

University of Groningen

'A Man of Curious Enquiry'

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Published in:

Renaissance studies : journal of the Society for Renaissance Studies

DOI:

[10.1111/rest.12088](https://doi.org/10.1111/rest.12088)

IMPORTANT NOTE: You are advised to consult the publisher's version (publisher's PDF) if you wish to cite from it. Please check the document version below.

Document Version

Publisher's PDF, also known as Version of record

Publication date:

2015

[Link to publication in University of Groningen/UMCG research database](#)

Citation for published version (APA):

Sobecki, S. (2015). 'A Man of Curious Enquiry': John Peyton's Grand Tour to Central Europe and Robert Cecil's Network, 1596-1601. *Renaissance studies : journal of the Society for Renaissance Studies*, 29(3), 394–410. <https://doi.org/10.1111/rest.12088>

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‘A man of curious enquiry’: John Peyton’s Grand Tour to central Europe and Robert Cecil’s intelligence network, 1596–1601

SEBASTIAN SOBECKI

John Peyton the Younger (1579–1635) is all but forgotten. His memory has been eclipsed by that of his more eminent father, Sir John Peyton (1544–1630), Governor of Jersey and, before that, Lieutenant of the Tower of London, where he enjoyed the distinction of having guarded the Earl of Essex and Sir Walter Raleigh.¹ I have recently shown, however, that the younger Peyton composed the most important early account of Poland written in English, entitled *A Relation of the State of Polonia and the United Provinces of that Crown* (henceforth: *A Relation of Polonia*), the authorship of which had long remained a mystery.² Peyton completed his study of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth between 1598 and 1599 and he presented the copy now held in the British Library, Royal MS 18 B I, to King James I of England and VI of

I would like to thank the editor, Jennifer Richards, and the journal’s two anonymous reviewers for their helpful comments. An earlier version of this article was presented at the *Early Modern Travel: Theory and Practice* conference at the Moore Institute, National University of Ireland, Galway, in September 2013. I would like to thank Daniel Carey for his comments and questions at the time.

¹ The younger Peyton occupies only one paragraph in the entries for his father in the *Dictionary of National Biography* and the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*: Bertha Porter, ‘Peyton, John (1544–1630)’, in Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee (gen. eds.), *Dictionary of National Biography*, 63 vols. and 3 supplements (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1885–1912), Vol. 45, 137–8; and M. E. Evans, ‘Peyton, Sir John (1544–1630)’, in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/22080>> (accessed October 2013). In his younger years Peyton’s father was a member of Sir Henry Sidney’s household and he served as Lieutenant-Governor of Bergen op Zoom in the Netherlands.

² Sebastian Sobeki, ‘John Peyton’s *A Relation of the State of Polonia* and the Accession of King James I, 1598–1603’, *The English Historical Review*, 129 (2014), forthcoming. The text was first noticed by A. Warschauer in *Mitteilungen aus der Handschriftensammlung des Britischen Museums zu London, vornehmlich zur polnischen Geschichte*, *Mitteilungen der k. preussischen Archivverwaltung*, 13 (Leipzig: Hirzel, 1909), 36–7. Subsequent descriptions and discussions include the entry for ‘London, British Museum, Royal MS 18 B I’ in Julius Gilson and George Warner’s *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King’s Collections*, 4 vols. (London: The Trustees, 1921), 2: 279; Siegfried Mews, *Ein englischer Gesandtschaftsbericht über den polnischen Staat zu Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig: Hirzel, 1936); Edward Mierzwa, *Angielska relacja o Polsce z roku 1598*, *Annales UMCS*, 18 (Lublin: UMCS, 1962); Sebastian Sobeki, ‘The Authorship of *A Relation of the State of Polonia, 1598*’, *The Seventeenth Century*, 18 (2004), 172–9; Nancy Kollmann, ‘The King “Should Be but Imaginary”: The Commonwealth of Poland–Lithuania in the Eyes of an English Diplomat, 1598’, in Chester S. L. Dunning, Russell E. Martin and Daniel Rowland (eds.), *Rude and Barbarous Kingdom Revisited: Essays in Russian History and Culture in Honor of Robert O. Crumney* (Bloomington: Slavica 2008), 353–66; and David Worthington, *British and Irish Experiences and Impressions of Central Europe c. 1560–1688* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2012), 53.

Scotland on the monarch's arrival in London in May 1603.³ A second and complete manuscript has since surfaced and the colophon confirms Peyton's authorship.⁴ This article examines the ties the Peytons enjoyed with Robert Cecil and I show that John Peyton's travels in central Europe formed part of Cecil's attempts to gather intelligence on Spanish diplomatic activity in the Empire and in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. To avoid confusion, I refer to the younger Peyton as 'John Peyton' or simply 'Peyton' and to his father as 'Sir John'.

John Peyton received his education at Queens' College, Cambridge, before embarking on a career as a soldier that saw him shadow his father's activities and travel repeatedly to the Continent.⁵ At Queens' he was an exact contemporary of the poet and later traveller John Weever and he may have met Nathaniel Fletcher, John Fletcher's brother.⁶ Judging by the amount of material he accurately translated and the various learned epigrams he quotes in his works, Peyton must have possessed excellent Latin. He also exhibits some knowledge of German and Italian.⁷ Father and son often acted together, whether professionally or looking after the family estate in Cambridgeshire.⁸ The Peytons specialized in procuring domestic and international intelligence: officially they were busy first running the Tower and later the island of Jersey; all the while supplying Robert Cecil with intelligence on high-profile prisoners and activities in northern France as well as, as it turns out, the intimacies of political life in Bohemia, the Empire and Poland-Lithuania. Furthermore, the royal presentation copy of *A Relation of Polonia* points to the collaboration between father and son: the single secretary hand used in the British Library copy of *A Relation of Polonia* is identical to the hand used in Sir John's first request to Cecil to be removed from his duty as Lieutenant of the Tower.⁹ The letter was sent on 17 April 1601 from the Tower, and among the over sixty extant letters sent by Sir John to Cecil during his tenure as Lieutenant this is the only example written in the elaborate secretary used in his son's account of Poland. The British Library copy of *A Relation of Polonia* was therefore probably written by one of Sir John's clerks, perhaps even at the Tower.

³ Sobecki, 'John Peyton's *A Relation of the State of Polonia*'. In the past the work had been variously ascribed to George Carew (c.1556-1612) and William Bruce (c.1560-after 1613); see Sobecki, 'The Authorship of *A Relation of the State of Polonia*, 1598'.

