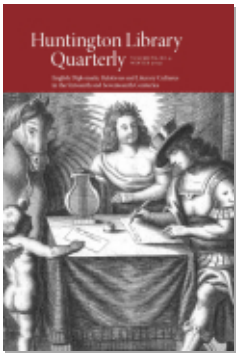
Diplomatic Letters as Political Literature: Copying Sir Henry Unton's Letters



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ABSTRACT This essay examines the letter-books that record the correspondence of Sir Henry Unton, resident ambassador to Henry IV of France from 1591–92 and again in 1595–96. Several (different) copies of his letter-book survive, raising questions about their origin and their social, political, and antiquarian value. Evidence of textual elision in one copy suggests conscious editing, supporting a theory that diplomatic letters functioned as more than ephemeral carriers of information. The corpus of letters left by an embassy represented its lasting written record, and the compiling of select letters into a discrete collection was one of several reputation management techniques open to the vulnerable aspirant within the competitive political environment of the late sixteenth century. **KEYWORDS**: epistolary records; Elizabethan diplomacy; Thomas Edmondes; Robert Cecil; Essexiana

THIS ESSAY IS ABOUT INFORMATION MANAGEMENT and the social value of letters—specifically, how missives written by diplomatic agents abroad were used and manipulated after they were sent. I will argue that this afterlife of diplomatic dispatches is not imposed on otherwise ephemeral and passive letters; rather, their later use and representational, collective value exists as part of their active, intentional life. These acutely self-conscious letters of embassy were writings with political and social weight, for the individual diplomat and others. For geographically estranged and thus politically vulnerable courtiers, the letter was a primary tool for navigating relationships and managing their reputation, though one that was neither unproblematic nor sure of success. This essay will offer an examination of the letter-book(s) of Henry Unton, a soldier-diplomat who, while well known, often appears only in the footnotes of other people's stories. Such relegation to supporting narrative is likewise typical

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of what happens to such letter-books: they are pillaged for fact and narrative rather than considered worthy of examination in their own right. Attending closely to the context and form of Unton's letter-book engages issues of self-representation and reputation management, manuscript transmission, and early archival practices, and it enables us to understand more about the role, usage, and features of the sixteenth-century diplomatic letter-book more generally.[1]

Diplomatic letters were a valuable written product, and their production was a daily and time-consuming task. Timothy Hampton points to the centrality of writing in the embassy, describing early modern diplomacy as "a political practice that is also a writing practice" and emphasizing the overlap between diplomat and author.[2] Ten years before Hampton, Lynne Magnusson argued that "if the vernacular letter is a chief instrument in early modern England of state government, then the practices of government must be closely caught up with the practices of letter-writing."[3] This essay will build on this idea and consider letters not just as a paper trail but also as a written body intentionally crafted to form one of the fruits of a diplomatic mission. I here define a letter-book as a consciously constructed epistolary entry book, or neat write-up, usually compiled at or near the time the original letters were sent, where they are transcribed one after another, typically with date and delivery details. Letter-books reflect a creative intention, which means that they can stand as evidence of the use and value of the written corpus en masse in a way that loose papers cannot. The collective context of a contemporary letter-book changes the function of its informational content. Individual letters are no longer prized for conveying fresh, fast, and exclusive intelligence, or for performing an individual act of social maintenance. Instead, the letters become collectively representative of the ambassador and his work, and serve as a more lasting informational and political resource on the embassy. Considering diplomatic letters beyond their initial sending allows us to understand these objects as political, historical, and even literary collections.

At first glance, the letter-book might seem somewhat prosaic. There is little critical attention given to letter-books as a significant but by no means universal feature of Elizabethan diplomacy: their existence is either unquestioningly assumed or entirely ignored.[4] The administrative practice of keeping letter-books is not particularly surprising for an epistolary culture that invested literary, intellectual, and political weight in the letter form—a culture in which the letter could easily break through

1. For a wider reevaluation of diplomatic letter-books, see Elizabeth Williamson, *Elizabethan Diplomacy and Epistolary Culture* (New York, forthcoming).

2. Timothy Hampton, *Fictions of Embassy: Literature and Diplomacy in Early Modern Europe* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2009), 7.

3. Lynne Magnusson, *Shakespeare and Social Dialogue: Dramatic Language and Elizabethan Letters* (Cambridge, 1999), 100.

4. For instance, Garrett Mattingly leaves the content, production, and use of "The embassy files" unexplored in *Renaissance Diplomacy* (London, 1955), 208.

its conception as a portable convenience, or cipher for speech, to become intellectual discourse, advisory treatise, self-publication, and so on. This culture has been well documented for the early modern letter taken singly and for the printed letter collection, and to some degree for the scribal publication of certain famous letters, all of which has contributed to anatomizing the complex nature of the letter as form.[5] However, little attention has been paid to the letter-book—especially the diplomatic letter-book—as informational object: if the singular letter can easily become more than a transparent container of information, then any volume of letters that has been consciously constructed as a discrete unit in and of itself is surely worthy of further investigation.

Henry Unton is an effective anchor for these discussions.[6] The material traces of his life are multiple, preserved both by his cultural presence as a patron of writers, travelers, and scholars and by the survival and reproduction of the diplomatic letter-book that records his role as ambassador to France. He also wrote a now-lost discourse on diplomacy. Unton was well connected to political heavyweights such as Sir Christopher Hatton and William Cecil, Lord Burghley, and he was active as a member of Parliament, justice of the peace, and later deputy lieutenant for Oxfordshire and then Berkshire. As was common for politically engaged members of the gentry, he had traveled abroad, proving his skills and reliability in minor negotiation, in bearing letters, and in soldiering (his service with William Hatton, Philip Sidney, and the Earl of Leicester resulted in his knighthood). He was appointed ambassador to France from 1591 to 1592—from which embassy his letter-book dates—and again from 1595 until his death in 1596.

