁰ 2pp.

*Endorsed (fo. 249v): [Lettre a] Monsieur Francois une et une autre a Madame mere de Monsieur. Le 2[o] l'aoust 1593.*⁴⁵¹

Madame my humble dewtie in humble sorte remembred this Mondaie 20 of this Auguste. Alderman Spencer has bene here, my selfe beinge present at his conference with Mr Anthonie your sonne, who by remonstrans and reason hath removed him from dyvers unreasonable demands of bonds and assurances; the rest is referred to a second consideration of Mr Francis to whome the books are to be sent to morrowe, and by reason of the inclyen and yeldinge of the Alderman I thinke will ende in agreement of the bargains. It is agreed upon both parties that it shall not be needfull to send to Sir Nichlas⁴⁵² Bacon before the bargaine profited and exquited⁴⁵³ and the Alderman requireth not with anie earnestnes that he make any assurance reposing himself uppon such securitie, as without him the lawe will make notwithstandinge for gaininge of time and speedier paiement. Mr Anthonie is determined to sende to Sir Nicholas whom the rest is profited. Thus committingte your Ladyship to the protection of the Almightye. 20 Auguste.

Your Ladyship's trewe servant,
Nicholas Trot.

67. William Cecil, Lord Burghley, to Anne Bacon, 29 August 1593

Copy. LPL 649, fo. 276r–v. 1p.

*Endorsed (fo. 276v): Lettre de Monsieur le Grand Tresorier a Madame mere de Monsieur. Escripste de sa propre main le 29me d'aoust 1593.*⁴⁵⁴

Good Madame, I thanke yow for your kinde letter; and for your sons, I thinke your care for them is noe lesse then they both deserve, beinge so quallified in learninge and vertue, as yf they had a supplie of more

⁴⁵⁰ **fos 248r–249v** This letter is written on the verso of folio 249; the other half of that piece of paper forms folio 248 and on the recto side is written a letter by Nicholas Trott to Francis Bacon on the same day.

⁴⁵¹ **Lettre . . . 1593** [French] 'One letter to Mr Francis Bacon and one other to the mistress, mother of the master. The 20 of August 1593'. The endorsement is partially damaged.

⁴⁵² **Nichlas** Nicholas.

⁴⁵³ **exquited** Trott's use of legal terminology in this letter is somewhat confused; he may have meant to use the word 'executed', as a bargain is executed in law.

⁴⁵⁴ **Lettre . . . 1593** [French] 'Letter from the master lord treasurer, to the mistress, mother of the master. Written in his own hand on the 29th August 1593'. This endorsement must refer to the handwriting of the original letter, of which this is a copy.

helt, they wanted nothings, but none are, ore verie fewe, *ab omni parte beati*,⁴⁵⁵ for suche are not elect, but subjecte to ~~temptation~~ tentations,⁴⁵⁶ from the highe waye to heaven. For my good will to them, thoughte I am of lesse power to doe my frends good then the worlde thinketh, yet they shall not want the intention to doe them good; and so, God continew yow in his favour, by your meditations, and that I as your olde frende, maie be the partaker of your good wishes and prayers.

From my howse at Theobalds, the 29 of August 1593.

Your Ladyship's lovinge brother in lawe,
W. Bourgley.

68. *Anthony Bacon to Anne Bacon, 6 September 1593*

Draft. LPL 649, fo. 314r-v. 1p.

Endorsed (fo. 314v): une lettre a Madame mere de Monsieur le 6me de septembre, 1593.

My moste humble dutie remembred. Maie it please your Ladyship to be advertised, that yester daie Mr Alderman Spencer, and one of his counsell of Mr Altham of Grayse Inne,⁴⁵⁷ cominge hether expreslie for that purpose ^we made an ende^ by the sealing and delivered unto him ~~suche~~ ^of^ wrytings which were his ~~done~~ acknowledged by Mr of the here before a master of the Chancerie, so that nowe nothings resteth but my brother Bacon's⁴⁵⁸ joyning, which beinge done the Alderman is bounde to paie me imeadiatelic 15 hundred pounce more besides the ^fourteine hundred^ pounce he hath alreadie delivered; but yf ^my brother^ make difficultie, I am not to receyve it till the ende of the next tearme, at which time likewise he is to paie me the other 500 ^five hundred^ pounce, which makes in all 3000 3400 pounce, whereof I am to paie 130 thirtene hundred pounce to Mr Trot, who moste frendlic and kindlic hath promised me to lende it my brother for the redemeinge of ^Marks out of^ Mr Harvei's hands. I purpose out of hande to sende to my brother Bacon to knowe his finall resolution, whether he will doe willinglie like a kinde brother without anie prejudice to him or his, that which yf he refuse I shall performe without him by lawe with the helpe of some further tyme. And havinge hard his answer, I meane, God willing, accordinge to

⁴⁵⁵ *ab . . . beati* [Latin] 'blessed in all respects'.

⁴⁵⁶ **tentations** Temptations, often used in the sense of an 'experimental trial'. See *OED*.

⁴⁵⁷ **Mr Altham of Grayse Inne** James Altham (d. 1617) of London and Oxhey, Herts. See *History of Parliament*, I, p. 341.

⁴⁵⁸ **my brother Bacon's** Nicholas Bacon II.

good advise both of phisitions and other of my frends, to goe downe to the Bath, but in as much as I have bene advertised that the waie hether is verie ill for a coatche, I am to beseche your Ladiship to spare me, yf yow maie, your lytter. As for horses and guydes, the Earle of Essex, I thinke, his Lordship hath promised to furnishe me. I have likewise speciall neede to use a cooke yf your Ladiship could convenientlie spare for beare Richard; for rather then your Ladiship should be anie waie discommodated by want eyther of the one or of the other I will take ~~some other~~ otherwise the best order I cann. In the meane tyme I am to crave pardone at your Ladiship's hands yf I cannot doe my dewtie in persone, as I desire, till yt shall please God I be retournd from the Bath, in as tru[th] as before my goinge I shall have daillie earneste occasion ether to wryte unto or to heare from my Lord of Essex and my brother in courte, besides my owne unfittes to make anie postinge journey. And so beinge verie sorie to have understood that your Ladyship have understood bene somewhat ill at ease, and besechinge God to strengthen and comforte your Ladyship everie waie, I most humblie take my leave. Twitnam Parcke, this 6th of September 1593.

Your moste humble
Your Ladyship's most dewtifull and lovinge sonne.

69. *Anthony Bacon to Anne Bacon, 21 September 1593*

Draft. LPL 649, fo. 312r-v. 1p.

Endorsed (fo. 312v): Lettre a Madame mere de Monsieur le 22me de septembre 1593

My moste humble dewtie remembered.

As I thought it my parte by my last letter, havinge first to advertised your Ladyship of my purpose to goe to the Bath and then to present my humble and trewe excuses, that I could not absent my self from ~~this place~~ hence for that litle tyme I am to remaine here, by reason of the continuall occasions I have eyther to sende unto or to heare from the earle of Essex and my brother in court, so havinge understood by your man Winter to my great greef the continuance of your Ladyship's sicknes, I am most humblie to beseche your Ladyship to let me knowe whither my presence maie be anie waie serviceable to your Ladyship before my departure, beinge no lesse redie then bounde to preferre the performance of such a dewtie before the respects above mentioned. Maie it please your Ladyship therefore not to make anie difficultie to commande my personall attendance, for your Ladyship's

service and contentment, otherwise with your Ladyship's good leave, I continue my resolution purposed journey so soone as I have hearde from my brother Bacon. As for the litter, I humblie thanke your Ladyship I have no need hereof, it shall not need, havinge otherwise accommodated my self. The service of Richarde the cooke, seinge it pleaseth your Ladyship to spare him, I shall be willinge to imploie and will sende for him after I have harde out of Suffolk.⁴⁵⁹ My brother cam yester night from the courte unlooked for in my Lorde of Essex's coatche and is returnd hether againe this morninge. I cannot tell in what tearms to acknowledge the deserte of the Earle's unspeakable kindnes towards us both, but namelie to him nowe at a pinche, which by God's helpe shortlie will appeare by good effects. Surlie, Madame, I must nede confesse, ~~that the noble~~ besechinge God to give us the grace and means to be thankfull therefore, the Earle declareth him self more like a father then a frende unto him and doubt not, but yf that he that should be first⁴⁶⁰ doe but seconde the earle, that those gifts which God hath bestowed of my brother shall lie no longer fallowe. And so besechinge the Almightye, to give your Ladyship spirituall strength and comferte, wherebie yow maie suppporte with a Christian patience and bodlie visitation whatsoever it shall please him in mercie to laie upon yow, I most humblie take my leave.

Twicknam Parcke this 21th September 1593.

70. Anne Bacon to Anthony Bacon, [c.23 September 1593]⁴⁶¹

Holograph. LPL 653, fos 203r–204v. 2pp.

Endorsed (fo. 204v): lettre de Madame

Yesterday Godram⁴⁶² was here from yow, he sayd, and that yow wolde come and see me, which in no wyse I wolde, as it is now with us both;

⁴⁵⁹ **after ... Suffolk** Anthony's half-brother Nicholas Bacon II had inherited Redgrave manor in Suffolk from his father.

⁴⁶⁰ **yf ... first** Namely Lord Burghley, lord treasurer and uncle of Anthony and Francis Bacon. See 67.

⁴⁶¹ **[c.23 September 1593]** The dating is provided by Anne's reference to the earl of Essex's departure for the Isle of Wight. See below, p. 150, n. 466.

⁴⁶² **Godram** Thomas Gotheram, a servant of Anthony Bacon's. Gotheram had previously been a 'yeoman ordinary' serving Nicholas and Anne Bacon; he was described in Francis Bacon's will as one 'bred with me from a child'. See *Stiffkey*, II, p. 54; *Bacon Letters and Life*, VIII, p. 543. For Gotheram's reports on Gorbambury during Anthony Bacon's European sojourn, see *Troubled Life*, pp. 76–77. By 1609, he held copyhold land in Redbourn. See HALS X/C/7/A.

it much disquiet me then eny comfort. My howse is trobled inowgh with my sycklines, now in a quarttans⁴⁶³ in myn owlde age. I pray troble not your selff and me; yf yow had ben in health and made a stepp, I wolde not have mislyked, but I pray yow looke to your selff and pray for me. Doctor Smyth⁴⁶⁴ coming did very much satisfye me to know how to order my selff and then rest in the goode wyll and mercy of God, as I humbly thank for his grace I endeavour to do. My ansier, yow know. I am sory my wyll is such a poore wyll, not able to dispose 300 li amongst my frends and others I owght, but it is not long of me, having that I have continually kept howse and lyved owt of dett. I never purchased nor bowght eny matter of value, by yow specially and also your brother, but not the thyrde part.

This morning, I being in bed after my fytt that night, one came from my syster Russell,⁴⁶⁵ whome I thanked and prayd her to make no mention of me and, as before by Doctor Smyth, I prayd her not to see me for she shall [^]loose[^] her labour and I wolde not be cumbered with her loging here. My purpose was to kepe my howse and my selff qwiet. My fytt, though very paynfull, yet not extreme, I humbly thanke. The colde seemes to be less sore and shorter and was this last. I sende of purpose. I heare the earle of Essex is gon to the Ile of Wyght.⁴⁶⁶ I wyshed your brother had traveled with him for exercyse with but a man or two. Surely yow kepe not a right regarde of your lymms that yow are so never withoutt gowt. Yow trouble your head and break your slespes, I feare, with *supervacuum*,⁴⁶⁷ and want of digestion by want of due rest wyll encrease the gowty humour. I can say no more but God heale yow well. I wyll send yow worde from me except yow sende to me. How your detts are discharged and that from your brother, I desyre to know. God bless yow both. This bearer can enferre of our parish state but wealie.⁴⁶⁸

Your mother, AB.

Gorhambury.

⁴⁶³**quarttans** Quartan fever, i.e. a fever that recurs every fourth day.

⁴⁶⁴**Dr Smyth** Richard Smith was a physician to the queen and also to Nicholas Bacon I. He attended the autopsy of Nicholas Bacon I and was a mourner at his funeral. See *Stiffkey*, II, pp. 34, 49, 57, 61.

⁴⁶⁵**my syster Russell** Elizabeth Cooke Hoby Russell. For more on Anne's relationship with her sister, see the Introduction, pp. 27–28.

⁴⁶⁶**I heare . . . Wyght** The earl of Essex left for the Isle of Wight on or just before 23 September 1593, as Anthony then revealed in a letter to Anthony Standen that the earl 'hath made a starte' on his journey there. See LPL 649, fo. 298r.

⁴⁶⁷**supervacuum** [Latin] 'unnecessary things'.

⁴⁶⁸**wealie** poor and unproductive (concerning the land).

71. Anthony Bacon to Anne Bacon, 23 September 1593

Draft. LPL 649, fo. 313r-v. 1p.

Endorsed (fo. 313v): Lettre a Madame mere de Monsieur le 23me de septembre 1593

My moste humble dewtie remembred. Seinge it hath pleased your good Ladship to dispence with me at this present for the performance of my personall attendance, I thought it my parte to acknowledge by these fewe lynes your Ladyship's kinde care of my well doinge, and withall to besече yow to rest assured, that wheresover I be, I shalbe no lesse mindefull and redie in harte then I am bounde by dewtie, to carrie a continuall remembrance of your Ladyship in my dailie prayers. Upon my brother's returne, I purpose, God willinge, to begine my journie to the Bathe, which by God's grace yf it doe me noe present good, yet by God's grace, I shall will take suche order and advice, as it shall doe me noe harme. Touchinge your Ladyship's cooke, as I made the moition before I knewe of your Ladyship's sicknes, so I praie your Ladyship give me leave to beleve that I would not for anie good, God is my witnes, discomadate your Ladyship anie waie, especiallie seinge I maie provide my self otherwyse, as my brother can certefie your Ladyship. One want hinderance onlie remaineneth, with which towards my of my journie wherein with your Ladyship's good leave and favour I am to crave your supplie Ladyship's assistance. Yf it standeth with your lykinge to wit a couple of your gueldings, which I dare assure your Ladyship, uppon my credit, shalbe so well used and looked unto, as that they shalbe as freshe lustie and servicable God willinge at their returne, as yf they had stode all the while in the stable. And so with remembrance of my moste humble dewtie, and offer of my presence and service, eyther nowe or hereafter whensoever yt shall please your Ladyship to command the same, I commit yow to God's mercyfull and saffe protection.

Twicknam Parcke, this 23 of September 1593.

72. Anne Bacon to Anthony Bacon, 18 October 1593

Holograph. LPL 649, fos. 340r-341v. 2pp.

Endorsed (fo. 341v): lettre de Madame 1593

Addressed (fo. 341v): To Mr Anthony Bacon my sonne at Twycknam

I pray God kepe yow saffe from all infection of synne and plage. Yt hath pleased the Lorde to put me in remembrance on both sydes

of me by taking two of the sycknes, very necessary persons to me, a wydow, specially the goodeman Fynch⁴⁶⁹ whose want I shall have cause to lament dayly. His careful, skillful and very trustye husbandyng my speciall rurall busynesses every way procured me, and that even to the ^very^ last, much qwiect of mynde and leasure to spende my tyme in godly exercises, both publick and private. I confess I am so hartely sorry for his death as I cannot chuse but moorne my great loss therby and now in my weakysh, syckly age. But the Lorde God doth it to humble his servants and teach them to draw neerer to him in hart unfeynedly, which grace God graunte me to be effectuell in me, I humbly besech ^his Majestie^. Surely, sonne, one cannot value rightly the singular benefitt of such a one in these dissolute and unfaythfull dayes, but by wyse consyderation and goode experience. It may be yow know it er this by sombodye's posting in joylitee;⁴⁷⁰ but be wyse and ware in tyme to your own goode estimation and be not redely caried ether to beleve or do upon unthriftie pleasing and boasting speaches, ^and but mockeryes in ded^ to make them profitt of yow and to beare owt their unknown to yow disordred unruliness among their peradventure pott fellowship companion.⁴⁷¹ There wylbe craving of yow and I wott not what. Promiss not rashely, be *tui juris*.⁴⁷² Yow shalbe better esteemed, both of wyse and unwyse, before that *puniens experientia docebit tuo malo*.⁴⁷³

It is sayde that Thystleworth⁴⁷⁴ is visited. Some talk how Finch shulde take it there in bayting his horse, but now he is gon. So was the wyll of God who bless yow and sende yow much goode of all your bodely phisick and make yow strong to do his holy wyll to your comfort. *Sis tardus ad loquendum et promittendum ne sero peniteat*.⁴⁷⁵ Commende me to your brother. Looke well to your ^howse^ and servants for late and night roads now towarde wynter.

18 October 93.

Your sad mother, ABacon.

⁴⁶⁹**goodeman Fynch** John Finch. See p. 103, n. 202.

⁴⁷⁰**joylitee** jollity.

⁴⁷¹**peradventure pott fellowship companion** Presumably Anne means 'without doubt drinking companion'.

⁴⁷²**tui juris** [Latin] 'of your own right', i.e. be master of your own affairs.

⁴⁷³**puniens . . . malo** [Latin] 'punitive experience shall teach you to your cost'.

⁴⁷⁴**Thystleworth** Twickenham Park, Francis Bacon's chosen retreat in the 1590s, was more commonly known as Thistleworth or Isleworth Park up to the mid-sixteenth century. See p. 129, n. 357, and D. Lysons, *The Environs of London*, III (London, 1795), p. 442.

⁴⁷⁵**sis . . . peniteat** [Latin] 'Be slow in speaking and promising lest you repent when it is too late'. See James 1:19.

73. Anthony Bacon to Anne Bacon, 19 October 1593

Draft. LPL 649, fos 337r–338v. 2pp.

Endorsed (fo. 338r): Lettre a Madame 'mere de Monsieur' le 19 d'octobre 1593.

*Addressed (fo. 337r): To the honorable his very good Lady and mother the Lady Anne Bacon widdowe.*⁴⁷⁶

My most humble dewtie remembred. I thought it my parte to adverteice your Ladyship, that on Saterdaie laste I undertooke a journey to the courte, with resolution to have donne my most humble dewty to her Majesty. But havinge ^pased^ three partes of the waye betwixt Colboroughe and Eaton, I was so sardonily surprised by an extreame fit of the stone that I was faine to take the nexte harboroughe⁴⁷⁷ at Eaton. Where findinge my self so weake as that it had chargued rather in me a very great presumption then a dewtyfull minde to have presented my self, though it had bene possible, to her Majesty in so painfull a plight, I committed the signification of my uttermost endeavour and my unlooked for pange to the right honorable my very to the relation of to the Earle of Essex ^relation^ to her Majesty, who hath very gratiouslie accepted thereof as your Ladyship should have seene by the Earl's owne letter, but that I know your Ladyship could not read my Lord's hande, it beinge as hard as any cypher to those that are not thoroughlie acquainted therewith. It was no finalle comforte likwyse ^to me^ to understand from my Lady Russell⁴⁷⁸ that her Majesty about her Majesty a seven night befo agoe openly in the parcke⁴⁷⁹ vouch before divers vouchsaffed of her self without any other occasion to make mention of me and to moane muche my infirmity, protestinge with oth⁴⁸⁰ that yf I had but half as muche health as honestie and other sufficientie, shee knowe not througheout ~~not~~ her realme where to finde a better servant and more to her lykinge. In returninge I met with my Lord Tresurer⁴⁸¹ in his coach, whom havinge saluted out of myne a foote man ^the highe waye^, his Lord tooke that dewty very kindlie and promised to joyne with the Earle in the rappinge to her Majestie my dewtyfull endeavour. And renderinge

⁴⁷⁶**To . . . widdowe** This address is followed by a brief note in French, '*Monsieur par le present*' ('the master by the present'). This may mean 'by the present letter', although the incomplete nature of the phrase not only makes the meaning unclear but also makes it unclear whether this note was intended to be included in the letter.

⁴⁷⁷**harboroughe** harbour.

⁴⁷⁸**Lady Russell** Lady Elizabeth Cooke Hoby Russell, Anthony Bacon's aunt.

⁴⁷⁹**the parcke** St James's Park. Elizabeth I had gates and bridges erected to facilitate her walks in the park. See A. Somerset, *Elizabeth I* (New York, 1991), p. 364.

⁴⁸⁰**oth** oath.

⁴⁸¹**Lord Tresurer** William Cecil, Lord Burghley.

[*Left-hand margin*] most humble thankes in my behalfe for her gracious remembrances of and good speeches of me, this I wryte not upp to your Ladyship upon any vaine glory but ^to that ende^ that your Ladyship may aswell be ^made^ partaker of my comforts as ^as advertised^ of my ~~paine~~ as crosses.

[*fo. 337v*] Touchinge the decease of goodman Finche, next after your Ladyship and his wyfe and children, I thinke noe body hath loste more nor consequently have greater cause to regreat him then my self. Yet God forbid that the ~~greatnes~~ of the ^remembrance of so great a^ losse in respect of your Ladyship's contentment and the necessary use of his service should make me so farr forget my self as to grudge or repine at God's unsearchable justice or to enter thereupon into any distrust of his mercyfull providence, which never leaveth destitute of comfortable supplies those that have resource and truste thereunto. Lastlie it may please your Ladyship to rest assured that ^eyther^ to anye to succeed in ^Finche^ his chardge or to medle with ought ^els^ that concerneth your Ladyship's livinge ^without your leave^, I am so furr⁴⁸² from that rashnes or presumption as that I have more neede to be drawne on ~~by~~ ^to^ suche cares then ^of^ cavats to keepe me from hasty promises. And so I most humblie take my leave.

Twicknam Parcke, this 19th of October 1593.

Your Ladyship's moste humble and obedient sonne,
Anthony Bacon.

74. *Anne Bacon to Anthony Bacon, [late October 1593]*⁴⁸³

Holograph. LPL 653, fos 201r–202v. 2pp.

Endorsed (fo. 202v): lettre de Madame

Addressed (fo. 202v): To my sonne

I purposely send to know how yow do, and what your brother, and determyn for coming hether. I cannot as I wolde provyde but sustentatylve meat; I wyll as I can provyde. Besyde the loss of the man Fynch, I have also a great want of the use of that howse, for yll was my dayry and powltry at all tymes, in season or owt. Herabowts is not the lyke; for the cawse of it, certeintee and reasonable price. He is with God, I trust. Even but yesterday it is advertysed abroad for very too

⁴⁸² furr far.

⁴⁸³ [late October 1593] The death of John Finch was reported to Anthony on 18 October 1593 (72).

trew that a mayde hath ⁴⁸⁴ a sore come foorth on her at Buttlers's⁴⁸⁵ to the encrease of much discomfort to the wydow and here yf yow come yow must be very carefull for your men from stray'ng' eny where, nor not to Redborn. For Gooderam, I wyll tell yow more when yow come, yf yow wyll beleve; a riotous, prowde, crafty fellow, all to get credit by yll.

My fitts encrease and I weaker tyll the tyme God hath appointed. I wyll have no resort hether because I wolde be qwiet in my sycklines and surely all your servaunts must kepe goode order and due tymes here. I know Hynds untymely starting last tyme; it was no marvell, though your horse miscaried, had yow known all, and marred myn too. I do determyn to watch better over them and for stealers commers to mocke me. I wolde prepare my selff to the Lorde's goode wyll. God bless yow and shew mercy unto me, I humbly besech hym.

Your mother, AB.

Let not my lettre be sene, but to your brother, and teare it.

75. *Anthony Bacon to Anne Bacon, 2 November 1593*

Draft. LPL 649, fo. 399r-v. 1p.

Endorsed (fo. 399v): A Madame le 2me de novembre 1593

Addressed (fo. 399r): To the honorable his very good Ladye and mother the Ladye Anne Bacon widowe at Gorhamburie in Hertfordshire

Madame,

~~My most I thanks~~ most humbly thanke your Ladishipp for your letter and sending your man Bashforde to visite me, who purposeth, with God's helpe, so soone as possibly I can, to doe my dewtie to your Ladyship, but the sonest I doubt wilbe ~~much as ten daies~~ to morrow or next Mondaie come senight.⁴⁸⁶ My brother, I thinke, will goe to St Albon's soner with my Lord Keeper,⁴⁸⁷ who hath kindly offred him rome his owne lodginge there, as he hath also accomodated him ~~in his of a~~ ^{an} alreedy of late, resigned unto him the use of his chamber in the courte. God forbid that your Ladishipp shall trouble your self ~~any what more~~ with anie extraordinary care in respect of our presence, which yf we thought should be the leste cause of ^{your}

⁴⁸⁴ **a sore . . . her** A plague sore.

⁴⁸⁵ **Buttler's** Butler's manor in Redbourn. See 'Catalogue of field names', pp. 28–29. For the local use of the name 'Butlers', see W.J. Hardy, 'Some old lawsuits connected with St Albans', *St Albans Architectural and Archaeological Society Transactions* (1892), pp. 16–17.

⁴⁸⁶ **senight** Sennight meant a period of seven days, i.e. a week.

⁴⁸⁷ **Lord Keeper** Sir John Puckering. See p. 119, n. 299.

discontentment, we would rather absent our selves then occasion yow anie waie your Ladyship's disquietnes. As for Gotheram, I have bene and shalbe allwaies redye to heare dewtyfully your Ladyship's motherlie admonitions touching him or any other man or matter and to respect them as I ought. And so with remembrance of my humble dewtie I besече God to preserve and comfort your Ladiship.

Twikinam Parcke, this 2 of November 1593.

76. *Anne Bacon to Anthony Bacon, [late 1593]*⁴⁸⁸

Holograph. LPL 653, fo. 256r–v. 1p.

Endorsed (fo. 256v): lettre de Madame

Gragg bringing malt hether, I was playn with him. He had don evell to broak such a husband for wydow Finch, as his wyff made a way her selff an infamous note to him for ever in this lyff. He for his cowlour answerd yow had seene him and lyked him well. It was a base office, I sayde, to make yow the autour of it, who knew all but by him. I spake with her since and towlde as she was of yeres and experience to consider well another mariag and regard of him gon, of her own comfort, and her chyldern's thereby, ^so I ment not but shortly to advise her ^~~I~~perceaved and prayde her to pray to the Lorde to advise and counsell her. I perceaved she was browght to some good opinion of him, wherof I was sory and towlde her for myne own part I cowlde never lyke such a fowle, blotted husband for her, nor such a neybour so nere as Butlers and therefore in my tyme, as it pleaseth God, I wolde never consent to her lenger continuance in Buttlers, for feare of diverse inconvenience, but that it were best for her, yf she ^so^ matted, to go away and dwell with him to avoyde obloqwy.⁴⁸⁹ Surely, sonne, I verely think it were very hurtfull for yow to have such an infamed so nere a tenant. Besydes of troth he is cownted but a loose lyver, in dett, hath many chyldern and one of Gragg's worthy prayses, forsooth: a good fellow, that is as much as a riotus pott companion and qwaring lyke with all. They wyll prease yow but consent not to your own harm hereafter. I thowgt⁴⁹⁰ it good to declare thus much unto yow in tyme.

⁴⁸⁸ [late 1593] This undated letter must have been written after the death of John Finch in October 1593 (72). From Anne's reference to Anthony's guests, it seems to have been written in response to Anthony's discussion of his forthcoming visit to St Albans (75).

⁴⁸⁹ **obloqwy** Verbal abuse.

⁴⁹⁰ **thowgt** thought.

Take heede to your selff.⁴⁹¹ For all your gests, I wolde I had fitt for them and yow. So God bless yow more and more.

Peero⁴⁹² must return to day.
 ABacon *mater*.⁴⁹³

Gorhambury Thursday.

77. Anne Bacon to Anthony Bacon, [late 1593]⁴⁹⁴

Holograph. LPL 653, fo. 332r–v. 1p.

Endorsed (fo. 332v): lettre de Madame

I thank yow, sonne, for your payns to make good agreement betwixt the wombe and frute therof. My neighbour Smyth⁴⁹⁵ came to me to desyre yow also to make an indifferent *^ende^* for both parts betwixt wydow Finch and him. He sayth he made sodenly a foolysh bargain and can be content with some loss to warn him. I wolde not hynder her but yet not extremyte. God encrease your health with his favour.

Your mother, AB.

78. Francis Bacon to Anne Bacon, 4 December 1593

Copy. LPL 649, fo. 433r–v. 1p.

Endorsed (fo. 433v): Mr Francis Bacon to my Lady Anne Bacon 1593

Madame, I receyved this afternoone at the court your Ladyship's lettre after I had sent back your horse and written to yow this morning. And for my brother's kindnes, it is accustomed; he never having yet refused his securitye for me, as I on the other syde never mad[e] any difficultie to do the like by him according to our severall occasions. And therefore yf it be not to his own disfurnishinge, which I rekon all one with myne owne want, I shall receyve good ease by that hundreth poundes; speciallie your Ladyship of your goodnes being content it

⁴⁹¹**Take . . . selff** See Deuteronomy 4:9. There is evidence that Anne was particularly interested in St Basil's homily on this biblical verse: see *Cooke Sisters*, p. 32.

⁴⁹²**Peero** Little Peter. See p. 110, n. 242.

⁴⁹³*Mater* [Latin] 'mother'.

⁴⁹⁴**[late 1593]** This undated letter is difficult to assign to a specific chronology. However, again, it must have been written after the death of John Finch in October 1593 (72) and his widow was the subject of concern for Anne Bacon at this time (76).

⁴⁹⁵**My neighbour Smyth** Presumably Richard Smyth, a copyhold tenant at Westwick Pray, part of the Gorhambury estate. Smith also acted as a juror for the Gorhambury manorial court in 1596. See HALS XI/2; X/B/3/A.

be repaied of Mr Boldroe's⁴⁹⁶ dette, which it pleased yow to bestowe upon me. And my desire is it be paied to Knight⁴⁹⁷ att Graies Inne, who shall receyve order from me to paye two feties⁴⁹⁸ (which I wish had been two hundredths) where I ow and wheare it presseth me most. Sir Jhon Foskeu⁴⁹⁹ is not yet in court; both to him and otherwise I will be mindfull of Mr Downing's⁵⁰⁰ cause and libertie with the first opportunitie. Mr Nevell,⁵⁰¹ my cosin, though I be furder distant then I expected, yet I shall have an apt ocasion to remember. To my cosen Kemp I am sending. But that would rest between your Ladyship and my self as yow sayd. Thus I commend your Ladyship to Godde's good providence. From the court this iiiii of 10bre⁵⁰² 1593.

Your Ladyship's most obedient sonne,
FB.

79. Anne Bacon to Anthony Bacon, 1 January [1594]⁵⁰³

Holograph. LPL 653, fo. 358r–v. 1p.

Endorsed (fo. 358v): lettre de Madame

The bearer herof William Finch of the Pray⁵⁰⁴ to whome his father did appoint that ^farm^ lease, after his ^second^ sonne Richard dyd, refused and chose rather to dwell with him. Now his mother is very wylling to resyng over her yeares to him for more assurance and he is very desyrous and she too for to have yours and my goodewyll fyrst ^er the^ ~~the~~ doing it. It is good both for the mother and the sonne it be done presently, she being well contented to perform her husband's wyll herin. For this cawse he now comes to yow. The farm nedes reparation, sonne, and he hath allready ben at charg by this late

⁴⁹⁶**Mr Boldroe's** Presumably Francis Boldero. See **10**.

⁴⁹⁷**Knight** Robert Knight. See p. 109, n. 239.

⁴⁹⁸**feties** fifties.

⁴⁹⁹**Sir Jhon Foskeu** Presumably Sir John Fortescue, who had been chancellor of the exchequer since 1589.

⁵⁰⁰**Mr Downing's cause and libertie** Presumably William Downing, a London notary. Downing was from a Suffolk family, which may explain the connection to the Bacons. In 1583, Anthony Bacon alienated land in Kent and Essex to William Downing. See *History of Parliament*, II, p. 52; 'Money-lenders', p. 239.

⁵⁰¹**Mr Nevell** Henry Neville was married to Anne Killigrew, daughter of Katherine Cooke Killigrew, niece to Anne Bacon and cousin to Anthony and Francis Bacon.

⁵⁰²**10bre** An abbreviation for December.

⁵⁰³**1 January [1594]** This letter must have been written after the death of John Finch in October 1593 (**72**), so would seem likely to date from January 1594.

⁵⁰⁴**the Pray** Westwick Pray was part of the Gorhambury estate.

stormes. He, sonne, an honest plain man and they say thryving. God looke on yow with mercy and encrease goode health.

1 January.

Your mother,
ABacon.

80. Anne Bacon to Anthony Bacon [c. 10 January 1594]⁵⁰⁵

Holograph. LPL 653, fo. 365r–v. 1p. Damaged.

Endorsed (fo. 365v): lettre de Madame

I pray sonne, send not to Albons to Mr Lockey⁵⁰⁶ towching Dorball as yet. I think that the same Winter⁵⁰⁷ wylbe advised before he deale with him, and as for Winter's wordes, fond inowgh ~~inow~~ to me, it is the man's ^custom they say^. I make no ^great^ reaoning of such person's speches. I have such usage often where I owght not and have learned not to make a matter of every such and wolde ^not^ have Mr Lockey deale in eny thing concerns my selff. He is an open ^mowthed^ man with owt all discretion, full of foolysh babling. He wolde make all the town ryng of his foolyshnes. I pray yow defende not me this way; I nether lyke it ner nede. Prowde speaches common and I am acquainted with them and do rather contemn then regarde. It were not yet to styrr for Dorbull. Yf yow cowntenance him, it wyll cawse the other not to be hasty. But I have and mean styll to harken.

81. Anthony Bacon to Anne Bacon, 10 January 1594

Draft. LPL 649, fo. 22r–v. 1p.

Endorsed (fo. 22v): Lettre a Madame mere de Monsieur le 10iesme de janvier 1593

Addressed (fo. 22r): To the honorable his very good Lady and mother the Lady Anne Bacon widdowe

Madame, seinge your Ladyship thinks it needlesse that Winter should be called to account or any waie delt with all for his undewteyfull demeanour and speches, I am very well content to rest spare eyther imployinge of Lockey or any other

⁵⁰⁵ [c. 10 January 1594] Letter 81 was written in response to this one.

⁵⁰⁶ **Mr Lockey** Richard Lockey, mayor of St Albans in 1589 and principal burgher until 1598. See *Corporation Records*, pp. 14, 32, 35, 39, 40, 55, 292.

⁵⁰⁷ **towching Dorball . . . the same Winter** Presumably Winter is Anne's servant, described as 'your man Winter' by Anthony Bacon (69). The identity of Dorball/Dorbull is not known.

which yet should I have thought. I have reason to thinke that Winter's insolency beinge so ordinary as it (beinge a thinge ordinary with him) is or shalbe nowe knowne and spoken so much knowne and spoken of by his own braggs. Thus that Lockey's knowledge and *entremise*⁵⁰⁸ could have avoad⁵⁰⁹ nothinge thereunto. So soone as Mr Trot's man, whom his master looked for yester daie, shallbe returned from my brother I will not faile to advertise your Ladyship. I signified yester daie to the widdowe Finche that I was glad to understand her purpose to performe her husband's trew will and meaning towards her younger children and have promised her my helpe therein in case the eldest should be intysed by ~~advan~~ some advantage of lawe should to forget the dewty both of a sonne and a brother, vainely beinge otherwise so well provided for and lefte other wyse by his late father. And so with remembrance of my humble dewty, I take my leave.

Redborne, this 10th of Januarie 1593.

Your Ladiship's humble and obedient sonne.

82. Anne Bacon to Anthony Bacon, 31 January 1594

Holograph. LPL 649, fo. 9r–v. 1p.

Endorsed (fo. 9v): lettre de Madame 1593

One ende of matter drawes on another, I am afrayd. Yow shall oft be trobled wth brabbling matters, yet being your neybour to do goode among them pleaseth God and for your credit. My neighbour Lacey is combred with William Dell's nawghty dealing,⁵¹⁰ but that fellow is shameless and a wrangle crafty makebate,⁵¹¹ geven to decrease with a scoffing impudency. I never yet knew him other; Mr Downing hath had much a doo with him and so shall yow.⁵¹² Lacey is loth to law with him, but the other loves of lyst⁵¹³ crafte in word and dede. God make yow able for his servyce and your cowntry and be carefull every way for it, both *sustinendo et abstinendo*.⁵¹⁴ I am hartely glad for your good

⁵⁰⁸ *entremise* [French] 'mediation'.

⁵⁰⁹ *avoad* Presumably 'avoided'.

⁵¹⁰ **My neighbour . . . dealing** Presumably Robert Lacey, who held land directly abutting that of the Dell family in Westwick Row. See HALS XI/2.

⁵¹¹ **makebate** Fomentor of trouble and strife.

⁵¹² **Mr Downing . . . yow** The mention of Downing suggests that Anne was here referring to the manorial court. See the Introduction, p. 32.

⁵¹³ **lyst** cunning.

⁵¹⁴ *sustinendo et abstinendo* [Latin] 'sustaining and abstaining'.

^and qwiet^ ending of the Finches' ^cawses^. God encrease his grace in yow to do much goode, both wysely and religiously. When I can, I wyll see yow, but be yow very ware to jorny ^hastely^ after your great payn, phisick and chamber keepin, this very harde and colde season.

Gorhambury *ultimo Januarii*⁵¹⁵ 1593.

Your mother.

83. *Anthony Bacon to Anne Bacon, 1 February 1594*

Draft. LPL 649, fo. 48r–v. 1p.

*Endorsed (fo. 48v): A Madame le premier de fevrier 1593 par le petit garcon petit Pierre*⁵¹⁶

Addressed (fo. 48r): To the honorable his verie good Lady

Madame, I am bould to referre your Ladyship to the beginninge of Mr Crewe's lettre, which I send here inclosed concerninge my brother; the rest beinge particularities not worth your Ladyship's reding. There is great speache at this time bothe at the court and cyty of Doctor Lopus, his accusation and committinge ~~for~~ uppon highe treason; the grounde whereof is thought by some to have bene discovered by Don Antonio before his late goinge over into France.⁵¹⁷ Where the Frenche King's affaires succede of late very well, as I have bene advertised this day by Mr Castol,⁵¹⁸ the princepall Frenche minister in Monsieur de la Fontaine's⁵¹⁹ absence, who is gone as assistant to Sir Robert Sidney sent by her Majestie into France.⁵²⁰ And so with remembrance of my most humble dewty, I take my leave.

Redborne, this first of February 1593.

⁵¹⁵*ultimo Januarii* [Latin] 'the last day of January'.

⁵¹⁶*A Madame . . . Pierre* [French] 'To the mistress, on the first day of February 1593, by the little boy, little Peter'.

⁵¹⁷**There . . . into France** Roderigo Lopez was the Portuguese physician of Elizabeth I. He was arrested at the end of January 1594 for conspiring to poison the queen. Dom António, prior of Crato, was a claimant to the Portuguese throne.

⁵¹⁸**Mr Castol** Jean Castol. See p. 133, n. 390.

⁵¹⁹**Monsieur de la Fontaine's** Robert Le Maçon de la Fontaine, the principal minister of the French Stranger Church from 1574. For more on la Fontaine, see G. Ungerer, *The Correspondence of Antonio Pérez's Exile*, 2 vols (London, 1974–1976), I, pp. 330–331, n. 2.

⁵²⁰**Sir Robert Sidney . . . France** Robert Sidney had been sent on an embassy to Henri IV of France in early 1594, following the French monarch's conversion to Catholicism.

84. Anne Bacon to Anthony Bacon, 4 February [1594]⁵²¹

Holograph. LPL 653, fo. 336r–v. 1p.

Endorsed (fo. 336v): lettre de Madame

Addressed (fo. 336v): To my sonne at Redborn

I pray God hartely to geve yow strenght⁵²² to beare and his healing helpe to overcome saffely the whole cause of your present payn. Full payn, no dowt, by all lykelyod⁵²³ of your thyck, trobled urin and other tokins incident, the master *calculus*⁵²⁴ is yet behind. Yow must in eny wyse be speciall carfull yow take no violent things to break it, for the peece wyll so cutt yow and raw the⁵²⁵ place, that the smart theroff wyllbe intollerable and very dangerous. I know yow should anyoynt yow beneth and also the ^place before^ avoyding with oyle of allmons, as I remember, and oyle of lynsell.⁵²⁶ I am not sure whether also camomyll oyle myxt. Once your father dowted much the avoyding and was proved with small qwyls, ravens ^or crows^ I think, to helpe to turn it in the passag, yf nede were. Mr Huick⁵²⁷ was then present at the doing, very gently at tymes. Your father dyd drink for some few dayes allmon mylk with the fower colde seedes, as they call them.⁵²⁸ I wolde Dr Smyth⁵²⁹ were with yow to consyder. Yf yow wyll sende one fyttest of your men, I wyll wryte to him earnestly. It were good to delay for casting yow into a fever, lacking slepe, ^when^ holsome, smoth and thine diett for the tyme best. Theris a bath yf yow did prove in goode order, but two howers, not thin with water, but full with certein herbes soden and some mylk and sytt in it but upp to your and a litle above your loyns. Yf yow wyll lett me, I wyllingly wyll come and make it for yow with less toyle to yow then the poticary. I have learnt by experience both of your father and my selff.

⁵²¹ **4 February [1594]** Nicholas Faunt consoled Anthony on his attack of kidney stones on 31 January 1594. See LPL 650, fo. 52r.

⁵²² **strenght** strength.

⁵²³ **lykelyod** likelihood.

⁵²⁴ **calculus** [Latin] 'stone'.

⁵²⁵ **the** Repeated.

⁵²⁶ **lynsell** linseed.

⁵²⁷ **Huick** Robert Huicke was physician to Henry VIII, Edward VI, and Elizabeth I. He attended the autopsy of Nicholas Bacon I. See *Stiffkey*, II, p. 36.

⁵²⁸ **fower . . . them** The seeds of cucumbers, melons, watermelons, and pumpkins were known as the four (major) cold seeds, *quatuor semina frigida*, and were thought to be helpful in treating kidney complaints. See J. Dubois, *Methodus medicamenta componendi* (Lyon, 1548), p. 154, sig. K5v.

⁵²⁹ **Dr Smyth** Richard Smith. See p. 150, n. 464.

[*Left-hand margin*] I pray lett me heare and the Lord take care of yow and saffly ease yow.

4th February. AB, your mother.

When Morer⁵³⁰ is come, I wyll come qwickly, *Deo propitio*.⁵³¹

85. *Anthony Bacon to Anne Bacon, 5 February [1594]*⁵³²

Draft. LPL 649, fo. 49r–v. ip.

Endorsed (fo. 49v): Lettre a Madame mere de Monsieur le 5me de fevrier

Addressed (fo. 49r): To the honorable his verie good Ladie and mother, the Lady Anne Bacon, widdowe.

Madame,

Beinge not able my self to doe my dewtie to your Ladyship, I thought it my part to advertise yow that which a frende of mine hath particularly written unto me by the Earle of Essex[’s] appointment, prencepally concerninge my brother and *obiter*⁵³³ some other *occurrens*⁵³⁴ wherein I assure your Ladyship I alter not one worde, thinkinge it best to set it downe as it hath bene delivered from my Lord, who said one Thursdaie that the Queen’s Majestie had understoode that my brother had argued verie well in a case of importance in the King’s Benche.⁵³⁵

That the Earle at the same instant cominge from the Queen, she tould him that my Lord Tresurer⁵³⁶ had streytly urge⁵³⁷ her[^] to the nomination of Cook to be her Generall Atturynie,⁵³⁸ and also to the nomination of a paire of Secretaries⁵³⁹ (Sir Robert Cycill and Sir Edward Stafforde) and a paire of other officers in her houshold (all these to be one Candlemas daie placed or at the furdest the Sondaie

⁵³⁰**Morer** Robert Moorer described himself as a ‘grocer’ (see LPL 658, fo. 120r); the Bacons seem to have used him specifically for their medical purchases. He also supplied stage props, including rosewater and musk, for royal masques in 1572 and 1573. See M. Wiggins and C. Richardson, *British Drama 1533–1642: a catalogue. volume II: 1567–1589* (Oxford, 2012), pp. 90, 109.

⁵³¹***Deo propitio*** [Latin] ‘God willing’.

⁵³²**5 February [1594]** The discussion of Francis Bacon’s argument in the King’s Bench and the attempts of Essex to seek his advancement to the position of attorney-general, together with the details regarding Roderigo Lopez’s arrest, date this letter to 1594.

⁵³³***obiter*** [Latin] ‘incidentally’.

⁵³⁴***occurrens*** [Latin] ‘occurrences’.

⁵³⁵**My brother . . . Benche** Francis Bacon argued his first cases in the King’s Bench in January 1594, arguing another on 5 February.

⁵³⁶**Lord Tresurer** William Cecil, Lord Burghley.

⁵³⁷**urge** urged.

⁵³⁸**Cook . . . Generall Atturynie** Edward Coke was appointed attorney-general on 10 April 1594.

⁵³⁹**the nomination . . . Secretaries** The position of secretary of state was vacant after the death of Francis Walsingham in April 1590.

followinge) but said the Earle, ‘Mr Bacon shall ~~understand~~ ^{finde} by the event that howsoever the olde man and his sonne⁵⁴⁰ doe beleve, the same now of them shallbe as yet’.