⁴ Sebastian Sobecki, 'A New Manuscript of John Peyton's *A Relation of the State of Polonia* (1599-1619)', *The Library*, 16 (2015), forthcoming.

⁵ Porter, 'Peyton, John', and Evans, 'Peyton, Sir John'. Peyton would return to the Continent, to the Low Countries, in 1612 and 1618.

⁶ Ernst Anselm Joachim Honigmann, *John Weever: A Biography of a Literary Associate of Shakespeare and Jonson* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987), 2.

⁷ See, for instance, his knowledge of German ('*Pole* in the Slavish tongue signifies the same which *Feld* in Dutche and English') and his use of Italian ('hath almost silenced the proverbe of *Fresco Tudesco*, and brought in use *Non sono Polacco*') in his account of Poland-Lithuania, in London, BL, Royal MS B I, fol. 1r.

⁸ Peyton's handwriting appears in some of his father's letters written during the latter's tenure as Lieutenant of the Tower (see, for instance, Hatfield House, Cecil Papers (hereafter CP) 196/2, 1610, 7 May). Peyton also addressed, and therefore perhaps delivered, a number of his father's missives to Robert Cecil.

⁹ CP 181/142, The Tower, 1601, 17 April.

In 1596 Peyton left for Germany and Bohemia, reaching Poland in 1598. He gathered the material for *A Relation of Polonia* in Cracow and Warsaw between April and September 1598.¹⁰ He travelled from there to Padua, then to Basle, where he was in November 1599, before returning to Italy. He arrived in England between 1601 and March 1603 at the latest. Peyton's four travel accounts survive in three manuscripts:

1. Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Kk.5.2. (begun 1599, completed 1619).¹¹ This manuscript bears the title 'The First Part of the Observations, of Sir Iohn Peyton the yonger, Knight, Lieutenant Governor of Iersey, duringe his Trauailes' (fol. 1r), and it contains the following texts: *The Viewe of Germany and the Estate of the West Empire* (fols. 3r-98r); *A Discourse on the Hans Cittyes* (fols. 99r-113r); some imperial and Polish documents (fols. 111r-18r); *A Relation of Bohemia, and the vnitied Provinces of that Crowne, Anno 1598* (fols. 119r-58r); as well as a number of interpolated letters by Peyton to his father, his elder son and the king's secretary.
2. London, British Library, Royal MS 18 B I (May 1603).¹² This manuscript consists of an incomplete version of *A Relation of Polonia*, bearing the title *A Relation of the State of Polonia and the vnitied Provinces of that Crown, Anno 1598* (fols. 1r-112v).
3. St Andrews, St Andrews University Library, ms38902 (written between 1619 and 1635).¹³ A second and complete version of *A Relation of Polonia*, entitled *A Relation of the kingdome of Polonia, and the vnitied Provinces of tha[t] Crowne* (fols. 3r-92v).

Formally speaking, Peyton's reports are not ethnographical travel accounts or itineraries.¹⁴ Instead, the three major works, *The View of Germany*, *A Relation of the Kingdom of Bohemia* and *A Relation of Polonia*, contain detailed and remarkably comprehensive accounts of the governance and political life of the countries he visited. In this regard, Peyton's writings, although they are in English, are closer to the factual qualities of Latin diplomatic writing.¹⁵ It is clear from

¹⁰ Sobecki, 'John Peyton's *A Relation of the State of Polonia*'.

¹¹ On this manuscript, see Sobecki, 'John Peyton's *A Relation of the State of Polonia*'.

¹² This manuscript is treated in detail in Sobecki, 'John Peyton's *A Relation of the State of Polonia*'.

¹³ I discuss this manuscript in Sobecki, 'A New Manuscript'.

¹⁴ Recent work on early modern travel writing includes Andrew Hadfield, *Literature, Travel, and Colonial Writing in the English Renaissance 1545–1625* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999); Michael Pincombe, *Travels and Translations in the Sixteenth Century* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2004) (in particular, Cathy Shrank, 'Foreign Bodies: Politics, Polemic and the Continental Landscape', 31–44); Peter Mancall's two issues of the *Journal of Early Modern History* (Vol. 10, Nos 1–2, for 2006); two issues of *Studies in Travel Writing* (Vol. 12, No. 1, for 2008, and Vol. 13, No. 2, for 2009), both edited by Daniel Carey and Claire Jowitt; and Mary C. Fuller, 'The Real and the Unreal in Tudor Travel Writing', in Kent Cartwright (ed.), *A Companion to Tudor Literature* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 475–88. For actual travel, see Antoni Mączak, *Travel in Early Modern Europe*, trans. by Ursula Philipps (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1995).

¹⁵ See, for instance, the letters and documents on Anglo-Polish diplomacy under Elizabeth, printed by C. H. Talbot in *Elementa ad fontium IV: Res Polonicae Elisabethae I Angliae regnante conscriptae ex Archivis Publicis Londoniarum* (Rome: The Polish Historical Institute, 1961).

the dates and the content of Peyton's letters and reports that all three accounts, as well as the shorter texts he copied into the Cambridge manuscript, have been produced during or shortly after his 1596 to 1601 tour of Europe. The shared focus across his texts strongly suggests that Peyton's travel accounts were produced for a similar readership. In what follows, I provide an overview of the contents of his reports.

The View of Germany consists of thirty-four chapters on the German Empire, beginning with its geographical situation and the political arrangement of the Empire (Chapters 1–5). This is then followed by a discussion of the respective roles of church and state in Chapters 6 and 7, as well as by individual chapters on prominent noble families and the constituent members of the Empire, with electoral houses listed first (Ch. 8–24). Next, Peyton treats the remaining social classes, the Imperial Diet, courts of law and various high offices (chs 25–30). A very long chapter on the armed forces follows (Ch. 31), before Peyton rounds the text off with sections on the power, wealth and coinage of Germany (chs 32–34). Copies of letters written by Peyton to his father from Basle on 27 November 1599 (fols. 2r-v) and to King James's Secretary, George Calvert, written in or after 1619 (fol. 6r), precede the text.

The Discourse of the Estate and Priviledges of the Cittyes of the Hans societye, 1597, is a short tract summarizing a number of Imperial and Polish documents relating to the eastern Hanseatic cities, which were part of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth at the time. The text is preceded by the copy of a letter sent by Peyton to his father from Regensburg on 8 January 1598 (fol. 99v).