Unton is known primarily for his diplomatic letter-book and for an atypical narrative portrait commissioned by his widow, Dorothy, which depicts scenes of a successful life around a central image of Unton as a man of learning and letters.[7] The Roxburghe Club's printing of the letter-book in 1847 associates Unton with the

5. See, for example, Lisa Jardine, *Erasmus, Man of Letters: The Construction of Charisma in Print* (Princeton, N.J., 1993); Harold Love, *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford, 1993); H. R. Woudhuysen, *Sir Philip Sidney and the Circulation of Manuscripts, 1558–1640* (Oxford, 1996); Gary Schneider, *The Culture of Epistolarity: Vernacular Letters and Letter Writing in Early Modern England, 1500–1700* (Newark, Del., 2005); James Daybell, *The Material Letter in Early Modern England: Manuscript Letters and the Culture and Practices of Letter-Writing, 1512–1635* (Basingstoke, U.K., 2012); and *Cultures of Correspondence in Early Modern Britain*, ed. James Daybell and Andrew Gordon (Philadelphia, Pa., 2016). Often, critical focus on epistolary culture centers on the recovery of an individual's epistolary corpus and/or on using letters to recover female agency; for example: Alison Wiggins, *Bess of Hardwick's Letters: Language, Materiality, and Early Modern Epistolary Culture* (London, 2017).

6. On Unton's life, see *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, s.v. "Unton [Umpton], Sir Henry (c. 1558–1596)," by Mark Greengrass, last modified January 3, 2008, doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/28001.

7. On the portrait, see Roy Strong, *The Cult of Elizabeth: Elizabethan Portraiture and Pageantry* (London, 1977), 84–112. The portrait is viewable online at the National Portrait Gallery website, https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mwo6456/Sir-Henry-Unton.

Victorian construction of a glorious English past, presenting him as "the well-born and well-bred English gentleman, correct in his estimate of right and wrong," who "amply merited the high regard in which he was held by Queen Elizabeth and her council."[8] These sources together present Unton as the very image of a successful diplomat and active English gentleman from an imagined Elizabethan golden age. The reality was quite different. Unton's ambassadorial experience was brief and unsuccessful, ridden with anxiety, illness, and royal disfavor. His first embassy failed at its primary objective of enabling a successful siege at Rouen; from the very start he was criticized for delays, missteps, and miscommunication.[9] Already held back by poor weather in travel, Unton fell ill on his eventual arrival in Dieppe in early August, compounding the delay by over a month. Further, when Unton and the commander of the English troops in Normandy, Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, took the liberty of traveling to meet the French king (conspicuously absent from the intended siege), the queen's ire at their concession to the king's perceived negligence nearly led to their premature recall. The embassy was characterized by expense and hardship, and, after repeatedly seeking to be recalled (under more respectable conditions), Unton was back in England by mid-June 1592.[10] Though he was in disfavor again the following year for perceived troublemaking in Parliament, thanks to Essex's support Unton was reappointed ambassador to France in mid-December 1595. Charged with sustaining Franco-Spanish hostilities, but granted neither military support nor the power to make political concessions, he complained that his already damaged reputation was only deteriorating further: "for as before my cominge hether I was held for a discraced man in England that opinion was more fortified by this imploimet."[11] His formal audience did not take place until February 3/13, 1596; in early March he was struck down by a fever, from which he died nineteen days later.[12] Unton's 1595–96 ambassadorship therefore represents less than ten weeks of service in France, of which mere days were spent with the French king. If this is added to the ten-and-a-half months of Unton's first embassy, then we can see that the man now known for representing Elizabethan diplomacy in France spent only about a year as ambassador there. In this context, Lady Unton's narrative portrait of her deceased husband looks like the intentional bolstering of a reputation in need of saving. How, then, did this diplomatic image persist, and what part might Unton's letters and letter-book have played in contemporaneous and posthumous reputation building? To approach these

8. *Correspondence of Sir Henry Unton*, ed. Joseph Stevenson (London, 1847), 12.

9. On the Rouen mission, see N. M. Sutherland, *Henry IV of France and the Politics of Religion: 1572–1596*, vol. 2, *The Path to Rome* (Bristol, U.K., 2002), esp. 397–442.

10. See Unton, *Correspondence*, ed. Stevenson, 471. For Unton's wish to return home, see Sutherland, *Henry IV*, 196, 245, 364, 373.

11. Unton to William Cecil, December 28, 1595, SP 78/36/70, fols. 155r–56v, The National Archives, Kew [hereafter TNA].

12. CP 171/72, Hatfield House, Hertfordshire, England; Unton to William Cecil, March 4, 1596, SP 78/37/48, fols. 101r–2v, TNA.

questions, I first explore the materiality of Unton's letter-book and the practical context of diplomatic epistolary behavior. Second, I investigate the social implications of Unton's navigation of relationships via the geographically estranged epistle. Third, I review the complex matter of later copies in order to posit preliminary conclusions about the value and afterlife of this diplomatic letter-book.

❀

Close material analysis of the physical features of the letter-book can shed light on the context and use of the item that now stands as Unton's primary written legacy. I have located three contemporary copies of his letter-book, at the British Library, Bodleian Library, and Folger Library.[13] The collection also exists as an eighteenth-century scribal copy, also at the Folger, and in the aforementioned nineteenth-century print edition; additionally, many copies and drafts of Unton's letters survive in the British Library's Cotton collection.[14] The letter-book comprises outgoing letters to major political figures in the domestic government, alongside a smaller number of letters received and a few transcribed enclosures. In the British Library manuscript, there are 132 letters from Unton, 88 letters to him, and 18 other items. Of these, 11 are not letters—such as Unton's instructions and articles of treaties—and 7 are letters from the queen to people other than Unton, such as Henry IV. Around half of the letters are to or from Burghley (110 of 227 letters); other prominent correspondents are Robert Cecil (33 letters), the queen (22), the Earl of Essex (17), Chancellor Hatton (14), and Thomas Heneage (13).[15]

The manuscript in the British Library is probably Unton's own letter-book, for two reasons. First, there is occasional marginalia in Unton's distinctive hand, which also provides evidence that he actively consulted the volume—while still abroad or, retrospectively, after the embassy.[16] Second, one of the main scribal hands is that of Thomas Edmondes, Unton's embassy secretary.[17] The first hand (H1), which I take

13. "Letter-Book of Sir Henry Unton as Ambassador to France," Add. MS 38137, British Library [BL]; MS e.Mus.18, Bodleian Library [Bodleian]; MS V.b.354, Folger Shakespeare Library [Folger].

14. The eighteenth-century copy (MS M.b.52, Folger) was made from the Bodleian manuscript. Stevenson's *Correspondence of Sir Henry Unton* inserts in its transcription of the Bodleian manuscript some of the Cottonian draft letters (found in Cotton MS, Caligula E VIII, BL).

15. The remaining letters are sent to or from Charles Howard, John Fortescue, Edward Grimstone, William Brooke Lord Cobham, Henry Carey Baron Hunsdon, Charles de Bourbon, and the lords of the Privy Council (collectively).