That Doctor Lopus for all the favorers he had was on Tewsdaie at nine committed to the Tower and the Wednesdaie followinge at seven of clocke in the morninge beinge examined before the Earle and Sir Robert Cycell confessed more then enoughe. They two returninge backe in coatche together, Sir Robert began of him self saying ‘My Lord, the Quene is resolved, ere five daies passe, without anie furder delaie to make an Attournie Generall, I prairie your Lordship let me knowe whom yow will favour and desire to preferre’. To which the Earle answered that he wondered Sir Robert should ask him that question, seinge it could not be unknowne unto him that resolutely againste all who soever, he stode for Francis Bacon. ‘Good Lord’, quoth Sir Robert, ‘I wonder your Lordship should goe about to spende your strength in so unliklie and impossible a matter’, desiring that my Lord would alledge unto him but ^{one} only president of so rawe a youth to a place of suche moment. My Lord workinge upon the speeche of Sir Robert said that for the Attournieship, which was but an ordynary office of justice, he could not produce anie instants bycause he had never made any searche therefor, but that a younger then Francis Bacon of lesser learninge and of no greater experience seuth⁵⁴¹ and shoueth withall might and maine for an office of farre greater importance, state and chardge then the Attournishipp, suche a one the Earle said he could name unto him. To which Sir Robert replied that he well knewe my Lord noted him selff but admittinge that both his yeares and experience were but small yet wayinge the schoole he [^]‘Sir Robert’ studied in, the great

[*Left-hand margin*]⁵⁴² wisdome and learninge of his schoolour,⁵⁴³ the paines and observations he daily passe in that schoole, he thought his forces and wisdome be sufficient to swaye that machinge,⁵⁴⁴ alledginge withall his ~~father’s~~ [^]my Lord Tresorer’s[^] deserts, his continuall and painfull travails of so longe regiment, to merit a note of gratitude from her Majesty in the persone of his sonne in sum. ~~Touching~~ [^]For the matter of[^] my brother, he praired my Lordship to be better

⁵⁴⁰ **the olde . . . sonne** William Cecil, Lord Burghley, and his son Sir Robert Cecil.

⁵⁴¹ **seuth** To chase or pursue (to sue for).

⁵⁴² [*Left-hand margin*] There is a small torn piece of a second folio still extant, which forms an extended left-hand margin and contains the remainder of this letter.

⁵⁴³ **schoolour** Schoolmaster, i.e. his father, Lord Burghley.

⁵⁴⁴ **machinge** scheme.

advised sayinge ‘Yf your Lordship had spoken of the Solicitorssh⁵⁴⁵ that mought⁵⁴⁶ be of easier digestion to her Majesty’. ‘Digest me noe digestinge’, said the Earle, ‘for the Attourniship is that I must have for Francis Bacon and in that will I spende my uttermost credit, frendship and aucthority against whomsoever and that whoesoere went about to ~~get the office~~ procure it to others, that it should test both meadiators and the sutors, the settinge one before they cam by it. And this be yow assured of Sir Robert’, quoth the Earle, ‘For now do I fully declare my self and for your owne part, Sir Robert, I thinke mucche and strange both of my Lord your father and yow that can have the minde to seeke the preferment of a stranger before so near a kindsman, namelie consideringe yf yow waie in a ballance his parts and sufficiency in any respect with those of his competitor, exceptinge only five poore yeares of admittance, which Francis Bacon hath more then recompensed with the priority of his readinge, in all other respects yow shall finde noe comparison between them.’ These speeches it pleased my Lord to confirme unto my brother upon Fridaie ‘laste’ at Graise Inne and promised him to be present in the King’s Benche at his next pleadinge, which was appointed this daie ~~leavinge my brother~~ and so he departed from ~~there~~ my brother’s lodginge leaving him justly verie glad and comforted to see my Lord sticke so stoutly and surely to him and to make it his owne case. And so with remembrance of my humble dewty I take my leave.

86. *Anthony Bacon to Anne Bacon, 8 February 1594*

Draft. LPL 649, fo. 47r–v. 1p.

*Endorsed (fo. 47v): Lettre a Madame le 8iesme de fevrier 1593 par petit Pierre*⁵⁴⁷

Madame,

Maie it please yow to be advertised that two or three daies after the conference betwixt the Earle of Essex and Sir Robert Cycell, my Lord Tresorer vouchsafed, uppon what motive God knowth, to use a verie honorable compliment towards my brother in sendinge Mr Hicces, his secretarie,⁵⁴⁸ to him at Greise Inne, with chardge to tell him from his Lord that he did with much joye and contentment congratulate

⁵⁴⁵**Solicitorssh** Edward Coke held the position of solicitor-general, which would be vacated when he became attorney-general.

⁵⁴⁶**mought** might.

⁵⁴⁷**Lettre . . . Pierre** [French] ‘Letter to the mistress, on the 8 of February 1593 delivered by little Peter’.

⁵⁴⁸**Mr Hicces, his secretarie** Michael Hicces was one of Lord Burghley’s secretaries from 1580.

unto my brother the first fruits of his publike practise and requested ~~him~~ to sende ^him his^ case and the cheif pointes of his pleadinge to the ende he might make report thereof there where it mought⁵⁴⁹ doe him most good. Mr Fant⁵⁵⁰ and Mr Gosnall⁵⁵¹ requested ^have desired^ me to remember their humble dewty to your Ladiship, which they would have performed them selves in persone, but for the haste they made to be at my brother's pleadinge to morrowe in a most ^famous^ Exchecker Chamber case where the Lord Keeper and the Lord Treasurer, yf he be able, the two Lord's Cheif Justices, with two other judges of eache benche, the Lord Cheif Baron and the rest of the barons are to it.⁵⁵² I besече God to strengthen his understandinge and memorie with the vertue of his holie spirit to the ende that his words findinge grace before so manie princopall majestrats, he maie thereby hereafter be more enabled and encouraged to imploie his good gyftes to the best purposes; I meane to the advancement of God's glorie and her Majesty and country service. And so with humble thanks to your Ladyship that it please yow to spare me an other quarter of wheate, I take my leave.

Your Ladyship's most humble and obedient sonne.

Redborne, this 8 of Februarie 1593.

87. *Bartholomew Kemp to Anne Bacon, 8 February 1594*

Draft. LPL 649, fo. 30r–v. 1p.

Endorsed (fo. 30v): Lettre de Monsieur Bartholomew Kemp a Madame Bacon de Sissime de fevrier 1593

Addressed (fo. 30r): To the honorable ~~his~~ and my especiall good Lady, the Lady Bacon at Gorhamburie, give theise

Good Madame, as I have alwaies founde your Ladyship bothe good and gratious unto me, even from my youth uppe hither unto, soe I moste humbly besече yow not to forsake me and leave me in my greatest nede and necessity. I have had, as it is well knowne, theise two laste yeares ii great extraordinary charges, which I trust wilbe to the benefit of my wyffe and children yf God call me before them.

⁵⁴⁹ **mought** might.

⁵⁵⁰ **Mr Fant** Nicholas Faunt. See p. 99, n. 185.

⁵⁵¹ **Mr Gosnall** Henry Gosnold, a young laywer at Gray's Inn and a long-term friend of the Bacons. He was the son of Matthew Gosnold of Hempton. See A.F. Marotti, *Manuscript, Print, and the English Renaissance Lyric* (New York, 1995), p. 17, n. 50.

⁵⁵² **my brother's . . . to it** For a report on Francis Bacon's performance, see p. 169, n. 558.

That is the revercion of mine office for my sonne⁵⁵³ and the lease of my howsse at Eaton. Trewlie, Madame, these two chardges did stande me in CCx li and upwarde, which hath made me the lesse able to paie yow, whereof I am sorry. I knowe your Ladyship hath bene good unto many and although I have not deserved this favour at your handes, yet I trust God will move your harte in this my necessity to graunt me fouer or five yeares days payement.⁵⁵⁴ Which yf I shall obtaine of your Ladyship yow shall the more binde both me and mine unto yow and yours. And for the performance hereof I will put yow my good ~~secure~~ suerty. Never the lesse, yf I cannot obtaine this favour at your Ladyship's hands, I will sell these thinges againe and all that I have to satisfie your Ladyship, rather then I will marre your displeasure that hath bene heretofore so good and gracious unto me. I have neyther eloquence nor understandinge to perswade your Ladyship to graunte me this my poore sute in my greatest nede and necessitie. But it must come from him who gives unto those that be his assured ~~prosperity~~ adversity as prosperity and I trust he will incline your harte to graunt me this my poore sute. And hopinge of your Ladyship's good favour herein, I most humblie take my leave. From the Strande, this viiith of Februarie 1593.

Your Ladyship's moste bounden to commande,
Bartholomew Kempe.

88. Anne Bacon to Anthony Bacon, [between 8 and 12 February 1594]⁵⁵⁵

Holograph. LPL 653, fos 34^{or}–34^{iv}. 2pp.
Endorsed (fō. 34^{iv}): lettre de Madame

I sent yow my cosin Kempe lettre by goodeman Rolff. His maner of writing is very unkinde and allmost unchristian, knowing as he doth myn unmoveable purpose to that last use and that it was only of trust and upon a moneth's warning betwixt him and me. I never thought it possible such dealing ~from him^. He hopes belyke of some delay

⁵⁵³the revercion . . . sonne Kemp, together with his son Nicholas, was granted the patent of the office of clerk for writing presentations in Chancery in 1591. It is likely that he held the office prior to 1591, but the patent secured his son's succession to the post. See *History of Parliament*, II, pp. 390–391.

⁵⁵⁴fouer . . . payement Presumably Kemp is asking to be granted a day when the payment must be made in four or five years' time.

⁵⁵⁵[between 8 and 12 February 1594] Anne stated that she was sending Bartholomew Kemp's letter, 87, written on 8 February, with her letter. Anthony responded to this letter from his mother with 89.

after my time. But I wyll by the grace of the Lord follow it to have ^{it} by law ow't of hande. I pray yow sende me advyse by law how to begin and to proceade, for I cannot away with such dealing in such a matter and for such a use.

I mean also, God wylling, to send for my implements there upon Wensday next, yf Mr Yarts,⁵⁵⁶ ^{your man}, may go. I wolde have him ready ^{here} by ix of the clock with horse yf he may. Yf his leasure serve not, I wyll sende Lawrence and some other, because my cosin wyllbe away abowt ende of the week at Wynsor and uncertein of his return ^{to London}, yf not unwylling.

*Cura ut bene valeas.*⁵⁵⁷

Sende my lettre from my cosin, I pray.

89. *Anthony Bacon to Anne Bacon, 12 February 1594*

Draft. LPL 649, fo. 50r–v. 1p.

Endorsed (fo. 50v.): A Madame le 12me de fevrier 1593

Madame,

I receyved by goodman Rolfe my cosene Kemp's lettre to your Ladyship, the contents whereof were verie farre both from my expectation and contentment, ~~namely from him~~ as well in respect of his undutyfullnes towards your Ladyship as of the carlesnes of his owne credit; which yf without declaringe my self sencelesse, I could finde anie trewe reason to induce me thinke that it proceded anie waie of necessity, I should be as redy to intreat your Ladyship in his behalf as I am now loth to dissuade ~~your Ladyship~~ yow from your resolution to recover your dew out of his hands. And yet under your Ladyship's correction, consideringe this tearme is nowe at an ende me thinketh it were ~~never~~ not amis to ~~differre~~ surcharge him with kindnes so farre forthe as to give him ^{therefore} some respite betwixt this and the next tearme, in case he should forget himself so extremely as not to satisfie your Ladyship before.

Touchinge the service of my man Yates, he shalbe according to his bounden dewtie ready, ~~at the~~ ^{God willinge}, one Wednesdaie next at the houre appointed.

⁵⁵⁶ **Yarts** Edward Yates, a servant of Anthony Bacon's. Yates had served Anthony Bacon while he was in France and he returned to France extensively between 1594 and 1596. See *Troubled Life*, p. 129; G. Ungerer, *The Correspondence of Antonio Pérez's Exile*, 2 vols (London, 1974–1976), II, pp. 9–11.

⁵⁵⁷ *Cura . . . valeas* [Latin] 'Take care of your good health'.

I am bould to sende your Ladyship hereinlosed a lettre of Mr Harey Gosnalls,⁵⁵⁸ thinkinge it more convenient for my self and comfortable ^to^ your Ladyship that yow should understande rather by other relation then by ^my^ owne reporte that which concerneth him who is so neare and deare unto your Ladyship and my self ^to us both^. And so ~~most humble~~ with remembrance of my humble dewty, I take my leave.

Redborne, this 12th of February 1593.

90. *Anthony Bacon to Anne Bacon, 14 February 1594*

Draft. LPL 649, fo. 51r–v. 1p.

Endorsed (fo. 51v): A Madame le 14me de fevrier 1593

Madame,

I have perused this ~~which~~ ^coppie which^ it pleased your Ladyship to sende me and meane not to perswade your Ladyship to alter anie thing therein, by reason I cannot imagine whie or howe his present refuse and demande of furder delaie.⁵⁵⁹ Possibly proceade of necessitie, as I would have tould him plainly my self yf he had ever spoken or sent unto me about it, that which I wrote unto your Ladyship, ~~for~~ to give him the respeit till the next tearme, was not upon anie intent or desire to pleasure the man havinge never deserved it at my handes, but ^for^ that I did thinke that your Ladyship could not conveniently begine anie suite againste him sooner. And so I most humble take my leave.

Redborne, this 14th of Februarie 1593.

91. *Francis Bacon to Anne Bacon, 14 February 1594*

Copy. LPL 649, fo. 60r–v. 1p.

*Endorsed (fo. 40v): La copie de la de Monsieur Francois Bacon a Madame touchant le fait de Mr Kemp le 14me de fevrier 1593.*⁵⁶⁰

After remembrance of my humble deuty it is so that my cosen Kemp is gonne to Windsore and, as he appointed, not to retorne till the ende of the next weeke. He acquainted me of his going upon this occacion

⁵⁵⁸to sende . . . Harey Gosnalls For the report of Francis Bacon in Henry Gosnold's letter, see LPL 653, fos 187r–188v.

⁵⁵⁹his . . . delaie Bartholomew Kemp's delayed payment. See letters 87, 88, and 89.

⁵⁶⁰La copie . . . 1593 [French] 'A copy [of a letter] from Mr Francis Bacon to the mistress, regarding the act of Mr Kemp, on the 14th of February 1593'.

that he brought to me and lefte with me a cuple of keys, sayinge that he thought your Ladyship would sende for certen apperell which by the meanes of these keys your Ladyship maight receive. So that by reason of his absence your Ladyship's lettre could not be delivered. And your servant Lawrence was of opinion, and so me thought he had reason, that suche thinges as your Ladyship sent for, beinge delivered and chardged by inventorie, could not be safelie redelivered without his presence. For your Ladyship's monie, my cosen Kemp tould me that rather then he would purchase your Ladyship's displeasure he would provide it, what shifte so ever he made. And so I thinke verielye he will. Therefore my intention is at his comming to deliver your Ladyship's lettre and to proceed as you have directed, except I heare otherwis from your Ladyship in the meane time. Furder, if your Ladyship withdrawe anie implementes of house from hence, which I take it were suche as served in Yorke Howse,⁵⁶¹ your Ladyship had ever ^an^ intention they should have bene bestowed of Markes⁵⁶² or Twicknam,⁵⁶³ and indeed I want them, and finde howe costlie the buyinge of it newe is. Whereof I doe but remember your Ladyship; for I am faine, as they saie, betwene Graise Inne and Twicknam to rob Peter and paie Paul and to remove my stooffe⁵⁶⁴ to and fro, which is chardgable and hurteth the stuffe. And therefore, Madame, they would doe wonderous well, yf yow thinke so good; and yf your Ladyship will give me leave to see what I want, the rest maie remaine where it shall please yow. But herein I referre my self to your Ladyship's good pleasur. Besides my cosen hath in coustodie my resideiw of plate, which yf your Ladyship take all out of his hands ^which^ I prairie yow let me receive. I have sent your Ladyship the key of your juell casket which I lately received from my cosen. I humblie thanke your Ladyship for your good counsell everie waie and I hope by God's assistance to followe the same. For my health, I shall have now some leysor⁵⁶⁵ to use the benefit of the springe season for the confirminge therof and I am right glad to understande it is so well with my brother as it is. And thus I leave your Ladyship to the good favour of the Almightye, hopinge this springe will recover clearly from your quartaine.⁵⁶⁶

From Grayse Inne, this 14th of Februarie 1593.

Your Ladyship's most obedient sonne,
Francis Bacon.

⁵⁶¹**Yorke Howse** Anne Bacon was bequeathed the remnant of the lease of York House in London in her husband's will. See *Stiffkey*, II, 26.

⁵⁶²**Markes** Marks manor. See the Introduction, p. 29.

⁵⁶³**Twicknam** See p. 129, n. 357.

⁵⁶⁴**stooffe** stuff.

⁵⁶⁵**leysor** leisure.

⁵⁶⁶**quartaine** Quartan fever. See p. 150, n. 463.

92. Anne Bacon to Anthony Bacon, 16 February 1594

Holograph. LPL 649, fos 39r–40v. 2pp.

Endorsed (fo. 40v): lettre de Madame 1593

I can very yll spare my howsholde men. It is a tyme of busines for sowing and for carieng woodd, besyde other home workes. I wolde not that eny belonging to me shuld take in others' manners. William Dell v yerres since was bowlde so with Mr Reade and had lyke to have sett him and well worthy by the heeles and so sent worde he wolde ^and I consented^; do not for a byrde begin no qwarell. Yow are yet unknown and not amongst the gentlemen and Justice. And your men as others maye feede qwarells. As it is lyke Gooderam⁵⁶⁷ wyll suff[er] as bygg and bowld to hinder peace and qwiet. Be advised, I pray yow, but myne must not. As for Carpenter, I am not fully agreed of his dwelling, both for myn own uncertein and weaking body, as also because he is geven to typling disorder and worse. So as I yet stay dowtfull till more proffe; for dronkelyk hath he ben often, though not wylling to heare of it. I mowght have had him or this elce but all these bybbers ar contentious and furnish.⁵⁶⁸ He hath also used idle stealing with Dell as are of his scollers and in dede besyde such idle occupation marrs their goode husbandry and make them but lease ill. I have kept him well in and to his worke for the tyme. He hath hethertoo ben with me and may not go eny where with owt my leave. Send him back again in tyme, for he must ^not^ lye abroad. Them ^as late^ shall, God wylling, comm to morow morning to yow but not tary, but so as he be heere at evening ^afternoone^ cathesing,⁵⁶⁹ because the next day following all my folk are examined by Mr Wyblud⁵⁷⁰ again. Yf yow wyll eny feasons here to sende to Grayes Inne, now at reading or for your selff, apoint as yow think mete Thomas Knight. God encrease your health with his blessed favour. Use gestation,⁵⁷¹ not violent body exercyse and use your leggs, ayre, diett and rest in season and kepe your joints from colde taking in eny wyse, and ryse not ^in nyght^, drink not late nor especially ^in the^ night, as frendly to the gowte and

⁵⁶⁷**Gooderam** Thomas Gotheram. See p. 149, n. 462.

⁵⁶⁸**furnish** furnish themselves.

⁵⁶⁹**cathesing** catechizing.

⁵⁷⁰**Mr Wyblud** Humphrey Willblood. See p. 104, n. 207.

⁵⁷¹**gestion** The act of being carried, for example in a carriage or on horseback, was regarded as a form of exercise. See *OED*.

very hurtfull for the gowty party. *Obserua et bene vale et cura diligentissime ut quam optime valeas et sis homo frugi per crumena.*⁵⁷²

Gorhambury 16 February 93.

Your mother,
AB.

93. *Anne Bacon to Anthony Bacon, 25 February 1594*

Holograph. LPL 649, fo. 37r–v. 1p.

Endorsed (fo. 37v): Lettre de Madame receue 25me de feueurier 1593

I cary a continuall greef for your $\hat{n}o^{\hat{}}$ intermiting syckness. The Lorde release it in his good tyme to your comfort. Beere I can very yll spare, but the carying in nowyse. My husbandry horses betwixt wood carieng, wherof yet I have not xx loads caried and now earnest sowying, I can not spare to lett one dry, whylest season serueth, but as yll as I am want my drink this halt lent tyme. Yf it be for own drinking in dede, or your frends, sende me plain worde by the boy *statim*.⁵⁷³ Yf for your howse, though I can not in dede well spare, then of a newer for them. Let me know, I pray yow, but sende for it must nedes be or elce none at all in very dede. Let your men consider better and not be lavish. $\hat{I}d\hat{l}e^{\hat{}}$ Redborn men⁵⁷⁴ have hunt here allmost dayly; yf I were not syckly and weak I wolde owt my selff with all kind of doggs against them and kyll theirs, but stopp I do and wyll. Wynter must of necessitie attende upon myn appointed seruyce. Fyrst morning and evening he reade the chapter and prayers, with psalmes last of all. Now it is gardening also which must be plyed. I look for his diligent now attendance. Owld Smyth⁵⁷⁵ do naughty to leave ordinary ministry on the Sabbath for belly chew, and bading, and tellyng what he list in his cupps. I wyll be earnest with him for it. He shulde serve better example. I pray yow allow him not to do so ungodly even for hym self.

[*Left-hand margin*] This messenger must turn back strayt. God make yow hole and sownd. Send for bere or elce it can not be.

⁵⁷² *Obserua et . . . crumena* [Latin] ‘Observe and do well and take dilligent care so that you have the best possible health and that you are a thrifty man with your money’.

⁵⁷³ *statim* [Latin] ‘immediately’.

⁵⁷⁴ **Redborn men** Redbourn manor. See p. 102, n. 197.

⁵⁷⁵ **Owld Smyth** Presumably Richard Smyth. See p. 157, n. 495.

94. Anthony Bacon to Anne Bacon, 6 March 1594

Draft. LPL 649, fo. 88r–v. 1p.

Endorsed (fo. 88v): A Madame le 6me de mars 1593

Madame,

The cause of my over lately troublinge your ^Ladyship^ is to advertise yow ~~Ladyship~~ before my Lady Spolman's⁵⁷⁶ departure that his Lordship havinge not well Nicholas particularized unto me the contents of his ^Lordship's^ lettre unto your Ladyship maie perhaps looke for some ^further^ answeere then generalities of comendations or thanks from your ~~Ladyship~~ self. The consideration whereof, I submittinge unto your Ladyship's good ^will and^ pleasure, I humbly take my leave.

Redborne, this 6th of March 1593.

95. Bartholomew Kemp to Anne Bacon, 13 March 1594

Draft.⁵⁷⁷ LPL 649, fo. 63r–v. 1p.

Endorsed (fo. 63v): Lettre de Monsieur Kempe a Madame le 14me de mars 1593

Addressed (fo. 63r): To the honorable and my verie good Ladie, the Lady Anne Bacon, widowe, at Gorhamburie

I am verie sorie that I did so muche offend your Ladyship by my laste lettres. I will rather sell all that I have then offend yow willinglie. Trewly, Madame, yf it had not bene with me as it is at this present for want of monie, I ~~have~~ would never thus often have troubled your Ladyship with my rude lettres to forbear the same. And I doe knowe and am fullie perswaded that yow would have doone more for me then the forbearinge of one hundred poundes for some fewe yeares, had it not bene that your Ladyship appointed the same, as I knowe verie well, to the performance your will. Nowe, good Madame, this is my humble seute unto yow and I hope God will prolonge your yeares that it would please yow that upon bandes with good severtie⁵⁷⁸ unto suche as yow shall appoint that I might paie the same within one monthe next after God shall calle yow to his mercie. And this I trust in God will be not hard matter to obtaine of your Ladyship bycause

⁵⁷⁶**Spolman's** Presumably Lady Eleanor Spelman, wife of Sir Henry Spelman (c.1564–1641), of the Barbican, London, and Congham, Norfolk. Henry Spelman was a friend of Nathaniel Bacon's. See *Stiffkey*, III, p. 207.

⁵⁷⁷**Draft** The corrections suggest that the letter may be in draft form, which raises the possibility that Anthony Bacon helped Kemp craft the letter to his mother.

⁵⁷⁸**severtie** Presumably either 'severity' or 'surety'.

you have alwaies vouted the sayd to the excecution⁵⁷⁹ of your will. And I hope yow will thinke to paie the same within one moneth after the same, your decease, noe great time bycause yow ment it to that use. And thus leaueing this my sewte to your good Ladyship to dispose of as it shall please God to move your heart. ~~I am able~~ I remaine alwaies redy to doe yow and yours the best service that I am able. From Eaton this xiiiith of Marche 1593.

Your Ladyship's most bounde to commande,
Batholomew Kempe.

96. *Anne Bacon to Anthony Bacon, 25 March 1594*

Holograph. LPL 650, fo. 130r–v. 1p.

Endorsed (fo. 130v): lettre de Madame 1594

I besech God of his mercy in Christ, gwyde yow and govern yow and take continuall care of yow. Looke well to your selff and sytt not up late and beware of joints colde and sinowes. *Cura ut valeas ad Deum et patriam.*⁵⁸⁰ Commende to your brother. I hope he wylbe a Christian master and be carefull to please God and depende upon ^him^ with goode hope.

I sende yow this lettre from Sir Jhon Brakett⁵⁸¹ for vew of hors. Yf Edward were able, he shulde appere; I have now none other ready for it. Take saffe order for your howse and provision. Yow learned in Terence long ago, *sic luxuriantur famuli cum absunt domini.*⁵⁸²

*Bene vale in Christo.*⁵⁸³ Gorhambury. 25 Martii 94.

Sende me back the lettre by the boy.

⁵⁷⁹**excecution** execution.

⁵⁸⁰***Cura . . . patriam*** [Latin] 'Take care of your health with regard to God and your commonwealth'.

⁵⁸¹**Sir Jhon Brakett** Sir John Brocket. See p. 134, n. 394.

⁵⁸²***sic . . . domini*** [Latin] 'in this way the servants grow indulgent when the masters are absent'. Terence's original line is, in fact, '*perstrepunt, ita ut fit domini ubi absunt*' ('chattering away, as happens when the master is absent'): Terence, *Eunuchus*, trans. J. Barsby (London, 2001), p. 381 (3.5.600).

⁵⁸³***Bene vale in Christo*** [Latin] 'Farewell in Christ'.

97. Anne Bacon to Anthony Bacon, [late] March 1594⁵⁸⁴

Holograph. LPL 650, fo. 127r–v. 1p.

Endorsed (fo. 127v): lettre de Madame, mars 1594

One of the prophetts, Naom I think, ^sayth^ that the Lorde hath his way in the hurle wynde, the storme and tempest and cleudes⁵⁸⁵ are the dust of his fete.⁵⁸⁶ The wynde hath had great power. It hath thrown of a number of tyles, some frute trees and one or two other pales,⁵⁸⁷ posts and all, and stone pinacle, and, that I am soriest for, hath blown upp a shete of lead on one syde of the gate where the diall stands; but in my conscience your French cartall⁵⁸⁸ Jaqwes⁵⁸⁹ and all had before loosened it with hacking leade for pellets. I pray burn this; let them not see it, but hurtfull they ^were^. I desyre to know how yow did and do. I pray be carefull to be well to your own comfort and goode desyre of your frends, with avoyding coldetaking continually and preventing by warines; *sustine et abstine*⁵⁹⁰ and be cherefull and slepe in due tyme. I lyked nothing my cosin Kemp's lettre I sent yow. I wyll not grant. My time in God's hande and not at his appointment; he ever stode upon a moneth's warning in my lyffe. Some unknown tryck theris; it wyll not serve with me dowless and shall Elsdon and Brocket⁵⁹¹ thus dayly and mock still. Yf God geve me strength I wyll to London for these two cawses, by his mercyfull gwyding.

AB.

⁵⁸⁴ **[late] March 1594** In February and March 1594, Anne was in dispute with Bartholomew Kemp and she seems to make reference to **95** in this letter. As it is endorsed March 1594, it would seem to date from after 25 March, when the civil new year began.

⁵⁸⁵ **cleudes** clouds.

⁵⁸⁶ **Naom . . . his fete** Nahum 1:3.

⁵⁸⁷ **pales** fence posts.

⁵⁸⁸ **cartall** cartaller, i.e. challenger, one who challenges defiantly.

⁵⁸⁹ **Jaqwes** Jacques Petit. See p. 113, n. 267.

⁵⁹⁰ ***sustine et abstine*** [Latin] 'sustain and abstain'.

⁵⁹¹ **Elsdon and Brocket** Presumably Elsdon is the 'Mr Elsdon' mentioned in **29**, although nothing more is known of his connection to the Bacons. It is likely that Brocket is the Thomas Brocket referred to in **144**; he is presumably one of the many Hertfordshire Brockets, but again little is known about his association with the Bacon family.

98. Anne Bacon to Anthony Bacon, [late] March 1594⁵⁹²

Holograph. LPL 650, fos 128r–129v. 2pp.

Endorsement (fo. 129v): lettre de Madame mars 1594

I sende to know whther⁵⁹³ yow kepe your jorny to morow. Mr Spencer⁵⁹⁴ spake for horses. I promysed two. I mean to send one to bring them next day early back. They be grass horses, and but poore and faynt to kepe your coch horse pace, and I have no better, nor moe⁵⁹⁵ almost, nor mony for moe.

My selff, my horses and my mony is as goode as spent all. I thank God for all his goodeness, past and present. Yf yow had your health, my care shulde be much less for whatsoever. It was towlde me the Mayor⁵⁹⁶ of the town and some of company with yow; surely, sonne, onely for their own credit. An truly and much misordred town, all for their own profytt marvelous greedy. I hard their offred forsooth great to have yow Justice amongst them. Take it not yet sonne, *si sapis*,⁵⁹⁷ it is but to charge yow and make a partaker of all their undiscret and wrangle bra[w]les. Your father cowlde never have their goode wyll, because he wold reprove and hinder their riots and disorders sondry weies betwixt Albons and Redborn. Gorhambury is besett and the worse for the yll prophaness and unruly lycentiousnes of those beggerly towns.

Take goode order how yow leave your ^howse^ in your absenc. They wyll make havock and revell abroad when yow are gon and make lyberall expences of your back and other things. And also for the safty of your howse. The Lord in mercy be with yow both. Feare God, look to your health and mare your bodyes⁵⁹⁸ with vain discourrsing late. Be not liberall of spece; yow know how to use all the Lord Treasurer and others. Be ware and wyse and still my sons *ad consilium ^reti^neor*.⁵⁹⁹ The blessing of God be with yow; kepe yow from sinn and evel. Look to your servants ^with^ your brother.

[*Left-hand margin*] From my cosin Kempe, nothing but down payment. I am fully still and shalbe resolved. Let him not unkindly and so to

⁵⁹² [late] March 1594 The reference to Bartholomew Kemp's payment suggests this dates from late March 1594, as opposed to March 1594/5.

⁵⁹³ whther whether.

⁵⁹⁴ Mr Spencer Edward Spencer. See p. 122, n. 317.

⁵⁹⁵ moe more.

⁵⁹⁶ the Mayor John Moseley. See *Corporation Records*, p. 292.

⁵⁹⁷ *si sapis* [Latin] 'if you are wise'.

⁵⁹⁸ mare your bodyes Presumably Anne meant to write 'mare not your bodyes'.

⁵⁹⁹ *ad . . . retineor* [Latin] 'I am restrained to counsel'.

his discredit compel me to law. I never was for myn own necessitie
[...].⁶⁰⁰

99. Anne Bacon to Anthony Bacon, [late March 1594]⁶⁰¹

Holograph. LPL 653, fos 254r–255v. 2pp.

Endorsed (fo. 255v): lettre de Madame

God geve yow grace well to do and geve yow goode understanding to discern and follow that which best pleaseth him and is goode for your self every way. Yow sende for ii loads of bushes and ii quarters wheate; yf had stayed,⁶⁰² I had ben more wylling. But truly for my corn, the last yere's cropp was but small and my owld well nigh spent and in dede, as I towlde yow, having no mony for the poore, I have wyllde corne to them. So that I may not nor wyll not by the grace of God be wanting to that use. In trowth I can hardly spare ii quarters but ii yow shall have for this present, which is three in all and trust to it I wyll geve no more tyll I se the wyll of God. For my lyff afterwarde, I leave to ^in^ the worlde ^and^ to your disposition. I marvell yow send to me for bushes. Yf yow wyll have eny yow must appoynt with my consent, and Crosby's⁶⁰³ discretion where, and not above ii loade; they are yll to comeby and scant besyde. Yow must provyde cariag of your own. My folk cannot by no means intend it. I am to make provision of ^work^ for my howse and to plow; inowgh ^labour^ for myn own beasts and servants. Goodram must not ^make^ my men his underlyngs to check and commande for their honest hart to yow and to me, and yf Crosby forgett, I must remember myn own busines in time. He is not ^yet^ throughly acqwainted with my doings and this I am sure of by my ^own^ example, none that serveth me with a sownd and a Christian ^hart^ but are most wylling to accompt yow their master and ready to shew it. But fawners for their own turn to charge yow, beware how yow trust them too well with lyght affection and later costly experience. Yf Mr Faunt wolde tary all night, I desyre him to forbear. It is my syck

⁶⁰⁰ [...] The rest of this sentence is obscured by the binding.

⁶⁰¹ [late March 1594] This letter is difficult to date from the internal evidence. However, Anthony asked for a quarter of wheat on 8 February 1594 (86) and this letter refers to his request for a further two quarters, which Anne stated meant that he had had three quarters of wheat from her in total. The letter also mentions Brocket and horses, which suggests that it was written around the time that Sir John Brocket and Anne were corresponding regarding this matter (96). It also makes reference to a visit of Anthony Bacon's, which may be that mentioned in 98.

⁶⁰² yf had stayed if you had stayed.

⁶⁰³ Crosby John Crosby, a servant of Anne Bacon's, later bought Windridge manor from Anthony Bacon in October 1599. See *VCH, A History of the County of Hertford*, 2 vols (London, 1908), II, p. 399.

day, thowgh every day syckly after a sorte. Yf Brockett spake not with yow ^to the mater^, Goodram knowes I ment the lettre shulde have ben delivered to him. It is but hollow handling. Commende me to Mr Trott and shew not your men my lettre or the contents to misconster.⁶⁰⁴

Your mother, AB.

**100. Anne Bacon to Anthony Bacon and Francis Bacon,
[before April 1594]**⁶⁰⁵

Holograph. LPL 653, fos 246r–247v. 2pp.

Endorsed (f 247v): lettre de Madame

Addressed (fo. 247v): To both my sonnes at Gray Inn

The Lorde of grace and health bless yow both in your phisick and allweyes and worke in yow both a goode ^and fervent^ desyre and a right use of the heavenly phisick to strengthen yow against all dangerous infection of mynde and bodie. Beware of synn in your selffe and yours; ‘Beware of the concision’, *ut ait apostulus*⁶⁰⁶ and subtill seducers. And beware also of your speches towching matters God suffreth for a ponishment of our carnall securitee to be qwickned with workers of iniquitee⁶⁰⁷ under pretence, therfore nede of provident wysdome and patience and requisite silence.

Agews⁶⁰⁸ hardhandling and somtime ending after langwishing be here abowts some what rieff. Litle Peter is payned with red swelling in knee and neerer plaices but not syck much yet, I thank God. Mr Wyborn came down a litle towched in foote but now I dowt with plain *podagra*.⁶⁰⁹ He wyseth him selff well at London. Yf yow be content so, I wolde pearce 1 vessell of your owlde claret wyne. I offer the whyte wyne but learned men and some others ask for claret. I towlde yow at first what Franklin wolde do; dryve ^of^ conningly and then slipp the coller lyke a crafty worldelyng. I dispraise none upon mallice, I thank God of his grace, but upon experience of their much evell doings. I do with a Christian judgment take hede of them and avoyde dealing with them so familiarly. Well take hede of Goodram. He jornieth to

⁶⁰⁴ **misconster** misconstrue.

⁶⁰⁵ **[before April 1594]** This undated letter must have been sent before Anthony left Gray’s Inn, given the address.

⁶⁰⁶ ***ut ait apostulus*** [Latin] ‘as the apostle says’. See Philippians 3:2.

⁶⁰⁷ **workers of iniquitee** For this common scriptural expression, see particularly the Psalms (6:8, 29:3, 36:12, 53:4, 59:2, 64:2, 94:4, 125:5, 141:9), as well as Proverbs (10:29, 21:15), Job (31:3, 34:8, 34:22), and Luke 13:27.

⁶⁰⁸ **Agews** Agues, i.e. ague fevers.

⁶⁰⁹ ***podagra*** [Latin] ‘gout’, specifically gout in the feet.

harken of your sale and receipte to pay his riotus and ungodly, I know it, expences and after kick his heele at yow on less yow make him to bowdle with yow for his credit. He is owt of dowt but *mala mens et malus tuis*⁶¹⁰ for all his owtward fawning with tryfles to make yow pay deere. Looke to that and such lyke in time and for yowng Robert Bayly; he did grow lyke his father, litle goode fayth and very wylde and ignorant and irreligious. *Cogita et ne quid temere*.⁶¹¹ Yow may hinder your credit with the better with interteining unadvised the worse. My counsell hath ever ben for your goode, both to your brother and yow; *dies docebit*.⁶¹² For the wyne, write your mynd, elce wylbe a spech to procure folk to sende for it liberally which is not my custome but upon some neighbourly occasion *et hoc rare*.⁶¹³ In your phisick, kepe a constant wyse coorse that goode may follow wyth God his blessing. Avoyd sutch, watch now. All for now both.

[*Left-hand margin*] Let your brother read this as myne and be godly advised of spech and cherefull. God is wyser and stronger then men and wyll reign for ever. Yf cawse shulde be yet let which wyll hurt. Let your brother wysely kepe the Lord Tresurer and Syr Robert's favour. *Propter rumorem, dissimulatore loco et pie et prudentia. Vale*.⁶¹⁴

101. *Anne Bacon to Anthony Bacon, April 1594*

Holograph. LPL 650, fos 187r–188v. 2pp.

Endorsed (fo. 188v): lettre de Madame avril 1594

Having some spech with Mr Henshew⁶¹⁵ after yow went hence towching your howse taken in Bishopsgate *Strete*,⁶¹⁶ he very soberly sayde 'God geve him well to be there, for this last plage that strete was much visited and so was Colman Strete; large and wyde stretes both', and asking him what ministry there, he answerd itt was very mean. The minister there but ignorant and as commonly with all careless and he thought yow shulde fynde the people therafter geven to voluptousnes, and the more to make them so having but

⁶¹⁰*mala . . . tuis* [Latin] 'a bad mind and bad for yours'. Anne was here recalling Terence's line '*Mala mens, malus animus*': Terence, *Andrian*, 164.

⁶¹¹*Cogita . . . temere* [Latin] 'Think and do nothing rashly'.

⁶¹²*dies docebit* [Latin] 'the day will teach', i.e. time will tell.

⁶¹³*et hoc rare* [Latin] 'and this rarely'.

⁶¹⁴*Propter . . . Vale*. [Latin] 'Close to the report, the dissembler in place and conscientious and with foresight. Farewell'.

⁶¹⁵**Mr Henshew** Possibly Thomas Henshaw, London lawyer and MP for Whitchurch in 1597 and 1601. See *History of Parliament*, II, p. 293.

⁶¹⁶**your howse . . . Strete** For the move, see H. Berry, 'Chambers, the Bull, and the Bacons', *Essays in Theatre*, 7 (1988), pp. 35–42.

mean or no edifieng instruction. The Bull Inne there with continuall enterludes⁶¹⁷ had even infected the inhabitants there with corrupt and lewde dispotions;⁶¹⁸ and so accountd of he was even sory on your behalf. I promiss yow, sonne, it hath runn in my mynde since with greeff and feare for yow and yours to dwell so dangerously every way. I marvell yow did not fyrst consider of the ministry as most of all nedefull ^consydering your state^ and then to have so neere a place haunted with such pernicious and obscean playes and theaters able to poyson the very godly and, do what yow can, your servants shalbe entyced and spoyled. Goode Lorde, thougth I, how yll falleth it owt ^for^ the choyce of the best exercises and commoditees in places to dwell ^for my chylderen^, for no ministry at Twyttnam nether. Surely I am very sory yow went from Grayes Inne, where was very good ayre and Christian company in comparison, to charge and venture your selff, your lymms no better. But your men ~~over~~ overrule yow and seeke them selffs and not yow in dede when yow overtrust. God bless yow and kepe yow from evell.

AB.

102. *Anne Bacon to Anthony Bacon, [before 3 June 1594]*⁶¹⁹

Holograph. LPL 653, fo. 362r–v. 1p.
Endorsed (fo. 362v): lettre de Madame

I had thougth to have come to see yow but this Aprillyke shoower lett it. It is lyke the gowt worketh with the weather. Have patience and looke upp to God and wysely and warely order your selff. I feare your last drink is to strong for ordinary drink, not yf ^yow^ can betwixt meales, nor after supper to bedward or in the night. Your father was so counsellid and folowed it well but upon some extremitie and wolde say he fownde goode of it and wolde wash his mowth with a garglyng glass.

⁶¹⁷**The Bull . . . enterludes** The Bull Inn was on the west side of Bishopsgate Street and regularly staged plays from at least 1577. See G. Wickham, H. Berry, and W. Ingram (eds), *English Professional Theatre, 1530–1660* (Cambridge, 2000), p. 295.

⁶¹⁸**dispotions** Presumably 'dispositions'.

⁶¹⁹**[before 3 June 1594]** This undated letter is difficult to place in an exact chronology. Thomas Newton was imprisoned repeatedly between 1592 and June 1594. For Newton, see LPL 650, fo. 347r. The 'backgon bishop' described by Anne is John Aylmer, the bishop of London, so the letter must have been written before his death on 3 June 1594.

My man sayde as he came away forenoone he mett Mr Kempe⁶²⁰ coming to yow with one cheined. Yow know how to use curtesye and yet *ne quid nimis*⁶²¹ but with gravitee. He belongeth to the bishopp and dyd hurt in Mr Dyke's⁶²² and Mr Cooke's⁶²³ tyme and was ^then^ as the official now in maner. They be byting vipers, the hole pack of them. They can flatter and his too their venom. Be wysely ware of them and such and promiss not to do much for them. For thei are all for them selff and hindrerers of goode men and matters pryvy or apert⁶²⁴ *ut vulgo dicitur*.⁶²⁵ Had I thowght he had come to yow I wolde have desyred some motion to him for poore Newton, prisoned by such as he and others now in place. The Lorde pull them owt of ther dwelling in his goode tyme and their backgon bishop.⁶²⁶

Burn this, though I wryte tru. Beware of liberall speeches the⁶²⁷ captious dayes.

AB.

Your brother, Sir Nicolas, towlde my cosin Kempe, as he lately towlde me, that one tyme at ende of his gowt (I am not sure of the tyme) that he sett leaches to his leggs, which drew so much blood with some exercyse upon it that he hath fownde much ease ever synce. Take hede, I pray yow, how yow do all your phisick practises. I did but write this by the way. Yow may know better of my cosin Kempe him selff.

⁶²⁰**Mr Kempe** David Kempe had served as the archdeacon of St Albans between 1560 and 1581. See J. Le Neve, *Fasti Ecclesie Anglicane 1541–1857*, comp. J.M. Horn *et al.*, 12 vols (London, 1962–), I, p. 14.

⁶²¹*ne quid nimis* [Latin] 'nothing to excess'.

⁶²²**Mr Dyke's** William Dike had previously been installed by Anne as assistant curate of St Michael's parish, close to Gorhambury. For more on Dike at St Michael's, see *Cooke Sisters*, pp. 178–179.

⁶²³**Mr Cooke's** Erasmus Cooke was the vicar at St Michael's from 1591 to 1607. For more on Cooke at St Michael's, see *Cooke Sisters*, pp. 179–180.

⁶²⁴**apert** open.

⁶²⁵*ut vulgo dicitur* [Latin] 'as is commonly said'.

⁶²⁶**backgon bishop** John Aylmer was bishop of London from 1577 to 1594. The archdeaconry of St Albans was under the diocese of London until 1845.

⁶²⁷**the** these.

103. *Anne Bacon to Anthony Bacon, [before 3 June 1594]*⁶²⁸

Holograph. LPL 653, fo. 335r–v. 1p.

Yf the rolls must be searched, I pray yow cause yow it to be done. I have no body of skill to do it. It wolde not be much spoken of. Your brother must think to borow. I am at this time greatly ^grieved^ because Mr Wyblud⁶²⁹ is committed by that godles Bishop⁶³⁰ to the Gatehowse for refusing to pay unlawfull charge to a wycked fellow of Redborn that hath ^had^ Mr Wylblud's lyving by sequestration this yere and⁶³¹ spent upon his malicious sutes that he neded not. Boner, I think, did not so far cruelly in such case.⁶³² I pray remember to search in time by some honest frend. I think the date of thindenture must be known for the yere wherin to search. Your brother had nede think of borrowing mony, yf but for halff first and get further day for the other yf he can. I am determyned as I may with good counsell follow for Mr Wylblud's wrong dealing, the Lorde assisting as I trust he wyll, to whome I ^commend^ the goode cause and injust ponishing of his most faythfull servants.

God bless yow both with perfect health and have care to fare well and do well.

AB.

104. *Anthony Bacon to Anne Bacon, 4 June 1594*

Draft. LPL 650, fo. 213r–v. 1p.

