‘Wht pases betwixt us’: Emotion and Gender in Seventeenth-Century English Friendship

By

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Abstract

This thesis investigates the lived experience of friendship in seventeenth-century England using an emotions history approach. Although historians are increasingly acknowledging the emotional dimension of early modern English friendship, asserting that instrumental connections were often entwined with some degree of warmth, the specific emotions engendered within the relationship remain largely unexplored. This project utilizes a valuable body of primary source material, primarily underused correspondence from the seventeenth-century Midlands, to expose experienced and expressed emotions involved in ties of friendship, with a particular focus on the gendered experience of emotion. It explores emotions within friendships spanning across gender lines, of unequal social rank, and of varying levels of emotional attachment, significantly broadening the scope of early modern English friendships examined in historical scholarship. It also considers the various emotions generated within friendship conflict, a previously unexplored aspect of this relationship. Through detailed analysis of the evidence this study reveals the impact that gender, social rank, and kinship had on shaping the contours of these ties and the emotions experienced and articulated within them, and challenges dominant historiographical interpretations of male-male and female-female friendship. The emotional rewards that seventeenth-century English people perceived friendship could potentially provide, it will be shown, go well beyond the emotional fulfillment offered by nurturing sentimental bonds. Ultimately, this thesis contends that seventeenth-century English friendships of all types should be considered affective relationships, the diverse array of emotions evoked, expressed, and intentionally sought within them reflecting the great significance of this relationship in the period.

Introduction

In his influential 1657 treatise on the nature and practice of friendship, Jeremy Taylor declared friendship to be 'the greatest band in the world'.[1] This description would have resonated with his readers as the relationships most important to an early modern person's wellbeing and security in life all fell into the category of friendship. A 'friend' is commonly understood today as someone with whom one has a relationship based on mutual affection independent of familial and sexual relations. The term 'friend' in the early modern period, however, was used to refer to a wide variety of individuals (with whom one could have varying levels of emotional attachment) who provided support and security in one's life: kin through blood and marriage, patrons and clients, masters and apprentices, political affiliates, acquaintances, etc. While it is unlikely that every individual friendship lived up to Taylor's ideal of '…the greatest love, and the greatest usefulness…and the greatest union of minds, of which brave men and women are capable', each friendship nevertheless would have contributed to the overall emotional and practical wellbeing of an early modern person.[2]

Despite the significance of the relationship in early modern English society, 'histories of early modern emotions have', as Laura Gowing observes, 'neglected friendship, with all its complications, for marriage'.[3] The absence of emotions analyses becomes increasingly apparent when considering the trajectory of the historiography, as the bulk of scholarly discussion has revolved around whether friendship included an emotional element, with recent insights suggesting that the relationship was often an intricate blend of practicality and sentimental feeling.[4] The only existing scholarship to examine early modern English friendship through an emotions history lens proposes, furthermore, that emotion is

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[1] Jeremy Taylor, *A Discourse of the Nature, Offices and Measures of Friendship, with Rules of Conducting it.* (London, 1657), p.53.
[2] Taylor, *A Discourse*, p.15.
[3] Laura Gowing, 'Reviewed Work: Transformations of Love: The Friendship of John Evelyn and Margaret Godolphin, by Frances Harris', *The English Historical Review*, 119:481 (2004), pp.452-54.
[4] Naomi Tadmor, *Family and Friends in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge University Press: 2009), pp.207, 213; Keith Thomas, *The Ends of Life: Roads to Fulfilment in Early Modern England* (Oxford University Press: 2010), p.199.

discernible even in friendships which appear solely functional.[5] This neglect can undoubtedly be attributed in large part to the relatively recent establishment of emotions history as a distinct field of research in the past few decades. While historians are actively contemplating the role of emotions in many different areas and periods of history, there is, therefore, still much ground yet to be covered. This thesis builds upon the compelling intersection of the growing significance of emotions in historical analysis and recognition in the latest scholarship on friendship of its emotional component. It aims to contribute to the historiography by expanding upon those studies which assert that the lived experience of friendship is best understood as a complex combination of function and affect, using the underutilized correspondence collections of five seventeenth-century Midlands families with the aim of creating a larger pool of evidence and analysis and more detailed understanding of the relationship than is currently available. Crucially, however, this thesis seeks to move beyond simply pointing out the existence of sentimental feeling in friendship as the majority of recent scholarship has focused on doing. Instead, drawing from an approach created specifically for the study of emotions in history, this thesis will investigate as far as possible the full range and depth of emotions experienced within the relationship, paying particular attention to the influence of gender on emotional experience and expression, thereby advancing the historiography in this nascent field. In uncovering the emotions engendered in friendship this research endeavors to offer a deeper, more nuanced understanding of the experience of one the most important types of interpersonal relationships in a seventeenth-century English person's life.