16. There is a small marginal annotation in Unton's hand (characterized by his spelling preferences, such as the doubled *e*) that proves his personal involvement. This reads: "of the K: puttinge The Bishappes in hope That hee would bee come a catholyke" (Add. MS 38137, fol. 56r, BL)—a key concern and one that proved justified in 1593. Easily missed marginal annotations appear occasionally, e.g., fols. 16r–v and 22v, where hash marks, parallel lines, and a bracket direct the reader's attention.

17. Compare Edmondes's holograph letters; for example SP 78/28, fol. 214, TNA.

to be Edmondes's, wrote the first 115 pages, before a second scribal hand (H2) took over.[18] The first two letters copied into the letter-book by H2 are from Unton to Burghley and from Unton to the queen, both dated February 16, 1591/2, and their texts and titles refer to the fact that Unton was forced to send his primary secretary as bearer.[19] That H2 took over writing at Edmondes's departure for England suggests that the letters were copied out during the embassy. The uniformity of hand, paper, and ink in the volume, and the fact that each letter does not begin on a new verso but is written sequentially into a book, emphasize the letter-book's status as a discrete, planned unit.[20] The book offers prefatory material before the letters begin (including Unton's cipher and "A note of the French Kinges debt to her Matie"), which implies design and the intent to produce something like a full documentation of the embassy. Coupled with the transcription of both dispatched and received letters, this demonstrates that the collection is something different from—and physically and conceptually more than—just the straightforward preservation of copies.

In fact, these letter-book transcripts appear to have been made from Unton's loose draft copies of his dispatched letters (and, in the case of the incoming letters, made from the originals he received).[21] Corroborating evidence that his drafts were the copyists' source can be found in a single word of marginal annotation on some of Unton's draft copies, now bound into Cottonian manuscript Caligula E VIII. As was standard practice when storing individual letters, each of these drafts was folded in four horizontally to make a long, thin packet, and endorsed on what would be the top of the exposed third panel. However, what is not typical is that under this endorsement on most of the drafts—in a different ink but a contemporary hand—is the word "entred."[22] We can glimpse the copyist effectively ticking off each draft as they entered them into a volume. A review of the extant draft copies suggests that this annotation is part of an administrative practice followed by H2 but not by the more experienced H1 (Edmondes). The drafts before Edmondes's departure to England are not marked "entred," but all drafts that correlate with letters written in the

18. Sixty-four letters were written by H2 before a third hand added the final ten items (from May 24, 1592, fols. 154v to end). There are also some letters unrelated to Unton's corpus copied by a later hand at the end of the volume, discussed below.

19. Henry IV insisted that Edmondes personally explain their dire state and request more men. See Sutherland, *Henry IV*, 422.

20. Some diplomatic letter-books were used as entry books to draft letters rather than record clean copies: compare Unton's, for example, with Ambassador Henry Cobham's 1581–82 letter-book, which has extensive annotations and corrections that are incorporated into the delivered missives (Cotton MS, Otho E IV, BL).

21. Superscriptions are included only for the incoming letters: if the outgoing letters were copied from Unton's sent originals and not from his own copies—perhaps by a recipient, antiquarian, or later government official—we might expect that they too would be transcribed complete with their superscriptions.

22. For example, see the address leaves of copies dated March 1591/2, in Cotton MS, Caligula E VIII, fols. 279r–300v, BL.

letter-book by H2 are.[23] We can therefore posit a scenario in which this second secretary processes the draft copies and methodically enters them into the letter-book, as part of a recognized administrative task. Letters to Unton are entered into the volume in the order received rather than the order written, further confirming Unton as its focus and producer.[24] Reading sequentially through the letter-book manuscript conveys a strong sense of the glut and famine of diplomatic post, since packets are transcribed in batches as they are received, sometimes after long delay, disrupting the chronological order of outgoing letters. The letters in the British Library letter-book are given descriptive titles, and the vast majority list the date of sending in the left margin. The titles universally record sender or recipient, and the vast majority (87 percent) specify the name of the bearer; sometimes the place of sending or receipt is included, and, for incoming letters, the date of receipt is often provided. Picking out this information would have enabled Unton to keep track of the passage of letters while recording their contents for future consultation and for the making of further copies. The standardized formatting of information—particularly the inclusion of date of receipt and name of bearer—reveals a familiar concern with the unreliability of the early modern carriage of letters, a concern that was heightened when a diplomat was abroad, especially in a war-wracked country.[25] Repeat recording of location highlights the itinerant nature of Unton's embassy as he traveled between military camps. When read together, the information recorded could also have served as evidence that any letters lost during travel were actually sent. In this context of war and diplomatic estrangement, letters' potential for manifesting social and political anxiety is at a peak; their representational weight, beyond their role as holder of text, is witnessed more keenly when there are anxieties over access, record, and control.

Turning to the contents can tell us more about a diplomat's practical reasons for keeping such records and can clarify Unton's vested interests in retaining such a detailed account of his epistolary behavior. Unton was reproached by Burghley for not sending letters frequently enough, especially in the early months of the embassy, which were characterized by illness and delay: "this large tyme past since we could heare from you . . . [is] most specially offensive to her Majestie."[26] Further, the

23. There is one exception: a letter sent to Burghley on February 13 appears in the letter-book in Edmondes's hand, yet the draft is endorsed "Not Entered. ^entered^." Since this is the earliest letter I can find with the "entered" annotation, and certainly the only letter written into the letter-book by Edmondes that has this annotation, I suspect that this is either a teaching occasion for the new scribe or simply evidence of the transition between them, perhaps as the new scribe began checking letters entered into the book in the days before Edmondes's departure on February 16.

24. See, for example, letters to Unton dated March 16 and 14, entered after Unton's letter of March 20; the titular information explains: "receaued the 24th by Mr Wilkes" (Add. MS 38137, fol. 136v, BL).

25. This is a common area of complaint for Unton; for example: "The messengers daylie miscarry and are verie chargable to me," Unton, *Correspondence*, ed. Stevenson, 67.