The twenty-nine chapters of *A Relation of Bohemia* follow a slightly different pattern to that of *The View of Germany*. After a brief overview of Bohemia's geography and political structure (chs 1–2), Peyton dedicates individual chapters to the limitations placed on royal authority, to the kingdom's revenue and to Bohemia's relationship with the Empire (chs 3–8). Next are chapters on the various estates (chs 9–14) but then Peyton discusses in separate chapters the function and role of Bohemia's various courts as well as the kingdom's laws in general (chs 15–26). The last three chapters focus on the regions of Silesia, Moravia and Lusatia (chs 27–29). A letter from Peyton to his eldest son, Robert, sent on 1 January 1618, closes *A Relation of the Kingdom of Bohemia* in the Cambridge manuscript (fol. 158v).

Although *A Relation of Polonia* is comparable in length to *The Viewe of Germany*, the information contained in the former is more nuanced. Peyton's account of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth is divided into thirty-six chapters (there are no chapter divisions in British Library, Royal MS 18 B I). Chapters 1–2 concern the Poles themselves and the geography of Poland–Lithuania. Next, there are chapters on the non-Polish territories of the Commonwealth: Prussia (Ch. 3), Livonia (Ch. 4), Volhinia [Ukraine] (Ch. 5), and Lithuania (chs 6–7). The political structure of the Commonwealth forms the heart of chapters 8–9, whereas Peyton discusses in detail the electoral system

behind Poland–Lithuania’s royal elections (chs 10–11). This is then followed by chapters on the limited power of the king and on royal revenue (chs 12–14), as well as on the authority of the Senate and the role of the nobility (Ch. 15). Two chapters on the wide range of religious denominations in the Commonwealth and the function of the clergy follow (chs 16–17), before Peyton treats the Senate and individual senators (chs 18–20). Next, there are chapters on the different estates (chs 21–2). Then Peyton produces thorough descriptions of the various functions and contexts of government (chs 23–4), as well as of the laws and the judicial system of Poland–Lithuania (chs 25–7). As with *A View of Germany*, among the longest sections are Peyton’s accounts of the armed forces and warfare (chs 28–30). He then turns to revenue and wealth (Ch. 31), an assessment of internal and external threats (chs 32–3) and, finally, a detailed overview of the Commonwealth’s diplomacy and foreign relations (chs 34–6). Readers of *A Relation of Polonia* have long argued that the writer must have had regular access to laws, statutes and accounts, perhaps even at the Polish chancery.¹⁶ Certainly, Peyton admits as much to his father when he tells him that he obtained most of the material for *A View of Germany* by ‘reading the particular Historyes and Ordynances of the places themselves’.¹⁷ The likelihood of Peyton having taken a similar approach in Poland–Lithuania is further strengthened by the provenance of the paper in the British Library manuscript, which came from Cracow, and the fact that the printer who is known to have used this paper was closely tied to Chancellor Jan Zamoyski, who receives an effusion of praise in Peyton’s text.¹⁸

Although Peyton’s descriptions reveal some interest in habits and customs – in particular in the opening chapters of his accounts of Germany, Bohemia and Poland–Lithuania – compared to the list of national stereotypes in Andrew Borde’s *The Fyrst Boke of the Introduction of Knowledge* or to the travelogue of Fynes Moryson, Peyton’s observations appear to be thorough and deeply researched, yet they are ultimately subservient to his ambition to anatomize the political and historical realities of the places he visited.¹⁹ For instance, his portrait of the Germans is reduced to a treatment of the German language and the ‘great varietie of Dyalectes’ spoken in the Empire.²⁰ He then proceeds to a discussion of the territorial extent of Germany. A description of the Germans themselves, other than in snippets here and there, is lacking. The Bohemians, on the other hand, fare significantly better in *A Relation of the*

¹⁶ Reinhold Heidenstein, secretary to King Sigismund III and close associate of Chancellor Jan Zamoyski, may have been one of those ‘willing’ to converse with him. F. Pułaski notes Heidenstein as a source for *A Relation of Polonia*: ‘Publication des documents concernant les relations diplomatiques entre la Pologne, la France et l’Angleterre’, in *La Pologne au VII^e Congrès International des Sciences Historiques*, 3 vols. (Warsaw: Polskie Towarzystwo Historyczne, 1933), 3: 174. Heidenstein presented his codification of Prussian land law at the spring 1598 Sejm in Warsaw, shortly after which Peyton arrived in the city following his journey from Cracow.

¹⁷ Cambridge, UL, MS Kk.5.2, fol. 2r-v.

¹⁸ Sobecki, ‘John Peyton’s *A Relation of the State of Polonia*’.

¹⁹ On Morison and Boorde, see Shrank, ‘Foreign Bodies’; and Peter C. Mancall, ‘Introduction: What Fynes Moryson knew’, *Journal of Early Modern History*, 10 (2006), 1–9.

²⁰ UL MS Kk. 5.2, fol. 8r.

Kingdom of Bohemia. The opening chapter begins with a discussion of the Slavonic language of the Bohemians, but then, presumably because Bohemia is less familiar to English readers than Germany, Peyton includes a concise ethnographic description:

The people are very large of bodie, faire, personable, of a vast and an vnweeldy strengthe, idle, desyrus of change in gouernment, *and* religion, great drinkers, en[u]yous of strangers, especially if they seat themselues in their land, *and* thriue by their industry.²¹

The nobility is 'haughty and prodigall', whereas all Bohemians are said to have 'great hate' of strangers.²² *A Relation of Polonia* adds yet further detail. The first chapter identifies the Poles as Slavs and their language as Slavonic, before offering an ethnographic sketch:

They are large of body, tall, vprighte, and personable. The gentry full of ceremonies, ciuill and curteous in enterテインement, bountifull at table, costly in dyett, greate gourmandes, and quaffers, not sleepy, nor heavy in their drunkenesse, as the Dutche, but furious, and quarrellsome, highe-mynded, and proude, but in a iollity, and not surly, as the Germans. Apert in their dealinges, so liberall, that they are rather prodigall, and hating auarice; they distaste the artes, and trouble of gayning, great shifters to lyue brauely (which they muche affecte) and therefore badd payemaisters, highly conceived of themselues, and so the more easely ledd, and cosened by Parasites, whoe adoring them, stripp them of their wealth. Their nature being suche, and so well knowne to the Italians, hath drawne greate numbers of them into Polonia, whoe partly followe greate men, and partly trade, both working vpon the magnificency of the Poles.²³

Remarkably, Peyton enriches his account of the Poles by referencing experience gained in his other travels:

In Italy, [the Poles'] carelesnesse, and symplicity in gyving, and bargayning, hath allmost silenced the prouerbe of 'Fresco Tudesco', and brought in use 'Non sono Polacco'. Their trauailing into foraigne contreys (to which they are muche gyven) for knowledge of state and languages, makes them now begynn to looke better to their purses, in so muche that the Italians in Polonia begynn to complayne, that they are growne wiser.²⁴

Although his portrait of the Poles is more comprehensive than that of the Bohemians, it becomes clear that Peyton sees his real interests as lying elsewhere. In a letter to his father, written in 1599 and prefixed to the Cambridge

²¹ UL MS Kk. 5.2, fol. 120v.