Literature Review

Friendship

Early modern English friendship, as noted above, is an area which has scarcely been subjected to emotions history analysis. Notions about the emotional lives of early modern English people have,

[5] Lizbeth Powell, 'The Emotional Landscape of Sir Thomas Parkyns of Bunny, Nottinghamshire: Friendship', *Midland History* 41:2 (2016), p.185.

however, played a significant role in determining the course of the historiography, with earlier scholarship divided as to the extent to which friendship could be considered an affective relationship. A key figure in shaping the discussion, Lawrence Stone considered friendship in his seminal 1977 text, *Family, Sex and Marriage in England*.[6] Though it was only a very brief exploration of the relationship, Stone's interpretation of early modern English friendship in this study has been impactful in much the same way as his views on the family have guided decades of scholarship on the topic. In what is referred to by Lynn Johnson as his 'now famous condemnation of friendship', Stone asserts that friends 'before the eighteenth century' were nothing more than a person's 'advisors, associates and backers'; people 'who could help one on in life, with whom one could safely do business, or upon whom one was in some way dependent'.[7] Stone saw friendships, like familial relations, as being largely transactional and emotionally distant in 'a society in which a majority of the individuals that composed it found it very difficult to establish close emotional ties to any other person'.[8] Preoccupation with survival in a preindustrial world and the threat of relationships ending through premature death in a society with a high mortality rate caused relations between people, in Stone's mind, to be 'at best cold and at worst hostile'.[9] Friendship in early modern England was, according to Stone, largely devoid of emotional attachment and based entirely upon instrumental and material needs.

Stone based his argument regarding cold interpersonal relationships upon his examination of primary sources such as diaries and wills, as well as F.G. Emmison's summaries of a selection of sixteenth-century Essex court cases. His utilitarian perspective on friendship, however, likely also draws from earlier scholarship exploring the political and social landscape of early modern England which identifies patronage as a primary mechanism of ascending social and political hierarchies.[10] Notably,

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[6] Lawrence Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500-1800* (Weidenfeld and Nicolson: London, 1977), p.19.
[7] Lynn Johnson, 'Friendship, Coercion, and Interest: Debating the Foundations of Justice in Early Modern England', *Journal of Early Modern History* (2004), p.47; Stone, *Family, Sex and Marriage*, p.97.
[8] Stone, *Family, Sex and Marriage*, p.99.
[9] Ibid.
[10] E.g. L. B. Namier, *The Structure of Politics at the Accession of George III* (Palgrave Macmillan: London, 1961; 1st edn 1929), p.28; R. B. Smith, Land and politics in the England of Henry VIII (Oxford, 1970), p.22.

Harold Perkin's *The Origins of Modern English Society*, highlights the significance of male patron-client ties, suggesting that patronage served as the fundamental building block of the social structure in early modern England.[11] In his discussion of friendship Perkin points to Francis Bacon's perspective on this bond, noting that the philosopher declared that true friendship is rare and exists predominantly between individuals of unequal social status.[12] It was by procuring 'the friendship of those already in possession of property and influence', Perkin explains, that men of the lower and middling ranks who would not inherit or marry into wealth could advance socially.[13] Affiliation with a powerful man also served as a safeguard for those lower down the social scale, as the influential, respected patron could vouch for them in times of trouble. Patronage was, however, integral for members of the higher ranks as well. Perkin elucidates that 'the political parties which manipulated majorities in the Cabinet and House of Commons were groupings of 'friends' around leading aristocratic patrons, held together by the hope and expectation of 'place''.[14] It was these unequal and transactional relationships that, in Perkin's view, defined friendship and served as the cohesive force binding society together.[15]