Endorsed (fo. 213v): A Madame le 4me de juni 1594

My most humble dewty remembered.

Your Ladyship's minde ~~God willing~~ *et ultima voluntas*⁶³³ shall by God's help and favour be dewtyfully and thoroughly performed, bothe in substance and ^all^ circumstances, accordinge to your owne desire

⁶²⁸ [**before 3 June 1594**] The dating of this letter is difficult to determine. The references to Francis' debt are inexact. The letter mentions Humphrey Wilblood, who was deprived of his benefice in 1592 and was licensed again in 1594 to officiate and teach in the archdeaconry, but was forbidden from preaching or acting as a schoolmaster. As with **102**, it must at least have been written before the death of John Aylmer, the bishop of London, on 3 June 1594.

⁶²⁹ **Mr Wyblud** Humphrey Wilblood. See p. 104, n. 207.

⁶³⁰ **godles Bishop** John Aylmer, bishop of London. See p. 181, n. 626.

⁶³¹ **and** Repeated.

⁶³² **Boner . . . case** Edmund Bonner, bishop of London, 1540–1549 and 1553–1559; known as 'Bloody Bonner' for his persecution of heresy under Mary I.

⁶³³ *et ultima voluntas* [Latin] 'and last wish'.

and appointment. Though I veryly hope that your Ladyship's time is not so neare as by a Christian and wyse foresight your Ladyship semeth to apprende. Touchinge Stretlie,⁶³⁴ I besече your Ladyship give me leave to followe Ecclesiasticus' sute and wyse and charitable advise where he suithe sayinge 'Despise not a man that turnethe him self awaie from sinne, nor caste him not in the teethe with all but remember that we are all worthy blame',⁶³⁵ which counsell is directly confirmed by St Paule in the 6th to the Galatyans, the first and seconde verse in these wordes, 'Bretheren, yf a man be sodainly taken in my offence, yea which are spirituall, restore suche an one with the spirite of meaknes concideringe thy self least thou also be tempted & c.'⁶³⁶

Mr Welplet⁶³⁷ and Mr Aake, I thanke them, were here with one yesterdaie to whom I offred, yf it might stande them in any stead, my best endeavour in their particular businesses. And so I most humbly take my leave.

London this 4th of *Junii* 1594.

Your Ladyship's most humble and obedient sonne.

105. *Francis Bacon to Anne Bacon, 9 June 1594*

Copy. LPL 650, fo. 217r–v. 1p.

*Endorsed (fo. 217v): Copie de la lettre de Monsieur Francois Bacon a Madame, le gme de juin, 1594.*⁶³⁸

My humble dewtie remembred. I was sorry to understand by goodman Gotheram that your Ladyship did finde anie weaknes, which I hope was but caused by the season and weather, which waxeth more hot and fainte. I was not sorry, I assure your Ladyship, that yow came not up, in regard that the stirringe at this tyme of year and the place where yow should lye, not beinge very open nor freshe, mought⁶³⁹ rather hurt your Ladyship then otherwise. And for any thinge to be passed to Mr Trot, suche is his kindnes, as he demandeth it not, and therefor as I am to thanke your Ladyship for your willingnes, so it shall not be needfull

⁶³⁴**Stretlie** Possibly the Mr Stretley who became schoolmaster of the St Albans grammar school in 1597 at Anthony Bacon's instigation. See **188**.

⁶³⁵**Despise . . . blame** Ecclesiasticus 8:5. Anthony was here quoting the exact wording of the Geneva Bible.

⁶³⁶**Bretheren . . . tempted & c** Galatians 6:1.

⁶³⁷**Mr Welplet** See p. 127, n. 350.

⁶³⁸**Copie . . . 1594** [French] 'Copy of a letter from Mr Francis Bacon to the mistress, on the 9th of June 1594'.

⁶³⁹**mought** might.

but uppon suche an occasion as maie be without your trouble, which the rather be bycause I purpose to, ^God willinge^, comme downe, and it be but for a daie, to visit your Ladyship and to doe my dewtie to yow. In the meane tyme I prairie your Ladyship as yow have done the parte of a good Christian and saint of God in the comfortable preparinge for your ende, so neverthelesse, I prairie denie not your body the dew, nor your children and frends, and the church of God, which hath use of yow, but that yow enter not into furder conceyte then is cause, and withall use all comfortes and helpes that are good for your health and strength. In truth I hard Sir Jhon Scidmore⁶⁴⁰ often complaine after his quartan⁶⁴¹ had lefte him that he founde suche an heavines and swellinge, speciallie under his ribbes, that he thought he was buried under earthe half from the waste, and therefore that accident is but incident. Thus I commend your Ladyship to God's good preservation. From Graise Inne, this 9th of June 1594.

Your Ladyship's most obedient sonne,
Francis Bacon.

It maie be I shall have occasion, bycause nothings is yet donne in the choyce of a Solicitor,⁶⁴² to visit the courte this vacation, which I have not nowe donne this month's space, in which respecte, bycause carriage stufte to and fro spoylethe it, I would be glad of that light bed of stryped stufte which your Ladyship hath, yf you have not otherwise disposed it.

106. Anthony Bacon to Anne Bacon, 10 June 1594

Draft. LPL 650, fo. 214r-v. 1p.

Endorsed (fo. 214v): A Madame le 10me le juni 1594

My most humble dewty remembred.

The time is yet to come, Madame, God be thanked who knoweth the harte and searcheth the ~~raynes~~ reynes that I ever misdoubted or mistooke your Ladyship's motherly affection ^meaninge in your admonitions^ and advis which if I doe not ~~sturdley~~ ^allwayes immediately^ and verbally performe your Ladyship, I know, is wyse and kinde to thinke that the difference and delaie maie ^be justly

⁶⁴⁰**Sir Jhon Scidmore** Sir John Scudamore, Hertfordshire gentleman and husband to Mary Scudamore, a close confidante of Elizabeth I. For Mary Scudamore, see **114**.

⁶⁴¹**quartan** quartan fever (see p. 150, n. 463).

⁶⁴²**the choyce of a Solicitor** The position of solicitor-general became vacant on the appointment of Edward Coke as attorney-general on 10 April 1594.

occasioned and proceed from any other cause rather than from want of deutfull respect.

Touchinge musique as I knowe the knowledge and my right use thereof to be Christian and comparable ~~so I am~~ so doe I contemne and abhorre the sondry abuses thereof. I have signified unto my brother your Ladyship's mind and resolution to effectuate whatsoever shall be in reason founde requisite for Mr Trot's full satisfaction and assurance, who freely trulie Madame hath showde ~~so great~~ more real confidence and kindnes towards us bothe then I thinke all our brethren and uncles together would have performed, yf we had bene constrayned to have had recourse to them ~~upon nowe~~ in the like case. I purpose, God willing, to doe my dewtie unto your Ladyship after the tearme but not to remaine at Redbourne above ~~two~~ 3 daies for the by reason of some business which your Ladyship, shall with God's leave, shall understand by my self and so I most humblie take my leave.

London the 10th of June 1594.

107. *Anthony Bacon to Anne Bacon, 22 June 1594*

Draft.⁶⁴³ LPL 650, fo. 212r-v. 1p.

Endorsed (fo. 212v): A Madame le 22me de juni 1594

My most humble dewtie remembered.

It is verie trewe Madame that amongst other speche with goodman Crosbie I let fale that yf your Ladyship could have conveniently spared a hundred ponde it should not have bene unseasonable ~~but as your in this my common~~, but as in me incuringe this to Crosbie to mention it to your Ladyship, I preferred your Ladyship's conveniencie before myne owne desire and occasions, so am I nowe as verie redie to make a full point without ~~pressinge yo~~ proceedinge anie funder. As for this bearer I hope your Ladyship shall finde by his dewtyfull demeanour that he hath served a master that hath kepte and can kepe in good rule, more unrully then ever he was, otherwise I would be verie lothe that he should be nearer your Ladyship.

⁶⁴³**Draft** There are rough notes in the top right-hand corner of the letter ('Madame, may it please your Ladyship') and towards the bottom of the page ('To the honorable and').

I have understood by Mr Lawson⁶⁴⁴ that he hath receyvd the 2 globes and astrulabe⁶⁴⁵ of your Ladyship. I and⁶⁴⁶ thank you Ladyship therefore, as also for Lawson himself, who I hope with God's grace will omit nothinge, ~~that he~~ eyther in the ^dewtyfull honest^ cariadge of himself, or his faithfull care of ^and diligence^ in my busines, that he can conceave, maie procure and confirme your Ladyship's good opinion of him. I sent worde by him that the soonest leysure I looke for to come downe would be a 12 daies hence, before which time I will not faile to advertise your Ladyship more certainly. And so I most ^humble^ take my leave.

London this 22 of *Junii* 1594.

Your Ladyship's moste obedient sonne,
Anthony Bacon.

108. *Anthony Bacon to Anne Bacon, 12 July 1594*

Draft. LPL 650, fo. 228r–v. 1p.

Endorsed (fo. 228v): A Madame mere de Monsieur le 12me de juillet 1594.

Address (228v): To the honorable and his very good Lady and mother the Lady Anne Bacon widowe.⁶⁴⁷

Madame, for answeere (on my parte) to your Ladyship's lettre to us bothe, havinge asked councell and leave of him who onlie knoweth and guydeth the hartes, I founde my self imboldened with the warrant of a good conscience, and by the force of truthe, to remonstrate unto your Ladyship, with a moste dewtyfull minde and tender care of your Ladyship's soule and reputation, that howsoever your Ladyship dothe pretende and alledge for reason your motherlie affection towards us in that which concerneth the Lawson, yet anie man of judgme[nt] and indifferency must needs take it for a meere passion, springinge eyther from presumption (that your Ladyship ~~can your~~ can only judge and see that in the man, which never anie man yet hath scene ~~or for shame dare saie~~) or from a souveraigne desire to overrule your sonnes in all things, how litle soever yow understande eyther the grounde or the circumstances of their proceedings, or els from ~~lacke~~ want of charety, abandoninge your minde continuallie to most

⁶⁴⁴**Mr Lawson** Thomas Lawson. See p. 99, n. 184.

⁶⁴⁵**astrulabe** An astrolabe was an instrument used for making astronomical measurements.

⁶⁴⁶**I and** Presumably this is misordered and should read 'And I'.

⁶⁴⁷**To ... widowe** There is also another address at the bottom of fo. 228v, in reference to another letter, stating 'To his right honorable and very good Lord'.

strange and wrongfull suspitions, notwithstandinge all most humble submissions and indeavours possible on his parte to procure your Ladyship's satisfaction and contentment. This my remonstrance as I have just cause to feare that ^{it} will at the first ~~by~~ sight be offensive to your Ladyship, yet have I noe lesser reason to hope that Almighty God, ~~that~~ ^{who} knoweth with how dewtyfull intente and to what ende I have made the same, will ⁱⁿ his mercie^e dispose your Ladyship's harte not to yelde to your cradle which you counte ~~for gre~~ as it were so heynous an offence, but to truthe and charety, whereupon intirely reposeing my self as infallible grounds⁶⁴⁸

[*fo. 228v*] I remaine as ^{more} redie to receive and indure your blam[e] for performinge ~~that dewty~~ which for filliol respecte this my bounden dewty, than your thanks or likinge for soothinge or allowinge by sylence so dangerous humours ^{and uncharitable and misconceyptes} in your Ladyship. And so I most humbly take my leave.

*Londres ce 12me du juillet 1594.*⁶⁴⁹

109. *Anne Bacon to Robert Cecil, 13 July 1594*

Holograph. CP 27/33, fos 59r–60v. 2pp.

Endorsed (fo. 60v): July 1594. Lady Bakon to my master. In favour of North.

Addressed (fo. 60v): To the right honorable Sir Robert Cecyll of her Majestie's Prevy Councell

This bearer, Syr Robert, as he sayth is lately a ranger in Enfeild, wherupon as being at your command is desyrus to belong unto yow.⁶⁵⁰ He is by his sayeng reteining unto my Lady of Warwyck,⁶⁵¹ yet now placed in the forrest service under your government. His sute is that it wolde please your Honour to accept of his service and maketh me his mein⁶⁵² upon no acquaintance at all but because his wyffe's syster is married to a substantiall man in this parish where I dwell, which made him, he sayde the ~~Be~~⁶⁵³ bolder, which I would not deny

⁶⁴⁸ **infallible grounds** Repeated on fo. 228v.

⁶⁴⁹ *Londres . . . 1594* [French] 'London, on the 12th of July 1594'. This is repeated on the bottom left of fo. 228r.

⁶⁵⁰ **This . . . unto yow** Enfield Chase, a royal hunting park, had been under Robert Cecil's control since 1587, as master forester of Enfield. See R.W. Hoyle, "'Shearing the hog": the reform of the estates, c. 1598–1640', in R.W. Hoyle (ed.), *The Estates of the English Crown, 1558–1640* (Cambridge, 1992), p. 208.

⁶⁵¹ **Lady of Warwyck** The countess of Warwick, Anne Dudley. See also **140**.

⁶⁵² **mein** intermediary.

⁶⁵³ **Be** This seems to be smudged, which Anne may have meant to indicate a deletion.

him, both because I ^at least^ take it to be an ordinary that rangers retein to the lieutenant and because he is a comely man and taken to be in goode case.⁶⁵⁴ His maner of speech to reqwyre me to write was thus, which did seeme to me discrete, that he might ^but^ know your pleasure yf he might be so bowlde to move that sute ^unto yow^, because of him selff he wolde not take upon him in respect of your Honour and place, and then yow as it were accepting and lycencing him therto, he wolde procure the countess to speak for him for the accomplyshing. At the fyrst sight and behaviour every way and also his brother in law's neybourhod, I wylling move yow in his behalff as he reqwyred, leaving yt to your own lyking.

For my maner health upon late leting blood, I feele a goode releeving of faynt heate and burning, but leave and leave again very much elded.⁶⁵⁵ I am in goode comfort in the Lorde's mercy, when sooner or later as pleaseth him, and can be content to have some venyson when you can.

God healpe both my poore sonns. Francis hath ben tossed *inter spem curamque*⁶⁵⁶ to appose another maner ^of man^, ¶ and he everyway; let them learn to depende upon God and in his feare and favour wayte upon him with goode hope. For sure is he. They feele the smarting want of a father now in their ripe age. Fare yow well, goode nephew, with God his gracious assistance, with good encrease of his love towarde yow. Gorhambury, 13 July.

Your aunt, ABacon.

110. *Anthony Bacon to Anne Bacon, 27 July 1594*

Draft. LPL 650, fo. 198r–v. 1p.

Endorsed (fo. 198v): A Madame le 27me de july 1594

My moste humble dewtie remembred.

I have receyved the two bonds and the coppie of your Ladyship's lettre to Mr Boldro which having communicated to Mr Crewe, his advis is that your Ladyship should not enter any accion⁶⁵⁷ against her till Lawrence his retourne, and that afterwards yf your Ladyship receive noe satisfaction from her, nor her suerties ~~yea would~~, he will

⁶⁵⁴**in goode case** in good circumstances.

⁶⁵⁵**elded** aged, grown old.

⁶⁵⁶***inter spem curamque*** [Latin] 'between hope and care'. See Horace, *Epistles*, 1.4.12.

⁶⁵⁷**accion** Action, specifically a lawsuit.

doe what your Ladyship shall appoint him. In the meane tyme, the bonds as also the paper of the imposte⁶⁵⁸ shalbe well kepte.

Touchinge Stretly, I referre me to Mr Bradlie⁶⁵⁹ himself, whether he receyved not good[^] wer not[^] satisfied before ever I tooke him into my howse, and whether that ever since he hath [^]given[^] any offence, eyther inwards or behaviour, but rather shewed ~~a full resolution~~ a manifest change and resolution to spende his tyme well, uppon which condition and not otherwise I have accepted his service, which hath and maie stande me in some steade. The man hath good and [^]very[^] worshipfull frends in Leystershire, whereof some have alredy and more will yf need be answere for his good demeanour. Maie it please your Ladyship therefore ~~in consideration~~ consideringe Mr Bradly hath had full satisfaction and that he hathe caried himself honestly [^]and studiouslie[^] since he hathe bene with me and that he hath good serviceable partes in him, and that I have good pledges for him, your Ladyship would be content that I maie use him ~~according as he now~~ thinkinge as him as he nowe is and not as he was, till I finde cause to the contrarie.

Touchinge my brother, we are both resolute that in case he be not placed betwixt this and next terme never to make any [^]more[^] words of it. And so I most humbly take my leave.

III. *Nicholas Trott to Lady Anne Bacon, 3 August 1594*

Copy. Latin, with Greek words and Greek transliteration. BL, Harleian MS 871, fo. 80r–v. 1p.

Addressed (fo. 80r): To the honourable my veri good Ladie, the Ladie Bacon at Gorhamburie

Magna me verecundia totum hunc annum exercuit, illustris Domina, cum te inter Christiana studia et infirme valetudinis molestias rerumque familiarum curam ad cogitationes de me homine tantillo et equilibrio meo disscendisse audirem cum vero tantum tibi liberalitatis superfuisse viderem ut tuis impensis bene et sollicitate curatum, alio multo meliore comitatum ad me transmiseris, dolebam sane me singulari tua tuorumque beneficentia supra meritum et conditionem meam auctum, nova hac munificentia cumulari. Puero certe meo qui sua negligentia primo hanc molestiam creavit et futilitate sua consilium meum de eo vendendo prodidit iure succenseo. Spencero etiam subirascor qui tibi errorem meum hac in re, non satis amice detulit. Sed cum propter rerum borealium expectationem mihi alio hac estate

⁶⁵⁸ **imposte** A tax or duty.

⁶⁵⁹ **Mr Bradlie** Rudolph Bradley, the vicar of Redbourn parish. See the Introduction, p. 26, and p. 111, n. 251.

excurrere non liceat et lentas in deliberando moras itineris celeritate reparandas videam et proinde nos citis et dispositis equis usuros iudicarem. Consultum non putavi ἰππουσ ἀέριουσ toto hoc anno alere. Sed tuam una cum meis dividere. In quo video quantum contra viri grati officium commiserim. Sed ignoscas precor simulque existimes. Nullum quantumvis generosum asturconem mihi gratiorem nec κειμήλιον ullum carius eo animo a quo profectus sit unquam futurum. Dominus Franciscus nondum ad vos rediit sed cum Deus Optimus Maximus hanc illi remoram immiserit, non dubito timentibus eum in 'omnia' melius cessura. Morbum istum seu potius molestiam (nam morborum et precipue illius cui is maxime obnoxius est) propria et efficacissima medicina sunt ἀμάρροιδες nihil est quod inutiliter pharmacis exasperet et corpusculum tenue intempestive vexet. Quod etsi is pro sua prudentia optime videat, a me tamen si opus est admonebitur. Dominum Antonium sua negotia diutius hic detinuerunt varia usum valetudine. Quod etsi non ignoro tibi pro materna caritate sollicitudinem et dolorem afferre, non dubito tamen prudentiam tuam ea solatia que res ista intus habet Christiane explicare. Nihil dicam de iis artibus virtutibusque quibus equales vincunt. Id illis relinquo quorum iudicium est intelligentius et testimonium minus suspectum nec mihi sumo ut te feminam omnium quas novi doctissimam prudentissimamque admoneam. Ea tantum cum bona venia memorabo quibus me ipsum consolor primum ethnici philosophi bona quedam prima esse dicunt ut sanitatem pacem &c illius modi quedam secunda ex infelici materia expressa ut in morbo patientia, in bello fortitudo, et cum prima illa optabiliora fortasse sint secunda tamen ista laudem habere maiorem. Et bene Tertullianus vitam tranquillam rebus ad desiderium fluentibus et ventis leniter ad votum spirantibus Mare Mortuum appellat per quod raro ad felicitatis portum navigatur. Salvator etiam noster qui ad coelum preivit et nobis viam stravit, notas quasdam apposuit ut nos non aberrare sciremus, molestas afflictiones et morbos. Sed ista meliora domi nascuntur ego certe erga te et tuos, quos meritisimo vestro unice amo et colo, nullum unquam officium fidelis grati et diligentis amici pretermittam. Deus te servet incolumem.

Ex hospitio Grao 3 August 1594.

*Dominationi tue devotissimus,
Nicolaus Trottus.*

[Translation]

I have been vexed by great shame this whole year, distinguished lady, after I heard that you, amidst Christian pursuits and the problems caused by ill health and the concerns of family matters, have condescended to think of me, a person of such little consequence, and of my wretched horse. When I saw that so much generosity remained in you that you at your own expense sent it over to me, carefully and well cared for and accompanied by another much better horse, I was most sorry that I, who was enriched above my merits and status, as the result of your outstanding kindness and that of your family, had

now been overwhelmed by this new act of generosity. I am angry with my boy, to be sure, because his negligence caused this problem in the first place and his stupidity made known my plan to sell it. I am also rather angry with Spencer who reported my mistake in this matter to you in a less than friendly manner.⁶⁶⁰ But since it is not possible for me to rush elsewhere this summer because I am waiting for the things from the north,⁶⁶¹ and since I see that the prolonged delay in deliberation must be repaired by the speed of the journey, I accordingly judged that we must use swift and well-disposed horses. I did not think it wise to feed 'airy horses'⁶⁶² for the whole of this year, but to sell off yours together with mine. In this I see what a great error I have committed against the duty of a grateful man. But I beg you to forgive me and at the same time to consider that no ambling horse, however noble, will ever be more pleasing to me, or any heirloom more valuable, than that affection from which it came. Master Francis has not yet returned to you but since Almighty God has brought about this delay for him, I am sure that everything will end better for those who fear him. This illness or rather discomfort, for of illnesses and particularly of this one to which he is especially prone, a proper and most efficacious medicine is haemorrhoids;⁶⁶³ there is nothing that exasperates more and unreasonably vexes the frail body than useless drugs. But even if he should discern very well in accordance with his good sense, he will nevertheless be admonished by me, if necessary. Master Anthony has been detained here for longer by his affairs while he has experienced varying degrees of health. But even though I am aware that this causes you anxiety and grief in accordance with your motherly love, I am nevertheless sure that your good sense will unfold in a Christian fashion the solace which this matter contains within it. I will say nothing about those skills and virtues which overcome those of your equals. I leave that to those whose judgement is more intelligent and whose testimony is less suspect and I will not assume to remind you, who are the most learned and prudent woman I have known. I will just remember with your good leave that with which I console myself; firstly the pagan philosophers say that certain moral qualities

⁶⁶⁰**I am ... manner** Edward Spencer told Anthony Bacon on 31 July that he had informed Lady Bacon that Trott's horse was 'brocke-winded'. See LPL 650, fo. 231r.

⁶⁶¹**I am ... north** Trott attempted to gain the position of secretary to the council of the north in early 1595. See *History of Parliament*, III, p. 531.

⁶⁶²**airy horses** Trott wrote the Greek for 'airy horses' in his letter. If it was his intention to use the word 'airy', then presumably he meant it in terms of being 'impractical' or 'fanciful'.

⁶⁶³**This illness ... haemorrhoids** Gout and haemorrhoids were thought to be connected conditions, unable to occur at the same time. The presence of haemorrhoids was therefore thought to cure gout temporarily. See M. Berdoe, *An Essay on the Nature and Causes of the Gout* (Bath, 1772), p. 25.

come at the first, like good sense and peaceableness and others of this kind, some are secondary, which are forced out by unhappy matters, such as endurance in illness, bravery in war, and although these first ones are perhaps more desirable, however the second ones are more praiseworthy. And Tertullian rightly applies the term ‘Dead Sea’ to a peaceful life with things flowing as one wishes and with winds that blow gently towards one’s desires as one breathes, whereby one rarely sails into the port of happiness like this. Our Saviour, too, who has preceded us to heaven and paved the way for us, set out certain marks, such as troublesome afflictions and illnesses, so that we would know not to go astray. But these things are brought forth better at home; towards you and yours whom I love and adore most deservedly, I certainly will never omit any duty of a loyal, pleasing, and diligent friend. May God keep you safe.

From Gray’s Inn 3 August 1594.

Yours most completely to command,
Nicholas Trott.

112. *Anne Bacon to Francis Bacon, 20 August 1594*

Copy. LPL 650, fo. 255r–v. 1p.

*Endorsed (fo. 255v): Copie de la lettre de Madame a Monsieur Francois Bacon le 20me d’aout 1594*⁶⁶⁴

I was so full of paine backe paine when yow came hether that my memorie was very slipper.⁶⁶⁵ I forgot to mention of Rame.⁶⁶⁶ Yf yow have not, I have not receyved Franck⁶⁶⁷ last half yere of midsommer; the first half so longe unpaide. Yow will mare your tenants yf yow suffer them. Mr Brocquet is suffred by your brother to cosene⁶⁶⁸ me and beguile me without cheke. I feare yow came too late to London for your horse; ever regarde them. I desire Mr Trot to harken to

⁶⁶⁴ *Copie . . . 1594* [French] ‘Copy of a letter from the mistress to Mr Francis Bacon, on the 20th of August 1594’.

⁶⁶⁵ *slipper* forgetful.

⁶⁶⁶ *Rame* Francis Rame had a long association with Anne’s natal family in Essex. He had been appointed deputy steward of the manorial court in Havering, Essex, by Anne’s father, Anthony Cooke, in 1563, a position which he continued to hold until 1605. Anne’s reference to Rame probably relates to the Gorbambury manorial court, as Rame also acted as its steward on occasion during the late 1590s. For more details about Rame, see M.K. McIntosh, *A Community Transformed: the manor and liberty of Havering, 1500–1620* (Cambridge, 1991), p. 316. For Rame as steward at Gorbambury, see HALS X/B/3/B.

⁶⁶⁷ *Franck* Presumably ‘Franck’s’.

⁶⁶⁸ *cosene* To cheat or defraud.

some honest man and Cooke⁶⁶⁹ too as he maie. Yf yow can heare of a convenient place I shalbe willinge, yf it so please God. For Lawson will drawe your brother *quocunque vult ut timeo valde*⁶⁷⁰ and that with false semblance. God give yow bothe good health and heartes to serve him trewlie and blesse yow always with his favor.

I sende yow pigeons taken this daie and let bloode. Looke well about yow and yours too. I heare that Robert Knight is but sicklie; I am sorie for it. I doe not wright to my Lord Tresurer bycause yow liked to staie. Let this lettre be unseene. Looke verie well to your health. Supp not, nor situpp late. Suerlie I thinke your drinkinge to bedwards hindrethe your and your brother's digestion verie muche. I never knew anie but sicklie that used it, besides ill for head and eyes. Observe well yet in tyme. 20 August Gorhambury.

In Christo,⁶⁷¹
ABacon.

113. *Anne Bacon to Anthony Bacon, 7 September 1594*

Holograph. LPL 650, fos 331r–332v. 2pp.

Endorsed (fo. 332v): lettre de Madame le 8me de septembre receue 1594

Addressed (fo. 332v): To my sonne Mr Antony Bacon

I sende yow herein Crossbye's lettre⁶⁷² because yow may better understande by hym ^the^ words of the shryff to him selff. Yf the state be browght in question, I am sory of the last act yow so earnestly requyred, whertoo I was hardely⁶⁷³ drawn, as yow know, for dowt of danger. Dowtless your brother Nicholas⁶⁷⁴ hath don somewhat in thexcheqour. Yow thought it cowlde not come to his eare so sone, but yow see ^yow^ are deceived. Yow shall do well to send for the ^your^ atorny and myne, Marsh⁶⁷⁵ I do mean, yf he shulde strein⁶⁷⁶ upon the manners to troble me and my tenants. I have browght my selff in goode case by your means. Mr Crew is not in citie I heare; it is the

⁶⁶⁹**Cooke** Presumably Erasmus Cooke, the vicar of St Michael's in St Albans. See p. 181, n. 623.

⁶⁷⁰*quocunque . . . valde* [Latin] 'wherever he chooses, as I very much fear'.

⁶⁷¹*In Christo* [Latin] 'In Christ'.

⁶⁷²**I sende . . . lettre** This is no longer extant.

⁶⁷³**hardely** with difficulty.

⁶⁷⁴**your brother Nicholas** Nicholas Bacon II.

⁶⁷⁵**Marsh** Possibly Thomas Marsh, who attended St Albans grammar school as a boy and was admitted to Lincoln's Inn in 1584.

⁶⁷⁶**strein** distract.

worse. The shryff threateneth to strayn⁶⁷⁷ before the next audite which is before Michaelltyde,⁶⁷⁸ which is not iii weeks hence at uttermost. Yow had not nede to slack this, as Brocket's matter is to my hindrance. Some mony I had nede of for to ^have^ pay the sute ^by his cosins^. I have not of myne own at this present for my howse and other chargs vi li in mony; I am ready to borow x li of my neyghbours, yf I can. I sende purposely. I pray yow let me know certainly what way yow take to helpe it with spede. Yf it once came in Cheqour sute, one troble wyll follow another. Prevent therfore.

I wolde fayn have gon to London for phisick next weeke but I perceave I cannot, being weakish to ryde so farr and the way is but yll for a coche for me, besyde the wett wether. I wyll desyre Mr Moorer⁶⁷⁹ to be with me here for that time. Yf yow prove your new in hande phisick, God geve yow goode of it. My Lord Tresurer abowt 5 yeres past was greatly preased by the graunt⁶⁸⁰ vaunts of ^a^ soden startupp glorious stranger, that wolde nedes cure him of the gowt by boast, but quod my Lorde, 'Have yow cured eny; let me know and se them'. 'Nay', sayde the fellow, 'but I am sure I can'. 'Well', concluded my Lorde and sayde 'Go, go and cure fyrst and then come again or elce not'. I wolde yow had so don but I pray God bless it to yow and pray hartely to God for your goode recoverye and sownde. I am sory your brother and yow charge your selfs with superfluous horses. The wyse wyll but lawgh at yow both being but truable⁶⁸¹ besyd your detts ^for^ long jornyes and private persons. Earles be earles.

[*Left-hand margin*] The heavenly preacher sayth, 'Ech thing hath his opportunitie and due season'.⁶⁸² Well may yee do as blessed in the Lorde. 7 Sept 94.

[*fo. 33rv*] Your vain man Stretly by his slewth and prowde qwarell piking conditions settis all your howse at Redborn owt of qwiette order by generall complaint as I heare. Lately yowng Moorer was smot in the eye by him. I pray God yow heare not of some mischeff by him. But my sonns have no judgment. They will have such abowt them and in their howse and wyll not in tyme remedy it before it break owt in some manifest token of God, his displeasure. I cannot cease to warn as long as I am a mother that loveth yow in the lorde most deerly and

⁶⁷⁷ **strayn** distract.

⁶⁷⁸ **Michaelltyde** Michaelmas. See p. 107, n. 225.

⁶⁷⁹ **Mr Moorer** Robert Moorer. See p. 163, n. 530.

⁶⁸⁰ **graunt** grand.

⁶⁸¹ **truable** trouble.

⁶⁸² **ech . . . season** Ecclesiastes 3:1.

as Seneck by phisophy⁶⁸³ onely cowlde say, *in amico admonendo malle*
*successu et quod tamen nollem, quam fidem deesse.*⁶⁸⁴

Your mother,
ABacon.

114. *Anne Bacon to Anthony Bacon, 5 December 1594*

Holograph. LPL 650, fos 333r–334v. 2pp. Severe damage to right-hand side of letter.

Endorsed (fo. 334v.): Madame le 5me de decembre 1594

Addressed (fo. 334r): To my sonne Mr Antony Bacon at Byshoppe gate.

This very colde frost and snow yet seasonable and healthfull to heale and s[no]w compelleth me, sonne, to sende to know yow do feele your gowty body ha[rd]. I remember well this tyme of the yeare, and in such hard freesing and sn[owy] wether, your father was greuously tyred and payned with the gowt here at Gorhambury and scant able to endure coch jornyeng to London, but two da[yes] next most before ^that^ Christide, and kept his howse all the tyme and after neere ter[me]. It was the same yere my Lady Skidmor⁶⁸⁵ now went to her Majestie, being sent for ^at^ soden, and I fayn to go with her ^from hence^ to Hampton Coort. For all the gowt, se[e and] look well to your selff and sitt not upp in the night; yow wyll undoe your selff and make your lymns stark and your body bothered. Your father never w[ould] for eny payns so ponish and spoyle him selff. Be not to tender but [careful] and avoyde occasions to call the gowt. My counsell in this is mos[t needful] and allweyes hath ben both at your being abrode and at home, but to li[ttle] regarded, the Lorde knoweth.

For Mr Spencer,⁶⁸⁶ your man, I think he had had a goode wyll to tary at London both in respect of his [. . .] the Lord Mayor and also because in dede he was sad that his hawlk⁶⁸⁷ was [. . .] for here without that he had no cowntenance nor cowlde tell how to occup[. . .] For I putt him to nothing but restrayned him of unfitt being abroa[de . . .]

⁶⁸³ **phisophy** philosophy.

⁶⁸⁴ *in amico . . . deesse* [Latin] ‘In warning a friend, I would rather lack success, although I would not wish it, than fidelity’. Seneca, *Epistulae morales ad Lucilium*, 25.2. Anne Bacon’s husband, Nicholas, used the same *sententia* in a letter in 1578 to Francis Walsingham, when trying to persuade him against military intervention in the Netherlands. See Huntington Library, HM 1340, fo. 94r, 24 July 1578.

⁶⁸⁵ **Lady Skidmor** Lady Mary Scudamore. See S. Adams, ‘Mary Scudamore’, *ODNB*. See also 105 for mention of her husband.

⁶⁸⁶ **Mr Spencer** Edward Spencer. See p. 122, n. 317.

⁶⁸⁷ **he . . . hawlk** Edward Spencer had been in dispute with Anne in August 1594 regarding his sparrowhawk. For more details, see *Cooke Sisters*, p. 220.

A yowng man and so many vyle creatures, hawnting abowt eve[. . .] onley because I was lyke then to have sooner departed. I was will[ing you have] one discrete man of yours against all events; otherwyse I needed [nor] cared for eny. I have used him well here and so must he nedes sa[yth. Beseeching] God I may hope of some lenger continuance and yet I trust looke [. . .]

Forcye of Butlers was yesterday here with ^me^ to desyre my goode wyll to con[tinue] your tenant there, becawse, sayeth he, 'My wyff is marvelous ^loth^ to chang her dwe[lling]. For I have', sayth he, 'A howse of myne owne but she greatly desyres to be [here.]' He had, he sayd, ben with yow to move yow but fully his interest tyme is but short and [he] nede to know what to trust too. I think with goode conditiones for payeing rent, and for hurting your wooddes and providing for others inconven[iences], I think in respect of his wyff, who serveth most for butter and my mylk her[e] when no other tenant nor neybour can or wyll so certainly, it were better to [keep] the same, then to chang, though but for vii or ix yeres. Truly [. . .] an yll tenant there were a fowle comber diverse wayes. By proffe the[re] yow shall fynd by experience. Geve no liberty to lett or sell, for I wyll not [consent] to that. The grownde in occupieng there is demeins⁶⁸⁸ and neerer to anoy[ther] grownde and howse, yf he be not an honest man and a kynde tenant with all. He [is honest] as ^it^ here reported yet and carieth him selff with credit; his wyff wolde be [. . .] for her long aboad and borne and well alied here. I commend it to God yow [be not] mysled.

For otees⁶⁸⁹ to sow your grownd for that portion, I am very wylling, as I en[deavour] to power in all. Now I know by my and your officer it is your own request, I consent and so shulde it be betwixt us, for restoring as the Lorde sy[gnifieth]. There is a love betwixt Jaqwes, your *gallum*,⁶⁹⁰ and Susanne, my mayd lately, bewrayed⁶⁹¹ by [a letter] him to her sent lately by pot boy once with me. In dede I did justly as somewhat [. . .] not the best I missed some thynges [. . .] she hath ben plyed with lynes, I know not from whome. Yow shall do well to have an eye watching ov[er] and *quod a me scis nescias omni modo*.⁶⁹²

[*Left-hand margin*] Of this more hereafter. I parted with her after a sorte, before my last going to London. Be very close but observe. I pray burn my lettre. Your men and your brother's pry in every matter and lysten. I pray send back or burn this to be sure. The Father of our

⁶⁸⁸ **demeins** demesne, i.e. land held by free tenure.

⁶⁸⁹ **otees** oats.

⁶⁹⁰ **gallum** [Latin] 'Frenchman'. See p. 113, n. 267.

⁶⁹¹ **bewrayed** 'betrayed' or perhaps 'defiled'.

⁶⁹² **quod . . . modo** [Latin] 'to be ignorant in every way of what you know from me'.

Lorde Jesu Christ be your mercyfull Father to both of yow and gwyde your hartes with holy spirit evermore.

Gorhambury 5 December 94, your loving and careful mother for yow.
 ABacon *Xἠρα*.⁶⁹³

115. *Anne Bacon to Anthony Bacon, 9 December 1594*

Holograph. LPL 650, fos 329r–330v. 2pp.

Endorsed (fo. 330v): Lettre de Madame le 13me de decembre 1594 receue

Addressed (fo. 300v): To my sonne Mr Anthony Bacon

I pray God mitigate your gowt disqwiet paynes, both this stark colde wether here and allweyes. Why I send this sodenly is of some occasioned charite, which I thowght to make known to yow and I wolde do it though very nedefull speedely. The miller, Preston, this morning made pitious moans that the whele of the wheat mill, the principall, was broken very much by the frost and remediles⁶⁹⁴ this hungry $\text{t}\ddot{\text{y}}$ present tyme and so his customers (my self for one) compelled to seeke to others to his great undoing, being hyghe rented and having wyff and chyltern. Wherupon, I know not who putt it in his mynd, he earnestly begged the whe^ele of the unoccupied water ment to come to the howse and yet unprofitable. Me thowght he had reason with him for this present great necessitee ^{and also}⁶⁹⁵ that all ^{there} unoccupied. So having made yow fyrst prevy and the matter well considred of by Crosby and others of skill ^{I purpose} to lett him have it owt of hand, yf it be thowght it may ^{be} conveniently done, for goode continuance of his customers and no harme in removing an idle wheele that but rotteth and ^{to no use}. And this afternoone it was towld me the cockshote doore, but very lately fast nayled upp and stregthned⁶⁹⁶ since the last pilfering thence, was newly broaken upp again and a pipe stolne owt above an ell long. Sure hereafter it were good to take all down and save the remains of lead pipes.

Very harde colde snow here, both for men and cattell. I trust it wyll, with the Lorde's mercy, stave the infection abroad. For my going hence, I yet mean it becawse I am but unable to go to the church and to avoyd ungodly, unruly Albons rovers, besyde cownterfayt soldiours and roags.

⁶⁹³ *Xἠρα* [Greek] 'widow'.

⁶⁹⁴ **remediles** Remediless, unable to be put right.

⁶⁹⁵ **and also** This addition is marked, presumably incorrectly, to be inserted after the following 'that'.

⁶⁹⁶ **stregthned** strengthened.

I think I shall go upon a soden very nere the tyme, *si Deus ita volet*,⁶⁹⁷ who kepe us ⁱⁿ his safty. I trust they wyll not⁶⁹⁸ mum nor mask nor synfully revell at Grayes Inne. Who w[ere] ^{some}time ^{counted} fyrst, God graunt they waxe not dayly and deprove⁶⁹⁹ to [be counted] last. The Lorde in mercy ^{be} with us and geve us tru repentant harts with amendment.

My swelling is lately encreased. I humbly thank God for all yf yow and your brother take ^{care} to please the Lorde in your studies and all your actions. I shalbe be comforted ether to lyve or to dye, sommer or later, as God shall call.

*Bene vale in Christo.*⁷⁰⁰ *5to Decembris.*⁷⁰¹ Gorhambury.

Your mother ABacon,
*Xηρα.*⁷⁰²

116. *Anne Bacon to Anthony Bacon, 23 January 1595*

Holograph. LPL 650, fo. 33r–v. 1p.

*Endorsed (fo. 33v): Lettre de Madame a Monsieur le 23me de janvier 1594 / Lettre de Madame a Monsieur touchant Mr Francis Bacon le 24me de janvier 1594.*⁷⁰³

After curteous and familer speches upon the cawse of my comming hether and the unlooked for differring,⁷⁰⁴ to that point ‘Sir Robert’⁷⁰⁵ sayd ‘Indede her Majesti was not well then’. I sayde yesterday I went to see yow,⁷⁰⁶ much more to my comfort yf your health wolde lett yow be and see further, God having inabled your mynde. ‘It is true’, quod he, ‘He hath goode partes, but gowte and such be too naturally drawn from parents’. ‘Well’, *inquam*,⁷⁰⁷ ‘The eldest of my but two in all sonns is visited by God and the other me thinks is but strangely used by man’s

⁶⁹⁷ *si Deus ita volet* [Latin] ‘if God is so willing’.

⁶⁹⁸ **not** Repeated.

⁶⁹⁹ **deprove** disprove.

⁷⁰⁰ *Bene . . . Christo* [Latin] ‘Farewell in Christ’.

⁷⁰¹ *5to [Idus] Decembris* In Roman dating, this was 9 December.

⁷⁰² *Xηρα* [Greek] ‘widow’.

⁷⁰³ *Lettre . . . janvier 1594* [French] ‘Letter from the mistress to the master, concerning Mr Francis Bacon, on the 24th January 1594’. This is the second endorsement given to this letter.

⁷⁰⁴ **the unlooked for differring** The deferring by the queen over the appointment of the solicitor-general.

⁷⁰⁵ **Sir Robert** Sir Robert Cecil.

⁷⁰⁶ **yow** Anthony Bacon.

⁷⁰⁷ *inquam* [Latin] ‘says I’.

dealing, God knowes who and why. I think he is the very fyrst yowng gentleman of some accompt made such [^]so long[^] a common spech of – this time placed and then owt of dowt – and yet nothing done. Inowgh to overthrow a yowng and studious man, as he is geven in dede, and as fytt by judgment of wyser, both for yeares and understanding, to occupy a place as well as the Atturney. The worlde marvellis in respects of his frends and his own towardnes.’ ‘Experience teacheth that her Majestie’s nature is not to resolve but to delay.’ ‘But with none so’, quod I. ‘Why’ *inquit*,⁷⁰⁸ ‘She is yet without officers of 3 whyte staffs⁷⁰⁹ together, seldome [^]seene[^].’ ‘But’, sayth he, ‘I dare say my Lorde⁷¹⁰ wolde gladly have had my cosin placed or⁷¹¹ this.’ ‘I hope so my selff’, [^]*inquam*[^], ‘but some think yf my Lorde had ben earnest, it had ben don.’ ‘Surely’, sayth he, ‘My Lorde even on last Tewsdays moved the Queen that the terme day was neere and requyred a Sollicitor for her service and she strait shulde say it was a shame the place was so long unfurnished. “No shame, Madam”, *inquit ille*,⁷¹² “But a lack.” “I may not name any” sayth Majestie, “Nor other dare, for feare of yow and my Lord of Essex.” “I trust”, sayth my Lord, “yow are not without a nomination, but rather now to conclude.” “Is there none, I pray yow”, *inquit* Majestie, “but Francis Bacon fit for that place [^]Solic[ito]r[^].” “I know not”, *inqu’it’ ille*, “How your Majestie may be altered but the judgess and others have and do take him sufficient with your favour and it is expected of all this terme.” Wherto she have no grant, and this sayth, and protested, Sir Robert, that my Lord did very playnly and in good fayth.

Then upon my words that him selff was Secretary in place but not nominate,⁷¹³ ‘As for that,’ sayth he, ‘I deale nor speake no more of it, but as long as none is placed I wayt still, though I may think my selff as hardly used as my cosin. And I tell yow playnly, Madam, I disdayn to seeme to be thought that I dowted of the place and so wolde I wysh my cosin Francis do so long as the rome vacant and beare her delay so accustomed. Let him not be discourage,⁷¹⁴ but cary him selff wysely. It may be,’ sayde he, ‘her Majesti was to much preased at the first, which she lyketh not and at last come of her selff.’

⁷⁰⁸*inquit* [Latin] ‘says he’.

⁷⁰⁹**3 whyte staffs** Officers of the royal household had white staves of office.

⁷¹⁰**my Lorde** William Cecil, Lord Burghley.

⁷¹¹**or** before.

⁷¹²*inquit ille* [Latin] ‘says he’. As this is second-hand reported speech, this is again William Cecil, Lord Burghley.

⁷¹³**that . . . nominate** Robert Cecil was appointed secretary of state in July 1596.

⁷¹⁴**discourage** discouraged.

This in maner was the speech and parting to the coorte. Truly his spech was all kindly owtward and dyd desyre to have me think so of him.

AB.

117. *Anne Bacon to Anthony Bacon, 23 February 1595*

Holograph. LPL 650, fo. 69r–v. 1p.

Endorsed (fo. 69v): 23 de fewrier 1594

Grace and health.