²² UL MS Kk. 5.2, fol. 120v.

²³ BL Royal MS B I, fol. 1r.

²⁴ BL Royal MS B I, fol. 1r.

manuscript, Peyton explains that he treats ‘the Natures of the people [. . .] with all possible brevity’ because, he adds, it is ‘soe vullgarly knowne’ and not very different from existing descriptions.²⁵ Nevertheless, however concise these ethnographic portraits of the Poles and Bohemians might appear to be, they serve to reinforce Peyton’s fundamental observations about political patterns in these countries. For instance, the Polish affectation of living bravely is matched by Peyton’s observations that ‘the Poles are hardly drawne to warre, that must wholly be borne out of their particular estate’.²⁶

At the same time, the amount of administrative detail and the sheer comprehensiveness of his three main studies is unlike any other contemporary travel account of central Europe.²⁷ Taken together, Peyton’s three major texts share and transcend the matter-of-fact appeal of Edmund Tylney’s diplomatic manual, *Topographical Descriptions, Regiments, and Policies* (c. 1597–1601).²⁸ Tylney’s ambitious project to gather up-to-date intelligence remains unfinished, with a number of countries, including Poland, receiving only nominal attention. Whereas Tylney’s manual may have been designed to prepare diplomats and travellers for a tour of Europe, serving thus as a ‘manual for use in conducting foreign policy’,²⁹ Peyton’s three longer texts, *The View of Germany* and the relations of Bohemia and Poland–Lithuania, amount to substantial and accurate studies of the type supplied confidentially by modern ambassadors to their governments. Throughout, the organizing principle of each text is the stake England held in the places Peyton visited. Trade, religious denominations, domestic political profiles and foreign relations and alliances – all these dominate Peyton’s reports. His three main works show their enumerative strength in comprehensive tallies: for instance, a table shows the taxes paid by imperial free cities in *The View of Germany* and a tabular layout gives the regions and religious confessions of Poland–Lithuania’s many senators.³⁰ The level of granularity attained by Peyton is perhaps best captured by his account of the different faiths in the multi-ethnic Commonwealth of Poland–Lithuania (*A Relation of Polonia*, Ch. 16). Besides accounting for Poland’s Jews and Muslims as well as the substantial Catholic and Orthodox populations, Peyton’s overview of Protestant denominations appears to be comprehensive:

Of Protestantes the Caluinistes in Polonia are in greatest number, In Prussia and Liuonia the Lutheranes (Lutheranisme being allmost onely proper to the Germanes through all Europe). Theise twooe are most rooted in Prussia (the Ducal) being alltogether Euangelicall) and Liuonia, where the Eastlanders

²⁵ UL MS Kk. 5.2, fol. 2r.

²⁶ BL Royal MS B I, fol. 83r.

²⁷ The best discussion of insular accounts of Central Europe is Worthington’s *British and Irish Experiences*.

²⁸ Washington, DC, Folger Shakespeare Library, MS V.b. 182. On this manual, see William R. Streitberger, *Edmond Tylney, Master of the Revels and Censor of Plays* (New York: AMS Press, 1986).

²⁹ Streitberger, *Edmond Tylney*, ix.

³⁰ See, for example, the list of imperial electors in *The View of Germany* (UL MS Kk 5.2., fol. 72r-v) and the overview of senators in *A Relation of Polonia* (BL Royal MS 18 B I, fols. 50v-52v).

retayne some dregges of the Romish superstition, otherwise without religion for wante of clergymen.³¹

To this tally Peyton adds: 'greate stoare of Anabaptistes, Osiandristes, Ebionites, and of all sortes of Antitrinitaries' (fol. 43r).

But why did Peyton produce his accounts in the first place, and why did he visit central Europe? To answer this question, I have to explain the relationship between Peyton's father and Robert Cecil. The 1590s saw an arms race between the Earl of Essex and Cecil.³² Essex, leading the anti-Cecil faction at court, increasingly relied on the provision of intelligence to boost his reputation. He enlisted, among others, 'Anthony Bacon, Walsingham's former cryptographer, Thomas Phelippes, and the Spaniard Antonio Perez'.³³ Lawrence Stone estimates that 'Cecil's regular service [. . .] suffered a process of attrition during the years 1592–96 owing to the higher rewards offered by Essex'.³⁴ Cecil seemed losing to Essex on all fronts, to the extent that some of Cecil's ambassadors kept up appearances by providing 'official dispatches to Cecil, and unofficial accounts to Essex'.³⁵ But the balance of power started shifting around 1596: the fallout over the Cadiz expedition tarnished Essex's reputation, whereas Cecil's appointment as Secretary of State in the spring of that year gave him an official 'secret service budget'.³⁶ Cecil seized this opportunity and, in record time, built up a system that surpassed not only Essex's network but also the former arrangement left behind by Walsingham.³⁷ By the end of 1597, Cecil was England's undisputed spymaster.

At about this time, Peyton's father, Sir John, began to emerge as one of the most important features of Cecil's domestic network of intelligence. Appointed by Cecil in 1597 to the post of Lieutenant of the Tower, he held a sensitive office.³⁸ There is no shortage of notes and reports from Sir John to Cecil about prisoners' activity and intelligence, including in-depth accounts of Raleigh's emotional breakdown and the searching of Essex's person.³⁹ But the

³¹ BL Royal MS 18 B I, fol. 42v.

³² John Archer, *Sovereignty and Intelligence: Spying and Court Culture in the English Renaissance* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993), 72. On Cecil's network, see also David Loades, *The Cecils: Privilege and Power behind the Throne* (Kew: National Archives, 2007).

³³ Stephen Alford, *The Watchers: A Secret History of the Reign of Elizabeth I* (London: Allen Lane, 2012), Chapter 19; and Lawrence Stone, *An Elizabethan: Sir Horatio Palavicino* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956), 251. See also Alan Haynes, *Robert Cecil, 1st Earl of Salisbury, 1563–1612: Servant of Two Sovereigns* (London: Peter Owen, 1989), 31–6.