Shani D' Cruze came to similar conclusions in her interrogation of the social, political, and occupational networks of middling people in eighteenth-century Colchester.[16] In an attempt to more clearly define 'the identity and the place of the middling sort in eighteenth-century urban society', D' Cruze demonstrates how the middling sort can more properly be understood as a social group not only in terms of occupational factors, but, also, with regard to relational aspects, which reveals the reciprocal dependence of eighteenth-century middling people, including how the collective work of families within the domestic realm upheld the head of household's public position.[17] These various networks were, D' Cruze explains, formed in part by 'friends', who, in the eighteenth century, were 'those who supported

[11] Harold Perkin, *The Origins of Modern English Society: 1780-1880* (London: Routledge, 1969), p.42.
[12] Perkin, *Origins*, p.41.
[13] Ibid.
[14] Ibid, p.42.
[15] Ibid, p.41.
[16] Shani D' Cruze, 'The Middling Sort in Eighteenth-Century Colchester: Independence, Social Relations and the Community Broker' in Jonanthan Barry and Christopher Brooks (eds.), *The Middling Sort of People: Culture, Society and Politics in England 1550-1800*, p.181.
[17] D' Cruze 'The Middling Sort', p.207.

your status in the public world', and those to whom one would 'apply for a pension, a pardon, or a loan'.[18] Friends were, in D' Cruze's perspective, 'your landlord, your employer, the most affluent member of your parish vestry, the neighbourhood victualler, perhaps the local cleric'.[19] They would be involved in arranging marriages, executing wills, and providing support in court matters.[20] Early modern English friendships are presented by D' Cruze as predominantly unequal, utilitarian bonds, however, she concedes that spanning this broad range of supportive relationships, 'something nearer approaching reciprocity can be included' as well.[21]

Friendship, for the most part, received only marginal attention from historians until fairly recently, despite their longstanding recognition of its importance in early modern English society. It featured primarily as a minor aspect of consideration in studies on the family and marriage, reflecting the prevailing interest of early modern English historians at the time in the family, which Stone asserts is 'the only viable unit of study'.[22] This discussion was, nevertheless, advanced, with several historians disputing the idea that friendship was an affectionless relationship. Alan Macfarlane, for instance, proposed that Stone misinterpreted or purposefully overlooked evidence, including that used in Macfarlane's work, which did not support his hypothesis that warm, affectionate relationships were the preserve of the eighteenth and later centuries.[23]

In his own research on 'the family life' of the seventeenth-century diarist, Ralph Josselin, Macfarlane underscores the sentimental connections Josselin had with a 'quite distinct group of close friends'.[24] Macfarlane acknowledges that Josselin considered those who provided instrumental support, such as kin and wealthy patrons, as friends, however, he also observes that Josselin possessed a

[18] D' Cruze 'The Middling Sort', p.189.
[19] Ibid.
[20] Ibid.
[21] Ibid, p.206.
[22] Stone, *Family, Sex and Marriage*, p.19.
[23] Alan Macfarlane, 'Reviewed work: *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500-1800*, by Lawrence Stone', *History and Theory* 18:1, (Feb: 1979), pp. 115,118.
[24] Alan Macfarlane, *The Family Life of Ralph Josselin, A Seventeenth Century Clergyman: An Essay in Historical Anthropology* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1970), p. 150.

distinguishable group of 'real' friends with whom he shared a relatively equal financial standing and possessed genuine fondness for.[25] Though he points out that Josselin referred to one of his wealthy patrons as his 'deare friend' on more than one occasion, suggesting that it is therefore possible that 'his relations with the family were composed of more than subservience and gratitude', Macfarlane's reference to Josselin's affectionate and equal relationships as his 'real' friendships indicates, however, that he drew a distinction between friendship ties based on their apparent emotional importance.[26] Bonds which resemble more closely modern forms of the relationship in terms of authenticity and sentimental attachment are considered by Macfarlane Josselin's 'real' friendships.[27] Ties seemingly dominated by material concerns, such as Josselin's patron-client relationships, by contrast, were friendships in name but not necessarily in meaning.[28]

This understanding of the relationship as manifesting in two distinct forms is supported by Randolph Trumbach, who considers friendship, rather than family, to be 'the truly significant institution' in early modern England.[29] In his work on aristocratic familial relations he recognizes the term 'friend' as referring to a person's kin, patrons, and others whom one relied upon for instrumental support, but, also, as a description for 'an individual to whom one was attached by warm affection'.[30] In Trumbach's view, friendship primarily took either an 'instrumental' or 'expressive' form, being a polarity of utility and sentiment.[31] Both types, he perceives, however, were understood as legitimate friendship within the 'protean' early modern English understanding of the word.[32]