Surely I appoint my men to return at my tyme. I dyd not think that Lawrence cowlde have sene yow then at all; his tarieng was but a day and I needed things for to be bowght, and to attende my impost,⁷¹⁵ and horsemeat charge is ^dere^. I saw him not but at his return synce. He hath much a do to pay all this hard yere and his ferm left so decayed and the grownd so pilled⁷¹⁶ bare. Yow do well to kepe promiss with your brother for the pale wood⁷¹⁷ valu, but have it hence with toyling doble cariag and halff purloynd at London in the working. The small *noxia*⁷¹⁸ reyning so ryff here in this ayre and every wheare threatening more syckness. I wryte now to him to geve place to reason and his purse and to skylfull advyse, so I tell him playnly. Crossby I am sure wyll helpe to bye it commodiously for him. For hence cariag wyll not ner must be to his greater charg and toyle. Wolde to God *fili mei charissime*⁷¹⁹ wolde have more judgment with their knowledg to their fuller commendation *in actionibus suis*.⁷²⁰ The Father of heaven bless yow both and gyde yow with his holy spirit and restor[e] yow to better health of body that yow might have experience to further knowledg and more right understanding to discern for your selff, ^uteris.⁷²¹ Yow have a ^nother^ horse I weene; surely to your needless charg except yow were able to use them. Corn, all grein, very deere here; much more there, besyd Hynd's lewd costly neyligence.

I am very desyrous the coort keeping her[e] shuld ^be^ to the satisfieng of the tenants and in order for the leete,⁷²² which hath ben

⁷¹⁵ **impost** A tax or duty.

⁷¹⁶ **pilled** stripped.

⁷¹⁷ **pale wood** Presumably fencing wood.

⁷¹⁸ **noxia** [Latin] 'harm'.

⁷¹⁹ **fili mei charissime** [Latin] 'my dear sons'.

⁷²⁰ **in actionibus suis** [Latin] 'in these proceedings'.

⁷²¹ **uteris** [Latin] 'you will be profited thereby'.

⁷²² **the leete** Court leet, the manorial court. For more information, see the Introduction, p. 32.

hetherto observed, and that Mr Downing shulde be at the coorte keeping this one coort more in my tyme. Hereafter as yow wyl[[]], and they matters, thowgh small, are not to be don *obiter*.⁷²³ Yf Mr Crew can not in due tyme at Easter, yf Mr Downing cowlde not, I wolde entreat Mr Ramme⁷²⁴ to do it, ^yf I do lyve to it^, for this once finall coort, as I think. I am the Lorde's, my sure trust is whensoever Christ, my saviour, elce as I may willingly. I wolde gladly have had a note of all implements had from hence and from me. I have often desyred it and I marvell not made ^and sent me^ or⁷²⁵ this.

God encrease yow with encrease of his dayly favour.

Your mother,
ABacon.

118. *Anne Bacon to Anthony Bacon, 24 February 1595*

Holograph. LPL 650, fos 84r–85v. 2pp.

*Endorsed (fo. 85v): De Madame a Monsieur le 25me de fevrier 1594 en l'endroit de Fausset.*⁷²⁶

Addressed (fo. 85v): To my sonne Mr Anthony Bacon

Had I known as much yesterday I wolde have written this now by my man allredy sent to day morning, withowt leave of much tariang; *solito luce*.⁷²⁷ Goodman Furcey and his wyffe after two of the clock this afternone (and yet before I had eate eny thing, being allmost afrayde because of my after swelling, but as it pleased the Lorde, upon whome I depend and wayte, his mercy in ^his^ due tyme appointed), they were both but sad in ded, sayeng thei were not satisfied with the lease making, standing so tyckley⁷²⁸ upon my lyffe. I promiss yow when I red that circumstance of 21 yeres yf my lyff and 3 yeres did continue so long, I understoode not what was granted, then eny thing or nothing in effect. Farr other wyse then your fyrst grant for ii yeres after my departing and the^n^ one more at my reqwes[t] late with yow. Besyde the yere they have of their former lease in your father's tyme ended at Michaell⁷²⁹ to come 1596 ^which is their own^ and so 4 yeres in all

⁷²³*obiter* [Latin] 'incidentally'.

⁷²⁴**Mr Ramme** Francis Rame. See p. 192, n. 666.

⁷²⁵**or** before.

⁷²⁶*De . . . Fausset* [French] 'From the mistress to the master, on 25th February 1594, about the position of Fausset'.

⁷²⁷*solito luce* [Latin] 'as is customary, in the light', i.e. to return during daylight.

⁷²⁸**tyckley** uncertainly.

⁷²⁹**Michaell** Michaelmas. See p. 107, n. 225.

wherby he myght lett his ^{own} howse for iii or 4 yeres. This kinde of lease I looked for, which being ^{not} attended to cunningly for my understanding and very unprofytably for them, I playnly refuse to sett to my hande and graunt. Be my lyff as in God⁷³⁰ hand, so at his goode pleasure. They (rather being discomfited yf they can not have ^{it} as yow fyrst as before rehersed did promiss and I verely did take your tru meaning) do desyre your favour and the lease restored them again and ^{to} abyde the wyll of God and that yeare and 2 they yet enjoy, ^{certainly} by your father and me. It stands upon so many yffes and difficulties that they both did rather moorn then be owght glad. What law may be alledged I know not, but sure small commoditee to them, but great uncertentee, which is not goode for all parties. They are both very desyrous I shulde see the cowntinpanes⁷³¹ in your hands now left to my use. So the Lorde bless yow with dayly blessednes in body and sowle. Sytt not late up nor comber your head with busines late. It wyll spoyle both your health and understanding vigour. 24 February Gorhambury.

Your mother,
 ABacon.
 Χηρα⁷³²

119. *Anthony Bacon to Anne Bacon, 25 February 1595*

Draft. LPL 650, fo. 101r–v. 1p.

Endorsed (fo. 101v): A Madame le 25me de fevrier 1594

Madame

I received yesterday a lettre of your Ladyship's by your man Woodward and a nother this day by goodman Fawcett.

For the first, the other day my brother comminge to se mee, I advized him with confirmation of my office to employ some honest faithfull man as I ~~tøøke~~ take Groome to be and Robert Large⁷³³ his owne care unacquainted in such matters upon ^{Groome} his squill⁷³⁴ and fidellitie rather then his managment or anie of his servants overseeing or provision; which my brother allowinge, I have sent for

⁷³⁰ **God** God's.

⁷³¹ **cowntinpanes** Presumably the counterpart, the completed copy of the lease, retained by the grantor. It can also be used more generally to mean a copy.

⁷³² **Χηρα** [Greek] 'widow'.

⁷³³ **Robert Large** Various members of the Large family served the Bacons. Anthony also mentions employing a John Large in his buttry in December 1596 (178) and his brother, Francis, left John Large £20 in his will. See *Bacon Letters and Life*, VII, p. 543.

⁷³⁴ **squill** Presumably 'skill'.

Groome, who with Crosbie's direction ~~may~~ and I doubt not but will save him much.

For the time of keeping the court, as it hath ben, so shall it be allwaies of your Ladyship's pleasure and appointment, thinking it were convenient that Mr Downinge, if his bussinesse permitt him, performe that office ^{alone}, seeing Mr Crewe cannot be there in due time to joyne with him; otherwise I cannot thinke of any man fitter to be extraordinarily emploud then Mr Rame.

~~For your Ladyship's~~ For your Ladyship's second lettre, maie it please you to be advertised that Mr Crewe being to departe to morrow morninge towards the presentlie⁷³⁵ circaite I could ~~to~~ not ^{resolve nor} advise ~~upon~~ any ~~other~~ ^{better} order for your Ladyship's satissfaction and his certaintie, then according to your Ladyship's lettre, to lett his oulde terme stand ^{by} disnulling the newe[^], with promise to ~~make~~ secon[d] your Ladiship, who maie make him a sufficient lease, if it please you, during your life by a particular assurance ^{from my selfe} of 2 yeares after. Which trulie, Madame, if it ~~please you will to remember~~ my memorie doe not over much faile mee was all that ever your Ladyship assured ^{and I graunted}, having stode with himselfe at (^{considering your Ladyship maie as I hope and wishe live many}) the first ~~upon~~ for one yeare after ~~his oulde terme~~. And I grant it And this ~~under~~ correction proceeding kindlie from your Ladiship and trulie from my selfe ought increase to content ^{them bothe} and maie well further but can no way hinder his credit ~~for~~ ^{nor} the disposition of his owne to ^{nerre sorie} uses. And so with remembrance of my most humble dutie, I take my leave.

This 25th of February 1594.

Your Ladyship's most loving
and obedient sonne.

120. *Anne Bacon to Anthony Bacon, March 1595*

Holograph. LPL 650, fos 117r–118v. 2pp.

Endorsed (fo. 118v): lettre de Madame receu en mars a Redbourne 1594

I came yesterday home, I thank God, well though very weary, by that missing the right way we roaved and made it lenger. I fownd a very sycke and soare altdred man. One might by him see what is *mutatio dextrae manus*⁷³⁶ *Excelsi*⁷³⁶ in correcting. He hath ben as yow know a strong

⁷³⁵ **presentlie** This seems to be an error, as presumably it should be 'present'.

⁷³⁶ ***mutatio dextrae manus Excelsi*** [Latin] 'the change wrought by the ~~right hand~~ hand of the Almighty'.

armed man and active in such exerceyses of strength as shooting, wrestling, casting the barr, and whyllst he was with me I never used footestool to horsback. But now, God healep him, weake in voyce, his flesh consumed, his hands bones and synewes, but his belly upp to his very chest swoln and hoved upp and as hard with all as though one towched wenscott.⁷³⁷ I thank the Lord that put me in the mynde to visitt him with a Christian desyre to comfort his sowle, which I trust Mr Wyblud's⁷³⁸ spirituall cownsell and comfort with harty prayour was a means to it; God, I trust, working with his admonitions in the syck body to the reviving of his sowle. He hath his memory perfect and well and glad of godly exhortation. God grant him, and my selff also, his continuall swete comfort and feeling mercy to the ende. Amen.

For your⁷³⁹ going, yow spake of, to London and wyll have ðe ii bedds hence for your servants, let me know in tyme. I wolde yow had here taried tyll that remove. Yow shuld have spared much wast expences which yow nede not and have ben better provyded. Surely yf yow kepe all your Redborn howsholde at London, yow wyll undoe your selff. Mony is very hard to come by and sure frends more hard and yow shalbe still in other folks' danger, and not your own man, and your detts wyll pinch yow, though yow may hope. But your continuall syckliness with all is a great hindrance and yf yow make shew of a howse keeping in the cytie

[*Left-hand margin*] yow shall qwickly be over charged, much disqwieted and browgh⁷⁴⁰ not over theres⁷⁴¹ but over shuldurs.⁷⁴² Therefore at the begining be very ware and wyse as it ^is^ sayde. *Tibi ipsi sapere discere*,⁷⁴³ one sayde; he sayde he had rather be envied for goode state, then pitied for harde case.⁷⁴⁴ Consult them and *ne quid temere*.⁷⁴⁵ I cowlde not chuse but advise as heretofore. God gwyde yow to take the right and best cowrse.

⁷³⁷ **wenscott** Wainscot, i.e. oak.

⁷³⁸ **Mr Wyblud's** Humphrey Wilblood. See p. 104, n. 207.

⁷³⁹ **your** Repeated.

⁷⁴⁰ **browgh** brought.

⁷⁴¹ **theres** the ears.

⁷⁴² **not over theres but over shuldurs** A reference to the proverbial 'over head and ears', i.e. completely immersed.

⁷⁴³ **Tibi ... discere** [Latin] 'Learn to be wise for yourself'.

⁷⁴⁴ **Tibi ... hard case** These seem to be loose allusions to Pindar, although it is strange that Anne choose to write in Latin and not the original Greek: *Pythian Odes* 2.72; 1.163.

⁷⁴⁵ **ne quid temere** [Latin] 'do nothing rashly'.

121. Anthony Bacon to Anne Bacon, 7 March 1595

Draft. LPL 650, fo. 149r–v. 1p.

Endorsed (fo. 149v): A Madame le 7me le mars 1594

Madame,

These few lines shalbe first to remember my most humble duti[e] then to render your Ladyship like thanks for that which it pleased you to send mee by my man John Wharton,⁷⁴⁶ and withall to advertize your Ladyship that if it please you to make your impost provision of Gascoigne wine, a friend of myn the same marchant of who furnisheth my selfe will provide your Ladyship of as good the best that is come in this fleete, which is but mene in comparison of the yeares past.

My brother (thanks be to God) beares it out very well, having not seene him looke better. ^I my selfe doe but attend the helpe and fittnes of the season with sound advice not to assaile by violence but to undermyne by some safe phisicke my infirmity. The ^^winter^^ bruntes wherof (God be thancked) I have better borne and passed then I hoped for, considering my extraordinary discontinuance of phisikes and artificiall succour.^ And so I humbly take my leave beseeching God long to preserve your Ladiship.

Your Ladiship's most lovinge and obedient sonne.

122. Anthony Bacon to Anne Bacon, 15 March 1595

Draft. LPL 650, fo. 150r–v. 1p.

Endorsed (fo. 150v): A Madame le 15me de mars 1594

Addressed (fo. 150v): To the honourable his very good Lady and mother the Lady Anne Bacon

Madame,

I thought meete to advertise your Ladieshipp for this bearer, your Ladieship's servant's good and encouragement, that he hath begunn verie honestly to husband my brother's garden expenses, and may well affirme, though to my no lesse grief then the fellowe's ^just^ commendation, that ^the care and affection of^ all my brother's me[n] together could not have stood him in halfe so much stead for such a purpose.

⁷⁴⁶**John Wharton** Presumably the religious writer and London schoolmaster who also signed the petition to the Privy Council against James Burbage's new theatre in 1596, along with Anne Bacon's sister Elizabeth. See SP 12/260, fo. 176r.

May it please your Ladieship according to that I mentioend in my last, to lett me knowe whether I shall take up any Gascoigne wine for your Ladieship's provision, by reason that the best of bad will quicklie be bought upp.

I am bold to send unto your Ladieship a taste of a Lenten Spanish daintie, which an honest merchante presented unto me the other day.

The good Earle of Essex hath bene ~~pulled~~ assald with certain fittes of an ague, but God be thanked he ~~hath at the last~~ is now quit so ridd of it, and so I most humblie take my leave.⁷⁴⁷

123. *Anne Bacon to Anthony Bacon, 1 April 1595*

Holograph. LPL 651, fos 108r–109v. 2pp.

Endorsed (fo. 109v): De Madame le premier jour de avril, 1595

I mean yf God wyll to come hether again before Easter. But your going farther hence than my ablenes wyll endure to travell, ether by water or by lande, and know not when I shall see yow eny more, I pray God to go before yow and ^to^ be with yow, ever to heale yow, to healpe yow and to counsell and comfort yow continually with his fatherly love in Christ Jesu our Lorde.

Amen.

I wrote yesterday to my Lady Wasyngham⁷⁴⁸ and by her to the countess.⁷⁴⁹ She tooke yt well and thanked me. The countess is very nere her travayling tyme.⁷⁵⁰ I besech God of his goodness make her a joyfull mother with dayly encrease of God his blessing upon her and hers.

Beware in ^eny wyse^ of the lord H. *Θουαρδε*;⁷⁵¹ he is a dangerous intelligencyng man. No dowt a subtill papist inwardely and lyeth in wayte. Peradventure he hath some close working with *Στανδον*⁷⁵² and

⁷⁴⁷ **and so . . . leave** An alternative subscription has been drafted on 150v: 'Your most loving and deutyfull sonne, Anthony Bacon'.

⁷⁴⁸ **Lady Wasyngham** Ursula Walsingham, widow of Sir Francis Walsingham, Elizabeth I's principal secretary until his death in 1590.

⁷⁴⁹ **the countess** Frances Walsingham, the countess of Essex. Her second husband was Robert Devereux, the earl of Essex. She was the daughter of Francis and Ursula Walsingham.

⁷⁵⁰ **her travayling tyme** The labour and birth of her child. The baby boy, Henry, was baptized on 14 April 1595, but died a little over a year later on 7 May 1596. For Frances' pregnancies, see P. Hammer, 'Robert Devereux, second earl of Essex', *ODNB*.

⁷⁵¹ *Θουαρδε* [Greek transliteration] 'Howarde', i.e. Lord Henry Howard.

⁷⁵² *Στανδον* [Greek transliteration] 'Standon', i.e. Anthony Standen.

the *Σπανιαρδε*⁷⁵³ *και τοιουτοις*.⁷⁵⁴ Yow can not espy; be not to open. He wyll bewray⁷⁵⁵ yow to diverse and to your *Αουυτε Ρουσσελ*⁷⁵⁶ among. The duke had ben alyve but by his practising and styll solliciting hym to the Duke's undoing⁷⁵⁷ and the *Εαρλε* of *Αρουνδελε*.⁷⁵⁸ Avoyde his familiaritee as yow love the truth and your selff. A very instrument of the Spanish papists. No creature know or see this I wryte, 'I pray yow', but burn it, your own hands, and remember, for 'he' pretendyng curtesy, works micheff devilyshly. I have long known him and observed him,⁷⁵⁹ his workings have be stark nowght. *Procull esto*.⁷⁶⁰ I am sorry, I can not speak with Dr Fletcher.⁷⁶¹ For your horses I wolde certenly know. It is not lyke yow wyll over hastily. Sende me worde what tyme yow gess because of myne absence, yf God let me lyve, but vessells and cariag must surely be provyded. For in dede I have none for malt. Yf yow tell Crossby your mynde, I wyll pay for it when I have received rent. Gryst⁷⁶² is 'very' deere, my thinks, but he denieth. Yf yow had taken your physyck here in your well warmed 'howse' it had ben better, I think. God be your gwyde in all your weyes and take hede of cold taking upon remove and after physyck call for your own necessaries. Your men forgett yow and yow smart for it. Use your leggs at as yow may dayly; they wyll elce be the feebeler and the synewes stark and strengthless. It is true. I feare theris no ordinary preaching ministry at Fulh Chelsy.⁷⁶³ I can not tell how to lament 'it', but both my sonnes me thinke do not cast for it where they dwell. Great want can not be. We had nede watch continually to be well armed against

⁷⁵³ *Σπανιαρδε* [Greek transliteration] 'Spaniarde', i.e. Antonio Pérez.

⁷⁵⁴ *και τοιουτοις* [Greek] 'and such men'.

⁷⁵⁵ **bewray** betray.

⁷⁵⁶ *Αουυτε Ρουσσελ* [Greek transliteration] 'Awnte Roussel', i.e. Anne's sister Elizabeth Cooke Hobby Russell.

⁷⁵⁷ **The duke ... undoing** Thomas Howard, the fourth duke of Norfolk and elder brother of Henry Howard, was executed in 1572. Suspicions about Henry Howard's role in his brother's treasonable activities led to his arrest in 1571.

⁷⁵⁸ **Εαρλε of Αρουνδελε** [Greek transliteration] 'Earle of Arundeale'. Philip Howard, the thirteenth earl of Arundel, was placed under sentence of death for his Catholic sympathies in 1589. Although the sentence was never carried out, Arundel remained under the threat of execution until he died in the Tower in October 1595.

⁷⁵⁹ **I ... observed him** Howard's suspected Catholic sympathies had led to him being placed under house arrest at the Bacons' Suffolk house in July 1585.

⁷⁶⁰ *Procull esto* [Latin] 'Stand at a distance'.

⁷⁶¹ **Dr Fletcher** Richard Fletcher, the bishop of London from 1595 to 1596. In May 1595, Rudolph Bradley, the vicar of Redbourn, asked Anthony Bacon to intercede with Fletcher regarding a prebendaryship for him. See LPL 651, fo. 139r.

⁷⁶² **Gryst** Corn to be ground.

⁷⁶³ **Chelsy** It appears that Anthony had left Bishopsgate Street and was residing in Chelsea during the spring and summer of 1595, before moving into Essex House in August. For other references to his time in Chelsea, see 131, 133, 134, and 136.

evell dayes⁷⁶⁴ imminent to be feared. For of all sorts we waxe worse and worse.⁷⁶⁵ London waxeth streight laced, urging subscription; that ^slavish^ pleasing wyll not salve his harde cured sore. Burn this.

The God of mercy, health and peace compass yow about with his heavenly favour whersoever.

*Primo Aprilis*⁷⁶⁶ 95.

*Mater tua*⁷⁶⁷ AB. *Bene vale in Christo nunc and semper*.⁷⁶⁸

[*Left-hand margin*] λυπη μου μεγαλη εστι υπο του Εσσεξ και σφοδρα φοβουμαι μη εν καιρω υπαρχει μοιχεια αισχροτατη και πικρα και μεσστη των κακων.⁷⁶⁹

124. *Anne Bacon to Anthony Bacon, 1 April 1595*

Holograph. LPL 651, fo. 107r–v. 1p.

Endorsed (fo. 107v): De Madame, le premier de avril, 1595

Addressed (107v): To my sonne Mr Bacon

Sonne,

Woodwarde towlde me yow required a hogsehead of beare. I wyll, yf it please God I come well and in tyme home to morrow. I wyll send yow one by the cart of my best ordinary beere.

The rest ~~March~~ remaining is March,⁷⁷⁰ I pray yow lett me have another hogsehead for it. I shall lack elce and lett one be ready with a carr to receive it of the carier on Fryday in goode tyme, thowh he tary a litle, because of doble jumblying. I think well used yow may drink it after v dayes settling at least, but that as yow see being above iiiii moneths owlde after it is broched it wyll last above a fotenigh bycawse of cariag.

[*Left-hand margin*] This bearer I have newly taken into my s[ervy]ce. AB.

⁷⁶⁴ **evell dayes** See Ephesians 5:16.

⁷⁶⁵ **we waxe worse and worse** See 2 Timothy 3:13.

⁷⁶⁶ **Primo Aprilis** [Latin] ‘the first of April’.

⁷⁶⁷ **Mater tua** [Latin] ‘Your mother’.

⁷⁶⁸ **Bene ... semper** [Latin] ‘Farewell in Christ, now and ever’.

⁷⁶⁹ λυπη ... κακων [Greek] ‘I feel great grief about Essex and am very afraid that, in due course, a most shameful and grievous adultery, full of evils, will arise’. There is an additional Greek sentence written on the edge of the paper, but it is impossible to make it out.

⁷⁷⁰ **March** The March brewing.

125. Anne Bacon to Anthony Bacon, 3 April 1595

Holograph. LPL 651, fos 105r–106v. 2pp.

Endorsed (fo. 106v): De Madame le 4me d'a[vril] 1595

Addressed (fo. 106v): To my sonne Mr Anthony Bacon

I thank yow for your horses. I sende yow a hogshead of November bere, me thinks goode, and a barrell also of the same bruving, which I did cawse the bruyar then to [^]torne[^] of the fyrst toppe of the same bruving and so stronger, because at that tyme it was thought yow wolde come to Redborn and I ment it to yow. It is so strong as I wolde not drink it ordinaryly to my meales, but do yow use it to your most goode. In eny wyse when these two vessells be emptie, let them be returned by the cart. I can not want them in dede and they be strong. Besyde diverse others vessells of myn sent to your sondry places. I did at one tyme sende vi together, yf not seven, to Redborn and I payde vii s for headding and hooping and seasoning of them, howsoever they made yow pay afterwarde. I dyd so in trowth. I pray remember Groome's yll handling and ende it well for all nowghty Godram and his tipling mate. I wrong my men lyving well and Christianly in their honest vocation to suffer them to be ill entreated and my selff contemned. I mean not so. Crosby purposeth to be with yow on Monday, yf God wyll and yow corn ready. Gorchambury 3 April.

Mater tua,⁷⁷¹ AB.

Yesterday seing my sister Russell at the Blackfries howse after the sermon,⁷⁷² I fownde her ver[y] much greeved and her wordes charging my Lord Tresurer of very unkinde dealing in a matter very chargeable to and a slyte ende procured, she sayde, to her hurt *cum lachrimis per illum*.⁷⁷³ I saw her so lamenting I sayde I wolde writ to Sir Robert Cecill. 'No, no', *inquit*,⁷⁷⁴ 'It is to late, he hath marred all and that against my counsells lyking at all.' But not yow nor your brother; *vosmet inter miscere*.⁷⁷⁵ Never be aknownd of it, I pray yow. Shew your brother this and let him not take knowledg, lest yee both sett on work, and for that *Οουα ρδε*,⁷⁷⁶ once again be very ware, as of a subtile serpent. Burn all.

⁷⁷¹ *Mater tua* [Latin] 'Your mother'.

⁷⁷² **seing . . . the sermon** When staying at her Blackfriars house, Elizabeth Cooke Hoby Russell regularly attended Stephen Egerton's sermons at St Anne's, not only with her sister Anne but also with her daughter-in-law, Lady Margaret Hoby. See J. Moody (ed.), *The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby, 1599–1605* (Stroud, 1998), pp. 119, 120, 124, 134, 136.

⁷⁷³ *cum lachrimis per illum* [Latin] 'with tears on account of him'.

⁷⁷⁴ *inquit* [Latin] 'says she'.

⁷⁷⁵ *vosmet inter miscere* [Latin] 'do not get embroiled'.

⁷⁷⁶ *Οουα ρδε* [Greek transliteration] 'Howarde', i.e. Henry Howard.

*Ne famuli quidem.*⁷⁷⁷ Be not hasty to remove. Your drink well used and not sett abroch all at once ~~but~~ (^above the barr fyrst then^ by degrees lower once or twyse) wylbe better and last lenger, ^sayth the bruyer^. Yok Howse⁷⁷⁸ lease is not here, as I sayde to my cosyng Kempe. Mr Bayly⁷⁷⁹ hath seene every place purposely to satisfye my Lord Keeper. I do not remember that ever I saw eny lease from the Bishop sealed, but by parley and trust betwyxt both. *Bene vale.*⁷⁸⁰

The bruyar who is now here sayth that your beer ^now^ sent, well handled, wyll drink well a moneth's space. Lett not your servants begyle yow *clam aut aperte.*⁷⁸¹ Use your leggs and eyys⁷⁸² in eny wyse and dayly, least they fayle yow when yow wolde. Neglect not in tyme and serve the Lorde with all your hart and *omnia ad salutem tempestive.*⁷⁸³

126. *Anne Bacon to Anthony Bacon, 8 April 1595*

Holograph. LPL 651, fo. 89r–v. 1p.

*Endorsed (fo. 89v): De Madame le premier jour d'avril 1595*⁷⁸⁴

I sende between your brother and yow the fyrst flight of my dovehowse, the Lorde be thanked for all; ii doson and iiiii pigeon, xii to yow and xvi to your brother because he was wont to love them better then yow from a boy. Marvelous harde, snowy, hayly and strong, wyndy wether here and great scarsytie. I have had more toyle in my body few dayes since I cam last hether the⁷⁸⁵ in above twyse as long at London. I wysh my selff ther again and peradventure, yf God wyll, I wyll before Easter as now mynded. I am glad your bere was sent so soone. To day upon occasion of a mayd sending to Redborn, but none of my servants, I heare Mistress Read and He[n]rie are mallcontent for certein implements, specially as the[y] say in the best reserved chamber for your frends, noble or not noble: a carpett and other things fyled with byrds hunting or hawks or doggs. Mr Lawson was

⁷⁷⁷ *Ne famuli quidem* [Latin] 'Not even servants'.

⁷⁷⁸ **Yok Howse** See p. 170, n. 561.

⁷⁷⁹ **Mr Bayly** Presumably John Baile, 'a gentleman wayter' under Nicholas Bacon I, who also received a legacy from the latter after his death. See *Stiffkey*, I, pp. 54, 66.

⁷⁸⁰ *Bene vale* [Latin] 'Farewell'.

⁷⁸¹ *clam aut aperte* [Latin] 'secretly or openly'.

⁷⁸² **eyys** eyes.

⁷⁸³ *omnia . . . tempestive* [Latin] 'everything at the proper time for health'.

⁷⁸⁴ *De . . . 1595* [French] 'From the mistress, the first day of April 1595'. There seems to be a discrepancy between the date which Anne gave on the letter and the date of the endorsement. Anne sent two other letters on 1 April (**123**, **124**), so it seems as if Anthony's secretary may have been incorrect in this endorsement.

⁷⁸⁵ **the** then.

the nobleman lodg there, I weene, and lyke inowgh for he is *totius vanae gloriae*⁷⁸⁶ and make yow bleared styll to endure all and pay for all; and further it was reported that Morice was discontented for your resining⁷⁸⁷ to Mr Reade, he not made prevy before. Thus they talk and some think elce now yow are gon, and one that tames the bit is become a tipler and wylbe oversene with drink, but an yll servant in your howse and ^the frute of idleness^. Large was here this day. I towlde him it was honesty and ^Christian^ duty to dwell at home with his ^wyff. I wolde, I sayde, be loth that my sonne ^shulde^ beare the blame of his being an yll husban[d] and leave his first calling to labour and ^and so leeve over to^ be a good thriving fellow. I used him so styll though other civill ^servyce^ wayting among. It is commonly spoken that Fynch of Woodende⁷⁸⁸ ^and Goodram^ are joint companions in all yll fellowship. Use them therafter and take no luck by such. Yow and your brother have taken much discredit by not judging wysely and rightly of those yee both of yow overcredit to your wylling hyndrance. I pray the Lorde geve yow good understanding by his worde and spirit and health to serve him in truth to your goode estimation with encrease of his blessed favour. Let not your men be prevy herof. As your goode mother, I thus certefie. Think of it.

Gorhambury 8 of April 1595.

Mater tua,⁷⁸⁹ AB.

Use your leggs betymes for feare of loosing in disuse.

Goode Rolff⁷⁹⁰ was here to day to speak with me, very sadly sayde thus to me that h[e] had before now and lately again did here that his ferme shuld be lett from him. Wherupon his ancient wyff and he both were much greeved. I towlde ^him^ I never harde eni litle of it and thought it was nothing so. It wyll be worst, I wys,⁷⁹¹ for yow to mak a chang for Humphrey. He hopes yow wyll at least lett him tary iii yeares lenger after his present state fynished. Scamblers⁷⁹² are easily had every where, but discrete, honest, sufficient farmours wolde be continued. They serve the country and cowntenance their landlorde in deed. Gooderam wyll prove stark nowght yf yow suffer to lett the

⁷⁸⁶ *totius vanae gloriae* [Latin] 'entirely vain glorious'.

⁷⁸⁷ **resining** resigning.

⁷⁸⁸ **Fynch of Woodende** Wood End was in Redbourn, where many members of the Finch family were resident. In 1609, both John and William Finch held land in Wood End. See HALS X/C/7/A.

⁷⁸⁹ *Mater tua* [Latin] 'Your mother'.

⁷⁹⁰ **Goode Rolff** Goodman Rolfe was a tenant at Burston. See p. 104, n. 205.

⁷⁹¹ **I wys** certainly.

⁷⁹² **Scamblers** parasites or spongers.

grownd from Pleadalls Ferm.⁷⁹³ Yow are marvelously abused by him and misled. Some in my howse are often with him. I wyll looke better to them for it. Yet by them I heare ^of^ there his nowghty doings, both for him selff and yow. God be with yow and make yow able to every goode dutye and gwyde yow all weyes to your comfort. God knowes when I shall see yow. I am therefore more carefull to advyse yow to beware.

Remember Groome, I pray yow. Brockett wyll make jeste of us both. Kepe not superfluous servants to marr them with idleness and undoe yow. Let Larg lyve at home; best for him, a maried man. Nobody see this, but burn it or send it back; and so commend yow to the Lorde.

127. *Anne Bacon to Anthony Bacon, [c.20 April 1595]*⁷⁹⁴

Holograph. LPL 653, fos 252r–253v. 2pp. Damaged.

Endorsed (fo. 253v): lettre de Madame

Addressed (fo. 253v): To my sonne

I am not wylling Mr Crew shulde come hether against the time, in dede I have yet no cooke and Thomas Witherton syckly and my selff peradventure wyll stay at Mr Cooke's howse.⁷⁹⁵ I can therefore spare such tyll the holy dayes⁷⁹⁶ be spent. Yf he wyll come after on Tewsdays Wensday to vew as I wrote to yow, he shalbe hartely welcome, but not for myne own unwoleness to go to and froe before that time. Then yf yow and he wyll welcome, yf he tary 3 or 4 dayes and bring some frende yf he wyll.

Osborn and his wyff are well gone hence, yet she to brew yf qwietly and orderly. In very truth, sonne, my servants of that sorte with Edwarde and such lyke brake of owt of order with me last sommer. But I have it as I myght not, greving liberly to their hurt and my discredit, because I wolde ^yow shulde^ every way be well and comfortably here. Truly your often geving to such and where no desert was, made them serve more frowardly. Osborn's wyffe learned her brewing with me and I payde well for her learning, specially since her mariag, with

⁷⁹³**Pleadalls Ferm** Playdells manor was part of the manors of Gorhambury, Westwick, and Praye from 1533/4. See 'Catalogue of field names', p. 86. For the description of the farm and surrounding lands in a 1569 survey, see HALS XI/2.

⁷⁹⁴**[c.20 April 1595]** This letter is difficult to date from the internal evidence. It mentions the 'holy days', but also the putting out of horses to grass, which may suggest that Anne is referring to Easter. She also mentions her dispute with Edward Spencer, from the summer of 1594, which means that this letter may date from around Easter 1595.

⁷⁹⁵**Mr Cooke's howse** Erasmus Cooke, the vicar of St Michael's parish in St Albans. See p. 181, n. 623.

⁷⁹⁶**holy dayes** Easter Sunday fell on 20 April 1595.

more comber to her and troble and almost doble charg in every thing, besydes which I was loth then to mention, certein other things ^were gon^ besyde one your best shertes. But I use her well inowgh and she brewes in diverse places and with me shortly. But I pray yow in my tyme, lett my servants loke to me. Yow shall soone inowgh fynde them lyke themself and for them selfs.

I hope yow wylbe very care⁷⁹⁷ of your health and that constantly. I had worde yow wolde not your horse to the grass; as yow appoint, it shalbe. I pray yow let me know what tyme yow mean to jorny, yf it please God whose mercy and favour go with yow and bless the meanes to your recovery. In no wyse but as of necessite, kepe no superfloous expences. Remember yow have yet ^not^ visited God his howse nor seene our Soverein after your long absence. Be wyse and the Lorde geve goode success. How doth your brother and what?

128. *Anne Bacon to Anthony Bacon, 26 April 1595*

Holograph. LPL 651, fo. 110r–v. 1p.

Endorsed (fo. 110v): De Madame, le 28me d'avril 1595

Addressed (fo. 110v): To my sonne Mr Antony Bacon. If the Βρυιαρ⁷⁹⁸ go on with his sute (the cheet) he wyll frey⁷⁹⁹ yow at nede. But Περι εστι.⁸⁰⁰

I humbly thank God I came well hether and fownde my howseholde well, saving that Jhon Knite was from home, after he had ben with the rest for a fashyon at church, came not home tyll x of the clock at night, much to my myslike. Be not offended, sonne, but in dede Redborn resort, which he hath haunted secretly and unseasonably above these 3 quarters yere, hath appayred⁸⁰¹ him much. Goodram and he and James your man and Woodend Fynch companons of late in yll and it lyghteth so upon Goodram. For as here it is spoken in my howse, the shryff hath seased Goodram's cattell and cotes.⁸⁰² I pray yow sonne, let not ungodly once abuse and cary ^yow^ to frende⁸⁰³ synne. O that your health wolde suffer yow to heare publick preaching. I hartely wysshed yow had harde Mr Ege^rton⁸⁰⁴ the two

⁷⁹⁷ **care** careful.

⁷⁹⁸ **Βρυιαρ** [Greek transliteration] 'bruiar', i.e. brewer.

⁷⁹⁹ **frey** Presumably in the sense of agitating and bothering, drawing on a sixteenth-century form of 'fray'.

⁸⁰⁰ **Περι εστι** [Greek] 'he is superior', i.e. he is at an advantage.

⁸⁰¹ **appayred** injured.

⁸⁰² **cotes** Usually meaning sheep-cotes, i.e. small buildings for sheltering sheep.

⁸⁰³ **frende** befriend.

⁸⁰⁴ **Mr Egerton** Stephen Egerton, vicar at St Anne's, Blackfriars. See p. 209, n. 772.

last weke exercyces. Surely your knowledg and judgment wolde much encrease thereby to discern aright; which gyft proveth my sonnes me thinks specially in their own matters and calling ^do want^, though wyse otherwyse in diverse things *ore tenus*,⁸⁰⁵ but *aliud semper agentes suo magno sumpto et incommodo*.⁸⁰⁶ Do ^not^ cowntenance such nawghty ^un^godly spendalls.⁸⁰⁷ Your cowntenancyng Goodram so soone made him careless to badd. Yf I had my xv pownds, I wold gladly bestowe yt for your credit and goode but it greveth my conscience knowing your great want, the more for such that yow shulde partetake to releve and mayntein their synfull expence.

I thank yow for your horses; that left here shalbe well looked, but horses wyll with horse play lyte and strike one anoter unhappely; myne own doble one so lately. Thother when in dede he is throwgly well. I dare say that ^iuke⁸⁰⁸ beast Hynde hath spoyled yow in hors since your commyng over above 200 marks every way.

Looke well to your selff inwardely and owtwardely and peace of God and love in Christ Jesu be with yow ever. Lett not your men see my lettres; it were *magna injuria*.⁸⁰⁹

Gorhambury 26 April.

Your mother, ABacon.

129. *Anne Bacon to Anthony Bacon, 6 May 1595*

Holograph. LPL 651, fo. 142r–v. 1p.

Endorsed (fo. 142v): De Madame le 7me de may 1595

Addressed (fo. 142v): To my sonne Mr Anthony Bacon in Bishippes Gate Strete, with some spede

Your beere, God wylling, wilbe ready to be caried on Fryday at furthest, sayth the bruyer. Yf ^it^ tary lenger, it wylbe the worse, he sayth. It is don as yow appointed the qwantite. Yow promised certainly to me to take order for the cariag. I looked to ^have^ know⁸¹⁰ from yow for it when vessells were sent. I cannot, nor wyll not, take the care of cariag. Send worde with spede therfore or elce it shalbe layde in to seller

⁸⁰⁵ *ore tenus* [Latin] 'verbally'.

⁸⁰⁶ *aliud . . . incommodo* [Latin] 'always doing something else to their own great expense and inconvenience'.

⁸⁰⁷ *spendalls* spendthrifts.

⁸⁰⁸ *iuke* slippery.

⁸⁰⁹ *magna injuria* [Latin] 'greatly harmful'.

⁸¹⁰ *know* known.

^saffly principle^.⁸¹¹ Folke now apply seing the former season hath ben so fowle. I pray therefore write whom yow wyll to cary and sende owt of hand. I think Mr Crossby wylbe with yow on Fryday, yf can dispatch your busines, he sayde.

The less yow use Goodram the better. He wasteth beastly trusting to your foolysh pitie, but now sett not sinn in him nor others to your hurt. *Ne te plura mala damna sequantur.*⁸¹² Discern and not ^to^ be too easely earied ^led away^. Your age reqwyreth now a godly, wyse constancy in yø in all your procedings.

The Father of Heaven, bless yow more and more in Christ Jesu.

Gorhambury 6th Maii 95.

Your mother,
ABacon.

*Memento*⁸¹³ Brocket, Grome.

130. *Anne Bacon to Anthony Bacon, [before 8] May*

1595⁸¹⁴

Holograph. LPL 651, fos 165r–166v. 2pp.

Endorsed (fo. 166v): de Madame le may 1595

Addressed (fo. 166v): To my sonne Mr Bacon at Bishops gate. This was ment to be sent with the beere.

*Gratia et amor Dei in Christo.*⁸¹⁵

Your beere, well handled I trust, is ment to be sent tomorow early. The bruyar hath ben careful him selff. I had no bruing, I dare say, this twelve moneth more diligently attended upon of my servants. Yf the cariers do their part and afterwards well watched and looked to in the seller, it is thowght for your own speciall use it wyll last tyll nye Michaeltyde,⁸¹⁶ both for qwantitee and qwalitee. As yow appointed it is brued; viii hogshed in all of the cheefest beere, ii hogshedds marked with an S on ech syde of the wheele mark. The third somewhat less strong being a seconde is marked lyke wyse with chalk wyth a smaller whele mark and one only S bye it to know it ryghtly; thother v alyke. God geve yow the right use of all his ^gyfts^ to God's glory and your

⁸¹¹ **principle** at first.

⁸¹² *Ne te . . . sequitur* [Latin] 'Lest more bad losses may follow you'.

⁸¹³ *Memento* [Latin] 'Remember'.

⁸¹⁴ **[before 8] May 1595** Letter **129** notes that the beer must be sent by Friday 9 May. This letter mentions that it will be sent the next day.

⁸¹⁵ *Gratia . . . Christo* [Latin] 'Grace and the love of the Lord in Christ'.

⁸¹⁶ **Michaeltyde** Michaelmas. See p. 107, n. 225.

own further advancement and tru comfort. The rowelled⁸¹⁷ horse I had no mynde to indede nor the horse Mr Spencer roade on. Lawson thrust in here his and others, smutled⁸¹⁸ and spoyled beast. The horse is ful[l] of wyngalls,⁸¹⁹ a token of very spoyling in ryding and dress^{ing}. Grass is here yet but poore and scant and I must turne shortly my two service geldings of necessitee. I wyll not chang my ^{own} fayely⁸²⁰ husband's horse⁸²¹ for yours, both heaue and stumbling and never broken for ^{such a} toward ho[rse] when yow fyrst had him. Diverse of my folk now sy[ckly]. God encrease your health, I pray God, and be mercyfull to us both.

[*Left-hand margin*] I thank yow for your comly mastive. It is suspected he wyll hunt after shepe and is to owlde. I durs not prove him yet.

Your mother, ABacon.

131. *Anne Bacon to Anthony Bacon, 12 May 1595*

Holograph. LPL 651, fo. 156r–v. 1p.

Endorsed (fo. 156v): De Madame le 12me de may 1595

Grace and health.

I hope your beere is well where yow appointed. I ment a lettre to yow then, but it was afterwarde by the carier ^{sent}. Hangings I wolde ^{not} sende with the new working tonned drink⁸²² for hurting. The two upper chambers be not ^{to} be altered, they are no sute but odde ones most. As nere as cowld I chose the best and fytest for your chamber here. Yf yow wyll those iiiii odd romes too. And one ^{of} them^{of} the great chamber hanging at your howse in your father's tyme of Barbary. Yf yow wyll have them to eny goode purpose sende me worde by this bearer. So yow sende wythall by him a right note of the former implements yow ^{have} had allready from hence, which I looke for and often have justly reqwyred heretofore. For your horse I wyll take him though in ^{dede} spoyled ^{ut antea levissi}⁸²³ in comparison as freely as I gave him to yow; and yf I put not the beast to my cart and put a way ^{one} of my 4 now, for moe⁸²⁴ wyll I not kepe. I wyll sell

⁸¹⁷ **rowelled** Pricked by rowels, the small spikes at the end of a spur.

⁸¹⁸ **smutled** smutted or dirtied.

⁸¹⁹ **wyngalls** A windgall is a soft tumour on the leg of a horse.

⁸²⁰ **fayely** Presumably 'faithly', i.e. faithful.

⁸²¹ **husband's horse** A reliable, trustworthy horse.

⁸²² **new working tonned drink** This is a reference to the beer, mentioned in **130**. The description 'new working' is another expression for a new brewing; 'tonned' refers to the storage of the beer in casks.

⁸²³ **ut antea levissi[mus]** [Latin] 'as before very nimble'.

⁸²⁴ **moe** more.

him as well as I can and when I am able bestow a nagg in his stede. I pray dispatch this my man. I send him of purpose to yow, and for none other business, and I nede his service here at home, besyde the charge of taring. Remember the note to be sent elce I can sende no more hence. *Vale in Christo quam optime*.⁸²⁵

Beware of *ένρι Όουαρδ*⁸²⁶ and such. *Αμυνον εστι κινδυνουτατος και κακω[ν] δολων ανηρ*.⁸²⁷ God kepe the Earle⁸²⁸ from such poyson and snaring *και σεαυτον ομοιωσ*⁸²⁹ but *matris monita nihil estimantur*.⁸³⁰ I think for my long attending in coorte and a cheeff cownsellour's wyffe few *preclaræ feminae meae sortis*⁸³¹ are able or be alyve to speak and judg of such proceedings and worldly doings of ^men^.

But⁸³² God bless yow and make yow able to heare wholsome, publick doctrine for your better understanding every way. I am sory yow at Chelsey and your brother at Twycknam do want that pretious commoditee for cheff health and comfort.

Gorhambury 12 *Maii* 95.
Your mother, ABacon.

132. *Anne Bacon to William Cecil, Lord Burghley, 22 May 1595*

Holograph. BL, Lansdowne MS 79, fos 79r–80v. 2pp.

Endorsed (fo. 80v): 22 May 1595. Lady Bacon to my Lord. One Mr Holme returned one of Ireland from Mr Travers

Addressed (fo. 80v): To my singuler goode Lorde, the Lord Tresurer of Englande

This morning, my singuler goode Lorde, I was so bowlde as to desyre Mrs Whyte,⁸³³ whose very kinde curtesy I allweies find, that she wolde in passing by this way upon eny occasion do so much as to see me that by her I might do my humble dutie to your Lordship and know of your goode health to my comfort.

⁸²⁵ *Vale . . . optime* [Latin] 'Fare you right well in Christ'.

⁸²⁶ *ένρι Όουαρδ* [Greek transliteration] 'Henri Howard', i.e. Henry Howard.