26. Unton, *Correspondence*, ed. Stevenson, 35.

perceived reticence of the French king to proceed as agreed with the siege of Rouen drew Elizabeth's frequent displeasure down on the mission, bringing Unton and his companions under fire.[27] Essex was criticized for his "rashnes" in riding out to meet Monsieur de Biron, most severely in a formal chastisement from the Privy Council to Unton and the military commanders Essex, Thomas Leighton, and Henry Killigrew; that message, dated September 13, pulled no punches in enumerating several of "the multitude of the causes of her Majesties mislikinges."[28] Unton's response to the delay in French action was to ride out to meet Essex and then head toward Louviers to meet the king in person. He began this journey as soon as he was well enough, around September 13; over the next weeks he passed through several towns and traveled out of reach of communication. The letter-book records a delay of many weeks before Unton received news of the queen's displeasure with him as well as with Essex. Around September 24, Burghley, Robert Cecil, and the queen sent letters conveying her anger, even to the point of threatening Unton with dishonorable recall, but according to the letter-book, they were not received until November.[29] Titular information in the letter-book self-consciously stresses the postal delay: "From the Lord Threasurer receaved at Auffy the 18th of Novembr ~~and~~ by John Mussy and not sooner delyuered by reason of my absence wth the Kinge."[30] This presents a concrete demonstration not only of the difficulties in the carriage of letters but also of the useful deniability this provided—such difficulties also show the importance of controlling the permanent record of correspondence.

It appears that one letter registering Elizabeth's disapproval was received before the threatening missives that arrived in November. Burghley's letter of September 20, received on October 23, states: "Her Matie findeth her selfe so euell recompensed by the French Kinge in delayinge to come to Roan when her men arryued, as she seameth vnwillinge to haue you to goe to him."[31] However, immediately following this in the letter-book is another from Burghley; in it, he writes that, though the queen was offended, Burghley is "verie gladd" both that Unton went to the king and that the ambassador "cannott be iustlie blamed" for doing so—explicitly because Unton could not have received Burghley's letters before leaving camp.[32] This second letter was

27. Unton was dispatched in July and arrived in Dieppe in August. With Henry IV occupied elsewhere (with the dual threats of disloyal troops and a suspected approach by the Duke of Parma), the siege at Rouen did not begin until November (Add. MS 38137, fols. 1r–2r, 8r, BL); Unton, *Correspondence*, ed. Stevenson, 147–48. See also Sir Thomas Coningsby, *Journal of the Siege of Rouen, 1591*, ed. John Gough Nichols (London, 1847); and Sutherland, *Henry IV*, 397–442.

28. Unton, *Correspondence*, ed. Stevenson, 74.

29. Add. MS 38137, fols. 44v–45v, BL. Though Unton knew of the displeasure at Essex's attempts to reach the king (for example, in a letter from the Privy Council to Unton, Essex, Leighton, and Killigrew, dated September 13 and received 17), Unton himself was not explicitly chastised nor forbidden this action until the letters of November 24.

30. Add. MS 38137, fol. 44v, BL.

31. Add. MS 38137, fol. 30v, BL.

32. Add. MS 38137, fols. 30v–31v, BL. The letter is not included in the Stevenson edition.

sent on October 12 and received, like the first, on October 23, instantly overruling its immediate predecessor and preempting the angry letters of September 24–25, which Unton would not receive until November 18. Thus the letter-book records the heavy criticism at times leveled at Unton, but its overall narrative exonerates him. Unton suggested techniques to mitigate the mutual misunderstanding and conflicting orders that resulted from delayed and lost communications: "Your lordship maie greatlie favor me to lett me understand of the receipte of my letters in this journey, and I hold it necessarie herafter to send a coppy of the former letters by the nexte that followe; so shall your Lordship, if not at the firste, yett at the laste receave my advertisements; which course I will continewe untill your dislike therof."[33] Practically speaking, the letter-book was therefore an essential and active point of reference, and it was no less a defense of diplomatic activity, epistolary and otherwise.[34]

Unton's peripatetic wartime embassy clearly placed him in a high-stress, high-stakes environment, yet regardless of these specific challenges, all those serving abroad were in an inherently vulnerable position, socially and politically. In Thomas Roe's words, "whosoever taketh uppon him such a matter must of necessity bee often absent from the King, and soe expose himselfe to the danger of false reportes made of him, and give way to others to worke him out, and themselves into the Princes favour."[35] As one who lacks physical agency at home, the diplomat must rely on the letter as mouthpiece and thus risk its manipulation and misconstruction. Unton directly articulated this concern, particularly after the death of his friend and patron Christopher Hatton: "I doe nowe ly open to the mallice of the world sence the death of my Lord Chancelor, wherwith I am daily bitten."[36] Furthermore, as ambassador to France, his choice of correspondents was a political issue. Serving in the most stable and continuous diplomatic posting during Elizabeth's reign—and on the literal front line in one of the most pressing military arenas of the moment—Unton was a crucial and highly visible information channel. He was constantly excusing, and apologizing for, his epistolary behavior; in one letter to Lord Admiral Howard, he wrote that, "yf your Lordship did knowe the streight commandments I receave for not writinge, and howe much I have ben subject to the jelousy of some, which have done me greate hurte, my hope is you would excuse my not writinge."[37]

Unton's uneasy navigation of his epistolary relationships reveals something of the particular anxieties of the 1590s. During this decade, and after the loss of his main

33. Unton, *Correspondence*, ed. Stevenson, 106.

34. There are plenty of other examples of diplomats who used their own copies of letters to mitigate the dangers of the post; for example, William Harborne, ambassador to Turkey in the 1580s, sent whole batches of eleven or twelve copies of previous letters, which he heard that Walsingham had not received (SP 97/1, fols. 36, 89, TNA).

35. SP 9/201/17, fol. 110v, TNA. My thanks to Samuli Kaislaniemi for sharing his transcription.

36. Unton, *Correspondence*, ed. Stevenson, 371.

37. Unton, *Correspondence*, ed. Stevenson, 371.

patron, Hatton, Unton can be seen moving away from the friendship and support of Robert Cecil and his father, Lord Burghley, and into Essex's expanding circle.[38] The politics of faction, as well as the anxieties of both patronage and epistolary self-representation, played a part in the relationships between these four figures during Unton's embassy. A narrative of anxiety and mistrust can be read through Unton's letters: he repeatedly referred to people slandering his name at home, complaining of those "who doe secretly bite me."[39] In March 1592, Unton related to his new friend and patron, Essex, what he saw as their common problem: "I feare your Lordship is abused by those you trusted moste, as I have ben; and your Lordships vertues are followed with extra-ordinary envy, wherof this time is to full."[40] Unton made continual protestations of long-held loyalty to both Cecils, but toward the end of the embassy, a defensive undertone developed on both sides. In early May 1592, just as Unton was granted his wished-for revocation (which was later slightly postponed), Robert Cecil warned Unton not to "beleeve whisperers base and conninge," intimating that their friendship and "wonted conferences" would only continue "if your French lyfe have not altered your Englishe faithe."[41]