[25] Macfarlane, *Family Life*, p.150.
[26] Ibid, p.152.
[27] Ibid.
[28] Ibid.
[29] Randolph Trumbach, *The Rise of the Egalitarian Family: Aristocratic Kinship and Domestic Relations in Eighteenth-Century England* (Academic Press: New York, 1978), p.65.
[30] Trumbach, *The Rise of the Egalitarian Family*, p.64.
[31] Trumbach, *The Rise of the Egalitarian Family*, p.64.
[32] Ibid.

Keith Wrightson, who considers friendship to be often a 'more vital' social tie than kinship, further reinforced this conception.[33] Noting that the term 'friends' was 'used to denote kinsfolk' and those whom one depended on for functional purposes, he explains that it also, however, 'was at least as often employed to indicate friendship in the modern sense'.[34] Examples of 'close personal bonds' reflecting modern friendships marked by affection and personal selection, Wrightson argues, 'bring into question the interpretations of historians who place an undue stress upon conflict in the village community, or who infer from contemporary child-rearing practices the predominance of a combative, hostile and neurotic personality type'.[35] The perception of an antagonistic, emotionally distant society typified by Stone, had obscured, therefore, in Wrightson's view, not only the reality of relations among English society at large, but also, a second, distinct form of friendship based on emotional attachment.

Peter Rushton's understanding of friendship in his work on marriage also largely supports this perspective. Questioning 'the nature of the friends' involved in 'marriage contributions' led Rushton to conclude that 'there were two types of relationships in which property was transmitted at marriage'.[36] The first type was 'a power relationship of considerable force' involving 'the transference of major sections of family inheritance to which the couple were heirs', while the second type was 'between relative equals in which property contributions, also substantial, were made in the spirit of mutual interest and affectionate support'.[37] In Rushton's point of view then, there were two contrasting forms of friendship, the first distinguished by utilitarian concerns and uneven power distribution, and the second by warmth and reciprocity.

When friendship was eventually examined as a subject in its own right, especially in the crucial contributions of Naomi Tadmor and Keith Thomas, however, a more nuanced, multi-faceted image of the relationship emerged which challenged the dichotomy scholars had often imposed upon it. By

[33] Keith Wrightson, *English Society, 1580-1680* (Rutgers University Press: 1982), p.59.
[34] Wrightson, *English Society*, p.63.
[35] Ibid.
[36] Peter Rushton, 'Property, Power and Family networks: The Problem of Disputed Marriage in Early Modern England', *Journal of Family History* 11:3 (1986), p.211.
[37] Rushton, *Property, Power and Family*, p.211.

methodically tracing the friendship networks of Thomas Turner, an eighteenth-century man of middling rank, Naomi Tadmor illustrates how, while 'instrumental exchanges characterised Thomas Turner's relationships with all his ''friends', related and non-related', his friendships were also often sentimental ties, with 'the balance between sentiments and interests' varying 'from relationship to relationship, and over time'.[38] She therefore criticizes historians' tendency to view 'expressive relationships among friends' as being 'opposed to instrumental friendship', arguing that Turner's friendships reveal that 'affective friendship relations were increasingly tied with instrumental and occupational relationships'.[39] Friendship, in Turner's case, predominantly manifested as a reciprocal, instrumental bond, established either with individuals to whom he had a preexisting sentimental attachment to, such as kin, or those with whom Turner esteemed or deemed it wise to cultivate a friendly relationship with. Regular interactions with friends in the latter category often, however, resulted in the development of more amiable bonds. Turner and his friends performed many vital 'services' and 'favours' for one another and, whatever the level of sentimental significance at any particular moment in time, these relationships often held paramount importance in his life.[40]

Tadmor's analysis was supported by Keith Thomas in his study of the ways in which early modern English people sought to live meaningful lives. Including friendship as 'one of life's greatest pleasures' in early modern England, this book devotes an informative chapter to the relationship, considering aspects ranging from the various conceptions of friendship existing in literary representations as well as in practice, to a growing consensus in the period as to the 'life-enhancing value' of friendship, to attitudes towards male, female, and opposite sex friendships.[41] Due to the broad ranging scope Thomas makes many observations about various elements of friendship. Running through the chapter, however, is a central argument that 'in practice, the two kinds of friendship, affectionate and instrumental,