⁸²⁷ *Αμυνον . . . ανηρ* [Greek] 'Take care, he is most dangerous and a man of evil cunning'.

⁸²⁸ **the Earle** The earl of Essex.

⁸²⁹ *και σεαυτον ομοιωσ* [Greek] 'and yourself likewise'.

⁸³⁰ *matris . . . estimantur* [Latin] 'your mother's warnings are estimated as nothing'.

⁸³¹ *preclaræ . . . sortis* [Latin] 'distinguished women of my sort'.

⁸³² **But** There is a large gap between 'but' and 'God'. It may be that Anne had initially planned to add additional words in the space before dispatch.

⁸³³ **Mrs Whyte** Presumably Burghley's sister Anne, the widow of Thomas White.

This afternoone even about 3 of the clock came Mr Holmes, the learned man that went over with Mr Travers into Ireland and requested of me ii or three lynes that he might have access to your goode Lordship for the matters of her Majestie's yowng colledg there, he sayde.⁸³⁴ I fynde such favour in your Lordship that for such a one and such cawse I do not readily deny to troble your Lordship thus. Rejoysing in dede, my Lord, of your goode continuance and ablenes for the great benefitt of our lande and specially of the advancement of the gospell herin, *domi forisque*,⁸³⁵ to your great harte's solace. God encrease it more and more.

I came hether to take a litle counsell for my much disordred body synce my quartan,⁸³⁶ sondry weyes to ease some payns, diverse at this present and not able to go but with payn in one of my feete and other wyse. I have great cawse to acknowledg the mercy of God towarde me in granting me tyme and meanes to more mortification, which by his grace I besech him I may dayly endeavour to be better and better prepared for a better lyffe. The Lorde prolong yours with feeling encrease of his love and goodness in Christ Jesu.

I humbly take my leave, with thanks from my hart for your honorable comforts. Flete Strete. 22 May 95.

In the Lorde *ex animo*,⁸³⁷
 ABacon
 Χηρα.⁸³⁸

133. *Anne Bacon to Anthony Bacon, 31 May 1595*

Holograph. LPL 651, fos 225r–226v. 2pp. Damaged along right-hand side.

Endorsed (225v): De Madame le 3me de juni 1595

*Addressed (225v): To my sonne Mr Anthony Bacon at Bishoppes gate street. Ne subito relinquis aut concedes alicui edes urbanas.*⁸³⁹

Sonne yow had a mynde to have the long carpett and the ancient learned philosoph[ers'] pictures from hence, but in dede I had no

⁸³⁴**This ... he sayde** Matthias Holmes was a fellow of the newly founded Trinity College, Dublin; Walter Travers was provost of the college.

⁸³⁵*domi forisque* [Latin] 'at home and abroad'.

⁸³⁶**quartan** Quartan fever. See p. 150, n. 463.

⁸³⁷*ex animo* [Latin] 'from the heart'.

⁸³⁸*Χηρα* [Greek] 'widow'.

⁸³⁹*Ne subito ... [a]jedes urbanas* [Latin] 'Do not quickly relinquish or concede your town house to anyone'.

mynde therto, yet have I sent, very carefully bestowed and layde in a hamper for safty in cariage. For the carpet, being without golde, yow shall not, I think, have the lyke at this time in London, for the right, and not paynted, cowlers;⁸⁴⁰ which is to common in this age in moe⁸⁴¹ things then carpetts, and such. It is for all not of late bowght, worth 20 li to bye. Such implements as your father ^left^ I have very diligent looked to and kept; yow have now bared this howse of all the best. A wyffe wolde have well regarded such things, but now they shall serve for use of gaming or typling upon the table of every common person, your own men as w[ell] ill as others, and so be spoyled as at Redborn. I wolde think that Jhon your taylour shude be fittest to looke well to your furnitre.⁸⁴² God I humbly besech him encrease in yow dayly spirituall stoare, also the comfort of bodily health and other comforts of this lyff to his own good pleasure to whose fatherly love in Christ I commend yow.

I wysch the hamper were not opened tyll your selff were at Chelsey to see it don before yow; for the pictures are put orderly within the carpett. Yow have one long carpett allredy; I can not think to what use this shulde be. It wylbe an occasion of mockery that yow shulde have a great chamber, called and carpeted. *Haud inane est quod dico.*⁸⁴³ Draw no charge till God better enable yow, but observe narrowly both for your health and purse. Surely your vi s beere is no ordinary drink for your howse no tyme of the yere specially, and usually to strong for yow, but *podagra*⁸⁴⁴ wyll bestur him. Seing God hath geven yow some goode abilities, I wolde I trow⁸⁴⁵ watch over my diett and every thing to put them in ure⁸⁴⁶ by health to God his glory and your own more creditt getting publickly. Yf her Majesti have resolved upon the negative for your brother, *ut audio*,⁸⁴⁷ truly save for the brute a litle, I am glad of it. God in his tyme hath better in stoare, I trust. For considering his kynde of health and what ^comber^ pertains to that office, it is best for him I hope. Lett us all pray the Lorde we make ^us to^ profit by his fatherly correction dowtles in his hande and all for the best and love to his chyldren that wyll seeke him fyrst and depend upon ^his^

⁸⁴⁰ **cowlers** colours.

⁸⁴¹ **moe** more.

⁸⁴² **furnitre** furniture.

⁸⁴³ *Haud . . . dico* [Latin] 'What I say is not foolish'.

⁸⁴⁴ *podagra* [Latin] 'gout'.

⁸⁴⁵ **trow** trust.

⁸⁴⁶ **ure** use.

⁸⁴⁷ *ut audio* [Latin] 'as I hear'.

goodenes, godly and wysely. Love thee lyke brethern what soever and be of goode corage in the Lorde with goode hope.

*Vale et cura diligenter ut quam optime valeas et sis tui juris et prudenter age.*⁸⁴⁸

*ultimo Maii*⁸⁴⁹ 95.

*Mater tua,*⁸⁵⁰ ABacon *Χηρα.*⁸⁵¹

134. *Anne Bacon to Anthony Bacon, 16 June 1595*

Holograph. LPL 651, fo. 206r–v. 1p.

Endorsed (fo. 206v): De Madame le 18me de juni 1595

How matters went at Gorhambury yow understoode by Mr Crew. I offred him a litle golde and he wolde take none. Yf it were once the goode wyll of God, your being here or elce where shulde be very comfortable. Your continuall lack of health and other no small hyndrances thereby have gon very nere to me. But now I ^endeavour to^ cast my burden upon the Lorde⁸⁵² ^and^ to wayte upon his gracious providence both for my selff and myne in his own goode tyme, not omitting goode meanes.

The weather ^here^ very boystrus with wynde, hayle and rayn. I feare yow feele theroff. I wolde, yf it please God, be a few dayes at London the next terme. I think yow wylbe gon to Chelsye before. I pray God yow take not hurt there this unseasonable weather and others enjoy your ^consuming^ charges and *illis sit bene cum tibi sit male.*⁸⁵³ Do what yow can to expell the gowt by diet and seasonable sleeping. Use not your selff to be twanged a slepe, but naturally it wyll grow into a teadious custome and hynder yow much.

Jhon ^your man^ had thought to have wayted on yow very shortly, but his fever is now every day again. He never feltt him throughly well, but now works a fresh and looks thinn and pale, wherof he is sory for gladly wolde he return.

I think the great well chayn must be searched and amended. I have delivered goodeman woodd mony for Spanish iron for it.

The God of all grace be with yow and direct yow with his holy spirit allweies.

⁸⁴⁸ *Vale . . . prudenter* [Latin] ‘Farewell and take diligent care of your health and you should live independently and act prudently’.

⁸⁴⁹ *ultimo Maii* [Latin] ‘the last day of May’.

⁸⁵⁰ *Mater tua* [Latin] ‘Your mother’.

⁸⁵¹ *Χηρα* [Greek] ‘widow’.

⁸⁵² *cast . . . Lorde* See Psalm 55:22.

⁸⁵³ *illis . . . male* [Latin] ‘to them it may be good though to you it may be bad’.

βεουαρε of Ιακουεσ and αδελφοσ σου of κελλεττ. Σουσαν
 ^Ληστηρ and Λονηττ^ is gon to London and, as I desyred, Mr
 Κρευε.⁸⁵⁴ Λοοκε σπουδαιωσ,⁸⁵⁵ owt of some ^dowt^ did maynteyn
 her nawghtines. Do it wysely and closely but I think none abowt yow
 ^wyll^ do it trustely. Burn this *sat cito*,⁸⁵⁶ yet reede and marke. God kepe
 yow both in his love in Christ ever.

Remember *ut sis tui juris et ^enitere ut^ expergiscaris cum podragra cum omni
 prudenti cura*.⁸⁵⁷

Ματερ tua,⁸⁵⁸

ABacon.

Gorhambury 16th Junii.

Comburatur hoc ne.⁸⁵⁹

**135. Anthony Bacon to Anne Bacon, with return
 postscript by Anne Bacon, 18 June 1595**

Draft, Anthony Bacon holograph from ‘Your Ladiship’s moste loving’;
 Anne Bacon holograph from ‘I send yow the lettre’. LPL 651, fo. 207r–
 v. 1p.

Endorsed (fo. 207v): De Madame le 18me de juin 1595

Addressed (fo. 207v): To the honorable this verie good Ladie and mother
 the Ladie Anne Bacon

Additional address by Anne Bacon: To my sonne Mr Anthony Bacon in
 Byshopps gate Strete. Part not with your London howse *temere ne forte
 peniteat tei*.⁸⁶⁰

Madame,

These fewe lynes shalbe first to remember my most humble dewtie
 to your Ladyship, with the like thanks for the carpet and pictors
 which it pleased yow to sende me, wherof your Ladyship maie be
 asseured there shalbe speciall care had.

⁸⁵⁴ βεωαρε . . . Κρευε [Greek, transcription and direct, and English] ‘Beware of Jakwes
 and your brother of Kellet. Sousan Lester and Lonett is gon to London and, as I desyred,
 Mr Krewē’. Jacques is presumably Jacques Petit, Anthony’s servant. John Kellet was a
 freeman-apothecary who treated Francis Bacon. Susan Lester may be the maid, Susan,
 mentioned in 114.

⁸⁵⁵ Λοοκε σπουδαιωσ [Greek, transcription and direct] ‘Looke carefully’.

⁸⁵⁶ *sat cito* [Latin] ‘very quickly’.

⁸⁵⁷ *ut . . . cura*. [Latin] ‘it is in your control and strive to wake up the gout with all
 prudent care’.

⁸⁵⁸ *Ματερ tua* [Greek transliteration and Latin] ‘Your mother’.

⁸⁵⁹ *Comburatur hoc ne* [Latin] ‘Let this be burnt lest’.

⁸⁶⁰ *temere . . . tei* [Latin] ‘rashly lest perhaps you may repent’.

I am likewise to advertise your Ladyship that Mr Crewe and Mr Downinge, God willinge, will waight of your Ladyship on Wednesdaie next to keepe the courte; which is thought to be necessarie, for the certen knowledge by Mr Tille. Hawgood houldeth a good quantity of copiehold.⁸⁶¹

And so I most humblie take my leave, and commit your Ladyship to God's best protection.

This oth⁸⁶² of June 1595.

Your Ladyship's moste lovinge and obdient son, Anthony Bacon.

[*Postscript by Anne Bacon*]

I sende yow the lettre that yow may your selff see how wysely ^and heedefully^ warning was geven by the writer. It made much dowt and disapointed much.

136. *Anne Bacon to Anthony Bacon, 8 July 1595*

Holograph. LPL 651, fo. 267r–v. 1p.

Endorsed (fo. 267v): *De Madame le mois de juillet 1595*

Addressed (fo. 267v): To my sonne Mr Anthonie Bacon in Bishopgate strete

I thank God I came well, thowgh weary, heather and thank yow for your horses. The not delyvery of my lettre, sent by the carier, returned me by myn own horses unlooked for then, and because I had written before dowtfully referring to another lettre to be sent afterwarde. ~~They~~ ^My men^ not hearing as they looked, fearing I had not ben well, came on, wherin the⁸⁶³ shewed their honest and dutifull care and regard of me, which pleased me much.

I sende yow oakwood straberries gathred this morning by this bearer and other[s]. His name is Dawyes, diligent in the garden as the tyme will, for he came but lately and is also a zealous Christian servant; I thank God for him. I pray yow, sonne, see him and speak with him your selff. He returneth not tyll nigh a weeke, he sayth. He readeth the ordinary morning and evening prayour to my howse, even hartely ^reverently^. The Lorde God in mercy be with yow all weyes. Looke to your charges at Chelsey; small thanks for your great charges. Be

⁸⁶¹ **Hawgood copiehold** The Hawgood family were the copyhold tenants of Megdells Farm in Westwick until 1643. See HALS XI/2 and 'Catalogue of field names', p. 76.

⁸⁶² **oth** No date is given in the draft, only on the endorsement.

⁸⁶³ **the** they.

an enemy to the gowt and watch over it with all goode observation and use your lymms in tyme, for God sake. Supp not, watch not late and slepe naturally *in utramque aurem*.⁸⁶⁴ Call no *convivas*⁸⁶⁵ till God better enable yow in his own gracious tyme *sed interem cave et enitere prudenter*.⁸⁶⁶ Fare yow well in our Lorde Jesu Chris[t].

Gorhambury 8 Julii.

Your moother, AB.

Mr Purveieur⁸⁶⁷ and Groome.

137. Anne Bacon to Anthony Bacon, [before 21 July 1595]⁸⁶⁸

Holograph. LPL 653, fos 320r–321v. 2pp. Damaged.

Endorsed (fo. 321v): lettre de Madame

I sende to know how yow and your brother do, and I sende my horse Loss⁸⁶⁹ yf yow wyll have him st[a]y, but I have no saddle to remain with yow for him. I have but v for myne own use. Yf I had ben able I wolde have bowght moe.⁸⁷⁰ Yf yow kepe Loss, let him well used in dede. I have not such another for frende or a preacher. Mantell is scant sownde. Nether my horses ner my men are acquainted with undiscrete⁸⁷¹ travell; he is taken from the grass. It wybbe chargeable keeping him in and to put him abroade yow may qwickly be ridd of him. Do as your necessary business reqwireth and beware, sonne, yow procure to your self tangled matters t[o] no purpose but your nedeless charg. I wolde yow were well ridd of that owlde, booted, polling papist.⁸⁷² He wyll use discoourses owt of season to hinder your health,

⁸⁶⁴*in utramque aurem* [Latin] ‘on either ear’. This is a classical phrase meaning to sleep soundly on both ears, free from cares. See D. Erasmus, *Adages III iv 1–IV ii 100*, trans. D.L. Drysdall, in *Collected Works of Erasmus*, XXXV (Toronto, 2005), p. 467.

⁸⁶⁵*convivas* [Latin] ‘companions’.

⁸⁶⁶*sed . . . prudenter* [Latin] ‘but meanwhile take care and struggle onwards wisely’.

⁸⁶⁷**Purveieur** Purveyor; figure in charge of provisions.

⁸⁶⁸**[before 21 July 1595]** This undated letter is difficult to place in an exact chronology, but it is likely to have been written before Antonio Pérez left for France on 21 July 1595. See below, n. 872.

⁸⁶⁹**Loss** Loss was the name of the horse. See also **149**.

⁸⁷⁰**moe** more.

⁸⁷¹**undiscrete** indiscrete, unsound.

⁸⁷²**owlde, booted, polling papist** This is likely to be a reference to Antonio Pérez. Born in 1540, Pérez was then fifty-five years old, hence Anne’s description of him as old; her account of him as polling suggests that she believed Pérez was prone to cheating, perhaps in reference to his Catholicism. It could also be a description of Lord Henry Howard, likewise born in 1540; Anne feared Howard was a ‘subtile papist inwardly’. For Howard’s suspected

the want wheroff is your great hindrance. Take ^heede^ therefore every way and be ware and wyse. When yow are through[ly] sowned then *adieu*.⁸⁷³ Some do think that your brother and yow make to great a note of the *Εαρλεσ*⁸⁷⁴ favour. Do well and committ your wayes to the Lord [and] seeke cowsell at him. Beware of emulation and be not frank to open your mynd to every body. Yow shalbe better estemed. The Lorde direct yow in all things. Mark what I write and but to your brother to nobody. Welldon, that in an ill tyme for her⁸⁷⁵ married her ^Carpenter's wydow^, suffreth willingly his shepe to marr my last felled spring and hath with crapping hindred it above a yere's growth. He is ^a^ nawghty makebater⁸⁷⁶ with his neighbours. Fyrst he and Ewer⁸⁷⁷ cowlde never agree because his did still eate up his grownde and is styll offring occasion of qwarrells. Mr Downing hath ^had^ somewhat to do with him,⁸⁷⁸ with his ^never^ challenging I wot not and ^as^ for his sons, they be but riotus and hog that liberty, yf one be not typsye which is too trew and stub[bor]n with all. I heare Weldon braggs yow have graunted him a 100 li loade of chalk, which I can not think yow so ^be^ unadvised and lyeng with in another tenant's grownd. So yow may make matter of continuall stryff and the other may chuse doing his dutie.

[*Left-hand margin*] I wis⁸⁷⁹ yow shall dwell ^here^ in a harde soyle and ^by^ harde harted neighbour but for their own profit conning. Be not hasty, *tacuisse numquam*.⁸⁸⁰ ABacon.

Catholicism, see 123. Anne has written over 'polling' with what seems to be the word 'yet', so it seems as if she particularly wanted to emphasize the papist's cheating nature.

⁸⁷³*adieu* [French] 'farewell'.

⁸⁷⁴*Εαρλεσ* [Greek transliteration] 'Earles', ie. the earl of Essex's favour.

⁸⁷⁵her here.

⁸⁷⁶makebater Fomentor of trouble and strife.

⁸⁷⁷Ewer William Ewer was recorded in 1569 as a copyhold tenant of considerable lands close to Gorhambury; he was acting as a juror in the manorial court in 1596. See HALS XI/2 and X/B/3/A.

⁸⁷⁸Mr Downing . . . him Presumably concerning the manor courts over which Downing presided.

⁸⁷⁹I wis certainly.

⁸⁸⁰*tacuisse numquam* [Latin] 'never having been silent'.

138. Anne Bacon to Anthony Bacon, 30 July 1595

Holograph. LPL 651, fos 310r–311v. 2pp.

Endorsed (fo. 311v): De Madame le 3me le aoust 1595

Endorsed (fo. 311v): To my sonne Mr Anthony Bacon geve this

I most humbly thank God and much rejoyced when I harde by Crosby yow do more exercyse your body and your leggs and that in your coch yow go to the Earle ^your self as occasion^. Surely, sonne, by the grace of God yow shall fynde great healpe by bodily exercyse in season and much refreshing, both to body and mynd and be more accounted of. I wolde advise yow went sometye to the French Church⁸⁸¹ and have there (and bash⁸⁸² not your necessaries for warmeth) to heare the publick preching of the worde of God, as it is his ordinance, and arme so with prayour. For understanding it maketh the goode hearers wyse to God and enableth them to discerne how to walk in their worldly vocation to please God and to be accepted of men in dede, which God grant to yow both.

Truly, sonne, the miller's last coming to yow was but a craft to collour his halting, towching his secret consenting to steale, as cause hath ben geven to suspect him not lately ^alone^ but long. He waxeth a suttell fellow and hath a running head of his own. Now he goeth with meale⁸⁸³ to London and to some other places here abowt and wyll marr the myll I dowt by his flitting. Wherfore shulde he have a nett? Him self confessed abowt the scowring of ^the mill^ but lately that there was store of trowte and now allmost none, because Bun⁸⁸⁴ and other dyd lately robb as yow know. I took the miller's part in defending his right dealing and so the Justices⁸⁸⁵ have bownde Bun to goode abearing tyll next sessions. But that ^same^ Bun sayde earnestly that the miller cowlde join and beare with some and ^he^ cowlde abyde by it; and so hath Mr Coltman sayde when I have blamed him but for angling. Certainly, sonne, where he bringeth yow two, I wolde they were moe⁸⁸⁶ for yow. He carieth to Mr *πρεστον*⁸⁸⁷ and others twyse as many but

⁸⁸¹**French Church** The French Stranger Church, a Huguenot congregation, met in Threadneedle Street in London. For Anthony's associations with members of the French Stranger Church, see 52, 53, 83, and 178.

⁸⁸²**bash** discomfort.

⁸⁸³**meale** ground grain.

⁸⁸⁴**Bun** The 1569 Gorhambury survey reveals that a William Bunne held some copyhold land on the manor. He also leased a cottage at Coptehall, according to accounts made on Nicholas Bacon's death in 1579. See HALS XI/2 and *Stiffkey*, II, pp. 38–39.

⁸⁸⁵**Justices** Justices of the peace.

⁸⁸⁶**moe** more.

⁸⁸⁷*πρεστον* [Greek transliteration] 'Preston'. Presumably the miller, Preston, mentioned in 115.

say yet not so to him. I mean to take his net from him. He is waxen so heady new fangled that the mille goeth to wrack and customers begyn to mislyke and forsake it, which hynder our living and discontinew it.

I wyll cause Humphrey⁸⁸⁸ to be paid as yow order with Crossby. Surely set a syde my poore mortmain; but 200 li or little above. A small portion for my continuance. I thank the Lord ^for all.^ Spending mony goeth but from hande to mowth as they say with me. I gave your brother at twyse 25 li for his paling;⁸⁸⁹ the rather to chere him since he had nothing of me. Crossby towlde me he looked very ill; he thought he taketh styll inwarde greff I feare.⁸⁹⁰ It may hinder his health hereafter. Cownsell to be godly wyse ^fyrst^ and wyse for him self too; and both of yow looke to your expences in tyme and oversee those yow trust how trustely, for I tell yow plainly it hath ben ^long^ commonly observed that both your servants are full of mony.

My Lord Cheff Baron's mariag with your syster I never eny inkling of before Crossby towlde.⁸⁹¹ I pray at leasure wyte to me some circumstances of the maner and God bless it. I sende Wynter purposely because yow shulde not sende your boy.

Gorhambury *penultimo Julii*.⁸⁹²

Mater tua,⁸⁹³ AB.

Nobody but your selff see my lettres, I pray yow.

[*Left-hand margin*] After harvest, some venison wolde do well here. God bless yow dayly with goode encreases.

139. *Anne Bacon to Anthony Bacon, 2 August 1595*

Holograph. LPL 653, fos 323r–324v. 2pp.

Endorsed (fo. 324v): lettre de Madame

Addressed (fo. 324v): My sonnes both

Sonne I had thought to have sent unto yow on Fryday, yf your man had not come yesternight. The goode cawse was to know whether Mr

⁸⁸⁸**Humphrey** The butcher, as noted in 46.

⁸⁸⁹**paling** paling wood, i.e. wood that will be made into fences.

⁸⁹⁰**he . . . greff I feare** Anne was here referring to Francis Bacon's continued quest for the post of solicitor-general.

⁸⁹¹**My . . . Crosby towlde** Elizabeth Bacon, daughter of Nicholas Bacon I by his first wife, Jane, became the third wife of Sir William Peryam, lord chief baron of the exchequer, in 1595.

⁸⁹²**penultimo Julii** [Latin] 'next to last day of July'.

⁸⁹³**Mater tua** [Latin] 'your mother'.

Wyborn may be welcome to do goode unto my sonnes, living with owt publyck ministry and private and holsom conference to styrr yow upp to remember the Lorde, and serve him cheffely with yours. The other cawses were too. I have hard since I saw yow that yow have an issue abowt your shoulder or arme, wherof I was sory, as dangerous to beginn and more to shutte ^upp^. I never harde Mr Smyth⁸⁹⁴ speak of it, and to use Archeloe⁸⁹⁵ alone in such a case I feare is not saff for yow. He is very adventurous to promyss and very often his counsell ^and warrant^ fownd nowght. God geve yow goode of your fysych⁸⁹⁶ and to be wyse for your selff and send yow no nede of it with God's helping ^healing^ hande.

The last I have lately upon occasion harde that yow labour much for that Wolworth fellow, Lawson, and that by therle of Es[sex]. Yt were wysdome, I think, to use his favour in goode and pertinent matters for your selffs and your own farthering, and not to be teadious or overbowlde for such base personns, howsoever overvalyng yow, and ^who wyll^ to convey from yow your estimation for his own, which he hath already and wyll more doe as yow enable him.⁸⁹⁷ Trust to that when the foxe seeth his opportunitie by your footing. Do not hinder your health and spend your goode tyme in discoorsing and yow and your brother, specially yow, be still occupied and entangled with state and wordely⁸⁹⁸ matters above your calling, to make yow the more unfit to be employed and then your gyfts phiyn⁸⁹⁹ appere to your own credit. Exercise your selff in the knowledg of holy and profitable things to please God, and then men, and now that yow have a couple of subtyll ~~renoldes~~ ^raynoles⁹⁰⁰ Standon and he^ to besett yow. I humbly besech the Lorde yow may escape all their snarings and God encrease your health with his favour.

A few plumms draweth much here; peares not ripe nor goode.

*Valete in Domino Jesu Christo.*⁹⁰¹
AB.

Gorhambury ii August v.

⁸⁹⁴**Mr Smyth** Richard Smith. See p. 150, n. 464.

⁸⁹⁵**Archeloe** For Doctor Archelow, see SP 53/10, fo. 51, p. 957.

⁸⁹⁶**fysych** physic.

⁸⁹⁷**him** Anne repeated this word twice, as it was initially cut off by the edge of the paper.

⁸⁹⁸**wordely** Presumably 'worldly'.

⁸⁹⁹**phiyn** thin.

⁹⁰⁰**raynoles** Given Anne's deleted spelling, it seems that she is attempting to write the French for foxes: '*renards*'.

⁹⁰¹**Valete** . . . **Christo** [Latin] 'Farewell in the Lord Jesus Christ'. It is interesting that Anne uses the plural form of farewell, when writing only to Anthony; as she uses the same form in 59, it may be that she meant the blessing to extend to her other son, Francis.

140. Anne Bacon to Anthony Bacon, 5 August 1595

Holograph. LPL 651, fos 328r–329v. 2pp.

Endorsed (fo. 329v): De Madame le 7 d'aoust 1595

Addressed (fo. 329v): To my sonne Mr Bacon

For your bottles, I thank yow. The malmesy⁹⁰² I tasted a litle; very good. Humphrey shall, God wyllingly, be answerd but with a syght of his reconing; he asketh for 20 neats towngs⁹⁰³ at once, not very seldome neyther.⁹⁰⁴ For Mr Barbar, Crossby wyll go with in these 3 dayes to kepe your credit with him and such is a veri Christian duty. Owe nothing to eny sayth the Lorde in his worde, but to love one another.⁹⁰⁵ I wolde I were able to helpe yow both owt of dett, but set a part my poore mortmein which I certainly have vowed, for eny *Dei gratia*⁹⁰⁶ I am not worth one C li. Yee and specially yow have spent me quwick. Nothing can therfore remain after I am dead. God bless yow. I had not sent now but for this cawse. By your message by Wynter the two countisses, systers,⁹⁰⁷ wyll neighbour yow. Both ladies that feare God and love his worde in dede zealously, specially the yownger syster. Yet upon advise and some experience, few I wolde earnestly counsell yow to be ware and circumspect and not be too open nor wylling to prolong speche wth the countess of Warwick. She after her father's fashion wyll search and sownd and lay upp with diligent marking *quae nec sentiu[n]tur aulica prope ad Reginam, et patrissat in illa re nimis. Hac causa nunc scribendi*.⁹⁰⁸

Another matter is that now the mariag of your syster is well by God his appointment I trust. Use not such `brode` langeses of `upon` mislyke of unkindness; your men and others yow peradventure yow mark not may hurt yow very much. Surely yf such phrase as yow wrote in your lettre or such deriding shulde come to his eare it wolde be very hurtfull to yow more then one way, which yow nede not being never abroad amongst them. Your syster's nature is but unkinde and at that

⁹⁰² **malmesy** Malmesey, a sweet wine.

⁹⁰³ **neats towngs** Ox or cow tongues.

⁹⁰⁴ **Humphrey . . . neyther** As Humphrey is noted in **46** as the butcher, this letter refers to his bill for meat.

⁹⁰⁵ **Owe . . . another** Romans 13:8.

⁹⁰⁶ **Dei gratia** [Latin] 'with God's grace'.

⁹⁰⁷ **the two . . . systers** The countess of Warwick, Anne Dudley, and her sister, Margaret Clifford, the countess of Cumberland.

⁹⁰⁸ **quae . . . scribendi** [Latin] 'those things which seem not courtly near to the queen, and in this matter she takes too little after her father. This is the cause of my writing now.' The countess of Warwick's father, Francis Russell, the earl of Bedford, had been the father-in-law of Anne Bacon's sister Elizabeth, after her marriage to John, Lord Russell, heir to the earldom.

tyme of her mariage cowlde not her selff think of such things. I pray harken to him with all curtesy. He is of marvelous goode estimation for his religious minde in following his law calling uprightly. *Cave igitur a verbis et factis et sermonibus in mensa coram. Vix illi fides in servi.*⁹⁰⁹ I write more herof because others write your lettres and not your selff. I am sory your brother with inwarde secret greeff hindreth his health. Every body sayth he loketh thine and pale. Let him looke to God and confere with him in godly exercyse of hearing ^and reading^ and contemn to be noted to take care. I had rather yee both with God his blessed favour had veri goode health and well owt of debt, then eny offyce yet; though the *Ἐα ρ λ ε*⁹¹⁰ shewed great affection, he marred all with violent coourses. I pray God encrease his feare in his hart and a hatred of synn in deed; halting before the Lorde and backslyding are very pernicious. I am hartely sory to heare how he sweareth and gameth unreasonably.⁹¹¹ God can not lyke it. I pray shew your brother this lettre, but ^to^ no creature elce. *Memento mei et tui.*⁹¹²

AB *mater tua.*⁹¹³

[*Left-hand margin*] Gorhambury 5th August 95. With a humble hart before God, lett your brother be ^of^ good chere. Alas, what excess of bucks at Grayse's Inne and to feast it so on the Sabbath. God forgive and have mercy upon England.

141. Anne Bacon to Anthony Bacon, 15 August 1595

Holograph. LPL 651, fos 330r–331v. 2pp.

Endorsed (fo. 331v): De Madame le 15me d'aoust 1595

Addressed (fo. 331v): To my sonne Mr Anthony Bacon

I besech God his blessing may foloww yow and be upon yow whereever yow go. The counsell to part with that London howse so well agred and ^made^ necessary was more cunning then ment for your goode, being gowty as yow be, but yow *nimis*⁹¹⁴ in such ^were things^ to your great hurt, credulous suffer wylingly your self to be abused. God open your understanding both inwarde and owtwarde. For thother place, though

⁹⁰⁹ *Cave igitur . . . in servi* [Latin] 'Beware therefore in words and deeds and speeches openly at table. There is scarce any fidelity in servants in that place'.

⁹¹⁰ *Ἐα ρ λ ε* [Greek transliteration] 'Earle', i.e. the earl of Essex.

⁹¹¹ **I . . . unreasonably** For Anne's reproach to Essex regarding his swearing, see 146.

⁹¹² *Memento mei et tui* [Latin] 'Be mindful of me and you'.

⁹¹³ *mater tua* [Latin] 'your mother'.

⁹¹⁴ *nimis* [Latin] 'overmuch'.

honorably offred, *crede mihi fili*⁹¹⁵ yow shall fynde many inconveniences not lyght.⁹¹⁶ Envy, emulation, continuall and unseasonable disquiett to encrease your gowt; many paynes, great urging for sutes, yea importune to trouble thearle and your selff. Peradventure not so well lyked your selff there as in your own howse. What, others allready offended not small ones, may mark and laye upp, I feare, having as yow have working heads about yow, some encrease of suspition and disagreement which may hurt yow privetly, yf not publikly, or both by all lykeliods.⁹¹⁷ These so tykle⁹¹⁸ tymes the Lord healpe. ^And^ I have not ^mentioned^ before your unavoydable cause of expence. The maner of your removes have and go to my hart and surely *penitebit te, expertus te malo timeo*,⁹¹⁹ besydes your stuff spoyled and lost and many by incommoditees.

I thank yow for your ment venison. It wylbe but troublesome to yow and chargeable to me. Mony is gon with me and I am but syckly and sadd.

I commende yow to the grace of God and to goode health every way.

Gorhambury 15 August 95. *καλωσ φερε. και σοφοσ εστω εν καιρω*.⁹²⁰

Mater tua pia,⁹²¹
AB.

142. *Anne Bacon to Anthony Bacon, 20 August 1595*

Holograph. LPL 651, fos 326r–327v. 2pp.

Endorsed (fo. 327v): De Madame le 21me d'aoust 1595

Addressed (fo. 327v): To my sonne Mr Anthony Bacon

I pray God yow have throwghly premeditate⁹²² and his goodness was the best resolution for yow, but I cannot put the trouble, some feare, owt of my mynde yet. I am on auncient experience *non in obscuris*

⁹¹⁵ *crede mihi fili* [Latin] ‘believe me, son’.

⁹¹⁶ **For . . . lyght** Anne was here referring to Anthony’s proposed move into the earl of Essex’s house on the Strand.

⁹¹⁷ **lykeliods** likelihoods.

⁹¹⁸ **tykle** uncertain and threatening.

⁹¹⁹ *p[**a**]enitebit . . . timeo* [Latin] ‘It will be repented by you, I fear, having experienced to your hurt’.

⁹²⁰ *καλωσ . . . καιρω* [Greek] ‘Take it well, and be wise in due course’.

⁹²¹ *Mater tua pia* [Latin] ‘Your tender mother’.

⁹²² **premeditate** premeditated upon.

locis sed in principum aulis ab adollescencia.⁹²³ ii verses have come to my remembrance thinking of your purpose, long forgotten but now fresh. The one rather a ^proverbial^ counsell then a verse, which is as I have sene it by ^fyrst^ syllable onely sett down thus. *Ni= Fa= pa= con=*;⁹²⁴ *adde ^prima^ mia, ^seconda^ miliaritas, ^tertia^ rit, ^quarta^ temptum*⁹²⁵ which hole joined together to returne *longum usus rerum docuit et docebit*.⁹²⁶ The verse is *dulcis inexperto cultura potentis amici*.⁹²⁷ Yow have hetherto ben esteemed as a worthy frende, now shalbe accownted his folower; a base kinde of goode wyll ^and speech^. Before his servants did regarde yow; now yow must respect and be in their danger to your comber and charg ^and care^ to please. Every thing yow do shalbe spoken and noted abroad and yourself browght as it were into a kinde of bondage where now yet free. Many, many wylbe the unqwiet and hurtfull molestations. But I wyl make my moane unto the Lorde in whose mercy is my onely comfort and trust, who bles yow and gwyde yow in all things.

The last Sabbath as I was past the block going to the church, a man of Mr Thomas Sadler;⁹²⁸ he sayde, mett me and

[*Left-hand margin*] tolde my men he had venison from his master for me, which I sent home with my cooke b[y the] party. It is very goode flesh and fayre kyllid. I thank yow and him too.

[*fo. 326v*] Yow were before nere the French church;⁹²⁹ now uncertein but to knitt upp this greff. ^For^ I mean no more of this to yow but to the Lorde God. It may be my Lady and her ^Ladie^ mother⁹³⁰ may think some whatt of it. *Vale*.⁹³¹

Your horse sent upp is in so goode lyking that two of your men's jorneing wyl utterly spoyle the beas[t]. Your want of health spoyles

⁹²³ *non . . . adollescencia [adolescencia]* [Latin] 'not in obscure places, but in the courts of the princes from youth'.

⁹²⁴ *Ni= . . . con=* [Latin] '*Nimia familiaritas parit contemptum*' ('Too much familiarity breeds contempt'). This is supposedly a saying of Publilius Syrus. For discussion, see M. Colker, *Petronius Redivivus et Helias Tripolanensis* (Leiden, 2007), p. 178.

⁹²⁵ *prima . . . temptum* [Latin] 'first, you must add *mia*; secondly, *miliaritas*; thirdly, *rit*; fourthly, *temptum*'.

⁹²⁶ *longum . . . docebit* [Latin] 'long experience of things has taught and will teach'.

⁹²⁷ *dulcis . . . amici* [Latin] 'those who have never tried think it pleasant to court a friend in power'. The line is drawn from Horace. Anne does not give the crux of the *sententia*: '*expertus metuït*' ('The one who has tried it, fears it'). See Horace, *Epistles*, 1.18.86–87.

⁹²⁸ **Mr Thomas Sadler** Thomas Sadler of Standon, Hertfordshire, was also sheriff of the county in 1595, as he had been previously in 1587.

⁹²⁹ **French church** The French Stranger Church.

⁹³⁰ **my Lady . . . mother** The countess of Essex, Frances Walsingham Devereux, and her mother, Ursula Walsingham. For a previous mention of these ladies, see 123.

⁹³¹ *Vale* [Latin] 'Farewell'.

yow many wayes. Pray for encrease of grace and health and use all goode means in due season, specially your naturall rest and due diett, with excrising the legges and lymmes. Late suppers and late rest tak[ing] *fomenta podagrae cum sociis eius nocivis*.⁹³²

Gorhambury 19^h 20^h August.

Mater tua,⁹³³ AB.
Tewsdai.⁹³⁴

I send x pigeons to yow, taken some yesterday, some this morning. As many to your brother so.

Standen being there and Lawson and such, yow verely wilbe countyd a practiser and more mislyked and ^suspected^. God kepe yow ^saff^ from Spanish subtelyes and popery and *και μητερα quoque*.⁹³⁵ 128⁹³⁶

143. Anne Bacon to Anthony Bacon, September 1595

Holograph. LPL 652, fo. 20r–v. 1p. Damaged.

Endorsed (fo. 20v): De Madame mere de Monsieur le mois de septembre 1595

I sende yow 4 trowts and a pickrell⁹³⁷ owt of the river taken in hast, sent in hast and this written in hast. Trowts must be boyled as soone as possible because they say a faynt harted fysh. Let your cooke dress them presently; the viii of the clock before this messenger, *vicinus*,⁹³⁸ come to your howse.

Large chydes Crosby I never ment before the next yere yf I lived. He wyll spoyle yowng Cresdon wood with his care, which in the nights er now hath had iii or 4 heads. I can not so sodenly put by Thomas Knight, who I am sure wyll looke to the yowng spring honestly and ^increase ren[t]^. Larg is a whyning and crafty fellow. Nether did Fynch gon nor Crosby now, though I have mislyked his often moving

⁹³² *fomenta* ... *nocivis* [Latin] 'hot fomentations to the gout with its hurtful companions'. Horace used the phrase '*fomenta podagram*' in *Epistles* 1.2.52.

⁹³³ *Mater tua* [Latin] 'Your mother'.

⁹³⁴ **Tewsdai** Given Anne's alteration of the dating of her letter, she was either confused over the exact date or she sent the letter a day after it had initially been written, on Wednesday 20 August.

⁹³⁵ *και μητερα quoque* [Greek and Latin] 'and even your mother too'.

⁹³⁶ 128 [Hebrew] 'Amen'.

⁹³⁷ **pickrell** a young pike.

⁹³⁸ *vicinus* [Latin] 'a neighbour'.

me herin, bring me to their beck in things to your hurt and myne. *Bene vale*.⁹³⁹

The Bisshop⁹⁴⁰ is a grave and comely man and surely became his place well, though *επισκοπαλλ*,⁹⁴¹ and is learned. He used me courteously and Mr Cook⁹⁴² and Mr Wyblud comfortably. *Cura et valeas*.⁹⁴³

Thursday on⁹⁴⁴ of clock *post meridie*,⁹⁴⁵ AB.

144. *Anne Bacon to Anthony Bacon, 9 October 1595*

Holograph. LPL 652, fo. 129r–v. 1p.

Endorsed (fo. 129v): De Madame le 9me d'octobre 1595 / Le Madame mere de Monsieur le mois d'octobre 1595.

Grace and health.

Lately by reason of my back payn and some things elce sending to the court, my Lady Stafford⁹⁴⁶ sent me word that her Majesti marvelled yow came not to see her being now so longe a tyme and wylled my messenger so to tell me from her and to advyse yow to think well of it at her Majestie's remove to Richmont,⁹⁴⁷ which I do now. God geve yow ableness to and all good duties when it may please God that yow go; were no eny lyke wyse losse ruffs.⁹⁴⁸ Your brother's here I lyked no thing. *De gesta coram illa satis scis, caute tamen cum officio et prudenter in vestitu ut unus gallice nunc parum ut potes per frigus, verum hac tibi relinquo, et te dei benignitati*.⁹⁴⁹

I sende yow xii pigeons and a pullett. Dawys⁹⁵⁰ browght me a few grapes; the poorest and the sowrest. Not worth the sending a bushe. I sende yow also a pigg and a pullett sent me by Cattlin's wyffe because

⁹³⁹ *Bene vale* [Latin] 'Farewell'.

⁹⁴⁰ **The Bisshop** Richard Fletcher, bishop of London. See p. 207, n. 761.

⁹⁴¹ *επισκοπαλλ* [Greek transliteration] 'episkopall', i.e. episcopal.

⁹⁴² **Mr Cooke** Erasmus Cooke. See p. 181, n. 623.

⁹⁴³ *Cura ut valeas* [Latin] 'Take care of your health'.

⁹⁴⁴ **on** one.

⁹⁴⁵ *post meridie* [Latin] 'afternoon'.

⁹⁴⁶ **my Lady Stafford** Lady Dorothy Stafford, a gentlewoman of the queen's privy chamber.

⁹⁴⁷ **Richmont** Richmond Palace in Surrey.

⁹⁴⁸ **losse ruffs** Presumably the 'falling ruff', a type of unstarched, 'loose' ruff.

⁹⁴⁹ *De . . . benignitati* [Latin] 'Regarding the behaviour in her presence, you know enough, but cautiously with duty and prudently, as far as possible during your cool reception, in clothing now not particularly like a Frenchman, but this I leave to you and you I leave to the kindness of God'.

⁹⁵⁰ **Dawys** For this servant, see also 136.

I stayed her husbände from going forth a soldiour. I thanks Thomas Brockett and loke yow, I pray, for me in that and other curteyses. *Περι πραγματων του αδελφου ουδεν ακουω. Μηδεν ειπησ περι αυτου ενοπιον των θεραποντων σου αξιω σε.*⁹⁵¹

I sende your brother xii pigeons and a pullet. Geve *ουιντερ*⁹⁵² but reasonably. *Cura ut bene valeas sede dormito tempestive. Alioqui certus frustra.*⁹⁵³ Yf now I had not great regarde of my diet and rest time I shulde be payned miserably.

Your mother, ABacon.

But syns by the mercy of the Lorde I live yett lenger, I wyll wayte to follow his goode wyll and procure as litle encrease of payn as I may, that my lyffe may be comfortable to my selff and someway profitable to other by his grace. *Iterum vale et sis memor κυριασ σταφυροδ.*⁹⁵⁴

Gorhambury 9 October.

Yf Woodwarder ^come again,^ enterteyn him not. He lately waxed bragg and nowght ^I much dowt^ and cunningly got mony of yow by mocking me. Let him walk lyke a unconstant varlett.

145. *Anne Bacon to Anthony Bacon, 21 October 1595*

Holograph. LPL 652, fos 128r–v. 1p.

Endorsed (fo. 128v): De Madame de 20 l'octobre 1595.

Addressed (fo. 128v): To my sonne Mr Anthony Bacon

Since it so pleaseth God, comfort one brother kindly and Christianly and let me, mother, and yow both, my sonns, look upp to the correcting hand of God in your wants every way, with humble harts before him and with comfort and procure your health by goode means carefully. Yf I did not warely *sustinere et abstinere*,⁹⁵⁵ I shulde lyve in continuall payn pitifully. For set syckness to speak of I have not now, I thank God, but very combersom, troblous accidents to kepe [m]e to exercise mortification. ^Remember^ her Majestie is, they saye, now

⁹⁵¹ *Περι . . . σε* [Greek] ‘About the affairs of the brother, I hear nothing. Do not say anything about him in the presence of your servants, I beg you’.

⁹⁵² *ουιντερ* [Greek transliteration] ‘Winter’.

⁹⁵³ *Cura . . . frustra* [Latin] ‘You must take care and settle timely to sleep. Otherwise certainly in vain’.

⁹⁵⁴ *Iterum . . . σταφυροδ* [Latin and Greek, direct and transliteration] ‘In the meantime, farewell and be mindful of Lady Stafurd’, i.e. Lady Stafford.

⁹⁵⁵ *sustinere et abstinere* [Latin] ‘sustain and abstain’.

at Richmount. God preserve her from all evell and rule her hart to the zeallus setting forth of his glory; want of this zeale in all degrees is the very grownde of our home troubles. We have all dalied with the Lorde, who wyll not ever suffer him selff be mocked. I send yow xii pigeons, my last flight, and one ring dove⁹⁵⁶ besyde and a black cony⁹⁵⁷ taken by Thomas Knight this day and pigeons too hodie⁹⁵⁸. Lawrence can tell yow my Lady Stafford's spech was of yow, as she hath harde from her Majestie, marveling yow came not to see her in so long space; consider well and wysely. For I sent him to her to know of her Majestie's goode estate to Nonsuch,⁹⁵⁹ according to my dutie and to Mr Dr Smyth. He cam not home by London as I bad him.