By the end of Unton's embassy, the Cecils' and Unton's pointed comments and fear of slander had given way to circumvention and secrecy, panicked accusations and attempted rapprochement. Unton seems to have become swept up in the factionalism—real or imagined—for which the 1590s have become famous. Caught between Essex and the Cecils, political heavyweights all, he was uncertain whom to trust, and his letters served both as his means of representation and defense, and as the locus of his political anxiety.[42] With only his letters to stand in for him, the ambassador was nervous about his own epistolary emissaries being turned against him. Once his missives left his hands, both their physical survival and their meaning were vulnerable and open to interpolation. A bizarre episode in spring 1592 well demonstrates how the control of communication was fought over. In May, Unton had to relay the destitute Henry IV's "incomprehensible" plan to journey to England in secret to declare matrimonial intentions to Elizabeth.[43] Unton chose not to write to the queen or Burghley directly but rather sent a secret letter to veteran diplomat Thomas Wilkes—to whom Henry had already revealed his plan in person. Unton

38. Unton is certainly not atypical in this; many of those who served with Essex became firm supporters. See Paul E. J. Hammer, *The Polarisation of Elizabethan Politics: The Political Career of Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex 1585–1597* (Cambridge, 1999).

39. Unton, *Correspondence*, ed. Stevenson, 384.

40. Unton, *Correspondence*, ed. Stevenson, 398.

41. Unton, *Correspondence*, ed. Stevenson, 438.

42. For factional infighting concerning Essex, both real and imagined, see Alexandra Gajda, *The Earl of Essex and Late Elizabethan Political Culture* (Oxford, 2012); Hammer, *Polarisation*; and Simon Adams, "The Patronage of the Crown in Elizabethan Politics: The 1590s in Perspective," in *The Reign of Elizabeth I: Court and Culture in the Last Decade*, ed. John Guy (Cambridge, 1995), 20–45.

43. Sutherland, *Henry IV*, 427.

begged Wilkes to act as his mouthpiece, explaining why he did not want to risk sending such highly confidential information via the usual channels:

> first, because my letters to her Highnes are stollen sometimes out of her pockett and from such place where they are left, and so deskanted to my prejudice; then for that I dare not comitt so waightie a matter to a letter, not knowing whatt effect your former reporte hath had, and fearing misconstruction of my dutifull meaning. . . . I praie you lett it be concealed from all the world but her Majestie.[44]

This was a consciously circuitous and unconventional route to the queen. Unton's justification is that Wilkes can "imparte by speech better then letters can reporte." Notably, this letter is not recorded in the letter-book (in fact, no letters addressed to or from Wilkes are included), and no letters to Burghley mention this business, including one sent that same day. Nearly a month later, Burghley wrote to Unton that "Her Matie received in secret sort yor letters sent vnto Mr Wilks, who being at the Bathes sent them to her Matie."[45] Disclosing only that Wilkes did not deliver the message verbally as requested, Burghley stated that Unton would receive the queen's response upon his return to court. Whether or not one reads the brusque disclosure in Burghley's letter as reflecting resentment at being bypassed or an assertion of dominance, it does seem to justify Unton's anxiety over how to handle a secretive matter in vulnerable media and through distrusted channels.

Only two further letters sent after this date are recorded in the letter-book, one to each Cecil. Unton's final letter to Robert Cecil directly addresses accusations of mistrust and responds to a letter from Cecil apparently no longer extant, and also notably absent from the letter-book. Pressed by Cecil's letter, Unton writes that he cannot deny that "some haue sought to stirr in me other Conceiptes of yor Ho*nor*, & haue toulde me many frivolous tales" yet insists he never believed them.[46] Unton's final embassy letter to Burghley does not reference the Wilkes missive but anxiously insists that he must have an audience with the queen and Burghley as soon as possible, before the queen meets with the French king's new emissary. Unton ends this letter with a postscript alluding to important letters sent by cipher on June 1. There are no entries for these in the letter-book, and if this reference was an attempt to mitigate Unton's secretive dealings with Wilkes—which directly and visibly bypassed Burghley—it received only the terse endorsement: "I have not receaved any such letters, W. B."[47] The factional strife continued on Unton's return, when his outspoken

44. Unton, *Correspondence*, ed. Stevenson, 450; Cotton MS, Caligula E VIII, fols. 384r–89v, BL.

45. Add. MS 38137, fol. 158r–v, BL.

46. Add. MS 38137, fols. 158r–59v, BL.

47. Sent copy, SP 78/28, fol. 164, TNA.

behavior in Parliament and "bitter speech against Sr. R. Cecill" led to temporary exile from court.[48] Unton was eventually rehabilitated with support from Essex and rapprochement with Cecil.

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With the sending of letters so fraught a business, and letters themselves representative of the sociopolitical relations they transacted, the letter-book was not simply a practical method of information management but a valuable and freighted body of writing. Unton's letter-book does not include every letter sent to and from the ambassador: this points to Unton's self-conscious mediation—his deliberate choices about what to include and omit—as he created this notionally comprehensive volume. In particular, Unton's omission of secretive and condemnatory letters suggests his awareness that the volume would have future readers and acknowledges its significance as a reputational record. Unton's management of this record begins with his stressing postal delays through the letters' headings, and this, coupled with the arrangement of letters by date of receipt, allows an exonerating narrative to come to the fore. The omission of multiple letters between Robert Cecil and Unton, not least the one that prompted Unton's defensive comments about his loyalty to Cecil, downplays the social dysfunction of diplomatic estrangement. The exclusion of the secret letter to Wilkes, as well as the ciphered letters alluded to in Unton's final postscript (if they existed at all), keeps the focus on the ambassador's more visible, "official" correspondence. His diplomatic letter-book formed a consciously created informational product, and no mere passive record.