³⁴ Stone, *An Elizabethan: Sir Horatio Palavicino*, 252.

³⁵ Stone, *An Elizabethan: Sir Horatio Palavicino*, 252.

³⁶ Paul E. J. Hammer, 'New Light on the Cadiz Expedition of 1596', *Historical Research*, 70 (1997), 182–202; and Stone, *An Elizabethan: Sir Horatio Palavicino*, 253.

³⁷ Stone, *An Elizabethan: Sir Horatio Palavicino*, 254.

³⁸ The most senior post at the Tower was that of the largely titular Constable but Queen Elizabeth suspended this role during her reign.

³⁹ Most of Sir John's letters survive in the Cecil Papers in Hatfield House, others are among the domestic State Papers. The elder Peyton certainly did not enjoy this post and asked repeatedly to be released from it. His most formal request was addressed to the Privy Council (CP 181/142, the Tower, 1601, 17 April), two years before his wish was granted.

elder Peyton was no mere informer. In the secret correspondence James VI of Scotland conducted with a handful of English nobles, Cecil, or someone close to him, must have given James the impression that Sir John enjoyed considerably more influence than he actually wielded, for at one time the king even wrote directly to Sir John.⁴⁰

One particular incident demonstrates that Cecil even protected Sir John, risking a great deal in the process. Only three months after his coronation as King of England, in July 1603 James granted Sir John's wish to surrender the Lieutenancy of the Tower and take up the Governorship of Jersey. A few months later, however, details emerged of an affair that was supposed to have taken place in March that year, when Elizabeth was dying. Henry Clinton, the neurotic and cantankerous Earl of Lincoln, accused Sir John of treason. From the competing accounts of Lincoln and Sir John it emerges that in late March 1603 Edward de Vere, the Earl of Oxford, had approached the Earl of Lincoln about joining him in a conspiracy to prevent the accession of James.⁴¹ Lincoln claimed that he had reported the incident to Sir John, who did not act on this matter. In his defence, Sir John argued that he had felt that Oxford was frail and largely harmless.⁴² When the queen died in the early hours of 24 March, Cecil called a meeting of the Great Council, which Lincoln attended, though not Oxford, who appeared to have been excluded by Cecil. The gathered peers signed a document declaring James the rightful heir to the English crown, but when the document was printed later that day, Oxford's signature had been added.⁴³ This would suggest that Sir John had informed Cecil of Oxford's treasonable proposal to Lincoln, and that Cecil had chosen not only to protect Oxford, by ensuring that the latter's signature figured on the Great Council's declaration, but also his source, Sir John, by warning him about Lincoln's accusations and by ensuring that the entire affair bore no consequences for Sir John. The Folger Shakespeare Library owns a personal and relatively informal letter from Cecil to the elder Peyton, which Seymour de Ricci dates to March 1603.⁴⁴ After touching on Elizabeth's failing health, Cecil closes the letter with these words:

[Elizabeth] doth evry day more feele her sickness and her dulness vanisheth
which was the only great signe of danger / you shall heare from me as occasion

⁴⁰ John Bruce, *Correspondence of King James VI of Scotland with Sir Robert Cecil and Others in England* (London: Camden Society, 1861), liii. James also instructed his ambassadors to 'renew and confirm [their] acquaintance with the Lieutenant of the Tower' (David Dalrymple, *The Secret Correspondence with James VI King of Scotland* (Edinburgh: Millar, 1766), 7).

⁴¹ Daphne Pearson, *Edward de Vere (1550–1604): The Crisis and Consequences of Wardship* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 148–50; and Alan H. Nelson, *Monstrous Adversary: The Life of Edward de Vere, 17th Earl of Oxford* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2003), 410–18.

⁴² Nelson, *Monstrous Adversary*, 415.

⁴³ Nelson, *Monstrous Adversary*, 416.

⁴⁴ Folger Shakespeare Library X. c. 43. For the dating, see Seymour de Ricci and others, *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada*, 3 vols. (New York: Wilson, 1935), 1: 417 (item 1611.1).

serves and ever find me as I have told you confident in *youre* Innocency of my
hart and in *youre* honest zeale of a good Patriot and
Your loving freand,
Ro: Cecyll⁴⁵

I would date this letter to the last days of Elizabeth's life, between 22 and 24 March 1603. It is plausible that this letter was sent by Cecil to acknowledge Sir John's report of Lincoln's conversation with Oxford because Cecil speaks of the queen's ill health yet confirms his belief in Sir John's innocence. For many years after this episode Sir John would continue to supply Cecil with intelligence on France and Normandy during his tenure of the Governorship of Jersey. For instance, in a letter dated 17 May 1610 he gives details of commotions following the assassination of Henri IV on 13 May and adds that he daily sends 'into Normandy or Brittany to see how the people are inclined.'⁴⁶

The degree to which the elder Peyton enjoyed an intimate working relationship with Cecil has been underestimated, yet it bears directly on his son's travels to central Europe. I believe that there is sufficient evidence to show that Peyton's travels on the Continent were not a private tour but a service performed for Cecil. In a letter sent on 9 April 1600 Sir John appears to ask Cecil for his son's return:

I humbly addresse unto *you* suche advertysements as I have receyved from my
sonne oute of Italye. Desirous to have hym with me selfe, alwayes depend in
servyse *and* affectyon upon your honorable favors.⁴⁷

Sir John seems to be suggesting that his son's return to England after almost four years on the Continent lies within Cecil's powers. But there is a further, altogether more compelling piece of evidence for Cecil's involvement in Peyton's travels.

A letter sent by Peyton to his father from Cracow in May 1598 closes with an important item of information. Peyton writes that on '[t]he 12th/22nd of May we came to Cracow, where we shall await a supply of money from Mr. Wrath from Nurnberg.'⁴⁸ The 'Mr Wrath' mentioned in this letter, I believe, can be safely identified with John Wroth, a long-time Venice-based spy for Cecil's father, Lord Burghley. This happens to be the same John Wroth Fynes Moryson referred to in 1595 as being the only Englishman to travel to

⁴⁵ The 'dulness' Cecil speaks of was reported to James on 17 March by the Earl of Northumberland. But on 22 March Elizabeth spoke to the Privy Council to confirm James as her successor. When the Council returned the following day to ask her to confirm James in writing, she had lost the ability to speak (Catherine Loomis, *The Death of Elizabeth I: Remembering and Reconstructing the Virgin Queen* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 7–24).