Do what yow may for health *pie et diligenter*,⁹⁶⁰ owt of qwestion where yow be yow must nedes disorder your tymes of diet and qwiet, want of which wyll styll kepe yow in lame and uncomfortable. I heare the *Κυριος Οουαρδ*⁹⁶¹ is *nimis sepe apud te*.⁹⁶² He is *subtiliter subdolos*.⁹⁶³ *Cave et cave*⁹⁶⁴ to burn this. The Lorde of heaven bless yow from heaven in Christ our Lorde and hope.

Gorhambury 21 October. *Mater tua*,⁹⁶⁵ AB. Burn, I pray, but rede well fyrst.

⁹⁵⁶ **ring dove** wood pigeon.

⁹⁵⁷ **black cony** rabbit.

⁹⁵⁸ *hodie* [Latin] 'today'.

⁹⁵⁹ **Nonsuch** Nonsuch Palace in Surrey.

⁹⁶⁰ *pie et diligenter* [Latin] 'gently and diligently'.

⁹⁶¹ *Κυριος Οουαρδ* [Greek, direct and transliteration] 'Lord Howard', i.e. Henry Howard.

⁹⁶² *nimis s[ae]pe apud te* [Latin] 'too often with you'.

⁹⁶³ *subtiliter subdolos* [Latin] 'subtly treacherous'.

⁹⁶⁴ *Cave et cave* [Latin] 'Beware and be careful'.

⁹⁶⁵ *Mater tua* [Latin] 'Your mother'.

**146. Anne Bacon to Robert Devereux, earl of Essex,
23 December [1595]⁹⁶⁶**

Holograph. CP 128/68. 2pp.

*Addressed: Ad comitem Essexiae magnatem eximium*⁹⁶⁷

σφ Θεω και ενώπιον του Θεου μου. ⁹⁶⁸

I crave leave and also pardon, my speciall goode Lord, for uttering my unfained Christian affection to your Honour, worthie Honour, in this simple maner which much rather I wolde have done by humble speache, yf my health and access to your own person myght conveniently have concurred. Therefore now this upon it is my goode Lorde I was moved to be thus bowlde. Lately in a place of a preching minist^{er}ery in the citie freqwented as I may and the lecture finished, I sayde to a cowrte friend of mine a parte, one I am sure must and doth love yow well and then was there, 'I wysh many times', quod I, 'that her Majestie's selff did heare such wholsome and frutfull doctrine as we do heare and enjoy under her.' 'That were', quod they, 'happiest for her and comfortable to us all.' 'Surely,' quod I, 'her want theroff and also of catechising in that high place causeth great want of the right knowledge of synne and therby great carelesnes for synne. Yet is there one noble man that in his yowth doth remember his creator and loveth both the worde of God and goode preachers and goeth beyond his ancients in avoiding swearing and gaming with such common corruptions there.' 'Whome mean yow', *inquit*.⁹⁶⁹ 'Even one', *inquam*,⁹⁷⁰ 'To whome I am so much bownde that I owe to wysh him dayly encrease of godlines, with blessed success in his worldely state', and named indede the *Εαρλε of Εσσεξ*.⁹⁷¹ 'Is it he yow meane', *inquit*, 'wolde to God he did so. But he sweareth as much as others.' 'Wo, I am for it, sory,' *inquam*, 'I am to heare it, but yet I trust not ordinarily, nor great greavous othes.'⁹⁷² 'Alas,' *inquit*, 'He is a terrible swearer', which words me thought stroke my hart in respect of the *Εαρλε*. 'Loe', *inquam*, 'The hurt of no catechising in coorte. For by expownding well

⁹⁶⁶ **23 December [1595]** This undated letter is difficult to place in an exact chronology. Anne complained about Essex's swearing in August 1595 and April 1596 (**140, 148**), hence the letter has been placed in the intervening December. Anne also complained about her attacks from quartan fever in May 1595 (**132**), although that does little to help the dating, as she admitted in September 1593 that she suffered from such conditions regularly: 'now in quartans in myn owlde age' (**70**).

⁹⁶⁷ *Ad . . . eximium* [Latin] 'To the great distinguished earl of Essex'.

⁹⁶⁸ *σφ . . . μου* [Greek] 'To thine Lord and in the presence of God alone'.

⁹⁶⁹ *inquit* [Latin] 'says he/she'.

⁹⁷⁰ *inquam* [Latin] 'says I'.

⁹⁷¹ *Εαρλε of Εσσεξ* [Greek transliteration] 'Earle' of 'Essex'.

⁹⁷² *othes* oaths.

the law and commandments of God, sinne is layde open and disclosed to the hearers and worketh in them by God his spirit more hatred of evell and checketh our pronness⁹⁷³ naturall, to all synn. By the lack wheroff, even our counsellors, both owld and young, are pitifully infected with that contagion to their own danger and lamentable example of others, what degree so ever⁹⁷⁴. And so we parted, which God redress it wyth⁹⁷⁵ mercy cheffly there and elcewhere. I besech yow, my goode Lord, let not this my mention⁹⁷⁶ of religiouslyke talk after a religious exercyse offende yow, nor ⁹⁷⁷provoke yow to caste in undeserved displeasure who the other party shulde be. It may be the Lorde God wolde have yow knowe the mater⁹⁷⁸, thoughh by such a poore weake meanes as this is.⁹⁷⁹

For I protest to your Honour that those words ('a terrible swearer') did so terrefye me in your behalff, whose godly encreasinge a number fearing God do hartely desyre, that my mynde coulde not be well quieted, till I had committed it thus in scribling to your Honour, my deere Lorde, and licence me, I pray yow withall, to add these few textes for your remembrance, being diverse wayes drawn to forgett:

The fyrst is the charge the Lorde him self joyneth with his own commandement that he wyll not holde him gyltless that takes his name in vain.⁹⁷⁵ Our Saviour Christ also byddeth, 'Swear not at all' Mathew 5,⁹⁷⁶ *cum*⁹⁷⁷ the apostle James teacheth sayeng, 'Above all things, my brethren, swear not' 5,⁹⁷⁸ *cum* the prophet Hoseas, soare accusing that people in his time that by many horrible vices they brake owt, at the fyrst front nameth by swearing &c cap. 3.ii.⁹⁷⁹ To conclude with the profecte Jeremye cap. 23, he complayneth saying to that people, the Jewes, 'The lande', sayth he, 'is full of adulterers and by reason of oathes the lande morneth.'⁹⁸⁰

I humbly desyre yow, my Lorde, not to note in me presumption for this, but, as the Lorde knoweth, of a super abowndant care that yow may please God and prosper in all goode things. For so yow have geven me cause in my deerest, who neyther are, nor never shalbe made prevy of this my doing, ner eny other whatsoever, by the grace of Allmighty God, shalbe. For, for your owne sake alone, and before the

⁹⁷³ **pronness** proneness.

⁹⁷⁴ **thoughh . . . as this** Anne is here referring to the biblical prescription, in St Paul's first letter to the Corinthians (1 Corinthians 1:27), that God, through the Holy Spirit, may use the weak to chastise the strong.

⁹⁷⁵ **The fyrst . . . in vain** Exodus 20:7; Deuteronomy 5:11.

⁹⁷⁶ **Swear . . . 5** Matthew 5:34.

⁹⁷⁷ **cum** [Latin] 'together with'

⁹⁷⁸ **Above . . . not 5** James 5:12.

⁹⁷⁹ **soare . . . 3.ii** Hosea 4:2. Anne incorrectly notes this verse as 3:2.

⁹⁸⁰ **The lande . . . morneth** Jeremiah 23:10.

Lorde God alone, this I do in singleness of hart. I pray your Honour to accept it so and to use me so in silence and ^secrecy^, I pray yow hartely. I besech God to multiply his graces continually upon ^in^ yowr self and upon your posteritee, his manifold blessings to grow upp as plants of rightouness, in the howse of the Lorde and to the honour of this their cowntry.

As my state of body ^is able^, so my scribling thus weak and blurred, unworthy your vew and troble to reade in so many carefull affayres, wherin the Lorde ever gwyde yow with his holy spirit. Fare yow well, my singuler goode Lord, it may be for ever. For though I yet lyve, I feele sondry yll encombrance *post nuper febrem quartanam in languescente corpore*.⁹⁸¹ But I endeavour to wayte upon Christ, my saving health and hope. From the confines of ruined Verulam.⁹⁸²

23 Δεκεμβερ.⁹⁸³ εν χριστω ς ς ανανδρω.⁹⁸⁴

147. *Anthony Bacon to Anne Bacon, 20 April 1596*

Draft. LPL 656, fo. 262r–v. 1p.

Endorsed (fo. 262v): A Madame le zome d'avril 1596

Madame,

I most humblie thanke your Ladishipp for your dainteyes, which though I dare not taste my selfe by reason of my diett, yett shall they be better employed.

The losse of Cales⁹⁸⁵ is to trew, whereby the enemy no doubt is wonderfullie puft upp to a most insolent pride and presumptuous hopes to annoy an⁹⁸⁶ infest continuallie this state. The Duke of Bouillon,⁹⁸⁷ heretofore called the viscount of Turennes, is come hither with verie lardge power and authoritie to treat and conclude for the

⁹⁸¹*post* . . . *corpore* [Latin] 'after the late quartan fever in my languishing body'. For 'quartan fever', see p. 150, n. 463.

⁹⁸²**Verulam** St Albans developed out of the ruins of the Roman town of Verulam, or Verulamium.

⁹⁸³Δεκεμβερ [Greek transliteration] 'Dekember', i.e. December.

⁹⁸⁴εν χριστω ς ς ανανδρω [Greek and Hebrew] 'in Christ, AB, for the husbandless', i.e. 'Anne Bacon, in Christ, [who is] for the widow'.

⁹⁸⁵**losse of Cales** The siege of Calais, whereby the Spanish took the city from the French.

⁹⁸⁶**an** and.

⁹⁸⁷**Duke of Bouillon** Henri de la Tour d'Auvergne, the 4th vicomte de Turenne, became duc de Bouillon in 1591. He had converted to Protestantism in 1575 and entered into the service of Henri de Navarre. For the duc de Bouillon, see P. Hammer, *The Polarisation of Elizabethan Politics: the political career of Robert Devereux, second earl of Essex, 1585–1597* (Cambridge, 1999), p. 96; E. Delteil, 'Henri de la Tour, vicomte de Turenne humaniste et protestant', *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français*, 115 (1969), pp. 230–254.

French King's parte a strait league offensive and defensive betwixt the Queen's Majestie, the French king, the king of Scots, his brother the king of Denmarke, and the states of the Low Cuntries. This nobleman, the Duke, since his comming into England is fallen sick of an ague so that as yett he hath had no audience of her Majestie and this day hath vouchsafed, [^]my Lord of Essex being absent[^], to send for my coche to transport him from Billingsgate to a faire howse in Fanchurchstreet, where my Lord Tresurer is to visite him this day.

For the band wherin it pleased your Ladyshipp to stand bound with me, I have dew remembrance and care thereof. My brother hath within this seven nights spoken twise with her Majestie a full hower each time, whome she used at both times with grace and trust and sent me comfortable speches that she did remember me, trust me and would give me, [^]soner then perhaps I loked for[^], good proofe thereof.

Thus your Ladyshipp sees that [^]though[^] loyalltie, patience and diligence may for a time be shadowed and disgracde⁹⁸⁸ by malice and envie, yett it pleaseth God, the ~~author of them~~ founteines of all goodnes by his extraordinarie power, to make [^]sometimes[^] them shine to the Prince's eyes through the darkest mistes of cunning and misreportes. And so I most humblie take my leave.

148. *Anne Bacon to Francis Goad, 27 April 1596*

Holograph. LPL 656, fos 319r–320v. 2pp.

Endorsed (fo. 320v): De Madame Bacon a Monsieur Goad le 28me l'avril 1596

Addressed (fo. 320v): To Mr Goade, a Christian Captain

Mr Goade,

Yf I had ben able [^]and not so late[^] I wolde have gon a litle of the way to Essex Howse⁹⁸⁹ with [^]yow[^] and so have byd yow fare well. As it is the dutye of all which love unfaynedly the glorie of God and the happy continuance of our Prince and [^]of our[^] deere cowntry, though long tyme unthankfull, and presumptuously sinning against our most loving God, and styll wayting for our conversion. So have I besydes [^]a[^] peculier just cawse to crave of the Lorde God, a speciall care of his fatherly protection of that noble valiant and religious Earle,⁹⁹⁰ singuler goode Lorde to me in myne. And because I can by none other meanes, I from my very hart besech the blessed God to sende unto him all those blessings pronownced by God to be upon them

⁹⁸⁸ **disgracde** disgraced.

⁹⁸⁹ **Essex Howse** Both Goad and Anthony Bacon were resident under the earl of Essex's roof at this time.

⁹⁹⁰ **Earle** The earl of Essex.

that love and feare him, both when he goeth owt, and whylest he is abroad, and at ^and after^ his retorne home. And that his gracious favour, mercy and truth may ever preserve him and prosper him with his hole charge and putt his strength into them for his own glory and great name ^sake^ and for our Lord and Saviour Christ's sake.

Amen.

It ^is^ written, as I remember, Mr Goade, in Alexander, the great history, that though he were but young, yet he so sett forth with his army, that after he was owt of his own cowntry and pitched his campe in another lande, the inhabitance there marvelled and ^sayde that^ his army was more lyke to a senate then to a campe of warriours, so good was his conduct and their behaviour for all they were chosen solidiours.⁹⁹¹ Now I trust, Mr Goade, that yea ^Christian^ capitains under the ministry ^of the gospell^, fyghting under Christ's banner for the defence of the gospell, wyll astonish much more the wycked miscreant enemies with your godly and tru Christian valliancy, abandoning blasphemy, swearing and cursed gaming, ^a fowle cheff and robber^ from among yow. That as it pleaseth ^the Lord him selff^ to say to his people, charging them to avoyd sinn and ungodliness, 'That I, sayth God, 'May walk among yow and be in the midst of yow to defend yow'.⁹⁹² I write this hartely, though bowldely, and pray the Lorde to gwyde that worthy Earle, your grawnd worthy, and to prosper him and to preserve him form⁹⁹³ all treacheries and from all maner evell, and be his continuall cownsellour and comfort and I pray yow humbly commend ^me^ to his goode Lordship.

[Left-hand margin] Fare yow well in the Lorde, *vel peri multo*.⁹⁹⁴ 27 Aprilis. 96. A.B.

⁹⁹¹**It is written . . . solidiours** Anne was here drawing on her reading of *The Life of Severus Alexander*: 'And so, after showing himself such a great and good emperor at home and abroad, he embarked upon a campaign against the Parthians; and this he conducted with such discipline and amid such respect, that you would have said that senators, not soldiers, were passing that way.' See *Historia Augusta*, trans. D. Magie (Cambridge, MA, 1924), p. 279.

⁹⁹²**That . . . defend yow** See Deuteronomy 23:14; verses 9–14 discuss the cleanliness of a military camp.

⁹⁹³**form** from.

⁹⁹⁴**vel peri multo** [Latin] 'or perish with the many'.

149. Anthony Bacon to Anne Bacon, 31 May 1596

Draft. LPL 657, fo. 15r–v. 1p.

Endorsed (fo. 15v): A Madame Bacon le 31me de may 1596

Madam, my most humble dutie remembred.

May it please your Ladyshipp to be advertised. Having intreated my good freind Mr Crew to make a stepp downe to Gorhamburie to peruse and bring me certaine evidences, I thought it my part first to advertise your Ladiship thereof and to know your plesure when the gentleman may [^]might[^] come, which the soner it may [^]be[^] the better, for my busines depending thereuppon. To ~~that~~ [^]this[^] purpose I have sent this bearer [^]as allso cause[^] to bring upp ~~2 gelling for him and his man~~ Los⁹⁹⁵ and my Galleway nagg [^]to be brought[^] for him and his man. And so I ~~hope~~ most humble take my leave.

150. Anthony Bacon to Anne Bacon, 6 June 1596

Draft; second hand for 'Your Ladyship's in all filiall duties'. LPL 656, fo. 257r–v. 1p.

Endorsed (fo. 257v): Le Madame le 6me de juin 1596

Madame,

As from a mother sicklie and in yeares, I am content to take in good parte anie misconceite, misimputatione or causeles humorous threates whatsoever, onlie this I maie withe reason and must for mine upon the warrant of a good conscience remonstrate unto your Ladyship, that your sonne's poore credite dependethe uppon judgement and not uppon humour; and that your Ladyship cannot utter anie thinge in your passion to your sonne's lacke, so longe as God gives him the grace to be more carefull in dutie to please and reverence your Ladyship as his mother, then your Ladyship seemethe manie times to be towards me as your sonn, and so I beseche God to preserve your Ladyship.

Your Ladyship's in all filiall duties.

⁹⁹⁵Los See p. 223, n. 869.

151. Anne Bacon to Anthony Bacon, 18 June 1596

Holograph. LPL 657, fos 168r–169v. 2pp. Very faded.

Endorsed (fo. 169v): De Madame Ann Bacon le mois de juni 1596

By the goode hand of the Lorde, I am come well to Gorhambury where I fynde my howsholde well and in goode order, I thank God. My syster, my Lady Russell's⁹⁹⁶ coch is far easier then ether of yours and her man, a comely man withall, dyd it with care and very wel, and your brother's footeman did very diligently go by me. Here be no straburie⁹⁹⁷ nor fysh to send and for bere, sonne, I have none ordinary under 2 weeks at lest, above a monet⁹⁹⁸ brued the fyrst week of May, which now caried after so long settling and in the heat of summer must nede be spoyled, which were great pitie this dardth⁹⁹⁹ tyme. Truli, sonne, as yet I know not when to brue by my provision, not this ii weeks at least, as well as for vessells. I have teerce¹⁰⁰⁰ of last March beere, but surely being yet unrype and caried this heat it wyll be utterly marred.

Payeng Mr Moorers's byll for my physick, I asked him whether yow did owe eny thing for physick. He sayd he had not reconed with since Michaell¹⁰⁰¹ last. 'Alas, why so long?', *inquam*.¹⁰⁰² I think I sayde farther 'it can be muted', for he hath his confectio[ns] from strangers, and to tell yow truly, I bad him secretly send his byll, which he semed loth but at my pressing, when I saw it came to above xv li or xvi li. Yf it had ben but vi or vii, I wold have made some shyft to pay. I towlde him I wolde say nothing to yow becawse hee was so unwylling. It may be he wolde take halff willingly, becawse 'ready mony made ^all weies^ a conning potecary',¹⁰⁰³ sayde covetous Morgan¹⁰⁰⁴ as his proverbe.

For Large, I cannot tell what yow wolde have me do for him. He fynds I do not recompence evell with evell. I have at tymes given him, he knoweth, but he is but whyning and a companion to much with nawghty Gooderam, thowgh not at Redborn, but to his hurt. Let him ply his labours in God his name and not a busy body and secret qwarell pikar,¹⁰⁰⁵ as he is partly suspected. I use charite to him, thowgh

⁹⁹⁶**Lady Russell's** Lady Elizabeth Cooke Hoby Russell.

⁹⁹⁷**straburie** strawberry.

⁹⁹⁸**monet** month.

⁹⁹⁹**dardth** dearth.

¹⁰⁰⁰**teerce** tierce. A tierce is a cask, usually for holding wine.

¹⁰⁰¹**Michaell** Michaelmas. See p. 107, n. 225.

¹⁰⁰²**inquam** [Latin] 'says I'.

¹⁰⁰³**potecary** apothecary.

¹⁰⁰⁴**covetous Morgan** Presumably Hugh Morgan, appointed Elizabeth I's principal apothecary to the royal household in 1583. See E.L. Furdell, *The Royal Doctors, 1485–1714: medical personnel at the Tudor and Stuart courts* (Woodbridge, 2001), pp. 90–91.

¹⁰⁰⁵**qwarell pikar** quarrel-picker, i.e. one who picks quarrels.

I lyke not his crafty soothing nature. With thanks for¹⁰⁰⁶ your horse. I besech, heade all your infirmities

[*Left-hand margin*] to your comfort. Be jelous over your health.
*Intempestive horae occidunt.*¹⁰⁰⁷

Gorhambury 18 June.

*Vale. Mater tua,*¹⁰⁰⁸ ABacon.

152. Anthony Bacon to Anne Bacon, 23 June 1596

Draft. LPL 657, fo. 148r–v. 1p.

Endorsed (fo. 148v): Le Madame le 23me de juin 1596

Madam, my dutie most humblie remembred.

May it please your Ladishipp to beleive that my silence to your last lettre proceded rather of a respective forbearance to charge or importune your Ladyship, then any unthankfullnes or careles regard of your ^Ladiship's^ kindnes; the ^first^, God be thanked, possessing ^continually^ my minde, as much as the last, hath allwayes bene farre from me, assuring your Ladishipp that a kind, motherlie, free affection hath and shall allwayes ^ever^ carrie his full weight and due affirmation in my heart, referring unto your Ladiship's good will and pleasure what yow may spare to Mr Morer, who shall be honestlie satisfied of the rest.

I most humblie thanke your Ladiship for your beare, not onlie for my selfe but in my cosen Bacon's¹⁰⁰⁹ behalfe, who I hope shall employ ^spend^ ^himsel^, or cause to be employed uppon his spetiall frends that visite him, the 2 thirds of it.

I may not omitt with your Ladiship's good leave to certefie yow ^how^ unspeakably my cosen is returned cheared and satisfied with your Ladiship's honorable kindnes, which I know will ^not onlie^ confirme and seale that which is past betwixt him and me but being forty new effects in my cosen's mind, according to my occasions and his abilitie, and therefore, as in dewtie I ought, I render your Ladiship ^likewise^ most humble thanks for the same. And so I beseech God to preserve your Ladiship.

Your Ladiship's most humble and dutifull sonne.

¹⁰⁰⁶ for Repeated.

¹⁰⁰⁷ *Intempestive horae occidunt* [Latin] 'Untimely hours may torment you'.

¹⁰⁰⁸ *Vale. Mater tua* [Latin] 'Farewell. Your mother'.

¹⁰⁰⁹ **my cosen Bacon's** Presumably Robert Bacon, the son of Nicholas Bacon I's eldest brother. For a description of Robert Bacon's lineage, see 193.

153. Anne Bacon to Anthony Bacon, 25 June 1596

Holograph. LPL 657, fo. 163r–v. 1p.

Endorsed (fo. 163v): De Madame Bacon le 25me de juni 1596

Of but halff a tonne I sende yow the best chosen hoggshed.¹⁰¹⁰ There was a teerce¹⁰¹¹ last torned of wyth the same last March beere but wanting much of full; I wolde not send that, dowing. The other vessell is the newest in my howse of ordinary beere but to yow and syck I wolde not have spared it, season of the yeare upon hay seele.¹⁰¹² Care wolde be taken fyrst for the gentle and saff carieng and layeng it in the seller, becawse of the hoopes. Then that your March beere be in no wyse to soone broched before settlyng after cariag; I think not in a weeke at least. Thother ordinary after 4 or 5 days settlyng at the fyrst ~~peere~~ broaching. It may seeme harsh, but well used after, better in drinking. I provided to have it caried immediatly after the loading that it might take not hurt with stayeng by the way. The Lorde geving goode success, they wylbe at your loging by 8 or before 9 at least. Let it be attended upon. I sent warning by Rowland yf yow have eny swete empti vessells they shalbe welcom sent¹⁰¹³ now. God and Father of our Lorde Jesus Christ, comfort and counsell yow as his deare loved sonne in him and pray hartely dayly with reverence and understanding.

For the tyme abowt 4 of the clock a vehement glut of rayn, all my pannes and other things wolde scant suffice to latch the rayn so very pouring down in every place. When I went but lately to London I saw all the gutters well clenched and the pannes,¹⁰¹⁴ twyse here a bryckleyer before Easter.

[*Left-hand margin*]

Goodeman Knite and Holt, who is from me alltogether, do join in carting, so I appointed them for more surty¹⁰¹⁵ and hasty spede. Yf they wyll have eny thing for their cariag, I wyll leave it yf yow geve them some small reward, other wyse I wyll not in dede. Even now at 7 of the clock it thundreth and rayneth for all the former storme. *Κυριε ελεησον*.¹⁰¹⁶

¹⁰¹⁰ **hoggshed** See p. 111, n. 253.

¹⁰¹¹ **teerce** See p. 242, n. 1000.

¹⁰¹² **hay seale** 'Seal' is a term from Norfolk/Suffolk meaning season, thus 'hay-seal', meaning harvest time. It may be that Anne learnt the term from her Suffolk-born husband. See W. Holloway, *A General Dictionary of Provincialisms* (London, 1840), p. 149.

¹⁰¹³ **sent** Repeated.

¹⁰¹⁴ **pannes** pans for cooking.

¹⁰¹⁵ **surty** Presumably surety or security.

¹⁰¹⁶ *Κυριε ελεησον* [Greek] 'Lord have mercy'.

154. Anthony Bacon to Anne Bacon, 25 June 1596

Draft. LPL 657, fo. 145r–v. 1p.

Endorsed (fo. 145v): A Madame Bacon le 25me de juni 1596

Madame, my most humble dutie remembred.

I render your Ladiship most humble thanks for your vouchsafing me the ^better^ halfe of your Ladishipp's store of March beare, which shall not be broched¹⁰¹⁷ this fortnight monthe.

For the weather, it hath bene here lamentable, stormie and unkindly for the season, the changes whereof as they were used for threatnings by the prophettes in antient time so ~~no dout but~~ ^God graunt^ they ^may^ worke more ~~in all good Christians minde amongst~~ ^in^ us as due and timelie apprehension of God's hevie judgements, imminent over us, for the deep prophane securitie that rayneth to much amongs us.

I will be bould *obiter*¹⁰¹⁸ to certefie your Ladishipp first, that newes arrived at the court yesterday that the French king and the king of Spain by the entermise¹⁰¹⁹ of a Florentine cardinall, sent into France of late from the Pope, have made a truce for 3 moneths.¹⁰²⁰ [...] Next, that the great Turke is for certaine on horseback him selfe with 200 000 men and likelie to be a hevie scorge to Christendome.¹⁰²¹ To theis 2 generall points I will ad a particuler which I know your Ladishipp will be content to heare for my spetiall good Lord of Essex his sake, ^whome God in his mercie guid and protect^, to witt that the Countesse of Northumberland,¹⁰²² ~~reputed~~ allwayes

[fo. 145v] reputed a verie honorable vertuous Ladie, is brought to bede of a goodlie boy, ^who God graunt may resemble and inheritt as well his mother and his noble uncle, her ^most^ worthe brother's vertue, as his father's antient nobilitie^. And so with the remembrance of my most humble dutie and my cosen's, I take my leave.

Your Ladishipp's most humble and obedient sonne.

¹⁰¹⁷ **broched** broached.

¹⁰¹⁸ **obiter** [Latin] 'incidentally'.

¹⁰¹⁹ **entermise** intervention.

¹⁰²⁰ **that newes . . . moneths** It seems that this report was false.

¹⁰²¹ **the great . . . Christendome** Mehmed III, sultan of the Ottoman empire from 1595, had taken personal command of the Muslim forces.

¹⁰²² **Countesse of Northumberland** Dorothy Percy, the countess of Northumberland, was an elder sister of Robert Devereux, the earl of Essex.

155. *Anne Bacon to Anthony Bacon, [late June/early July 1596]*¹⁰²³

Holograph. LPL 653, fo. 325r–v. 1p. Damaged.
Endorsed (fo. 325v): lettre de Madame

I wolde see Mr Moorers bill for this cawse. Me thinks xv li is a very great summ only for diett, drink and some few locull plasters. The man is veri honest and will be carefull both for the stuff and well doing. Yow shall do well not to have too much at once made ether to be cast away or taken not in season. Be not to busy with your eyes. I feare your diett drink is to strong and breedeth fumes. Be carefull [c]heffly for a religious mynde and use that phisick [and] then take goode care for your bodily health [t]hat yow may be now with God grace¹⁰²⁴ to serve God, your prince and cowntry to your own and the goode of others.

God bless yow both. Be not styll in phisick nor temper not.

Your mother,
 AB.

I am not loath to pay, specially him, but look yow the qwantitee be not much at once. It is the common maner of phisitions *nimis*.¹⁰²⁵

156. *Anne Bacon to Anthony Bacon, [c.2] July 1596*¹⁰²⁶

Holograph. LPL 658, fos 30r–31v. 2pp.
Endorsed (fo. fo. 31v): De Madame Bacon le mois de juillet 1596

I wolde know by Mr Crosby how your caried bere proveth. For the ordinary ever this I think well. Thother after a week or 10 days I take; aske advise of home bruyar. For Mr Moorers, nether came the speech of your physyck eny whyll of him selff, but onely of myne own selff upon payment of my last physick things. I asked when he last returned and was paid from yow. He sayde, because I preased him to shew, 'At Michaell tyde last,' *inquit*.¹⁰²⁷ Wher with I replied, somewhat offended with him, he differred so long for prises of such wares myght ryse more deere in that space and that it was crafty pollicie in your

¹⁰²³ [late June/early July 1596] This letter is undated, but other letters regarding Moorers bills date from June and July 1596 (151, 156).

¹⁰²⁴ **God grace** God's grace.

¹⁰²⁵ *nimis* [Latin] 'beyond measure'.

¹⁰²⁶ [c.2] July 1596 Letter 157 is in response to 156.

¹⁰²⁷ *inquit* [Latin] 'says he'.

father's tyme of muck lover Morgan to shyft ever to bring in his reconing in order yf he looked for price rysing, but I kept him to it for all that his murmuring ^every^ quarterly, as I dyd generally for all payments being put in trust by your father. Wheroff, after his death, I humbly thank God for his grace directing me, much qwiet and good credit to your father was noted and noysed, yet Morgan wolde say that mony present made the best potecary. Yf yow see and syng¹⁰²⁸ Mr Moorers's ^byll^, which he sayde, as I remember, came to 15 li, upon your hande, in part of payment I wyll sende x li, though I promys yow I can but hardely spare it, my living now so abated as it is. But he must bring yow with all a discharg of his own hand and put so much owt of his book. What with last ii quarters' wages, your coale payment and now x li, besyde the woodds felled mony this yere all to yow, my sommer liveries, the butcher, the malt man, my physick ^to phisitian and potecary 20 marks (the physician all were farr at the coort^), and charges at London since the springe oneli, v li x s to Groome for your brother, and my howsehold charges, is above 220 li in mony layd owt. So that I can nott but be now but very scantly provide for sommer chargs, yf it please God I lyve. Crosby knowes well inowg.¹⁰²⁹ The Lorde that geveth all freely make us goode stewards of his diverse gyfts and multiply his merits in yow, manyfold wayes to your much comfort. I thank for your lettre. I humbly besech God ^to^ defende ^from all trechery and to^ geve goode success to the Earle and all his army ^power^.¹⁰³⁰ *Cura diligenter ut valeas.*¹⁰³¹

AB.

157. Anthony Bacon to Anne Bacon, 2 July 1596

Draft. LPL 658, fo. 3r–v. 1p.

Endorsed (fo. 3v): A Madame le 2me de juillet 1596

Madam, my dutie most humblie remembred.

So sone as I have sett a broch ether of those vessells it plesed your Ladyship to send me, I will not faile to advertize your Ladyship how I find them.

Touching Mr Morer, he himselfe after the 10 li received from your Ladyship for part of payment of my dett, came and tould me that

¹⁰²⁸ **syng** sign.

¹⁰²⁹ **inowg** enough.

¹⁰³⁰ **all his army power** A fleet headed by Charles Howard, the lord high admiral, had set sail from England for Cadiz in June 1596; Anglo-Dutch forces had won victory over the Spanish on 21 June, subsequently taking the city itself.

¹⁰³¹ **Cura . . . valeas** [Latin] 'Take diligent care of your health'.

he had rased out so much out of his booke ^and a receipt signd with his owne hand^ for them, which I render your Ladyship most humble thanks, beseching your Ladyship to give me leave to observe but a little parenthesis in your Ladyship's lettre, where it pleges yow to specefie your charges, ~~saying amo~~ saying that amongst them their were but 5 li 10 s to Grome for my brother. My meaning and desire in observing those words is onlie that your Ladyship may rest assured by mine owne sincere assertion that what soever your Ladyship hath or shallbe able and willing to spare to my brother hath bene and shallbe acceptable to my selfe, who I thanke God have ^hitherto^ ~~allwayes~~, and ~~will~~ by the assistance of his grace I hope shall ~~allwayes~~, have a brotherlie feling and simpaty, aswell both of his good and furtherances, as allsoe of his harmes and hinderances.

For newes may it please your Ladyship to be advertised that the Duke of Bouillon's returne is now *in parle*¹⁰³² and, in exchange of him, the Earle of Shrousberye's employment to the French king, who is very much wrought and sought unto by the ~~Pope~~ Spanish faction to breake of the treatie latelie begonned with her Majesty,¹⁰³³ who ^hath^ receved lettres from the worthy Earle and my Lord Admirall dated the xx of the last moneth atesting, ~~that ther was helth~~ ^by God's^

[*fo. 3v*] with thankfullnes to God, that there was helth under order and courage amongst them, which God in his mercie continew.¹⁰³⁴ And so I most humblie take my leave.

158. *Anne Bacon to Anthony Bacon, 10 July 1596*

Holograph. LPL 658, fos 28r–29v. 2pp.

Endorsed (fo. 29v): De Madame le 13me le juillet 1596

Now that Sir Robert is fully stalled in his long longed for secrettary place, I pray God geve him a religious, wyse and an upright hart befor God and man.¹⁰³⁵ I promiss yow, sonne, in my ^conjectural^ opinion, yow had more nede now to be circumspect and advised in your troblelous discoorsings and doings and dealings in your accustomed matters, ether with or for yourselff or others whome yow hartley

¹⁰³² *in parle* [French] 'in talks', i.e. being talked about.

¹⁰³³ **Earle of Shrousberye's ... her Majesty** The Treaty of Greenwich between England and France was signed on 14 May 1596. Gilbert Talbot, the earl of Shrewsbury, was sent as a special ambassador to Henri IV, in order to ratify the treaty and to deliver the Order of the Garter to the French king.

¹⁰³⁴ **from the worthy Earle ... continew** See p. 247, n. 1030.

¹⁰³⁵ **Now ... man** Robert Cecil was promoted to the position of secretary of state on 5 July 1596.

honour, *nec sine causa*.¹⁰³⁶ He now hath great advantage and strength to intercept, prevent and to toy where he hath ben or is in, sonne, be it emulation or suspicion, yow know what termes he standeth in towarde your self and wold nede have me tell yow so, so very vehement hee¹⁰³⁷ was then. Yow are sayde to be wyse, and to my comfort I willingly thynk so, but surely, sonne, on thother syde for want of home experience by action and your teadious unaqwaintance for your ^{own} cowntry by ^{continuall} chamber and bedkeeping, yow must nedes myss of considerate judgement in your verball onely travayling. Yf all were scant sownde before betwixt the *Εα ρ λ*.¹⁰³⁸ and him, frends had nede to walk more warely *in his diebus*¹⁰³⁹ for all doing elce ^{may} hurt, though pretending goode. The father and sonne are ^{affectionate}, joyned in power and policy.¹⁰⁴⁰

The Lorde ever bles yow in Christ. Still I harken for Yates, I dowt somebody hindreth his comming to me. It were small matter to come speake with me. Yow know what yow have to ^{do in} regard towching the Spaniard.¹⁰⁴¹ I reak not his displeasure. God graunt he marr not all at last with Spanish popish sutelty.

Alas, what I wrote towching the poor summ of 5 li to your brother, I ment ^{but} to lett yow know plainly. I wolde rather norish then eny litle way weaken nere brotherly love as appereth manifestly to yow both. God forbyd but that yee shulde allways love hartley *invicem*¹⁰⁴² and kindly. God commandeth love as brethern,¹⁰⁴³ besyde ^a bonde of nature. This pescod tyme¹⁰⁴⁴ but bruing but hasty and somer drinking. In truth, yf I shuld purposely make a teerse¹⁰⁴⁵ somewhat strong for yow, I know not yow have it caried throwg; yt were pitie that yow and I both shuld be disapointed. *Annona cur[a]*.¹⁰⁴⁶

Burn, burn in eny wyse. 10 *Julii*. AB.

¹⁰³⁶ *nec sine causa* [Latin] ‘not without cause’.

¹⁰³⁷ **hee** he.

¹⁰³⁸ *Εα ρ λ* [Greek transliteration] ‘Earl’, i.e. the earl of Essex.

¹⁰³⁹ *in his diebus* [Latin] ‘in these days’.

¹⁰⁴⁰ **The father . . . policy** Namely William Cecil, Lord Burghley, and his son, Robert.

¹⁰⁴¹ **the Spaniard** Antonio Pérez. See p. 123, n. 323.

¹⁰⁴² *invicem* [Latin] ‘each other’.

¹⁰⁴³ **God . . . brethern** 1 John 3:14: ‘We knowe that we are translated from death unto life, because we love the brethren: he that loveth not his brother, abideth in death.’

¹⁰⁴⁴ **pescod tyme** Early summer, the season for growing peas.

¹⁰⁴⁵ **teerse** tierce. See p. 242, n. 1000.

¹⁰⁴⁶ *Annona cura* [Latin] ‘Take care with your provisions’.

159. Anthony Bacon to Anne Bacon, 13 July 1596

Draft. LPL 658, fo. 7r–v. 1p.

Endorsed (fo. 7v): A Madame le 13me de juillet 1596

Madam, my most humble dutie remembred.

I am at the earnest request of an honest merchaunt, an antient freind of mine, who hath bine long bedredd¹⁰⁴⁷ langueshing and now desireth greatlie (according to the advise of the phisitions) change of ayre, I meane Mr Robert Spencer, humbly to besech your Ladiship that yf yow have a litter and can spare it, yow would vouchsafe to lend and send it me, that I may pleasure him, ~~especiall~~ which I have so much the more cause now to doe, seing his pthisicall weaknes makes me ^justlie^ feare that this shallbe the last freindlie office I shallbe able to doe him, my prayers onlie accepted for the strength of his soule at the last hower of combatt. As for the due care and good usage of your Ladiship's litter, I will constitute my selfe suretie and answerable in his behalfe.

For occurents. Her Majesty is in daylie expectation and very carefull suspence for tydings of the Earle's procedings.¹⁰⁴⁸ The Christians under the Transilvanian Prince have very freshlie given important overthrowes to the Turke.¹⁰⁴⁹ The archrebell of Ireland, called Tyrone and created O'Neill, hath refused her Majestie's pardon, alledging frivolous excuses that he could not come and speake with Sir Edward More, who was to present him the same;¹⁰⁵⁰ his drift is onlie to delay to se what [-...] else my lord of Essex shall have and accordinglie to reject or accept her Majestis grace. The uncardinallised Archduke of Austria¹⁰⁵¹ is held better tack by the Count Maurice,¹⁰⁵² second sonne to

¹⁰⁴⁷**bedredd** bedridden.

¹⁰⁴⁸**the Earle's procedings** The earl of Essex did not return to England from the Cadiz expedition until 8 August 1596.

¹⁰⁴⁹**The Christians . . . Turke** One of the clashes that formed part of the Thirteen Years' War between the Austrian Habsburgs and the Ottomans. Sigismund Báthory, the prince of Transylvania, won the battle of Călugăreni, his most decisive victory, a year earlier, in August 1595.

¹⁰⁵⁰**The archrebell . . . the same** Hugh O'Neill, second earl of Tyrone, delayed taking his pardon until 22 July 1596.

¹⁰⁵¹**Archduke of Austria** Archduke Albert VII of Austria became sovereign of the Habsburg Netherlands in 1598, held jointly with his wife, Isabella Clara Eugenia; he is referred to as 'uncardinallised' because, although he was appointed a cardinal, he was never ordained. L. Duerloo, *Dynasty and Piety: Archduke Albert (1598–1621) and Habsburg political culture in an age of religious wars* (Farnham, 2012), p. 30.

¹⁰⁵²**Count Maurice** Maurice of Nassau, stadtholder of Holland, Zeeland, Utrecht, Gelderland, and Overijssel.

the late Prince of Orange, in the Low Cuntries, then he was by the French king

[*fo. 7v*] at Caleys, the towne of Hulst houlding out bravely against him.¹⁰⁵³ And so with the remembrance of my most humble dutie, I take my leave.

160. *Anthony Bacon to Anne Bacon, 13 July 1596*

Draft. LPL 658, fo. 6r–v. 1p.

Endorsed (fo. 6v): A Madame le 13me de juillet 1596

Madam,

I most humbly thanke your Ladyship for your wise and loving admonition which, God willing, shalbe by me remembered and observed.¹⁰⁵⁴

May it please your Ladyship to call to mind what [^]speech[^] late Queen Mary used, when she layd downe upon the Counsell bord the purse where the privy seal was kept, for the which the ould Lord Pagett had bene so long so earnest a suiter and procured King Phillip to be his mediator,¹⁰⁵⁵ and so to consider withall what is befallen to that house [^]since[^]. For mine owne part the reding and Christian meditation of the 36 and 37 psalmes shall, with God's grace, serve me for trew preservatives to keep me from emulating any worldly prosperetie or greatnes or fearing the effects of ~~man~~'s human power and malice, so long as it please God to comfort and strengthen the best part of ~~man~~ me, as hitherto in his mercy he hath done with extraordinary effectes.

Yates hath onlie stayed hitherto for a horse, beseching your Ladyship to thinke that no superiour, [^]souverain ~~am~~ and not onlie excepted and yet [wi]th dutyfull[^], or equall, muche lese my inferiour as servants bee, shalbe able to dissuade or withhold me from frowringe¹⁰⁵⁶ your Ladyship's contentment.

¹⁰⁵³**then he was . . . against him** Albert took Calais from the French on 22 April 1596 and Hulst from the Dutch on 18 August; the latter was under siege from 31 June.

¹⁰⁵⁴**I . . . observed** Letter 158 was only received by Anthony on 13 July, hence he wrote two letters to his mother that day; 160 responds to 158.

¹⁰⁵⁵**for the . . . mediator** Philip of Spain favoured William Paget's efforts to become a chief officer of state, suggesting that his wife, Mary I, should appoint Paget as lord chancellor. However, on 1 January 1556 Mary appointed Nicholas Heath as chancellor, leaving Paget to settle for lord privy seal. See G. Redworth, "'Matters impertinent to women': male and female monarchy under Philip and Mary", *English Historical Review*, 112 (1997), pp. 605–606.

¹⁰⁵⁶**frowringe** forwarding. See T. Wright, *Dictionary of Obsolete and Provincial English* (London, 1857), p. 485.

That I wrote of this 5 li was onlie to exemplefie my inward desire and meaninge for myne done discharge and no waye to misimpute or misconster,¹⁰⁵⁷ whiche God knoweth is farr from me. And so referringe my selfe for occurrents to my former lettre whiche I had thought to have sent your Ladyship by express messenger, yf Lawrence had not come, I most humbly take my leave, with ~~my~~ like thanks for your Ladyship's fishe.

161. *Anne Bacon to Anthony Bacon, 15 July 1596*

Holograph. LPL 658, fo. 27r–v. 1p.

Endorsed (fo. 27v): De Madame Bacon, le 15me de juillet 1596

The truth is, sonne, the litter is unperfect to be used for a syck body and a very frende; owt of dowt it must needes fayle. It reqwyreth reparation, specially the lethers, scant strong, that cary it, and the saddell very owlde. Yates by my appointment hath narrowly vened¹⁰⁵⁸ all. Mr Dyke¹⁰⁵⁹ but a yeaere past wolde nedes borow your father's owlde coch. I towlde him the weaknes of it, but nedes he wolde ventur and after vi myles jorny, his wyff and chyldern had lyke to take [^]hurt[^] and were compelled to make other provision by the way, with much comber.

I wold gladly yow had ii teerce¹⁰⁶⁰ of my beere but carriadg is the matter; myne own [^]horse[^] but 4, wherof one blynde and the rest but poore. My horses within these 3 yeres have much miscaried to my great comber, besyde the charges. Thomas Knite served me but lewdly. I am halff impotent now my selff and every thing decaies with me, which made me desyrous to have Yates my deputy in howse to oversee, taking him to be both honest and scillfull.¹⁰⁶¹ This must I needes say of him, and truly that commended to me by yourselff, in your beyond sea aboad for your busines to be dispatched over by me then. I saw him do it with such a good harte to yow and carefull diligence, that the rest yow so sent, withowt exception, were nothing comparable. They all sowght themselff but he, me thowght, seemed to do all with love to your selff in dede. Yow know otherwyse but a stranger to me ner since your comming over. I thank yow for your lettres and good accepting.

¹⁰⁵⁷ **misconster** misconstrue.

¹⁰⁵⁸ **vened** weened, considered.

¹⁰⁵⁹ **Mr Dyke** William Dike. See p. 181, n. 622.

¹⁰⁶⁰ **teerce** tierce. See p. 242, n. 1000.

¹⁰⁶¹ **scillfull** skilful.

162. Anthony Bacon to Anne Bacon, 29 July 1596

Draft. LPL 658, fo. 4r–v. 1p.