This letter-book would have been valuable not just to the ambassador but also to domestic politicians and other interested readers, both as a written representative of the ambassador and his work and as a serious body of political intelligence on France in the early 1590s. Though we do not know exactly what happened to this letter-book after Unton's return, the transmission of diplomatic papers may have formed an accepted (though not obligatory) part of the completion of an embassy. Such papers could be either compiled in bulk or digested into a more selective epistolary product such as a letter-book. Support for this supposition can be found in the existence of similar letter-books, in the occasional surviving references to their delivery, and in references to diplomatic papers in early accounts of state archives. Though the official diplomatic letter-book seems to be more common in the seventeenth century (see those of Ralph Winwood, Dudley Carleton, and William Trumbull, among others), there are multiple earlier examples, including but not limited to those printed later in an antiquarian or national-historic spirit (by Unton, Amias Paulet, and Robert Bowes).[49] Though rare, written statements about transmission or intended use do

48. CP 19/65, fol. 101r, Hatfield House.
49. See Williamson, *Elizabethan Diplomacy*, esp. chap. 3.

exist: Thomas Bodley wrote that both his letters and the discourse arising from them would evidence his "carefullest endevors"; and John Herbert sent Walsingham copies of his Danish paperwork because he was unable to deliver it in person, having been diverted to additional diplomatic work in Elbing and Poland on his return from an embassy to Denmark.[50] The agent William Herle attempted to promote himself with an epistolary volume ambitiously entitled "To the Queenes most excellent Ma. my negotiations in East Friseland, 1584."[51] Diplomatic letter collections are also found in lists of manuscripts held by councilors and in state collections: they are recognized as a political resource that merited labeling, indexing, and filing.[52] English ambassadors were not obliged to produce analytical summaries like the political and ethnographic accounts of Venetian *relazioni*, but the fact that some diplomats felt compelled to make letter collections suggests a similar drive to produce a lasting record and overview of the mission. That letter collections were archived as a political resource places them in a similar category to relazioni, albeit as part of English administrative practices that were far more ad hoc and dependent on personal preference than state operations elsewhere.

There are multiple early copies of Unton's letter-book, which provide evidence of its value to a wider readership. A transcript of Unton's letter-book is now housed in the Bodleian Library, and though there is little concrete evidence as to its date or original owner, it is written in a secretary hand and was in the Bodleian by 1655, when it was given its shelf mark by librarian Thomas Barlow.[53] The letters within are predominantly the same as those in Unton's original, though there are copying errors. The Bodleian version also contains additional material on the embassy's finances that dates transcription to after the embassy, when transportation costs were known and spent. Its early placement in the Bodleian as a piece of history relevant to intellectuals and politicians alike connects it to the growing scholarly antiquarianism of the early seventeenth century. There is reason to believe that the Bodleian letter-book was copied from the British Library original in or around 1630: a letter written to Chancellor Hatton on October 15, 1591, is erroneously dated 1630 in the subscription.[54] It is hard to imagine a copyist getting the century wrong unless 1630 was the year of transcription: the numbers are written clearly and confidently, and similar errors are almost made elsewhere, where the copyist begins to write the wrong year but then

50. MS EL 1611, Huntington Library, San Marino, California. My thanks to Robyn Adams for sharing her transcription (SP 88/1, fol. 73r, TNA).

51. Rawlinson MS, C 424, Bodleian.

52. For specific examples, see Williamson, *Elizabethan Diplomacy*, chap. 5.

53. MS e.Mus.18, Bodleian; *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford*, vol. 2, pt. 2, *Collections and Miscellaneous MSS. Acquired during the Second Half of the 17th Century*, ed. Falconer Madan, H. H. E. Craster, and N. Denholm-Young, (Oxford, 1937), 658.

54. MS e.Mus.18, fol. 30v, Bodleian.

corrects it.[55] This plausible date of origin could indicate a seventeenth-century valorization of Unton along the same lines as the heroization of Essex or Sir Philip Sidney. Though both his embassies were failures, Unton fits a comparable romantic image of a young, militant, Protestant humanist valiantly battling Spain and the Catholic League. His letters from war-torn France would have been a strident manifestation of this persona to Protestant readers eager to rejoin the fight against Catholic Spain in the Thirty Years' War. For those disappointed with the signing of the Treaty of Madrid in 1630, the inspiring tale of Unton and Essex—besieging Rouen, suffering under Elizabeth's reticence, and chasing the delayed French king (then Huguenot, though soon Catholic)—would have had renewed appeal. In this context, even their failure could be read as supplying a moral about the need for adequate resources and thus as all the more relevant to the war party of the 1630s.

In the Bodleian copy, following the Unton letters, an additional section begins with the well-known consolation letter from Queen Elizabeth to Lady Margery Norris on the death of her son John, dated September 22, 1597 (one of Elizabeth's most circulated letters). This is followed by letters relating to Henry Norris as ambassador to France in the late 1560s and as joint lord lieutenant of Oxfordshire and Berkshire, where he was responsible for raising bands for the war with Spain.[56] These letters may have been bound together because of the geographical proximity of the Unton and Norris families and their estates (both were involved in landowning and political representation in Oxfordshire and Berkshire), but more likely it is due to the anti-Spanish sentiment they represent. After the Unton letters in the British Library volume, there is likewise a separate section written in a different hand, this one consisting of three items. This section also begins with Elizabeth's consolation letter to Margery Norris—which could have been the prompt for adding in the extra Norris letters at the end of the Bodleian copy—and follows a similar path in relating Unton to militant Hispanophobia, this time by association with Essex.[57] The second piece is a copy of the tract in favor of war with Spain, composed by Essex in 1598, printed and suppressed in 1600, and reprinted in 1603, entitled "To Mr Anthonie Bacon. An apologie of [Robert Devereux] the Earle of Essex againste those which falslie and maliciouslie take him to be the onelie hindraunce of the peace and quiet of his Countrie." The final addition is an unfinished copy of a letter of travel advice from Essex to

55. For example, fols. 31r, 32v.

56. All six of Norris's sons fought under Elizabeth, variously in Ireland, the Netherlands, and France, underlining the note of militant heroism. As ambassador, Norris was under scrutiny for his sympathy with the Huguenots, and Rory Rapple calls him "The foremost English soldier in the continuing fight against Spain" (in *Martial Power and Elizabethan Political Culture: Military Men in England and Ireland, 1558–1594* [Cambridge, 2009], 293). For Elizabeth to Margery, see *Queen Elizabeth I: Selected Works*, ed. Steven W. May (New York, 2004), 225–27.

57. Add. MS 38137, fols. 160r–73v, BL. See Paul Hammer, "The Smiling Crocodile: The Earl of Essex and Late-Elizabethan 'Popularity,'" in *The Politics of the Public Sphere in Early Modern England*, ed. Peter Lake and Steve Pincus (Manchester, 2012), 95–115.