⁴⁶ CP 196/2, Jersey, 7 May 1610. To this can be added Peyton's many letters to Cecil about prisoners kept in the Tower (CP Hatfield House). Peyton would continue to supply subsequent royal administrations with intelligence, as his letters to Lord Conway in late 1620s show (these later letters are now among the State Papers (hereafter SP); SP 16/528 fol. 47 is one such example).

⁴⁷ SP 12/2, fol. 173r, the Tower, 1600, 9 April.

⁴⁸ CP 61/20, Cracow, 1598, 14/24 May. Here Peyton gives both the Gregorian and Julian dates.

Constantinople by land.⁴⁹ We know Wroth was fluent in German because the nobleman Prince Ludwig of Anhalt-Köthen, who was touring England in 1596, mentions that he paid a visit near Ware in Hertfordshire to one 'Johann Wrat', who used to live in Venice and who spoke very good German.⁵⁰ In December 1597, Wroth was about to be sent by Cecil to Germany, and Sir Henry Wotton wrote to Cecil at the time, requesting a share in Wroth's embassy.⁵¹ Wotton's letter, which proposes that the intelligence gathering on particular German nobles to be conducted by Wotton and Wroth be divided along a geographical axis, shows that Wroth was tasked with the eastern part and the emperor himself, who resided in Prague at the time. However, Wotton appears not to have been chosen for this mission because some of the names of German nobles he lists against his name, such as the Landgrave of Hesse (Maurice of Hesse-Kassel) and the Palsgrave (Frederick II, the Elector Palatine), were visited by Wroth, who also saw the emperor during his mission.

Three of Wroth's letters sent to Cecil during this particular stay in Germany survive among the state papers. On 17 January 1598 Wroth was still in the Netherlands, about to make his way to Utrecht. He states that he hopes to travel to the Elector Palatine, who was residing at the time in the Oberpfalz:

I understande heare, thate the Electoure Palatine, is atte Amberge in the higherre Palatine, and thearefore in takinge my Jorneye directlye theatherre, I perpose in the waye to deliverre herre mayesties letters for the Landgrave of Hesse and marquise of Ansbache, thorough whose contries I muste passe.⁵²

Amberg in the Oberpfalz lies only 60 km east of Nuremberg, and Ansbach is some 40 km south-west of the city. At the time of Peyton's arrival in Cracow, therefore, Wroth was visiting two courts in the vicinity of Nuremberg, thus being in a position to supply Peyton in Cracow with funds from Cecil.

But why did Cecil send Peyton to Poland? In 1597 Cecil's foreign intelligence network had gaps. Although his informants harvested information from across Europe, from Spain to Sweden,⁵³ coverage of the Empire was patchy and difficult to obtain, as Peyton notes in his letter, whereas Poland–Lithuania

⁴⁹ Fynes Moryson, *An Itinerary: Containing His Ten Yeeres Travell through the Twelve Dominions*, 4 vols. (Glasgow: MacLehose, 1907–1908), 1: 425. On Wroth, see Gustav Ungerer, *A Spaniard in Elizabethan England: The Correspondence of Antonio Pérez's Exile* (London: Tamesis, 1974), 337, n. 4. On 20 October 1598 John Chamberlain wrote to Dudley Carleton that Wroth was about to embark on his embassy to Constantinople (*Letters Written by John Chamberlain* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1838), 24) but Gerald MacLean has shown that Wroth's appointment was never approved by the Levant Company (*The Rise of Oriental Travel: English Visitors to the Ottoman Empire, 1580–1720* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 232, n. 13).

⁵⁰ Johann Christoph Beckmann, *Accessiones Historiae Anhaltinae* (Zerbst, 1716), 175.

⁵¹ Logan Pearsall Smith, *The Life and Letters of Sir Henry Wotton* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1907), 305.

⁵² SP 81/8, fol. 31r, 1598, 17 January. Wroth's orthography here and elsewhere in his letters is highly idiosyncratic.

⁵³ Stone, *An Elizabethan: Sir Horatio Palavicino*, 256. In a 1598 memorandum on spies on his payroll Cecil notes that 'there were "friends" in the places just listed in addition to Germany and Denmark' (Alan Haynes, *Invisible Power: The Elizabethan Secret Services, 1570–1603* (Stroud: Sutton, 1992), 140).

is missing altogether.⁵⁴ Knowledge of imperial and Polish–Lithuanian matters was particularly important to England at the time because of their amicable relationships with Spain. Furthermore, relations between England and Poland were delicate in 1597. The Poles supplied both England and Spain with arms and produce, yet England had seized Danzig ships bound for Spain.⁵⁵ A Polish embassy to Elizabeth in 1597 became infamous for the ambassador's alleged insult to the queen, and in the following year, in an act of shuttle diplomacy, George Carew failed to persuade the Poles to alter their policy towards Spain.⁵⁶ Hence, it is not surprising that Peyton would follow the Spanish ambassador to the Empire as the latter crossed the border of Bohemia into Poland. As Peyton writes in the enclosure in his 1598 letter from Cracow, he remains hot on the ambassador's heels:

Gulielmus a Sancto Clemento, 'legier' for the King of Spain in the emperor's Court, left for Warsaw from Prague a few days before us, had lain three days 12 miles from Warsaw, though we could hear of none at the Court that had seen him. He went on to Thorn and Dantzic, possibly to secure a contract for selling all the corn, &c., of those parts to the King of Spain, moved before by the messengers of the Cardinal of Austria. To which purpose, after the return of the Polish embassy out of England, the King of Poland was counselled to prohibit the transporting of corn and munition into England for a year. But it was not followed, perhaps because the King would not make himself more enemies in his great troubles.⁵⁷

Peyton even adds that he made enquiries at the Polish court as to the purpose of the Spanish ambassador's visit. The Cracow letter was passed on by Sir John to Cecil, in whose papers it has since remained. This was not the only time that Sir John would hand over his son's letters to Cecil. On 18 July 1599 Sir John writes to Cecil 'This morning I received from my son a letter dated from Padua [. . .] with it the advertisements enclosed'.⁵⁸ In December 1600 Sir John writes again to Cecil that he 'received yesternight this letter enclosed from my son. Thorpe mentioned in my son's letters is the party directed for Spain.'⁵⁹

⁵⁴ In addition to pressing political reasons, Cecil may have had an economic appetite for new markets: just as Richard Hakluyt entered Cecil's patronage at the time, opening up commercial vistas in the Americas, so the younger Peyton could effectively chart the political and financial opportunities in the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth, Europe's largest and probably least known territory.