Endorsed (fo. 4v): Le Madame Bacon, le 29me le juillet 1596

Madam,

In lieu of my personall ~~due~~ attendance, and for your Ladyship's wellcome and assurance, I meane such as may be given ^and^ expected ~~concerning~~ ~~accora~~ of newes that come so farre of and are subject to winde and wether, I send your Ladyship hereinclosed a lettre sent after midnight ^last^ from ~~principall counsellor~~ Mr Secretary¹⁰⁶² to an honourable friend of mine, who vouchsafed betimes this morning to bring it and leave it with me, which when your Ladyship hath perused I besech, may it please yow to returne it to me sealld without mentioning the sight therof to any whome soever. And so I most humbly take my leave.

163. Anne Bacon to Anthony Bacon, [before 3 August 1596]¹⁰⁶³

Holograph. LPL 653, fos 248r–249v. 2pp.

Endorsed (fo. 249v): lettre de Madame

Sonne, the Lorde allwey bles yow and be with yow, both allweyes in mercy and gwyding of yow. Peter hath desired me to write for his placing at Doctors' Commons¹⁰⁶⁴ for his preferment, otherwyse loth yet to part with him. I have written to Doctor Cesar¹⁰⁶⁵ and to my cosin Thomas Stanhopp,¹⁰⁶⁶ in stede of Doctor Stanhopp¹⁰⁶⁷ to whome I wyll never more write again ^but^ upon great occasion by God's sending. His For thowgh cosins, he is a love man to all, God his good minister before him, *experta loquor*.¹⁰⁶⁸ Her¹⁰⁶⁹ is a fylthy adulterer, yf not

¹⁰⁶²**Mr Secretary** Robert Cecil. See p. 248, n. 1035.

¹⁰⁶³ **[before 3 August 1596]** This undated letter is difficult to place by the internal evidence. It must at least have been written before 3 August 1596, as Thomas Stanhope died that day.

¹⁰⁶⁴ **Doctors' Commons** The collegiate society of civil and canon laywers. As an informal association, it did not certify legal practice and, unlike the Inns of Court for common lawyers, it had no educational function. See B. Levack, 'The English civilians 1500–1750', in W. Prest (ed.), *Lawyers in Early Modern Europe and America* (London, 1981), p. 113.

¹⁰⁶⁵ **Doctor Cesar** Julius Caesar, the master of requests.

¹⁰⁶⁶ **Thomas Stanhopp** Thomas Stanhope, of Shelford, Nottinghamshire.

¹⁰⁶⁷ **Doctor Stanhopp** Edward Stanhope, chancellor to the bishop of London. Stanhope was also a kinsman of Anne's. See *Cooke Sisters*, pp. 181–182.

¹⁰⁶⁸ *experta loquor* [Latin] 'I speak having experienced'.

¹⁰⁶⁹ **Her** 'He' or 'here'.

fornicator too, according to his profession. Blackwell's wyffe is noted in strete as she goeth and pointed at as his harlot. Good sonne, write not to him at all in this nor be beholding to him for eny sute.

Yf these my lettres wyll not healpe Peter; let it go. *Noli te admiscere cum tali impio in re tam levi.*¹⁰⁷⁰ He is my man and therfore have I written. See, reade and seale, I pray yow. Forgett not that, but no more for yow; this is inowgh, yf God wyll.

*Vale in Christo. Cura omni modo ut bene valeas et abstinendo et bene agendo.*¹⁰⁷¹

Ner your brother to write nether to ~~writ~~ him. God gwyde him with his grace and send him selff health to serve God first and please man in his feare.

AB *mater tua.*¹⁰⁷²

164. *Anthony Bacon to Anne Bacon, 6 August 1596*

Draft. LPL 658, fos 149r–150v. 2pp.

Endorsed (fo. 150v): A Madame Bacon, le 6me d'aoust 1596

Madame,

Having receved the very same day your Ladyshipp departed from one Signor Lopus, a Spanish merchaunt much bound to my Lord of Essex, certaine dainteyes such as he hath presented to the countesse and my Lady Rich,¹⁰⁷³ I am bould to send your Ladyshipp the best parte of them, as allsoe a memorative note of such advantages as are accrued to her Majesty by the taking of Cadez; and will send your Ladyshipp, God willing, this next [^]weeke[^] a particuler trew relation of the whole action which, God be thanked, hath bene seconded with the taking of another place called Farrow,¹⁰⁷⁴ since for which spetiall goodnes and blessing of God and the continuance therof there is appointed here prayer and thankesgiving. And so I most humbly take my leave.

¹⁰⁷⁰*Noli . . . levi* [Latin] 'You should not mix with such an impious man in such a lightweight matter'.

¹⁰⁷¹*Vale . . . agendo* [Latin] 'Farewell in Christ. Take care in every way that you remain well both by abstaining and by behaving well.'

¹⁰⁷²*mater tua* [Latin] 'your mother'.

¹⁰⁷³**the countesse and my Lady Rich** Frances Walsingham Devereux, countess of Essex, and Lady Penelope Rich, her sister-in-law.

¹⁰⁷⁴**the taking . . . Farrow** After leaving Cadiz, the earl of Essex sacked Faro; he later donated the books which he seized from the bishop's library to Thomas Bodley's new library in Oxford.

165. Anthony Bacon to Anne Bacon, 11 August 1596

Draft. LPL 658, fo. 151r–v. 1p.

Endorsed (fo. 151v): A Madame Bacon le 11 d'aoust 1596

Madam,

I would not faile to certefie your Ladyshipp by goodman Forsett of the worthy Earle's most honorable, happie and safe returne,¹⁰⁷⁵ for the which God's name be praised and make both him and us thankfull.

I dout not but your Ladyshipp hath understood that my Lord Cobham was made Lord Chamberlaine on Sunday last.¹⁰⁷⁶ The Duke of Bouillon is daylie loked for and no dout will hasten his coming so much as he can possible to obtaine of her Majesty the spedie employment of the greatest parte of her Majestie's armie, returned which my Lord of Essex, ~~hath brought home~~ God be thanked by God¹⁰⁷⁷ mercifull providence and devine protection, hath happily brought home in health, wealth and hartie[^] courage for the recovery of Callis and to make inglishd.¹⁰⁷⁸ This is all, Maddam, that I have at this time worth advertising your Ladyship. And so I most humbly take my leave.

166. Anne Bacon to Anthony Bacon, 12 August 1596

Holograph. LPL 658, fos 167r–168v. 2pp.

*Endorsed (fo. 168v): De Madame Bacon, le 11 d'aoust 1596*¹⁰⁷⁹

The Lorde Jesus *salus et vita vera nostra*.¹⁰⁸⁰ Restore yow from lymmlamenes to perfect health, yf be [^]his[^] blessed wyll that yow may, thank God, as the long creple dyd, skipping and leaping in the temple after he was cured of the apostles.¹⁰⁸¹ Yelde not to much, but stryve against and use your lymms [^]in due order[^] more though with some payn. Your unseasonable eatinge, resting and restles toyling with unorderly commers and commoners [^]have and do[^] spoyle yow.

¹⁰⁷⁵ **the worthy . . . safe returne** Essex returned to Plymouth on 8 August 1596.

¹⁰⁷⁶ **my Lord . . . last** William Brooke, Baron Cobham, was made lord chamberlain on 8 August 1596.

¹⁰⁷⁷ **God** God's.

¹⁰⁷⁸ **hartie courage . . . inglishd** Anthony was here referring to Essex's plan to use the returned army for an assault on Calais.

¹⁰⁷⁹ **De . . . 1596** [French] 'From Mistress Bacon, the 11 of August 1596'. The endorsement seems incorrect, as Anne dated her own letter 12 August.

¹⁰⁸⁰ **salus . . . nostra** [Latin] 'our true health and life'.

¹⁰⁸¹ **as the . . . apostles** See Acts 3:8.

I thank for your lettres, fyrst and last. O that the Lorde of armies had ^his^ due prayses ^from hie and low^ geven to his holy name for the gratious success. For the Duke of Bollain sute for *Κάλεσ*,¹⁰⁸² to speake lyke an unskillfull body and yet have observed somewhat, I dowt it wyll spende and spoyle our soldiour, whome God hath spared, and bring the plage into the lande, as Newhaven.¹⁰⁸³ The French might have prevented and now sett us a worke. The Spaniard in possession, the French a looker on and wee after good success contend with great cost and charg ^danger^ in a vain hope. God graunt wee may be truly thankfull to him and so ~~ean~~ consult with him what is best for his glory and our state.

Impossible yet to take partriches. The corn slow going down by variable wether. Every pigeon I send yow as yow think good. Shawford com not yet with much care feeding and howse seasoning. Hamlett's lewd using.

God much bles the Earle and as he hath made him strong aganst his enemies, so to make him strong against *καρνάλ κονκυπισσενς*¹⁰⁸⁴ and prosper him in his feare and continuall favour. The Lorde God be ever with yow in mercy and comfort.

Gorhambury 12 August.

Μητηρ σου,¹⁰⁸⁵ AB.

167. *Anne Bacon to Anthony Bacon, 30 August 1596*

Holograph. LPL 653, fos 354r–355v. 2pp.

Endorsed (fo. 355v): De Madame ^Bacon^ le 30me d'aoust 1596

Addressed (fo. 355v): To my sonne Mr Anthony Bacon geve theis

Snecking owlde Smyth, one your father never cownted but hollow, hath now begon contention and troble by his owlde crafty letting a lease of the thyrds, undermining wyse, not making forcly privie lyke a subtyll miser. This bearer commes of purpose to yow for remedy being loth to law. And he hath lett it to Rocket,¹⁰⁸⁶ a head scraper of that their

¹⁰⁸² *Κάλεσ* [Greek transliteration] 'Kales', i.e. Calais.

¹⁰⁸³ **Newhaven** Soldiers returning from the Newhaven expedition in 1563 were credited with introducing plague into England. See J.F.D. Shrewsbury, *A History of Bubonic Plague in the British Isles* (Cambridge, 1970), p. 190.

¹⁰⁸⁴ *καρνάλ κονκυπισσενς* [Greek transliteration] 'karnal konkupissens', i.e. carnal concupiscence.

¹⁰⁸⁵ *Μητηρ σου* [Greek] 'Your mother'.

¹⁰⁸⁶ **Rocket** Thomas Rockett served as the official and registrar to the archdeacon of St Albans.

greedy snaphance¹⁰⁸⁷ ceort,¹⁰⁸⁸ trobling good and qwiet subiects. Yf it may lett not Rockett procead, but undoe it, being craftly in conscience wrasted,¹⁰⁸⁹ though their litigious unspirituall may challeng advantage. Rockett in his claim coming on the grownde brought one with a halke¹⁰⁹⁰ under that cullour, with prowde wordes though upon my sending to the Mayre to talk with him; ‘Why he durst’, he answerd, ‘Forsooth it was but for company.’ Thus styll besyde trobling the farme we shalbe combred with him. He is a prowde and for gain, full of qwarellpiking. I thowght good thus much by this greeved bearer. Do wysely and surely for thoficiall with all the pack of them seek only ungodly gain; litle good do it them. I write so even with a tru Christian hart by experience of their unlawfull dealings in my tyme.

Partriches yet will not to the net. Knite and one other of myn own men this hole week in full nights have ben styll abroad.

The Lorde of heaven rayse yow upp to more goode in your vocation and geve yow dayly encrease of godlines and health with his fatherly love to your comfort. Lett not prentyse for tryfles cowntenan[c]e such troublesom de deceaveable persons. Let him not see this. He can skill *uti foro*.¹⁰⁹¹

I pray yow remember coorte keping here according to order, which I carefullyl now; next coorte is lete also,¹⁰⁹² which wolde not be neglec^ted. Mr Crew ether wyll not or owt of season or in hast. I saw not Mr Downing a great whyle; he can and wyll do it best. Mr Crew made prevy and present yf he wyll. It owght before Michallyt.¹⁰⁹³ I may think of it.

168. *Anthony Bacon to Anne Bacon, 7 September 1596*

Draft. LPL 659, fo. 9r–v. 1p.

Endorsed (fo. 9v): A Madame Bacon, le 7me de septembre 1596

My most humble dutie remembered.

I render your Ladyshipp humble thanks for your patriges,¹⁰⁹⁴ which your man, ^it semes,^ was very carefull to bring in good sorte.

¹⁰⁸⁷**snaphance** Suggesting a desperate or thieving character.

¹⁰⁸⁸**ceort** archdeaconry court.

¹⁰⁸⁹**wrasted** twisted.

¹⁰⁹⁰**halke** Presumably ‘hawk’.

¹⁰⁹¹**uti foro** [Latin] ‘to play the market’, i.e. to adapt to circumstance or ‘make hay while the sun shines’.

¹⁰⁹²**next ... also** Court leet, the manorial court. For further discussion, see the Introduction, p. 32.

¹⁰⁹³**Michallyt** Michaelmas. See p. 107, n. 225.

¹⁰⁹⁴**patriges** partridges.

The Duke of Bouillon on Sunday last, after dinner, vouchsafed to visite me, having ^with very kinde respect^ first sent a gentleman to know whither ^company^ should not be troobellsome unto me. He is this day departed, having received a cubberd of plate of 1200 li of her Majesty for a present. ~~The ambassadors~~ The ambassadors of the States are arrived to be joyned ~~in~~ with her Majesty and the French king against their common enemy, the Spaniard.¹⁰⁹⁵ It is spoken that the Scottish king and the king of Denmarke, his brother in law shallbe and other princes of Germany shallbe likewise invited thereunto. My Lord of Essex yesterday feasted ^here,^ my Lord Admirall,¹⁰⁹⁶ Mr Secretary¹⁰⁹⁷ and divers others of the nobilitie and, ~~at dinner~~ ere dinner was done, was sent for by the Queene, who for the most parte out of her selfe useth him most gratiousslie ~~allwayes~~ and I dout not but will more and more by God's goodnes so long as he continew his Christian zealous course, which he hath begonne since his returne, ~~in~~ not missing preaching, nor prayers in the courte, and showing trew noble kindenes towards his vertuous espouse intirely without any diversion. ~~And~~ The state of Ireland is more dangerous then ever, notwithstanding the false submission of Tyronne and acceptance of her Majestie's pardon. And so I most humbly take my leave.

169. *Anthony Bacon to Anne Bacon, 30 September 1596*

Draft. LPL 658, fo. 154r–v. 1p.

Endorsed (fo. 154v): A Madame Bacon le zome de septembre 1596

Madam, I most humbly thanke your Ladyshipp for your lettre by Forsett and your daintyes by this bearer, who carrieth a lettre from me to ould Smith, wherein I have tould him roundly of his undutifullnes towards your Ladyshipp and my selfe and his unneighbourly dealing with goodman Forsett, whome, if he continew to trooble by the help of Rockett, I have signified unto him warninglie that nether of them both should gett any creditt or benefitt thereby, which I dout not but to make good if ether or both of them persist to vex goodman Forsett.

Uppon Sunday last her Majesty bestowed 2 white staves and made my Lord North, Tresurer, and Sir William Knolles, Comptroler.¹⁰⁹⁸

¹⁰⁹⁵**The ambassadors . . . Spaniard** The United Provinces formally joined England and France in the Treaty of Greenwich on 21 October.

¹⁰⁹⁶**Lord Admiral** Charles Howard was lord high admiral from 1585.

¹⁰⁹⁷**Mr Secretary** Robert Cecil. See p. 248, n. 1035.

¹⁰⁹⁸**her Majesty . . . Comptroler** North was appointed as treasurer of the household and Knollys was appointed comptroller of the household on 30 August 1596. Both men were made privy councillors on the same day.

As Anthony was with in, it pleased the Earle of Shrowsbury¹⁰⁹⁹ to come and visite me ~~who hath~~ and to give me hirtie thanks for sending him my man Yates, of whome he hath hard so good testimony of those that know him in France;¹¹⁰⁰ hereof I thought meet to advertise your Ladyshipp, having the rather taken this opportunitie to preferre ~~and place~~ him ^to so noble a man^ in place of spetiall credit and trust in respect of your Ladyshipp's good opinion of him. And so in hast, as this bearer can wittnes, I most humbly take my leave.

170. Anne Bacon to Anthony Bacon, 1 October 1596

Holograph. LPL 659, fos 254r–255v. 2pp.

Endorsed (fo. 255v): De Madame Bacon, le 2me d'octobre 1596

Grace, peace and health be multiplied upon yow dayly. I send yow v partriches; they have in taking with 3 persons allmost as many nights as the number. I cowl'd hardly in dede have spared this bearer. Hast him away, I pray yow. I sende your brother 12 pigeons and all my two howses heare. Yf yow lyke to take for your selff 3 or 4, elce lett him have all.

Smyth,¹¹⁰¹ the carier, yesterday being Thursday, sent by his man a byll to me of above 7 li for coales and that since June. I cast ^my selff^ that June, July and August were the cheffe sommer moneths and he was paid all then. Surely, sonne, something or somebody goeth awrie for your reconing and experence¹¹⁰² perswade as yow wyll to your hindrance; yow did by your words to me name abowt v li and he now ^asketh^ above 7. Yf his reconing had ben right in dede, I had it not to pay him thence; Crossby was gon to a fayre. Yf yow sende me by this bearer a just warrant sygned, I wyll borow so much for so must I of necessitee; yet do and I wyll pay him upon Tewsdays next, God wylling. I commend yow to the favour and blessing of the Almighty. *Vale in Christo.*¹¹⁰³

*Primo Octobris*¹¹⁰⁴ 1596.

AB.

¹⁰⁹⁹ **Earle of Shrowsbury** Gilbert Talbot, the earl of Shrewsbury. See p. 248, n. 1033.

¹¹⁰⁰ **it pleased . . . in France** Edward Yates was in France again, in the company of Charles Danvers. See p. 168, n. 556, and G. Ungerer, *The Correspondence of Antonio Pérez's Exile*, 2 vols (London, 1974–1976), II, p. 10.

¹¹⁰¹ **Smyth** Robert Smyth. See also 194.

¹¹⁰² **experence** experience.

¹¹⁰³ **Vale in Christo** [Latin] 'Farewell in Christ'.

¹¹⁰⁴ **Primo Octobris** [Latin] 'first of October'.

171. Anthony Bacon to Anne Bacon, 2 October 1596

Draft. LPL 659, fo. 210r–v. 1p.

Endorsed (fo. 210v): A Madame, le 2me d'octobre 1596

Madam,

Thre houres after I had spoken with Miller, the carrier, and returned my humble thanks and just excuse for not writing my selfe, I received your Ladyship's by this bearer, and 5 partridges, for the which I humbly thanke your Ladyship.

The expence of coales I conesse¹¹⁰⁵ ~~considering the season~~ for foure sommer moneths may justly seme ~~over~~ great, unlesse it please your Ladyshipp to consider first my sicknes, then the extraordinary moistnes of the season, the scituation¹¹⁰⁶ of my lodging and the honorable helps I have had to spend them since my Lord's returne, which I know your Ladyshipp ~~will not~~ would not have had me refused for tenn times as much, so long as ~~not onlie~~ it is knowen to the cheifest of this house, but thankfullie taken.

Her Majestie this day parted from Grennwhich and hath dined at my Lord Burrough's¹¹⁰⁷ house by Lambeth and lodgeth this night at Micham¹¹⁰⁸ and from hence to Nonesuch.¹¹⁰⁹ Certaine number of Spaniards landed very latelie in Ireland,¹¹¹⁰ which hath bene foretould often and long enough agoe to have bene ~~presented~~ prevented, if any advertisements, how ~~timelie and~~ trew so ever were currante, unlesse they carried the stamp of the golden sheath. And so referring some other particurers¹¹¹¹ worthey your Ladyshipp's ~~till~~ knowledge till Sunday ~~some day of~~ next weke, I comm[en]d your Ladyshipp to God's hollie protection.

¹¹⁰⁵ **conesse** confesse (i.e. confess).

¹¹⁰⁶ **scituation** situation.

¹¹⁰⁷ **Lord Burrough's** Thomas, Lord Burgh, appointed lord deputy of Ireland early in 1597.

¹¹⁰⁸ **Micham** Julius Caesar, the master of requests, had a manor house at Mitcham in Surrey. It was certainly visited by Elizabeth I on 12 September 1598. For the entertainment in 1598, thought to be by John Lyly, see Leslie Hotson (ed.), *Queen Elizabeth's Entertainment at Mitcham* (New Haven, CT, 1953).

¹¹⁰⁹ **Nonesuch** Nonsuch Palace in Surrey.

¹¹¹⁰ **Certaine . . . in Ireland** Spanish ships carrying arms and ammunition had landed in Donegal in Ireland in September 1596, although the main fleet which set sail in October was dispersed by bad weather.

¹¹¹¹ **particurers** particulars.

172. Anthony Bacon to Anne Bacon, 8 October 1596

Draft. LPL 659, fo. 211r–v. 1p.

Endorsed (fo. 211v): A Madame A. Bacon le 8me d'octobre 1596

My humble dutie remembred.

According to my promise in my last by Mr Downing, I thought it my parte before the weeke ended to certefie your Ladyship of that which then I had no leisure to sett downe. To witt that my Lady Russell sent me worde I should be of very good cheare for that my Lord Tresurer had not onlie received satisfaction in that she delivered him from me, but thereby was ~~much~~ very well disposed to doe me all the good he could, which comfortable message of her Ladiship's I accepted with more thankfullness then I meane to reliee uppon with confidence for *τις πιστις ἀπιστω*.¹¹¹² In the meane time, I have cause to acknowledge it as a token of God's spetiall goodnes towards me that it hath pleased him to blesse my extemporall answer, which truth and innocency did dict¹¹¹³ unto me without meditation or affectation, so farre forth as that it hath dried upp the torrent of ^{so mightie} my Lord Tresurer's mightie indignation, at the least by show and his owne profession and so autenticall a testemony as my Lady Russell's.¹¹¹⁴

For generall occurrences, to use the noble Earle's one judicious discription in his proper termes, 'Her Majestie's Councell have their hands and heads full; they see more dangers then they know how to prevent'. Ireland growing worse and worse and France, notwithstanding all externall formes and solemnities of amitie and league, internally discontented and consequentlie ^{dangerously} doutfull. And so I most humbly take my leave.

¹¹¹² *τις . . . ἀπιστω* [Greek] 'What trust is there in the untrustworthy'.

¹¹¹³ **dict** dictate.

¹¹¹⁴ **To witt . . . Lady Russell's** To assuage the mistrust between the Bacon brothers and the Cecils, Elizabeth Cooke Hoby Russell visited her brother-in-law, Burghley, on 8 September 1596, to discover whether he held any ill will towards their nephew Anthony Bacon. She took his response directly to Anthony and then went back to Burghley with her nephew's defence. After her second meeting with the lord treasurer, Elizabeth again reported the conversation back to Anthony, urging him to write to his uncle. Anthony declined this suggestion, although he wrote to Elizabeth expressing his pleasure in her report of his uncle's goodwill, in terms very similar to those which he used in this letter to his mother. For a full reconstruction of these events, see *Cooke Sisters*, pp. 148–157.

173. Anthony Bacon to Anne Bacon, 22 October 1596

Draft. LPL 659, fo. 209r–v. 1p.

Endorsed (fo. 209v): A Madame An Bacon, le 22me l'octobre 1596

Madam,

I humbly thanke your Ladyship for your patriges¹¹¹⁵ and ^pigeons and^ would not let Anthony returne without these few lines, whereby I thought meet to assure your Ladyship that Ketterwell hath not made me any way acquainted with the putting out of his interest in the mill and therefore I may justlie, if it stand with your Ladyship's liking, charge him with undutifull forgettfullnes, ^or^ that which is worse, presumption.

The Earle of Shrewsbury is loked for daylie, who hath bene very royallie entertained in outwards; how ~~God~~ whither from the harte or noe, God knoweth and time, ^the mother of truth,^ will better discern. For Ireland, the crosse advertisements from the Deputy on the one side and Sir John Norrice of the other; the first as a good trumpett sounding ^in his lettres^ continuallie the alarm against the enemye; the ~~other~~ last, serving as a treble vyall¹¹¹⁶ to invite us to daunce and be merrie uppon false hope of a hollow peace, makes many feare ^rather^ the ruine then restoration of that state uppon that infallible ground;¹¹¹⁷ *quod omne regnum in se devisum dissipabitur.*¹¹¹⁸ And so I most humbly take my leave.

174. Anne Bacon to Robert Devereux, earl of Essex, 1 December 1596

Copy. LPL 660, fos 149r–150v. 2pp.

Endorsed (fo. 150v): De Madame Ann Bacon au Comte Essex le premier de decembre 1596

Hearinge, my singular good Lord, of your honour's returne from the sea coastes this daie, and I goinge hence to morowe, yf the Lord so will, I am bould, uppon some speeches of some and withe some persone at the courte, where latelie I was, to imparte somewhat here of to your honour, bycause it concerned a partie there more nere to me then

¹¹¹⁵ **partriges** partridges.

¹¹¹⁶ **treble vyall** treble viol.

¹¹¹⁷ **For Ireland . . . ground** William Russell, first Baron Russell of Thornhaugh, was lord deputy of Ireland between 1594 and 1597, although this period was marked by disputes with Sir John Norris, the president of Munster.

¹¹¹⁸ **quod . . . dissipabitur** [Latin] 'that every kingdom divided against itself will be destroyed'. See Matthew 12:25.

gratious to her stocke.¹¹¹⁹ I will not denie, but before this great suspition of her unwiflike and unshamfast demeanour hath bene brought to me even into the contrie, but lothe to beleve, I laid it up wite secret sadnes in my brest. And trulie my good Lord I did not a litle but greatlie rejoyse in harte, that it pleased ‘God’ of his mercie and goodnes, wite the ‘late’ famous honor he gave yow in your late martiall exploite wite renowned good successe,¹¹²⁰ he did also worke in yow such a change of your minde, before by reporte inclined to coorte carnall dalyance, that that honorable and Christian brute was carried aboute joyfulie to the much gladdinge of manie that unfaynedlie loved your Honour’s trew prosperitie. But ‘*proh dolor*’¹¹²¹ my good Lord, I perceived by some eye witnesses here, and which must needes heare and marke, that of late a backsliding to the foule ‘*incontinent*’ impudent doth plainlie appeare, and though they did mervail and muche blame your dishonorable and dangerous to your self course takinge, to the infaminge a noble mane’s wyffe and so nere aboute her Majestie, yet she was utterlie condemned as to bad, bothe unchast and impudent, wite as it were an incorrigible unshamfastnes; the Lord speedelie by his grace amende her, or cut her of before some sodaine mischeef.¹¹²² Yt hath alredie made her antient noble husbände¹¹²³ to undoe his howse by fallinge, as one out of comforte. But yf a desperate rage, as commonlie, followthe, he will revenge his provoked jealousie and most intollerable injury, even desperatelic; and the more, bycause it is said he loveth her, and greatlie, as wite greef, laborethe to winne her. Yt is great pittie she is not delivered to him and the courte to be censed by sendinge awaie such an unchast gaze¹¹²⁴ and common by-word, in respect of her place and husbände.¹¹²⁵ But yow, my good Lord, have not so learned Christe and hearde his ‘holie’ worde in the 3d.4.5. verses of the 1 chapter to the first Thessulonians.¹¹²⁶

¹¹¹⁹**it . . . her stocke** Elizabeth Stanley, countess of Derby, Anne Bacon’s great-niece and Lord Burghley’s granddaughter.

¹¹²⁰**your late . . . successe** The capture of Cadiz and the sack of Faro.

¹¹²¹***proh dolor*** [Latin] ‘alas’.

¹¹²²**cut . . . mischeef** The reference must be to an unwanted pregnancy.

¹¹²³**noble husbände** William Stanley, earl of Derby.

¹¹²⁴**gaze** One that is looked at or stared at.

¹¹²⁵**Yt is . . . husbände** For the affair between Essex and the countess of Derby, as well as the reaction of the earl of Derby, see P. Hammer, *The Polarisation of Elizabethan Politics: the political career of Robert Devereux, second earl of Essex, 1585–1597* (Cambridge, 1999), p. 385.

¹¹²⁶**3d.4.5. . . Thessulonians** Anne mistakenly attributes the quotation that follows to 1 Thessalonians 1:3–5, rather than 1 Thessalonians 4:3–5.

[*ff. 149v*] Yt is written ‘This is the will of God that yea should be holie and abstaine from fornication, and everie one knowe how to keepe his owne vessell, in hollines and honor; and not in the luste of concupiscence, as doe the gentiles, which knowe not God.’ And more, yf it please yow to reade and marke well, yt is a heavie thret, ‘That fornicators and adulterors, God will judge’¹¹²⁷ and that they shalbe shut out; ‘For such thinges’, saith the apostle, commonlie ‘commeth’ the wrathe of God uppon us.¹¹²⁸ Good Lord, remember and consider the greate danger hereby, bothe of soule and bodie, greve not the holie spirit of God, but honor God ‘that honored yow and reward him not with such evell’ for his greate kindnes towards yow. ‘Good my Lord, sinne not against your owne soule.’

My Ladie Stafford¹¹²⁹ said uppon occasion in her talke, the good vertuous Countesse your wyfe was withe childe.¹¹³⁰ O honorable and valiant noble, make greate accounte of this God his blessinge to yow bothe, and make not her hearte sorrowfull to the hinderance of her younge fruite within her. For it was thought she ‘tooke’ before to harte and that her last did not so comfortablie prosper.¹¹³¹ Yf yow be withe the Lord in deede, he wilb[e] with yow and make your verie enemies to reverence yow. Be stronge in the Lord,¹¹³² your and our good patient God, feare him and walke upritelie in his truth¹¹³³ and for his promise in Christe,¹¹³⁴ he will assist yow and looke favorablie uppon yow and yours, ‘prosper and increase his blessing uppon yow and yours;’ which mercie and grace, I humblie doe as I am most bound, calle uppon him to graunte yow ever, my dere and worthy Lord in Christ Jhesu. With verie inwarde affection have I thus presumed, ill favoreddie scribled, I confesse beinge sicklie and weake manie waies.

¹¹²⁷**That . . . judge** See Hebrews 13:4.

¹¹²⁸**For . . . uppon us** See Colossians 3:6.

¹¹²⁹**Ladie Stafford** Lady Dorothy Stafford. See **144** and **145**.

¹¹³⁰**the good . . . childe** The countess of Essex had a stillbirth in December 1596. For a list of all her children with the earl of Essex, see P. Hammer, ‘Robert Devereux, second earl of Essex’, *ODNB*.

¹¹³¹**For . . . comfortablie prosper** A son, Henry, born in April 1595, had only lived a little over a year, dying on 7 May 1596. For reference to the countess’s pregnancy with Henry, see **123**.

¹¹³²**Be . . . Lord** See Ephesians 6:10.

¹¹³³**walke . . . truth** See Galatians 2:14.

¹¹³⁴**his . . . Christe** See Ephesians 3:6.

*Boni consulas te vehementer oro et quam optime vivas et valeas vir insignissime et quantum decet mihi charissime.*¹¹³⁵

*Primo Decembris.*¹¹³⁶

*In Christo ^ex animo^,*¹¹³⁷
*ABacona Χηρα.*¹¹³⁸

175. Anthony Bacon to Anne Bacon, [1] December 1596¹¹³⁹

Draft. LPL 660, fo. 123r–v. 1p.

Endorsed (fo. 123v): A Madame Ann Bacon le Mr de decembre 96

My humble dutie remembred.

I thought it my parte to sende the inclosed, without delaeie to your Ladyship. And withall to advertise yow that ^though^ the noble kinde Earle ^had^ ~~havige~~ not received my ~~lettre~~ ^pacquet^ by reason of infinite busines till this eveninge, yet it pleased his Lordship imeadiatelie ^after^ he had read your Ladyship's lettre and mine to returne me his answer to be sent unto your Ladyship, whiche I have bene bould to doe by his Lordship's owne footman, who ~~hath charge to attende me~~ by his Lordship's comandment attendethe here dailie to be dispatched where I thinke good. Uppon the perusinge my Lord's lettre, yf your Ladyship in your wisdome finde anie just occasion of replie, yt maie please your Ladyship that I maie be acquainted therewith, to thende I maie be the better provided at his Lordship's next meetinge to performe my dutie to your Ladyship and his good Lordship. And so hopinge that God ~~that~~ hath blessed your Ladyship's Christian and yet most respectiue indeavours withe dere, kinde acceptance and affectuall impressions, I most humble take my leave.

¹¹³⁵ *Boni . . . charissime* [Latin] 'Take this in good part, I earnestly besech you, and may you live in the enjoyment of good health and all felicity, most illustrious nobleman, and, as is becoming, most dear to me.'

¹¹³⁶ *Primo Decembris* [Latin] 'First of December'.

¹¹³⁷ *In . . . animo* [Latin] 'In Christ from the heart'.

¹¹³⁸ *Χηρα* [Greek] 'widow'.

¹¹³⁹ [1] December 1596 Letter 175 was written to accompany the earl of Essex's reply to 174; 176 is a copy of Essex's letter.

**176. Robert Devereux, earl of Essex, to Anne Bacon,
1 December 1596**

Copy. LPL 660, fos 281r–v. 1p.

Endorsed (fo. 281v): Du Comte d'Essex a Madame Ann Bacon le 2/3 decembre 1596

Addressed (fo. 281r): To the honorable Ladie, the Lady Anne Bacon

Madame, that it pleaseth yow to deale thus freelie withe me in lettinge me knowe the worst yow heare of me, I take it as great argument of God's favour in sendinge so good an angell to admonishe me, and of no small care in your Ladyship of my well doinge. I knowe howe needfull these summons are to all menn, espetiallie espetiallie to those that live in this place. And I had rather withe the poore publicaine, knocke ~~and~~ my brest and ly prostrate, or withe the confesse, when I have donne all I can, I am an unprofitable servant, then pharisaycallie to justifie my self.¹¹⁴⁰ But what I write nowe is for the truthes sake and not for mine owne, I protest before the majestie of God, and my protestation is voluntarie and advised, that this charge which is newlie laide uppon me is falce and unjust. And that since my departure from England towards Spaine, I have bene free from taxation of incontinency withe anie woman that lives. I never sawe or spake withe the Lady yow meane, but in publicke places, and others beinge seers and hearers, who, yf they would doe me right, could justifie my behaviour. But I live in a place where I am howerly conspired against and practised uppon. What they can not make the world beleve, that they perswade the Queen unto, and what they cannot make probable to the Queen, that they give out to the world. They have almost all the howse to serve them for instruments. Yea, the verie Oracles (I meane those that are accounted to be plaine and sincere) doe *φιλιππιζειν*¹¹⁴¹ phillippisein, doe speake the largest language of the strongest faction.¹¹⁴² Plutarch taught me longe since to make profit of my enemies, but God teachethe it me mucche better nowe. Worthy Ladie, thinke me a weake man, full of imperfections, but be

¹¹⁴⁰ **And I had ... self** See Luke 18:9–14.

¹¹⁴¹ *φιλιππιζειν* [Greek transliteration] 'phillippizein'.

¹¹⁴² **the verie ... strongest faction** Essex was here quoting Aeschines, who reported that Demosthenes mistrusted the Delphic oracle because it had been 'philippized' (*φιλιππιζειν*), i.e. it had sided with Philip of Macedon. For Aeschines' quotation of Demosthenes, see *The Speeches of Aeschines*, trans. C.D. Adams (London, 1919), pp. 410–411. For Demosthenes' construction of the term 'to philippize', see P. Hunt, *War, Peace, and Alliance in Demosthenes' Athens* (Cambridge, 2010), p. 88.

assured I doe endeavour to be good and had rather mende my faultes then cover them. I wish your Ladyship all trewe happines and rest. At

At your Ladyship's commandment,
Essex.

Burne, I praye yow.
i of December 96.

**177. Anne Bacon to Robert Devereux, earl of Essex, with
postscript to Anthony Bacon, 4 December 1596**

Holograph copy. LPL 660, fos 151r–152v. 2pp.

*Endorsed (fo. 152v): Le Madame Ann Bacon au Comte d'Essex et en hate sero a Monsieur le 4me de decembre 1596*¹¹⁴³

My honourful goode Lord, in ^your^ incessant and carefull affayres to vouchsaff me as one almost forgotten in the worlde, a lettre even with your own hande, is favor more then my poore thanks or il parts can reach unto. God doth diverse wayes make manifest his love towards yow, wherof his church here and our state do flow the swete benefytt to the prayse of his name, and your honorable fame, and the rejoysing in a goode conscience. Yet such excellent persons never want *emulatores malignos cum fastu*.¹¹⁴⁴ But yet for all that, tru godly vertue in the Chris[t]en chyldern of God doth with the palme ryse and encrease styll, though men stryve to suppress and oppress it, and they styll shall florysh in the coort of the God of glorious majestic and their seede shalbe blessed.¹¹⁴⁵ *Ab imis precordiis*,¹¹⁴⁶ as I am most bownde I besech the living Lorde to direct continually with his holy spirit your Lordship's hart to the love of him and of his eternall truth, and sanctifye yow through ^it ever^ to lyve in his reverent feare and to approve that which is pleasing in his syght. And my good Lord, walk circumspectly for the dayes through synn are evell *ut ait apostulus*.¹¹⁴⁷ In peace, God graunt yow safty from all crafty treacyeries and subtile snare whatsoever, and in battell by sea or by land his mighty arme be your invincible puissance and make yow victorious, and sende his holy angell to pytch rownd abowt yow and your armies to watch over yow for your saffgard, and with fullnes of goode dayes and yeres in this

¹¹⁴³ *Le Madame .. 1596* [French] 'From Mistress Anne Bacon to the earl of Essex, sent in haste, late at night, to the master, on 4 of December 1596'.

¹¹⁴⁴ [*ajemulatores . . . fastu* [Latin] 'rivals malignant with pride'.

¹¹⁴⁵ **But yet . . . blessed** Anne here drew particularly on Psalm 92:12–14, but also on Genesis 22:18.

¹¹⁴⁶ *Ab imis precordiis* [Latin] 'from the deepest heart'. See Seneca, *De ira*, 1.4.

¹¹⁴⁷ *ut ait apostulus* [Latin] 'as the apostle says'. See Ephesians 5:15–16.

lyff, preserve yow to his hevenly kingdom for ever.¹¹⁴⁸ אמן.¹¹⁴⁹ The God of peace geve yow peace all weyes¹¹⁵⁰ by all means, my very singular goode Lord.

AB.

[*Postscript to Anthony Bacon*]

For dispatch I wrot late and yll. I wolde not send to yow, ^thought it not best so, ^ by his man, though yow saw my Lord's lettre. I sende it enclosed. Send it back again. I sende by this bearer one Powle Roewly com to me. I think he wolde serve well in your buttry;¹¹⁵¹ he hath, he sayth, used that service. He seemes yet wylling and honest playn, readeth but poorely. Larg wylbe lavesch to pyck, thank and crafty filching, besyde he hath an owlde father-in-law. Yow wylbe worse thought of for calling to idlenes where h[e]r[e] your own to make bate.¹¹⁵² It is true.

[*Left-hand margin*] Three churches were here robbed in one night. Use not so much plate abroad to tempte the divell allwey as ready. Warn your brother to, I pray yow to, take hede in tyme for [...] sodenly. *Vale*.¹¹⁵³ God bles yow with his grace and love in Christ.

178. Anthony Bacon to Anne Bacon, 6 December 1596

Draft. LPL 660, fo. 122r–v. 1p.

Endorsed (fo. 122v): A Madame Ann Bacon, le 6 de decembre 1596

Madam,

I humbly thanke your Ladyship for sending me my Lord's lettre to your Ladyship, which I had not sene before bycause his Lordship writt it and sealed it at the court, as allsoe your Ladyship's reple, the sight of both which were very wellcome and comfortable unto me.

Touching this bearer, though I dout not but in respect of his honestie and truth he deserve a better place then my buttry, yett having noe cause as yet to be discontented with John Large, I meane to employ him for one quarter, during which time I assure your Ladyship he shall have ~~much lesse time~~ ^many fewer howers^ to be idle then if he were at home.

¹¹⁴⁸ **preserve . . . for ever** See 2 Timothy 4:18.

¹¹⁴⁹ אמן [Hebrew] 'Amen'.

¹¹⁵⁰ **The God . . . weyes** See 2 Thessalonians 3:16.

¹¹⁵¹ **buttry** Buttery, the place where household provisions were kept.

¹¹⁵² **make bate** make trouble.

¹¹⁵³ **Vale** [Latin] 'Farewell'.

A For occurrents, Monsieur de la Fontaine¹¹⁵⁴ tould me himselfe yesterday that he marveiled at so long and deep a French silence. Of the shipwrack much bruted, their is no certaine particuler confirmation.¹¹⁵⁵ Ireland remaineth still in consumption and is like to pine away more and more unlesse better restoratives be sent thether in time. And so I most humbly take my leave.

179. *Anne Bacon to Robert Cecil, 13 December 1596*

Copy. LPL 660, fo. 129r–v. 1p.

Endorsed (fo. 129v): De Madame A. Bacon a Sir Robert Cecill, le 13me decembre 1596

Secretarie and honorable nephewe, I thanke yow for allowinge your [^]olde[^] aunte some speeche with some leysure at my laste beinge withe yow. Trulie me thinkethe I received refreshinge there but ever since. And I take my self bounde to my Lord, your fater, for sendinge the cause to see yow bothe. God make yow stronge for your waightie causes to his glorie and to your owne rejoyssinge in a good conscience.

And I prairie yow, good Sir, since it pleased my Lord your fater to use me so kindelie thereto, that yow will doe so muche as from me and for me to intreate his honour to remember still Mr Frowicke¹¹⁵⁶ for his good by continuinge his Lordship's favour to him for his credit in well doinge. The gentleman withe his lawe and learninge loveth the trewe religeon and is well esteemed, though otherwyse but of smalle livelihoode and manie children, even of the beste and wyseste and is lincked in kindred and alliance withe moste of the cheef hereabout, who would be verie sorie, I knowe, to have him descredited by suche disordred and undiscreete *oppidani*.¹¹⁵⁷ The towne is alwaie but unorderlie and unconscionable and careles of cheef dutie, bothe for good government or for providinge for their poore, whome they willinglie and wilfullie suffer continuallie, for lacke of good lookinge to, to strairie everie where aboute, begginge likewayes, and makinge spoile of fences, and hackinge and stealinge woode, out of all measure, to striffe makinge by layinge open inclosieres, beside the

¹¹⁵⁴**Monsieur de la Fontaine** Robert Le Maçon de la Fontaine, principal minister of the French Stranger Church. See p. 161, n. 519.

¹¹⁵⁵**Of the . . . confirmation** Part of the Spanish fleet had been shipwrecked off Cape Finisterre in November 1596. For contemporary reports of the shipwreck, see CP 46/87: 01/12/96.

¹¹⁵⁶**Mr Frowicke** Henry Frowick of Lincoln's Inn, steward of St Albans from 1589 to 1617. See *Corporation Records*, p. 296.

¹¹⁵⁷**oppidani** [Latin] 'townsfolk'.

hurt they do tiplinge, taverninge and droncken idlens and gameinge, which is almost this towne's profession. God amend such vices there and generallie in this lande. And *exempli gratia*¹¹⁵⁸ with in these 3 daies, the water conduit turrit made by my Lord for his howse here was the 3d time broken up and the cisterne leade and other things stollen quite awaie. The whole worke is nowe utterlie spoiled by them,¹¹⁵⁹ no doubt, but complayninge prevailes not with suche wilfull, ignorant and evell base gouverners.

Lycence ^me^ a litle more for this once, good Mr Secretarie. After I had written the premiss and pawsed for my weake sight, the Lord lighten my soule's sight, this fell out to my muche unquyetinge uppon Wednesdaie laste.¹¹⁶⁰ My few menn appointed for church and light horse roade them abroade, as by order they use to doe for excercise of the horses and their owne more fittinge to serve uppon commandment, my lance horse¹¹⁶¹ casteinge a shoe by the waie, his ryder went withe him to my farrier at Redborne by to shoe him. And beinge there at the Smithe's forge, comes firste a furious fellowe withe his dagger drawne and by violence wold needes take my principall beaste for a post horse,¹¹⁶² for all he was told whose he was and to what service and that he wanted a shoe, my man stryvinge still and callinge an officer to staie the horse, cam 3 more suche harebraine fellowes withe swordes drawne, swearing and madlie rageinge, and tooke him quite awaie scant withe 3 shoes well. My man not able to get a horse soone enoughe was faine to take my other light horse, a younge geldinge, to ride after for the other, and overtakinge him when a myle or more, got awaie my lance, and sendinge him home by his fellowe, he was faine to make after him poste to Constable to recover the light horse after this hurtfull post to the spoile, as is reported. They threwe downe meale sakes and tumbled of the side cotes¹¹⁶³ and their companie with savage rage. Yf ^Irelande^ had such soldiors, God healpe. Since Tilbory service,¹¹⁶⁴ I have loste 3 great horses, and ^a^ spetiall geldinge, knowne and camended¹¹⁶⁵ much at

¹¹⁵⁸ *exempli gratia* [Latin] 'for example'.

¹¹⁵⁹ **the water . . . by them** Nicholas Bacon I had contrived to have water supplied by pipe to Gorhambury house from nearby ponds. See *Bacon Letters and Life*, VII, p. 169.

¹¹⁶⁰ **Wednesdaie laste** 8 December 1596.