Roger Manners, fifth earl of Rutland, dated January 4, 1596, circulated in manuscript and printed in 1633.[58] It is not unusual to find such famous letters copied into spare pages at the end of a volume, yet here they imply an intentional connection between Unton and his patron and friend Essex, and supply evidence of later interest in the letter-book as a kind of political literature. The items must have been added to the volume after Unton's death on March 23, 1596, when the manuscript took on a memorial role, and so may again represent an attempt to align Unton posthumously with the war party—via Essexian heroicism and a valiant Elizabethan militancy.

The third contemporary manuscript copy of Unton's letter-book, now at the Folger Shakespeare Library, takes us further into the idea of letters as malleable, edited texts that can be appropriated by different, later audiences. It is written in a single, unremarkable secretary hand, though one that appears rushed, especially in the final pages.[59] The primary difference between this and the two copies described above is that it is much shorter: it is missing many of the letters in the original letter-book. The Folger copy is a small, sewn but unbound booklet, its edges scuffed and discolored from lack of protection. There is an occasional change in paper stock (as seen in different watermarks), and four of the twenty-seven bifolia are shorter and narrower than the other pages. Though the coherent contemporary stitching makes it likely to be a single production rather than a fragment of a larger work, it is certainly a less polished item than the other books. The scribe adhered to the recognized stylistic practice of using margins, titular information, and dates, and there are occasional catchwords between bifolia, which connotes design and uniformity.[60] An especially curious feature of this letter-booklet is that, in addition to the fact that many of the letters are absent altogether, many are excerpted, and some show evidence of elision and even amalgamation. Sometimes the cut text is the introductory and subscription material, possibly implying a simple drive to concision, but often the cut text is an elaboration on the main points, and not infrequently it is news. The elision is often indicated by "&c.," and where this occurs at the meat of the point, the implication could be that the copyist takes knowledge of the situation for granted, or is less interested in particular facts than in the relationships the letters reveal.

Selective transcription amounts to the creation of a new narrative from this material: whether or not the changes are substantial or the motivation is obvious, the

58. See Alexandra Gajda, "Debating War and Peace in Late Elizabethan England," *Historical Journal* 52 (2009): 851–78.

59. Folios 23 and 24 of this manuscript copy of the letter-book are written in a squarer roman script. The change of style is due to the fact that these pages are written in Latin, and so the change of script is expected and need not require a posited second scribe (MS V.b.354, fols. 23r–24v, Folger).

60. For example, MS V.b.354, fols. 20v–21r, Folger.

copyist's interventions destabilize the apparently comprehensive letter-book that is its source, reminding us that the copied item is always a distinct and original object. Comparison with Unton's fuller letter-book reveals what kinds of letters are omitted, and reading this new narrative against the earlier one provides clues on motivation. Among the letters wholly omitted from the Folger book are several of the queen's harshest missives to Unton, several by William and Robert Cecil that report on the queen's displeasure, and some but not all that dwell on Unton's illness.[61] The volume certainly still contains condemnatory letters—including one that lists the formal "causes mouinge her Matie to reuoke her forces in Normandy under the chardge of the Earle of Essex"—but the negativity of the original collection is distinctly downplayed, and the letters that threaten Unton's recall are excised. In fact, the Folger booklet skips over the worst of the royal anger directed toward Unton: there are no letters between a condensed version of a letter by Burghley received September 17 and Unton's detailing of his eventual audience with the king in a letter sent on October 28, 1591.[62] The least successful period of the embassy is thus abbreviated and concludes with the highly important audience letter, in which Unton presents himself as the queen's obedient servant and humbly defends his actions and intentions.

The next letter goes one step further by actively amalgamating two original letters into one, creating an entirely new text. This letter, purporting to be from Unton to Robert Cecil and dated November 6, 1591, begins with the same text as that given in the main letter-book copy and in the delivered letter, but it omits the rest of the original letter's content, which is self-pitying and pessimistic. In its place the scribe adds a paragraph, not present in the other versions, giving high praise to Henry IV:

> The Kinge is a most noble Prince, of greate patience & magnaminytye, not Ceremonyous, affable, Familiar, and followed only for his trew valewe but verie muche hated for his religion, and threatned by the Catholiques that the [*sic*] will forsake him if he convert not./ &c.[63]

The source of the replacement paragraph is a letter written by Unton not otherwise present in the Folger manuscript. Addressed to Lord Chancellor Hatton and written on the same date as that from Unton to Cecil, this letter is in the primary letter-books. The reader does not encounter the added paragraph as comprising a separate letter: unlike the letters in the rest of the volume, it is not delineated by a title or significant space. On close inspection, we can see a marginal comment—"ch;"—adjacent to the inserted paragraph and written in the same hand. Whether this means "change" or

61. For example, the letter from Burghley dated September 20 and received October 23, mentioned above.

62. MS V.b.354, fols. 17r, 19r–21r, Folger.

63. MS V.b.354, fol. 21r, Folger.

"chancellor" or something else, the elision is indicated in the text, albeit obliquely.[64] In the next letter, the queen writes to forgive Unton and accept that he was trying to follow his instructions. Altogether, the new narrative constructed by the scribal editor of the Folger copy reads a great deal more positively than that presented by the longer letter-book. In the anti-Spanish context, discussed above, that associated Unton and Essex with militant Protestantism, such editing could be intended to defend Unton, cast the (at that point) Protestant Henry IV in a favorable light, champion the goals of the 1591–92 embassy and military intervention—or do a little of all three.

The fact that three copies of the letter-book exist is highly significant. Though, unhelpfully, there is a lack of ownership marks, the books themselves manifest an undeniable interest in Unton's embassy papers and show that they circulated in manuscript to some degree, in political, antiquarian, or familial circles. On rare occasions, we see evidence of such circulation in action. Dudley Carleton, letter-writer and diplomat under James I, sought access to Unton's letters after his death. Carleton was known to Unton: he praised, and gossiped about, Unton's wife, and he traveled to France in 1596 in time to see the ambassador on his deathbed.[65] In a letter endorsed 1599, he wrote to his longtime correspondent John Chamberlain about a visitor, one "discoursing Corbett," who had papers relating to the ambassador:

> I tooke the oportunetie of striking whilst he was whott, and remembring yr desire to see some of Sr H. Vntons letters, I made vse of him in that kind. He seemed glade of his employment wch he shewed speedelie by posting to his lodging and bringing me all that nothing wch he had. He brought me a farthell of old letters, intelligences, and negotiations of Sr Ph. Sydnies, Mr Edmondes and Sr H: Vntons wch seemed not vnlike to a poore lawyers bagg of cansayld bills, indentures and obligations.
>
> I send all to you that you may take a generall suruey of them, and then retorne them to be in a readiness for theyr owner who esteemes them as great secresies. So committing you to that small pleasure wch may be taken out of these poore papers, I leaue to troble you anie further wth mine.[66]

Corbett is not mentioned in the letter-book, but he is listed in Unton's journal as one of his forty-three attendants during the first embassy, before being promoted to secretary for Unton's second embassy.[67] He is almost certainly the John Corbett

64. Though another "&c" might be expected, this does seem to be "ch": compare the "ch" of "Sr Th[omas]. Cha[lloner]./" (fol. 35r) or "Ch[arles] Howard" (fol. 39v).