⁵⁵ On the tense Anglo-Polish relations under Elizabeth in and after 1597, see Maija Jansson and N. M. Rogozhin (eds.), *England and the North: The Russian Embassy of 1613–1614* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1994), 41–3; 48. See also Henryk Zins, *England and the Baltic in the Elizabethan Era* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1972), passim; and J. K. Fedorowicz, *England's Baltic Trade in the Early Seventeenth Century: A Study in Anglo-Polish Commercial Diplomacy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 15–16 and passim.

⁵⁶ Carew's instructions from Cecil are preserved in London, British Library, Cotton MS Nero B.II, fols. 245v–52r. This is the same George Carew to whom Warner and Gilson wrongly ascribed the composition of *A Relation of Polonia* (*Catalogue of Western Manuscripts*, 2: 279).

⁵⁷ CP 61/19, Cracow, 1598, 14/24 May.

⁵⁸ CP 71/69, the Tower, 1599, 18 July.

⁵⁹ CP 181/51, the Tower, 1600, December.

We know from Wroth's correspondence with Cecil that he was tasked with persuading the emperor to modify his policy toward Spain.⁶⁰ At the same time, Cecil deemed it prudent to have John Peyton engage in the parallel yet confidential mission of gathering information on the Empire and Poland-Lithuania, as well as following the Spanish ambassador to the Imperial court in his travels from Prague to Warsaw and to the Polish member cities of the Hanseatic League.⁶¹ On 8 January 1598 Peyton wrote to his father from Regensburg with details of the topics discussed at the Imperial Diet and, specifically, of the emperor's request for funds to extend his Turkish wars.⁶² Peyton adds that this matter will be concluded in Prague, to which we know he travelled later that year: 'What the [outcome] of [the emperor's request] is, I will signifye from Prage.'⁶³ Other than the opening and closing formulae, there is nothing personal in Peyton's letter. Characteristically, the contents of his correspondence with his father are limited to reporting confidential matters of German or Polish foreign policy. It is difficult to believe that the contents of this letter were not ultimately destined for Cecil. Furthermore, seven years later Peyton hints at the services performed for Cecil in the past. In October 1605 Sir John wrote to Cecil from Jersey to ask for support for his long-standing project of draining a part of the Cambridgeshire fens. He ends his letter with the information that his son 'shall inform your lordship of the particulars'.⁶⁴ In the promised letter Peyton hints at his intelligence gathering for Cecil: '[h]aving divers times attended to present my service, as well of myself as by my father's directions.'⁶⁵ Thus, Peyton knew that he was not just fulfilling his filial duties but supplying Cecil with information.

William H. Sherman has offered a typology of the early modern traveller: editor, pilgrim, errant knight, merchant, explorer, colonizer, captive or castaway, ambassador, pirate, scientist.⁶⁶ The category that is missing is that of intelligencer. Sir Thomas Palmer, who published a chart of the various kinds of traveller in 1606, includes preachers, postmen, soldiers and spies.⁶⁷ Palmer provides a diagram grouping what he calls regular travellers into three principal categories, voluntaries, involuntaries, and nonvoluntaries.⁶⁸ This last category includes all those sent abroad on missions by 'the prince, & employed in matters of peace or war'.⁶⁹ In the case of 'peace', Palmer distinguishes between 'Honorable' (prestigious) and 'not Honorable' (not prestigious)

⁶⁰ SP 80/1 fols. 247r-48r. This is a long letter sent from the emperor's court on 30 April 1598.

⁶¹ CP 61/19, Cracow, 1598, 14/24 May.

⁶² UL MS Kk.5.2, fol. 99v.

⁶³ UL MS Kk.5.2, fol. 99v.

⁶⁴ CP 112/111, 1605, 10 October.

⁶⁵ CP 112/112, 1605, 10 October or later.

⁶⁶ William H. Sherman, 'Stirrings and Searchings (1500-1720)', in Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 17-36.

⁶⁷ Sir Thomas Palmer, *An Essay of the Means How to Make Our Travels into Foreign Countries the More Profitable and Honourable*, STC / 1075:17 (London: Humphrey Lownes, 1606), 1B.

⁶⁸ Palmer, *An Essay of the Means*, 1B.

⁶⁹ Palmer, *An Essay of the Means*, 1B.

missions. The former is divided into posts and intelligencers. According to Palmer, an honest (as opposed to base) intelligencer must 'be expert in the Tongues, [. . .] resemble all gestures and behaiours, [. . .] be well furnished of all necessaries, [. . .] be secret aboute ordinarie, [. . .] be able to endure all things, [and] keep themselues from being knowen for Intelligencers.'⁷⁰ Peyton knew Latin, German, and Italian; he was 'furnished of all necessaries' by Cecil; he was discreet, as he himself attests in his correspondence with his father; and he was so good at keeping himself 'from being knowen' for an intelligencer that history has forgotten about him. If such intelligencers could be considered travellers, then surely some forms of early modern travel writing can count as intelligence gathering and even espionage.

There has been a considerable amount of research on early modern news networks, diplomacy and written correspondence in recent years.⁷¹ In a comparative essay on the Central Intelligence Agency and early modern intelligence networks, William H. Sherman makes an effort to distinguish between the sixteenth and seventeenth-century news networks of Francis Walsingham or Robert Cecil and modern concepts of spying, but he does add, under a paragraph entitled 'Espionage', the important observation that 'young gentlemen travelling on the Continent were expected to gather and transmit foreign intelligence'.⁷² Peyton was only one of many contemporaries who left England on what we may want to call an Elizabethan Grand Tour, a peculiar mixture of visiting European countries for culture, education and intelligence. This mode of travel became even more common under King James, as Edward Chaney and Timothy Wilks have shown.⁷³ Chaney and Wilks argue that such intelligence gathering was often a precondition for those wishing to embark on a public career:

Most agents and informers were freelancers, providing services and information in the hope of reward or recognition. It could hardly be called a career path and most never emerged from obscurity. Yet, it can be seen that a high proportion of those who succeeded in achieving eminence or a position of authority in late-Elizabethan and early-Stuart England, as young men, had chosen to 'lie abroad',

⁷⁰ Palmer, *An Essay of the Means*, 1B.