¹¹⁶¹ **lance horse** Presumably a medium-weight horse, such as would be used for jousting. Anne later in the letter referred to her 'other light horse', so this horse would have been one bred for agility and stamina.

¹¹⁶² **post horse** A horse kept at a post-house or inn for the use of post-riders, or for hire by travellers.

¹¹⁶³ **side cotes** Long coats.

¹¹⁶⁴ **Tilbory service** In 1588, English forces encamped at Tilbury in Essex in advance of the expected Spanish invasion.

¹¹⁶⁵ **camended** commended.

the musters,¹¹⁶⁶ nowe deade, and miscaried to my no smalle ^charg and^ greef. These 2 last I bought verie dere, bothe but younge beastes and scant yet thoroughly framed and nowe I feare spoiled. The losse of suche horses and my sonne's sicklie state will even goe verie nere my harte.

180. *Winter*¹¹⁶⁷ to Anne Bacon, [before 15] December 1596¹¹⁶⁸

Holograph.¹¹⁶⁹ LPL 660, fo. 141r–v. 1p. Torn and damaged.¹¹⁷⁰
Endorsed (fo. 141v): De goodman Wynter a Madame Bacon, le mois decembre 1596

Addressed (fo. 141v): To the honourable this verie good Ladie and Mistress, the Lady Bacon, delivered theise [. . .].¹¹⁷¹

The Commyssion went in Sir Conwayes Clyfford's name, he saye at the Red Lyon¹¹⁷² at Mr Painard, and there it is reported there was 40 quarts of wyne dronke, so that som of them was thought to be very merrey.¹¹⁷³ It is thought it was his cocke that went before withe the comission. There was as it is reported dyver other Knights, whose names I cannot as yet inquire out, but two of them, that is Syr George Gifford¹¹⁷⁴ and Sir Rychard Bingham.¹¹⁷⁵ They went from St Allbains the 8 dayes of december 1596, as it was thought, betwne¹¹⁷⁶ the houres of

¹¹⁶⁶ **at the musters** Men obliged to serve in the militia (local defence forces) had to gather periodically for inspection, which included presentation of their horses.

¹¹⁶⁷ **Winter** Presumably this is Anne's servant Winter, described as 'your man Winter' by Anthony Bacon (69).

¹¹⁶⁸ **[before 15] December 1596** It is unclear whether Anne knew the names of the rioters when she wrote to her nephew, and chose not to reveal them, or whether she learnt this information from Winter after receiving 180. This letter was presumably written before 181.

¹¹⁶⁹ **Holograph** This is presumed holograph. It is certainly the original letter sent to Anne.

¹¹⁷⁰ **Torn and damaged** For a copy, see LPL 660, fo. 234r–v.

¹¹⁷¹ [. . .] The ink at the end of this subscription is very smudged.

¹¹⁷² **The Red Lyon** Presumably the Red Lyon at Redbourn. See 'Catalogue of field names', pp. 92–93.

¹¹⁷³ **The Commyssion . . . mercey** Sir Conyers Clifford had been appointed chief commissioner of Connacht on 2 December 1596. He was accompanied back to Ireland by Sir Richard Bingham, the previous provincial president of Connacht, who had fled to England in September 1596 and had been suspended from office and imprisoned in the Fleet. See P. Hammer, *The Polarisation of Elizabethan Politics: the political career of Robert Devereux, second earl of Essex, 1585–1597* (Cambridge, 1999), p. 369.

¹¹⁷⁴ **Syr George Gifford** Sir George Gifford, gentleman-pensioner, was knighted for his service at Cadiz. See *History of Parliament*, II, pp. 189–190.

¹¹⁷⁵ **Sir Rychard Bingham** See n. 1173.

¹¹⁷⁶ **betwne** between.

8 and ix in the morning. It is reported that some of there behavjour was not very good, neyther at Barnett¹¹⁷⁷ nor withe there horses; by the waye sum report they kylled a horse withe a sworde or a dagger, they were so mad hedded, and abused there gwyde verve muche.

Thesise ar furder to certefye your Ladyship. I dyd speke with Nathaniel and Nycolas concernyn [. . .] sayth he wolde [*rest of letter has been torn away*].

181. *Anthony Bacon to Anne Bacon, 15 December 1596*

Draft. LPL 660, fo. 120r–v. 1p.

Endorsed (fo. 120v): A Madame Ann Bacon, le 15me decembre 1596

Madam, my most humble duty remembred.

I humbly thanke your Ladyship for vouchsafing me the sight of your lettres to Mr Secretary, which having perused and finding none ^of those riotours^ named, I asked goodman Crosbye whether he could not tell me any of thier¹¹⁷⁸ names, wheruppon he showed me a little paper mentioning Sir Coniers Clifford, who having bene heretofore a follower of my Lord of Essex and exceedingly bound unto him for all that he hath, I knew his Lordship's censure of his folkes' outrage would be more waightie unto him then all ^of^ my Lord Tresurer's or Mr Secretary's threatnings. I therefore sent that little paper to my Lord of Essex who, very much moved, will put it as a spetiall item with shame enough in his next lettre to the said knight, thanking me for addressing my complaintes unto him without naming Sir Coniers Clifford to any other. Hereof I thought it my parte to advertize your Ladyship, whome ~~for~~ I meane not to trooble at this time with any generall occurrences, but referre my selfe for them to my next. And so I most humbly take my leave.

¹¹⁷⁷**Barnet** Barnet, then in Hertfordshire, is about ten miles from St Albans.

¹¹⁷⁸**thier** their.

182. Anne Bacon to Anthony Bacon, 30 December 1596

Holograph. LPL 653, fo. 316r–v. 1p.

Endorsed (fo. 316v): De Madame Ann Bacon le 31 de decembre 1596

Addressed (fo. 316v): To my sonne Mr Antony Bacon at Essex Howse with some spede

Because yow spake of brawn to my man, I have sent yow, lett quick.¹¹⁷⁹ I have not tasted of it my selff. I thank God for Mr Wyborn, but tyed by the foote, as I may betwixt ryding and hobleing ^on foote^ this hard frosly,¹¹⁸⁰ God be blessed for it, I crawle to the chur[ch]. God make yow able to go well and with ryght stepp.

Fare yow well. Your brother, I heare, at court often. The grace of God gywde him and be with yow both ever.

Gorhambury *penultima Decembris*.¹¹⁸¹

Mater tua,¹¹⁸² AB.

I thank yow for yowr deynties.

183. Anthony Bacon to Anne Bacon, 31 December 1596

Draft. LPL 660, fo. 124r–v. 1p.

Endorsed (fo. 124v): A Madame An Bacon, le 31me decembre 1596

Madam,

I most humbly thanke your Ladyship for ^your^ seasonable provision and am very sorrye to understand of Mr Wiburne's indisposition, but thanke God ^your Ladyship^ doth hould out so well this fear trying and persing¹¹⁸³ wether. For my selfe, I prayse God, the state of my bodye is as good as I looke for, considering that I daylye bere farre more strong and healthy then my selfe to feele and complayne of the rotten weather past and the late sodeine change.

¹¹⁷⁹**brawn** . . . **lett quick** Brawn is a pig's head, boned, rolled, and boiled, then either pickled or potted. When Anne refers to the brawn as 'lett quick', she presumably means that the pig was killed and let of its blood quickly.

¹¹⁸⁰**frosly** It may be that Anne meant 'frosty', but failed to cross the 't'. It is also possible that she meant 'frosly' to signify 'untoward', with 'fros' as a variant of 'fro'. In either case, it seems likely that she was referring to the inclement weather.

¹¹⁸¹**penultima Decembris** [Latin] 'next to last day of December'.

¹¹⁸²**Mater tua** [Latin] 'Your mother'.

¹¹⁸³**persing** perishing or piercing

It hath pleased God to call the Lord Mayor¹¹⁸⁴ and Alderman Houghton,¹¹⁸⁵ the 2 lustiest of their bench,¹¹⁸⁶ both in shorte space. My brother, God be thanked, hath received gracious usage and speach this holly dayes¹¹⁸⁷ of her Majestie, who I hope at the last will vouchsafe to exemplefie her good wordes by some princely reall effects. I thinke meet likewise to advertise your Ladyship that Mr Secretary of late hath professed very seriouslye an absolute ἀμνησία¹¹⁸⁸ of all misconceits passed, with earnest protestation that to the Queene, to his father, or of himselfe he would be gladd and redye to doe me any kinde office if I would make prooffe of him. This is soe much the more comfortable unto me that mine owne conscience doth wittnesse that it is onely God's working and noe way mine owne seking by any base meanes or insinuation. And so beseching God to send your Ladyship ^this new yeare and many more^ full measure of inward comforte and contentment, one grayne whereof is to be preferred befor quintalls¹¹⁸⁹ of worldlye happines, I most humbly take my leave.

184. *Anne Bacon to Anthony Bacon, January 1597*

Holograph. LPL 654, fo. 45r-v. 1p.

Endorsed (fo. 45v): De Madame le mois de janvier 1596

Sonne, the Lorde well ease and heale yow of ^your^ wofull to me payns. I am determind to have nether hawlk of my Lord Chamberlain¹¹⁹⁰ nor Sir Edward Hoby.¹¹⁹¹ The Lord Chamberlain's ^men^ hereafter ^to^ challeng an autoryte¹¹⁹² by it, which I playnly denied in your absence. I wyll geve no such beginning in my tyme certainly. Troble not them therefore. Sir ^Edward^ Hoby is too to ^I wot not what^, I can not

¹¹⁸⁴**Lord Mayor** Thomas Skinner had only taken office as lord mayor on 29 October 1596. See 'Aldermen', in *Analytical Index to the Series of Records Known as the Remembrancia: 1579–1664* (London, 1878), p. 2.

¹¹⁸⁵**Alderman Houghton** Peter Houghton, a member of the Grocers' Company, was elected alderman of Castle Baynard in 1593. See *ibid.*

¹¹⁸⁶**bench** The bench of aldermen.

¹¹⁸⁷**holly dayes** The Christmas holidays.

¹¹⁸⁸ἀμνησία [Greek transliteration] 'amnesia'. It may be that Anthony intended the original Greek word to be used here – ἀμνησία – and that the slight differences are scribal error.

¹¹⁸⁹**quintalls** A quintall is a unit of weight equal to 100 lb.

¹¹⁹⁰**Lord Chamberlain** William Brooke, Lord Cobham, was lord chamberlain from August 1596 to March 1597.

¹¹⁹¹**Sir Edward Hoby** Hoby was Anne's nephew, the eldest son of her sister Elizabeth by her first marriage, to Thomas Hoby.

¹¹⁹²**autoryte** authority.

^tell what^ skyll¹¹⁹³ of him. I wyll nether byrde nor man ^of his^ come to my howse in my absence; to unorderly for me being away to lett him and his alone. Yf Mr Skippwith¹¹⁹⁴ can not gett a hawlk, I know what I wyll do. I wyll have no revell in myne absence; send none, I pray, therfore. I wyll forbyd in dede. I wold yow cowlde your selff, that were joy. Onely Mr Skippwith or none at all. Put not your selff ~~and~~ ner me to nedeless troble in so small a matter. For they shall not once again, I earnestly sett down, and ^so^ wyll make order. More sualter¹¹⁹⁵ in it then yow are ware of. Herafter I wyll holde on in those things as I have begon, *Deo propitio*.¹¹⁹⁶

Mater tua,¹¹⁹⁷ AB.

185. *Anne Bacon to Anthony Bacon, 12 January 1597*

Holograph. LPL 654, fo. 297r-v. 1p.

Endorsed (fo. 297v): De Madame Ann Bacon le 12me de janvier 1596

Addressed (fo. 297v): To my sonne Mr Antony Bacon at Essex Howse with some spede.

σϖ Θεῶ ἡῶ¹¹⁹⁸

In hast for Mr Wyborne's hast away, I thank yow for your delicate wyne, as Mr Wyborn sayth, who tasted fyrst of it. Yf it please yow to send a rondelett,¹¹⁹⁹ as Rowland, my man, sayd yow did meane ^and was reidi^, I pray yow in eny wyse send it upon Fryday next and that your man see it saffe sett in the cart for drawing. For in very dede the last was drawn at least 11 gallons; he that goeth with all must see it laden with charge to the carier, who be now more deere and careless. Upon Saturday ^next^, yf God wyll, I will looke for it and I wyll sett upp my selff saffe before I go hence. I have ben more comfortable this Christyd by the speciall favour of God to me and my howshold by Mr Wyborn's fatherly and holsome heavenly instructions, besyde the publick. But for the communion this next Sabbath, where I trust

¹¹⁹³skyll understand, comprehend.

¹¹⁹⁴Mr Skippwith Presumably one of the sons of William Skipwith of St Peter's Street in St Albans, elected MP for the town in 1571. The Skipwith and Bacon families were distantly related through marriage: William Skipwith's aunt was the sister of Sir Ralph Rowlett, whose second wife had been Margaret Cooke, sister to Anne Bacon. Letters of administration were granted to William's son Stephen on 27 June 1595, so his father must have died earlier that year. See *History of Parliament*, III, p. 392.

¹¹⁹⁵sualter swalter, i.e. time-wasting.

¹¹⁹⁶*Deo propitio* [Latin] 'God willing'.

¹¹⁹⁷*Mater tua* [Latin] 'Your mother'.

¹¹⁹⁸σϖ Θεῶ ἡῶ [Greek] '[Greetings] to your Lord'.

¹¹⁹⁹rondelett A rundlet was a casket or vessel for carrying wine.

with my hole howsehold to be, with the blessing of God, I had gone hence this week; on Wenseday ^{next} furdest I purpose, yf not before. I have not sene Crossby yet towching your colliar,¹²⁰⁰ this day I looke for him. He hath much busines, it shalbe browght. *Cura cura ut quam optime valeas.*¹²⁰¹ Yf Mr Wyborn had not dieted thin and in season, he shuld have ben worse handled *cum podagra.*¹²⁰² Gorhambury 12 *Januarius*.

ABacon.

186. *Anne Bacon to Anthony Bacon, 20 January 1597*

Holograph. LPL 654, fos 43r–44v. 2pp.

Endorsed (fo. 44v): De Madame le 21me de janvier 1596

*Addressed (fo. 44v): My sonne Mr Antonye Bacon. Cura ut tempestive edas et dormias sanat crudos humoris.*¹²⁰³

*Salutem in Christo.*¹²⁰⁴

Si,¹²⁰⁵ my goode sonn, that by the handy work of the Lorde in ^{both}, nether of us cowlde see one another being no further distant, I thought at my retturn hether to wryte as I cowlde to yow. Lett us both know it is the Lord's fatherly correction to both and desyre grace to make profitt of it to our inwarde healing. Though my late increased pain in *superficie cutis*¹²⁰⁶ be soden and extraordinary to me and may partly suspect some venom to be drunk with those block wormes I tooke in drink 4 times, ~~of them half a pint~~ ^{about} ^{half} a pint of them[^], yet yow know the learned do call *senectus ipsa morbus*,¹²⁰⁷ which synce my qwartan¹²⁰⁸ I fynde by diverse accidents to be tru and very paynful, and I humbly acknowledg ^{God's} mercy that moveth my mynde to take age, syckliness ^{and infirmitees} being naturall, as well as yowth's health. And ^{yf} I use such goode means by counsell and diett as may make my unacquainted payne more tollerable, and I fynde much ease by ^{thinn} diet, wholsome and[^] earlier suppers before

¹²⁰⁰ **colliar** coal merchant.

¹²⁰¹ *Cura . . . valeas* [Latin] 'You must take care, take care, so that you have the best possible health'.

¹²⁰² *cum podagra* [Latin] 'with gout'.

¹²⁰³ *Cura . . . humoris* [Latin] 'Take care to eat and sleep at the right times; this cures the raw humours'.

¹²⁰⁴ *Salutem in Christo* [Latin] 'Greetings in Christ'.

¹²⁰⁵ *Si* [Latin] 'since'.

¹²⁰⁶ *superficie cutis* [Latin] 'the surface of the skin'.

¹²⁰⁷ *senectus . . . morbus* [Latin] 'old age itself a disease'. See Terence, *Phormio*, 4.1.9.

¹²⁰⁸ **qwartan** Quartan fever. See p. 150, n. 463.

vi, and clean usuall drink and never in the night and seldome in morning or betwixt meales.

Yf I shulde say true, your continuall, uncomfortable state of body doleth what greeffs God sendeth me, besyde [^]cherfull[^] patience [^]in your disease[^] is necessary and the Lorde hath pitie of his chyldern. But lett your patience [^]be grownd[^] upon humbling your selff and prayour and meditation to God to beare patiently his wyll, which is allweyes just and holy; and also upon goode hope [^]and expectation[^] of his fatherly comfortable restoring in his goode tyme, not ceassing by earnest and faythfull prayour to call upon him with confidence in his tender mercy in Christ our Lorde, and regarde your diet [^]and healthy good order[^] diligently and seasonably for eny. Yf your health did serve yow might do much goode even [^]here[^] among, but when the Lorde shall please, but *aude comit omni modo accuratissime*.¹²⁰⁹ So my God hath bestowed gyfts; labour to employ them *in tua persona*¹²¹⁰ and I lament your continuall [^]bodily[^] impotency the more, because yow are therby, as it were, cast of and unable for the comfort of the publick ministry, a greavous want, whereby yowr tru understanding judgment and knowledge are, and must nedes be, greatly hindered and weakned, and yow less able to discern aright betwixt spirituall and naturall flesh and the spirit. Labour therfore by harty prayour to God to heale yow every way to your comfort, and in the mean whyle be glad and religiously entertein the godly learned when they come to yow, that at length yow may have some privat conference and howsholde reading [^]and[^] prayour reverently and dayly as is commanded; [^]the[^] morning and evening [^]sanctifye[^] in eny wyse, goode sonne. And never be afrayd to avow your Christian estimation of the godly preachers before *ένρι όουαρδ*,¹²¹¹ *τεχνησ πληρον*,¹²¹² or eny other. It is a goode report of yow and due, being continuall syckly; he is to much with yow. God kepe the goode Earle saffe.

[*Left-hand margin*] I feele, I thank God, the fury of my [^]outward[^] corruption somewhat abated and my stomack amending somewhat. I yeelde my selff to the goodness of my hevenly Father and yours. *Cura diligenter et timore*.¹²¹³ Gorhambury 20 January. AB, *mater tua*.¹²¹⁴

¹²⁰⁹ *aude comit[er] . . . accuratissime* [Latin] ‘act boldly, affably, and most carefully in every way’.

¹²¹⁰ *in tua persona* [Latin] ‘in your [outward] persona’.

¹²¹¹ *ένρι όουαρδ* [Greek transliteration] ‘Henri Howard’, i.e. Henry Howard.

¹²¹² *τεχνησ πληρον* [Greek] ‘full of skill’.

¹²¹³ *Cura . . . timore* [Latin] ‘Take diligent care and with fear [of God]’.

¹²¹⁴ *mater tua* [Latin] ‘your mother’.

187. Anthony Bacon to Anne Bacon, 22 January 1597

Draft. LPL 654, fo. 295r–v. 1p.

Endorsed (fo. 295v): A Madame Ann Bacon, le 22me de janvier 1596

Maye it please your Ladyship to be advertised that my humble desire is that your Ladyship would signe a deede of mortgage of Cheedor,¹²¹⁵ wherein my brother and my self likewise joyned, and for that purpose a master of the Chancery is appointed to attende your Ladyship at three of clocke as a witness of recorde. The rent is to be continued still to your Ladyship till I have perfected the sale. And so likewise of Napesburie,¹²¹⁶ ~~yt beinge farr more advantageous for me to satisfie your Ladyship the rent so that your Ladyship is no looser and I eased and inabled to satisfie pressinge debtes. And so I moste humbly take my leave.~~

188. Anne Bacon to Anthony Bacon, 25 January 1597

Holograph. LPL 654, fos 47r–48v. 2pp.

Endorsed (fo. 48v): De Madame le 27me de janvier 96

Addressed (fo. 48v): To my sonne Mr Antony Bacon at Essex Howse

Grace and mercy *matri et filio per Christum*.¹²¹⁷

I verily think this sharpe weather doth stirr the gowt in yow paynfully. Your father, besyde other, in spring tyme felt often of it and sharpely. The Lorde heale yow in his mercy to your own comfort and others that love yow well in the Lorde. I heare that ther is disagreement in Abon town,¹²¹⁸ wher owght not. By reason of continuall sycklines and therby lack of experience, yow may be missinformed and misled. Comber not your selff much with their envieing and undiscrete doings. There is fawt, as is thowght, in those that take them selff wysest and do take upon them. Some say that the Maior¹²¹⁹ for his understanding procedeth carefully and not contentiously, unprovoked and uncondemned. Mr *Κλαρκε*¹²²⁰ is an honest man and

¹²¹⁵ **Cheedor** Nicholas Bacon I had purchased land with an annual rent of £30 in Cheddar in Somerset in 1553. See *Wealth of the Gentry*, p. 49.

¹²¹⁶ **Napesburie** On 10 November 1593, Anne had given Anthony her life interest in the manor of Napsbury, which Anthony now wanted to sell. See ‘Money-lenders’, pp. 240–241.

¹²¹⁷ *matri . . . Christum* [Latin] ‘to the mother and son through Christ’.

¹²¹⁸ **Abon town** St Albans.

¹²¹⁹ **Maior** The mayor in 1597 was John Saunders; his predecessor for 1596 was Robert Shrimpton. See *Corporation Records*, p. 292.

¹²²⁰ *Κλαρκε* [Greek transliteration] ‘Klarke’, i.e. John Clark. See p. 119, n. 302.

so hath ben cownted even in your father's tyme for an *oppidanus*.¹²²¹ But when was it seene that an inholder shulde be made a Justice of Peace in his own such howse, though against his wyll, must nedes be disorder and how in dede fitt to redress. They two band with too much note to do evenly. I pray yow lett not my writing be red of eny but your selff. Yow are to open *ut antea saepius monui, utinam monita matris plus sapuissent palato tua fortasse multo in meliore statu vixisse et tibi et tuis, sed omni in bonitate dei mei acquiesco, non sine bona spe*.¹²²²

Theris a tinde¹²²³ of report that Streatly by your means shulde succede Mr Thomas.¹²²⁴ Surely, sonne, yf it shulde be so yow wyll sustein much discredit by him. I trust yow regarde more the great charge necessitie and duty of a religious sufficient scoolemaster, furnished with godliness with his teaching and wyse discretion, then carnall frendshipp to seek to place one that wanteth all these. He hath not been but ill spoken of and reconed *inpudicus et effrenis*,¹²²⁵ *forte grammata risui*.¹²²⁶ Well, I deale playnly herin *coram deo*,¹²²⁷ who direct yow in this speciaall. Your father rejoyced that God sent him such a man as the late was and did much encourag him, commending him in my hearing and to me *persepe*.¹²²⁸ I shulde be sory that yow, his sonne, shulde displease and dislyke many by a partiall choyce, to the hindrance of your good opinion for judgment and Christian, religious consideration by such a corrupt fantastick person.

Brute¹²²⁹ goes here yow wolde sell Napsbury.¹²³⁰ I hope yow mean it not. The chiefest manor hereabowts. I wolde be sory to see but rather stay what I may for diverse respects. But yesterday, the Lord's day, being at the parish church, one asked by me the question, who I looked not shulde heare or deale in such matters and sayde that

¹²²¹ *oppidanus* [Latin] 'townsman'.

¹²²² *ut . . . spe* [Latin] 'as I have warned often previously. If only your mother's warnings had been more to your taste, perhaps you would have lived in a much better position for you and for yours, but in all things I rest in the goodness of my God, not without good hope'.

¹²²³ *tinde* rumour.

¹²²⁴ **Theris . . . Mr Thomas** John Thomas, a Dutch Calvinist, had been appointed as master of St Albans grammar school by Nicholas Bacon I. When Thomas died on 13 January 1597, his successor was a matter of great local concern. John Clark recommended one Mr Stretley to Anthony Bacon. For more see W. Urwick, *Nonconformity in Herts. Being Lectures upon the Non-conforming Worthies of St Albans and Memorials of Puritanism and Nonconformity in All the Parishes of the County of Hertford* (London, 1884), p. 83, n. 1; *Cooke Sisters*, pp. 188–189.

¹²²⁵ *inpudicus et effrenis* [Latin] 'unchaste and unruly'.

¹²²⁶ *forte . . . risui* [Latin] 'as it happens his grammar is laughable'.

¹²²⁷ *coram deo* [Latin] 'before God'.

¹²²⁸ *pers[a]jepe* [Latin] 'very often'.

¹²²⁹ **Brute** bruit, i.e. rumour.

¹²³⁰ **Brute . . . Napsbury** Edward Briscoe gave Anthony Bacon £700 for Napsbury manor on 10 May 1597; licence to alienate Napsbury to Edward Briscoe and his son and heir, also named Edward, was given on 2 September 1597. See 'Money-lenders', p. 245.

Mr Fuller¹²³¹ had desyred a frend in these parties to harken owt some manor for him to buy ^and was desirous of it^. Though I cowlde lyke of Mr Fuller better, ^*legis peritus*,¹²³² then other for him selff, I was, I promiss yow, much offended with the motion as a thing I greatly do and shall mislyke. Have yow no hope of posterite? Only my chyldern cownted in the worlde unworthy their father's care and provyding for them. Barly and Pinne, yf yow had kept them, wolde have ben above iv C markes a yere to yow.¹²³³ Do not, I pray yow, make your selff a by-word both here and to such as are but your halff frends by so selling to your great lack and encombrance to this howse many wayes. And to descent, your sonnes, yowng sonnes in latter tymes, are blessed posterite and ^it^ wolde be well issued ^for them^. I shulde have ben happy to have seene chylder's chylder but Franncce spoyled me and myne. God comfort us all, I humbly besech him, and look favorably upon ^us^ in Chris[t], his one dearly beloved אמן.¹²³⁴ Marke well *quo animo haec scribo*.¹²³⁵ And God bless yow wyth health and graciously supply your wants.

Gorhambury 25 January.

Mater tua,¹²³⁶ AB.

189. *Anne Bacon to Edward Stanhope, 14 February 1597*

Copy. LPL 655, fo. 95r–v. 1p.

Endorsed (fo. 95v): De Madame a Mr Dr Stanhope, le 14ime de fevrier 1596

Addressed (fo. 95r): To Mr Doctor Stanhop give these.

Sir.

I cannot but marvell what ails yow, Mr Doctor, still to vex the godlie ministers of Christ and by your undeserved excommunication to hinder the glorie of God so pittifully.¹²³⁷ I understand yow have thus ungodlie delt with Mr Bradelie, the preacher at Redburne, an honest man and carefull by his godlie paines to make the gainsaying and

¹²³¹ **Mr Fuller** Nicholas Fuller. See p. 116, n. 277.

¹²³² ***legis peritus*** [Latin] 'an expert of the law'.

¹²³³ **Barly . . . yere to you** Anthony had sold Barley in 1593 to John Spencer. It is not known when he sold Pinner park and farm. For the sale of Barley, see p. 108, n. 232.

¹²³⁴ אמן [Hebrew] 'Amen'.

¹²³⁵ ***quo animo haec scribo*** [Latin] 'in which spirit, I write these words'.

¹²³⁶ ***Mater tua*** [Latin] 'Your mother'.

¹²³⁷ **I cannot . . . pittifully** Rudolph Bradley, Anne's clergyman at Redbourn, had been declared excommunicate by Edward Stanhope. For Stanhope, see p. 253, n. 1067; *Cooke Sisters*, pp. 181–182.

waiward people¹²³⁸ to become the people of God. Besides that the cause, being God's cause, ought nerelie to touch anie Christian hart, I take my selfe bound, since he was there lawfully placed by me, to assist him and to further him in his ministrie to the advauncing therby of God's honor. For he is neither a proud man nor carelesse of his famelie, nor contentious, but to winne the hard harted to tollerating; yow can chardge him with no materiall just cause, I dare ansuer, if not to gentle among such alenolling¹²³⁹ and bad people most part, and yow would have them so still if yow bereave them of the meanes of trew conversion. By report, the enemies of God, of her Majestie and of our cuntrie are mighty and with cruell and fiery hartes preparing the readie ^to the pray^ and spoile of us all.¹²⁴⁰ We had need with most humble submission intreat the Lord of hostes to be with us and on our side by publick fasting and unfained humilation, and that throughout¹²⁴¹ the land, and not presumptuouslie to beat back his faithfull and appointed servantes by his owne selfe, to stand in the gapp betwene God and us, to torne away his wrath so greatlie provoked daily by the fearfull contempt of his holie gospell, to hevelie and lamentable manifested every where by our professed wickednes and most carnall securitie. I pray you, Sir, remember well your selfe and heap not thus God's displeasure uppon you, but incuradge the faithfull and painefull preachers of Jesu Christ that they maie labour comfortablie. Our life is uncertaine and riches speciallie gotten by partaking against God and increase of his trew honour will not availe in the day of his wrath, 'For he is a consuming fier' saith the holie prophet.¹²⁴² I desire you hartely to remember and to your power to remedie this great undoing if¹²⁴³ her Majestie's people. Yf yow saw the grevous disturbance of a parish by disgracing and dissevering their godlie minister from them yow would, I am sure, both for conscience to God and your allegiance to our gracious soveraigne, avoid all occasions of such pernicious disquieting of the hartes of her good subjectes, who by the ghospell preached sincerelie amongst them love, dread and redelie obey her with willing hartes, and thatt of verie conscience pull away the good working meanes, yow kill their hartes and make them but sad and dull, either to serve God or her Majestie.

¹²³⁸ **gainsaying . . . people** See Romans 10:21.

¹²³⁹ **alenolling** Presumably 'ale-swigging'.

¹²⁴⁰ **to the . . . us all** See Ezekiel 29:19.

¹²⁴¹ **throughout** throughout.

¹²⁴² **For . . . holie prophet** See Deuteromy 4:24; Hebrews 12:29.

¹²⁴³ **if** of.

It is to trew by to much experience, God help us. I commend yow and my selfe also to the grace of God in Christ.

Fleetstreete

In the Lord, ABacon, your sicklie and
auntient cosin, late Lord Keper's widow.

**190. Anne Bacon to Robert Devereux, earl of Essex,
15 February 1597**

Copy. LPL 655, fo. 215r–v. 1p.

Endorsed (fo. 215v): *Le Madame Ann Bacon au Comte D'Essex le 15me le fevrier 1596*

Addressed (fo. 215r): To my very good Lord, the Earl of Essex, worth¹²⁴⁴ noble

My very singuler good Lorde.

I humbly desire your Lordship to vouchsafe to read this lettre inclosed, bycause this very first advertisement is sent me from a good preacher thereabout, one Mr Dike, now at Hemsted parish.¹²⁴⁵ I am bould and tooke it my dutie to lett your Lordship understand the contents by his owne lettres; I could not well devide that cheife pointe, which I pray your good Lord to peruse bycause it concernes ^yow^ and yow could not have bene sure it came to me from the preacher indeed *sua sponte*.¹²⁴⁶ The Lord of heaven and earth prosper yow longe in the one with his continuall grace and favour and spare yow for the other everlastinglye.

*A Fleetstreet.
15 fevrier.*¹²⁴⁷

In the Lord, as I have great cause, *ab imo pectore*.¹²⁴⁸

AB Χηρα.¹²⁴⁹

¹²⁴⁴worth Presumably 'worthy'.

¹²⁴⁵Mr Dike . . . parish William Dike, who had previously been installed by Anne as assistant curate of St Michael's parish, close to Gorbambury, had been living in Hemel Hempstead since 1591, apparently at the invitation of the clergyman there, as well as at the request of the parishioners. See *Cooke Sisters*, p. 183. Essex had already helped secure Dike the living of Hemel Hempstead in October 1594. See LPL 650, fos 287r–288v.

¹²⁴⁶*sua sponte* [Latin] 'of his own accord'.

¹²⁴⁷A . . . fevrier [French] 'At Fleet Street. 15 February'. Presumably this subscription was not in French in the original version of the letter.

¹²⁴⁸*ab imo pectore* [Latin] 'from the innermost heart'.

¹²⁴⁹Χηρα [Greek] 'widow'.

191. Anne Bacon to Anthony Bacon, 1 March 1597

Holograph. LPL 656, fo. 49r–v. 1p.

Endorsed (fo. 49v): De Madame, le 2me de mars 1596

Addressed (fo. 49v): To my sonne Bacon

Sonne, Mr Dyke him selff wyll declare the matter to yow. He desyareth your carefull furtherance to helpe his sute to the Earle. The learned man hath great charge and yf my Lord may by his favorable ^letter^ further his sute, it wyll comfort him in his godly payns. Consider well and do discretely and yet hartely herin, yf yow may well. God make yow able to serve him in personall action with his dayly blessing.

Gorhambury *primo Martii*.¹²⁵⁰

Your moother,
AB.

192. Anthony Bacon to Anne Bacon, 9 March 1597

Draft. LPL 656, fo. 5r–v. 1p.

Endorsed (fo. 5v): A Madame, le 9me de mars 1596

Madame, my most humble duty remembered.

My cosen Robert Bacon, havinge determined to imploie your Ladyship's meadiation and furthermore by lettre to my Lord Tresurer in the behalf of his nece, my cosen, Mrs Terrill,¹²⁵¹ I could doe no lesse in acknowledgment of his confidence and spetiall kindenes towars¹²⁵² me then accompainie him withe these fewe lines, and most humblie besече your Ladyship to recomende this and his nece's sute unto my Lord Tresurer, ~~when I hope~~ whose Lordship, I hope, in wisdom will shewe himselfe no les willinge, then in honor and kindnes he is bounde to gratefie your Ladyship. And so I most humbly take my leave.

Your Ladyship's most humble and obedient sonne.

¹²⁵⁰*primo Martii* [Latin] 'first of March'.

¹²⁵¹**Mrs Terrill** Presumably the wife of Edward Tyrell, a ward of Nicholas Bacon I, who matriculated with Anthony and Francis at Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1573.

¹²⁵²**towars** towards.

**193. Anne Bacon to William Cecil, Lord Burghley,
10 March 1597**

Copy. LPL 656, fos 95r–96v. 2pp.

Endorsed (fo. 96v): De Madame Bacon a Mr le Grand Tresorier, le gme de mars

1596

Addressed (96v): To the right honourable, my singular good Lord, Lord Treasurer of England

My singular good Lord.

Now I humblie desire your honour to licence me to write in some what a more unaccustomed stile unto your good Lordship. I perceave by this gentleman, Mr Robert Bacon, my Lord that was his eldest brother's onelie sonne, that he hath made some meane allreadie unto your Lordship for the wardshipp of Mr Tyrell, to whose mother he is uncle.¹²⁵³ I confes trulie unto your honour that after he had requested me, being his allied aunt, to add my poore furtherance in this sort unto your Lordship for your obtaining of the same, I was ever very willing and readie to trooble your honour thus much for him. Beseching your Lordship humbly and hartelie to be good Lord¹²⁵⁴ unto him in this his sute, proceding ^{more} from a naturall and kind affection for the good of the mother, warde, and thother children, then for any profit he meaneth to make by them. I dare assure your honour hereof for of long I have well knowen what trew, frendlie care he hath and had as a brother and as an uncle unto his kindred, discretlie and comfortably to his power, which naturall part manie omitt now adayes. Surelie, my ever good Lord, if it may please yow to lett him have that nere kin wardship and that intirelie without deviding of it, I am perswaded your Lordship shall not better bestow such a benefitt, in both respect of the widow and her other children, as of the ward him selfe, who I know shall find him by the grace of God as a loving uncle-father in all kind dutie with wise usage and a good conscience, wherfore as may become me, I hartelie intreat your Lordship that he may gratuslie obtaine your honourable favour to the full obtaining this, his naturall sute to so good and¹²⁵⁵ end, which I am sure he purposeth unfeynedlie, the Lord guiding him. Good Lord, excuse this my earnest maner in his behalfe, being the first matter he ever required of me. And gladlie would shew my hartie good will to him in respect he was so nere my

¹²⁵³**I perceave . . . uncle** For Robert Bacon's past efforts regarding this wardship, see *Cooke Sisters*, pp. 143–144.

¹²⁵⁴**to be good Lord** to be a good lord.

¹²⁵⁵**and an.**

Lord and under your Lordship's leave one that I take to be afitt¹²⁵⁶ tutor every way. And I shall accompt my selfe as for your

[*fō. 96v*] other honourable acceptance of my constreyned bouldnes, even for this onlie very matter very much bound unto your honour. The God of all grace and comfort continew your good estate to your godlie, hartie joy and comfort of many. Gorhambury 10 *Martii*.

In the Lord,
unfeynedlie allwayes,
ABacon.
Late Lord Keper's widow.

194. *Anne Bacon to Anthony Bacon, 18 March 1597*

Holograph. LPL 656, fos 47r–48v. 2pp.

Endorsed (fō. 48v): De Madame, le 19me de mars 1596

Addressed: To my sonne Mr Anthony Bacon at Essex Howse

*υστερον προτερον.*¹²⁵⁷

Grace and health.

I sent my seale ring fastened to a litle psalme boke in meeter by my cosin Bacon.¹²⁵⁸ I think yow know. Sende it saff, I pray yow, yf not well before, then by Thomas Knite, in eny wyse next weeke. I desyred the bearer heroff, Robert Smyth, the carier, to go with this lettre hym selff and to speak with yow. His byll for cariag and another for coales are so confused and exceeding that it to plainly appeareth yow have none that careth for your profit. I know not why your cariages shulde be appointed by eny of your men whosoever to me and yf yow wolde upon cawse have eny, then lett it be down orderly and sygned by your selff. For his byll of xvi li browght me by him for coales is monstrous. I had lyke to have torn it but that he browght it me him selff. Your father nether in London nor here spent so many in two yeres and was as ^well^ cherised¹²⁵⁹ in his gowte and syckness and better ^too^ in goode order of expences, which yow want and so runn on in dett as yow do. I turned back the coales byll by him again. Yow had of me

¹²⁵⁶ **afitt** a fit.

¹²⁵⁷ *υστερον προτερον* [Greek] 'the later earlier'. This must refer to some element of the letter-writing process, perhaps that a letter written later was sent first.

¹²⁵⁸ **I sent . . . Bacon** As the book is specified as a little volume, Robert Bacon seems to have been given one of the smaller versions of Sternhold and Hopkins' psalter to take to Anthony. See H. Hamlin, *Psalm Culture and Early Modern Literature* (Cambridge, 2004), p. 39.

¹²⁵⁹ **cherised** cherished.

for coales at London upon occasion of meeting the woman there, who sayde she cam for mony for coales, vi li abowt Hollantyde;¹²⁶⁰ when I saw yow ^last^ yow reqwyred of me viii li for coales, then by Crossby I was demanded ix li, one pound more then yow named, where with I was not content, but never the less, though I may but ill being owt of mony and compelled to borow to pay this next quarter's ways, I have delivered Crossby the ix li and odd shilling. For the rest ^for coales,^ I wyll not nor can pay. Yf I may know from your selff what cariag yow have had in dede, and sende it noted by this Mr Smyth, it may be I wyll pay it. But to have horses sent hether and sent for I wot not by whome nor for whome, only by your bowlde oversawcy masters ^rather^ then servants, for I must not be appoynted, nether wyll I allow it so. For no horse shall be hether or sent hence, of eny of my servants, but by my commandment. Elce I geve over my autorite to my inferiours, which I think is a discredit ^to eny of accompt^ that knows rightly their place from God and pray for grace to use it well ^and^ in goode order. I may think much lack of kindenes and duty in yow and your brother that never write to me. I wolde know how my cosin Bacon did with my Lord Tresurer for the warde¹²⁶¹ (but for him I wold not have written, nor of Mr Wolley's deall), nor where your brother tarieth the rest of this Lent and how it is with yow both. It greves me and I feare thaccess to yow styll of hollow *όουαρδ*.¹²⁶² God kepe the *Εαρλε*.¹²⁶³ from being seduced by such. I pray remember to pay your scrivener's dett. I looked for and yow owght in duty to have sent me or¹²⁶⁴ this your bond. I pray forget it no lenger, but let me have it shortly. Speak with Smyth your selff and take goode order with him.

[*Left-hand margin*] The Lorde geve good understa[nd]ing and goode health with his many blessings. *Sape tibi ipsi quoque ne forte*.¹²⁶⁵

Gorhambury 18 Martii.

Mater tua,¹²⁶⁶ AB.

¹²⁶⁰**Hollantyde** Shortened version of All-Hollantide or All Hallowtide, namely All Hallows' or All Saints' Day, 1 November.

¹²⁶¹**I wolde . . . warde** See 193.

¹²⁶²*όουαρδ* [Greek transliteration] 'Howard', i.e. Henry Howard.

¹²⁶³*Εαρλε* [Greek transliteration] 'Earle', i.e. the earl of Essex.

¹²⁶⁴**or** before.

¹²⁶⁵*Sape . . . forte* [Latin] 'You must discern for yourself also lest perhaps'.

¹²⁶⁶*Mater tua* [Latin] 'Your mother'.

195. Anthony Bacon to Anne Bacon, 24 March 1597

Draft. LPL 656, fo. 7r–v. 1p.

Endorsed (fo. 7v): A Madame, le 24eme de mars 1596

Madam,

Your Ladyship shall receive by Thomas Knight, according to your appointment, your seale and booke, for the which my cosen, Robert Bacon, rendreth by your Ladyship together, withe the remembrance of his dutie, most humble thankes, deferring to write unto your Ladyship till he be ~~more~~ assured by some good effectes, which my Lord Tresorer's sickness and exceding great business, ~~he taking~~ my cosen taking all thinges at the best, hath hetherto delayed. For Smith's bill, I tould him that what soever remained to be paid, I would satisfie. For ~~my catt~~ any cartte's bill notes, and I my selfe remember it nor he demaunded any thing of me, praying your Ladyship to thinke that what occasion soever I have yett, it shall be alwayes more contentment to me to receive nothing ~~fr~~ atall from your Ladyship, than how much soever with any disquietnes of minde or troublesome conceiptes, which springing many times more out of jealousy and motherlie apprehension, then out of truth, trooble your Ladyship more then they can profit me. My brother is well, thankes be to God, and some times heare, or therwhile at Twitnam. And so I most humblie take my leave.

196. Anne Bacon to Anthony Bacon, [before August 1598]¹²⁶⁷

Holograph. LPL 653, fo. 337r–v. 1p. Damaged.

Endorsed (fo. 337v): lettre de Madame

God bles yow with nedefull health, inwarde and owtwarde. Yow purge styl; me thinkes it shuld make nature nether to work digestion ner strength being so long still pulled. What custom of phisick hath done in yow God knows and yow me thinks feele. He helpe it in mercy.

I wolde gladly know when and how you sell Redborn. I think abowt 2 of the clock at furthest this day my Lady Pawlett wyll know certainly for the lending me one C li as I lately wrote to her and she halff promised. But selling Redborn I wyll troble no more frends to borow,

¹²⁶⁷ [before August 1598] The internal evidence makes it difficult to place this undated letter. Redbourn was sold to Edmund Bressey in August 1598, so it was written before that date. Margaret Paulet did not die until 1602.

for yow and your brother must be all bownde for it. I have nothing to answer such detts.

Even as I had wrote thus farr, my Lady Paulett sent me worde by her kinsman that she was sory she cowlde not lend me a C li as I desyred but herafter yf L li wyll stande me, she wyll for that sum she sayth. I was glad I knew this so soone. I wyll ceass to troble eny moe,¹²⁶⁸ growing syckly as I do and being behinde hand. Do wysely for Redborn and be owt of dett as soone as yow can and that don geve your selff to serve the Lorde with all your hart and look to your health that God may bless yow with a good marriage to your comfort. Wee must trust in the Lorde but with well doing, with our fayth first fownded upon Christ ^and his worde^. I thank God my physick proved well.

Kepe the affected parts warme.

Your moother, AB.

Sende me plain worde.

197. *Anne Bacon to Nicholas Bacon II, 3 March 1600*

Holograph from 'in the Lord'. Chicago 4167. 2pp.

Addressed: To my lovinge sonne Sir Nicholas Bacon at Colford.¹²⁶⁹
Deliver this.

Sir Nicholas Bacon, I commende me unto yow, and to your Ladye, hopinge of your good health. I thancke God my owne health ys not verye good, but I beare yt with pacience. And I thincke my selfe beholdinge to yow for havinge care of payenge me myne anuytie in good tyme for I have neede of yt alwayes before yt commeth to my handes. At this tyme yow have written to one Mr Cooke to paye me a hundered poundes at the Ladye Daye next,¹²⁷⁰ of whome I shalbe verye well content to receive yt yf he paye yt to me then, but if he dothe fayle me and yow then, at the daye, I hope yow will have care of me, to see me payed. And so with prayer to God for this tyme I leave yow to his protection. From my lodinge¹²⁷¹ in Fleete Streete this third of Marche 1599.

Your Lordship's mother,
in the Lord,
very frend, ABacon *Xηρα*.¹²⁷²

¹²⁶⁸ **moe** more.

¹²⁶⁹ **Colford** Nicholas Bacon II had purchased the Culford Hall estate in Suffolk in 1586.

¹²⁷⁰ **Lady Daye next** See p. 107, n. 226.

¹²⁷¹ **lodinge** lodging.

¹²⁷² **Xηρα** [Greek] 'widow'.