65. SP 12/259, fol. 195r–v, TNA.

66. SP 12/273, fol. 140r–v, TNA.

67. Photostat of Henry Unton's embassy diary, T/A 13/2, fol. 1r, Berkshire Record Office, Reading, England.

who begged employment from Robert Cecil in 1603 at the encouragement of Dorothy Unton; in his overture to Cecil, Corbett mentions that he followed Unton "all the tyme of his forreine imployemente," before migrating to Thomas Wilkes's service on Unton's death.[68] Corbett's name also appears in Cecil's 1598 account of his own embassy to France: Corbett is the one who brings Cecil news of Wilkes's death.[69] Despite this, he was clearly unable to secure patronage from Cecil at this time. Though Corbett did not hold the position long, as one of the two primary secretaries for Unton's second legation he would have been surrounded by past and present paperwork, potentially including the letter-book from the earlier embassy taken for reference. Perhaps Corbett's "poore papers" could even have included the Folger booklet itself. As a constant member of Unton's train and then a follower of Wilkes, Corbett may have also obtained the Sidney and Edmondes letters during this foreign service. Regardless of how Corbett came to the papers, Carleton's vignette confirms the use and movement of these letters in the years following Unton's death.

That these letters could be seen either as "great secresies" or "poore papers" warns against overstating the value of such items, yet also demonstrates that they held contemporary interest—it is significant that someone like the inveterate newsseeker John Chamberlain wanted them, and someone like Corbett, notable only for being "unknowne," could have obtained copies of the negotiations of these three figures.[70] Despite Carleton's dismissiveness, Corbett clearly took them to be a valuable tool with which he could ingratiate himself and gain favor.[71] Diplomatic letters could therefore stand as evidence of political credentials and social connections for people other than their author. Creating or acquiring this kind of epistolary political resource could be particularly attractive at times of insecurity. In an echo of Unton's anxiety following Hatton's death, Corbett was desperate to prove himself useful and relevant after the death of both his patrons, Unton and Wilkes: ownership of political papers was one way to claim political belonging. Despite making little impression in Cecil's 1598 embassy, Corbett did manage to improve his fortunes, and was even able to convince the secretary of state to grant him the position of clerk extraordinary in 1605.

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Unton's letters stand somewhere between the political separates that circulated so ubiquitously in manuscript and print, and the books and chests of letters and

68. CP 101/45, Hatfield House.

69. CP 351/1, fols. 20v, 41v, Hatfield House.

70. Chamberlain calls Corbett "an unknowne man" (*Letters of John Chamberlain*, ed. Norman Egbert McClure, vol. 1 [Philadelphia, Pa., 1939], 205).

71. It is also important to recognize the rhetorical function of Carleton's apologetic tone and not overstate the dismissiveness: he appears critical primarily of the form rather than the content.

precedents in the Tower, the Chapter House, the Chancery, and Secretary Walsingham's office.[72] Individual letters are always tokens of wider epistolary narratives, which are themselves incomplete and biased representations of social relationships. Considering letters in their early, material, collective context helps to reveal such narratives, yet the act of collection also changes the meaning and use of the letter. Diplomatic letter-books can be classed as government records—yet these records can also be written and read as a kind of political literature, that is, as writing that is self-conscious and constructed, and that is read for its narrative force as well as its factual content. The multiple copies of Unton's book demonstrate that diplomatic letters were of interest to audiences beyond the ambassador, and, as the Folger booklet shows, this interest could lead to use and reuse, and even rewriting. The addition of the Essex and Norris letters by later hands in two of the copies shows that there is something of the manuscript miscellany at play here too. Such room for manipulation and malleability need not conflict with the identification of these books as essentially papers of state: rather, to recognize letter-books as political literature is to foreground the inherently unstable, multifaceted nature of these as historical sources. All letters, especially diplomatic letters, are interested, malleable, freighted texts, constructed and reconstructed by authors, secretaries, scribes, and readers, and they are resistant to being interpreted solely as sent missives or archived sources—this is especially true of diplomatic letters.

This essay necessarily provides only a brief discussion of the materiality, context, contents, and afterlife of one diplomatic corpus. The aim has been to illustrate the potential of the ostensibly prosaic letter-book, particularly when approached from a material, archival perspective. Diplomacy is an especially rich area for exploring such collections because of the co-occurrence of administrative and archival practice with geographical and political estrangement. In looking at the multiple lives and narratives of Unton's letter-books, I have shown that letters are a key site of reputation management and image construction, for oneself and for one's family and followers. The diplomatic context amplifies the opportunity for manipulation and appropriation, since it allows personal writings to be imbued with the weight of contemporary political and religious concerns. It is significant, too, that the letter-book under discussion is from a French embassy: the French ambassadorship was unusual in being the only continuous diplomatic posting under Elizabeth, though, as shown, this did not mean that each individual ambassador enjoyed a stable or lengthy posting. Finally, it is worth noting that the posthumous memorializing of Unton goes beyond his letter-book: a prominent patron of the arts, he is remembered through the famed narrative portrait, a funeral pavane by the renowned lutenist John Dowland, a monument in the church at Faringdon, and a volume of Latin verses by his Oxford

72. For political separates, see Love, *Scribal Publication*, esp. 9–13.

friends.[73] This artistic memorializing, like the letter-book, emphasizes Unton's martial honor and connects Unton to a militant Hispanophobia that is reminiscent of seventeenth-century Essexiana and romanticized Elizabethan heroics. This image can be both understood and interrogated through close attention to his letters and to the complex motivations for and influences on their creation, preservation, and reproduction.

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73. John Dowland, *Lachrimæ, or Seaven Teares Figvred in Seaven Passionate Pauans* (London, 1604); *Fvnebria: Nobilissimi ac Præstantissimi Eqvitis, D. Henrici Vntoni* (Oxford, 1596).