⁷¹ See, for instance, David Potter, *Foreign Intelligence and Information in Elizabethan England: Volume 25: Two English Treatises on the State of France, 1580–1584* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); James Daybell, *The Material Letter in Early Modern England: Manuscript Letters and the Culture and Practices of Letter-Writing, 1512–1635* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012); and Robyn Adams and Rosanna Cox, *Diplomacy and Early Modern Culture* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010). In addition, there are recent conferences such as *Cultures of Correspondence in Early Modern Britain* (Plymouth University, 2011) and *Splendid Encounters I and II: Diplomats and Diplomacy in Europe: 1500–1750* (Warsaw, 2013; Bath 2014), as well as the research project *Early Modern News Networks* at Queen Mary University, led by Joad Raymond.

⁷² William H. Sherman, 'Research Intelligence in Early Modern England', *Studies in Intelligence*, 37 (1994), 63–73, at 71.

⁷³ Edward Chaney and Timothy Wilks, *The Jacobean Grand Tour: Early Stuart Travellers in Europe* (London: Tauris, 2013). See, for instance, Simon Willis's travels to France (31). I am grateful to Daniel Carey for having drawn my attention to this book.

to borrow Sir Henry Wotton's notorious pun, for a few years, observing and learning.⁷⁴

They conclude that 'many of the last generation of Tudor travellers were connected in some way to the Elizabethan spy networks'.⁷⁵

Peyton's correspondence plays a crucial role in uncovering his motives for writing, not least because it shows him to have been an intelligencer in the way Palmer understood the concept. In a letter written to his father from Basle in 1599 and preserved in the Cambridge manuscript, Peyton explains that he has just completed his tour of central Europe, and now that he has taken his 'leave of those Northern Contryes *and* people', he intends 'to transporte [him] selfe into *Italy*'.⁷⁶ He then mentions his father's instructions:

your letters delivered mee at Heydelberg, by your servant John Westmorland, to send you the Journall *and* such observations, as I had till that time made of my travails, by him I returned bothe.⁷⁷

By having a servant handle the direct correspondence between father and son, the Peytons were placing emphasis on confidentiality, ensuring that the information collected stayed in the family. After all, we know that Sir John passed on his son's 'observations' to Cecil. Next, Peyton gives us a glimpse into the purpose of his writing:

The rest which concernes the polliticque part, and Administration of Rule, or Justice, I partly obteyned by reading the particular Historyes and Ordynances of the places themselves, but especially by conversing with such as were willinge and any way able to informe mee, which were in these times very rare, specially in *Germany*, either their iealousy or carelesnes, debarring a Stranger from hope of understanding much of their Estate, It being in the Free Cities dangerous for a man to bee noted of curious enquiry, what I could attaine to I herewithall humbly tender as my rawe and rude labours: cravinge your favorable acceptance of them and Fatherly blessinge of mee.⁷⁸

In the above letter Peyton speaks of the perils of gathering intelligence in Germany, and that it is 'dangerous for a man to bee noted of curious enquiry'. And Peyton's 'curious enquiry' – his targeted and persistent gathering of information – stood in the service of Robert Cecil, Elizabeth's secretary of state.

But Peyton's travel accounts differ from the letters that Wotton, Wroth and countless other ambassadors and gentleman travellers sent home. His reports of Germany, Bohemia and Poland–Lithuania belong to the more sophisti-

⁷⁴ Chaney and Wilks, *The Jacobean Grand Tour*, 32.

⁷⁵ Chaney and Wilks, *The Jacobean Grand Tour*, 32.

⁷⁶ UL MS Kk.5.2, fol. 2r.

⁷⁷ UL MS Kk.5.2, fol. 2r.

⁷⁸ UL MS Kk.5.2, fol. 2r-v.

cated written achievements in Elizabethan intelligence gathering. In particular, the remarkable attention that *A Relation of Polonia* has received from scholars working on early modern Polish, German, Ukrainian, Lithuanian, Belarusian and Russian history speaks to the continued value of Peyton's writing as an important historical source.⁷⁹ The production of Peyton's reports required careful planning, excellent local contacts and a high degree of education in Latin, law and political theory. Gathering intelligence of this type was dangerous work and it required discretion as well as initiative. But perhaps the polished nature of Peyton's reports is best expressed in their stasis: any sense of an itinerary or geographical movement has been removed from his three main texts. Instead, the three accounts digest complex legal, historical, social and political data from a range of sources, organizing the matter in a relatively neutral and comprehensive fashion. Peyton's texts are not travel accounts in any recognizable form; we would classify them as forerunners of the country profiles published by the UK's Foreign and Commonwealth Office or those contained in the Central Intelligence Agency's World Factbook.⁸⁰

If all this places Peyton firmly in Cecil's network of foreign intelligencers, then the letters that bookend the Cambridge manuscript reveal further uses of Peyton's confidential travelogues. The closing letter dates from 1618 and is dedicated to his eldest son, Robert. Its contents seem to remove themselves from the exigencies of political reality – perhaps because Cecil and his network were no more. This letter shows how Peyton's diplomatic treatises could continue to exist as didactic voyage accounts, training a new generation of travellers:

Wherefore, out of my desire to have thee knowe some what (as an Introduction) of foreigne Contryes their Governments, lawes Customes and languages (which may hereafter prove to thee as to my selfe at the least a private Contentment) I constantly purpose [. . .] to send thee abroad to travell, (seeing *Errasset si forte minus, minor esset Ulysses*⁸¹) and my hope is with this preparati[o]ns Memoriall accompanying thee in thy iorny, thou mayst by paralelling *and* comparing former times to those of thine abode, obteyne in shorter space fuller knowledge. Reserving particular instructions and di/rections, to a farther time and better leisure, I have now only taken occasion, as I beganne this discourse of my obser/vations to my Father, soe to end it to thee, and for thee my sonne whome God blesse./.⁸²

This letter completes the re-dedication of Peyton's writings, showing just how pliable such travel accounts could be: they began as labours of filial obedience

⁷⁹ See footnote 2 for a selection of treatments of *A Relation of Polonia*.

⁸⁰ Website Data.Gov.UK 'FCO Country Profiles' <<http://data.gov.uk/dataset/fco-country-information>> and <Central Intelligence Agency The World Factbook <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/>> (both accessed May 2014).

⁸¹ 'Si minus errasset, notus minus esset Ulysses', Ovid, *Epistolae ex Ponto*, Book 3, Letter 1.

⁸² UL MS Kk.5.2, fol. 158v.

yet were actually bespoke intelligence for Robert Cecil; then one text was adapted as a politically savvy accession gift to James; and finally Peyton's writings aided the geographical education of his own son.

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