[38] Tadmor, *Family and Friends*, pp.207, 213.
[39] Ibid, p.177.
[40] Ibid, pp.272-3.
[41] Thomas, *The Ends of Life*, p.194.

overlapped'.[42] Similarly to Tadmor, Thomas found that 'since most people's close friends were neighbours, business colleagues, or near relations, friendship merely strengthened a bond which would have existed anyway. Conversely, there were few affectionate relationships which served no practical purpose'.[43]

Fondness between friends was key to friendship's serving as a source of satisfaction. As the expansion of the market and the establishment of 'an impersonal national state' towards the end of the early modern period resulted in more privacy, individuals were able to more freely fashion their own lives and could exercise a degree of independence and personal expression in the selection of friends and social circles.[44] This, Thomas posits, allowed early modern English people to develop their identities as individuals and find fulfillment within themselves. Through 'expressing their affection for their friends and their families', early modern English people recognized that self-fulfillment did not necessarily entail self-centeredness, and over time, therefore, interpersonal bonds surpassed 'the public and political values championed by civic humanists' in perceived importance.[45]

In a similar vein, Lynn Johnson challenges Stone's and other historians' 'treatment of 'the intense assertions of friendship as so much oil for the wheels of ambition' in her examination of friendship's function within the early modern debate on 'the role of virtue in human action'.[46] She begins by pointing out the inaccuracy of Stone's perception that sentimental feeling and instrumental expectation were mutually exclusive. Rather than exploring the question of emotional attachment between friends, however, Johnson demonstrates the meaningful 'appeal' that the relationship itself had for early modern people.[47] She clarifies that it is 'not in doubt' that 'friendship served instrumental and material purposes', but asserts that this should not distract from how it also allowed early modern English people to live by 'the virtues of generosity, gratitude, and promise-keeping' in a society in which virtue was 'the real

[42] Thomas, *The Ends of Life*, p.199.
[43] Ibid.
[44] Ibid, p.225.
[45] Ibid.
[46] Johnson, 'Friendship, Coercion, and Interest', p.47.
[47]Ibid, p.46.

business'.[48] Friendship was a means of achieving instrumental ends which relied upon practicing cherished values such as honesty, goodwill, and communal interest. The 'language of friendship was', Johnson explains, meant to 'preserve a central place for inner virtue in matters of justice and property'.[49] As 'coercion and interest came to be seen' instead 'as viable foundations of social order and justice', the relationship was consequently 'shaped to counter' this new social and economic organization, taking its modern form.[50]

Although not explicitly contributing to the discussion on the affective nature of friendship, scholarship on gift-giving and hospitality in early modern England also supports the notion that friendship was a nuanced blend of feeling and instrumentality, rather than a simple binary. Felicity Heal and Ben Amos's analyses of gift-exchange reveal, for example, that gifts were given to signal affection and attachment between friends, kin, and neighbors, but also as a means of creating bonds of reciprocal obligation in a society dependent on personal favors to meet practical needs.[51] Gift exchange reinforced 'economic and social bonds that secured further business alliance', expressed 'through the tokenism of small presents the needs that individuals had for patrons and the expectations patrons had for clients', and solidified commitments of support between kin and relatives.[52] Whether a measure of tenderness lay behind the offering of a gift, the gesture would still have communicated a sense of obligation— an expectation to reciprocate in accordance with social status and the specific nature of the relationship.

Hospitality similarly functioned to cultivate obligation in relationships. The idea of hospitality in early modern England, 'in all its varied forms' Felicity Heal explains, 'seems to be bound to that of reciprocity'.[53] While those receiving the lavish hospitality of the great houses, for example, enjoyed feasts

[48] Johnson, 'Friendship, Coercion, and Interest', pp.47, 54.
[49] Ibid, p.64.
[50] Ibid.
[51] Ben Amos, *The Culture of Giving* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), p.167; Felicity Heal, 'Food Gifts, the Household, and the Politics of Exchange in Early Modern England' *Past and Present* 199 (May 2008), p.199; Felicity Heal, *The Power of Gifts* (Oxford University Press, 2014), p.92.
[52]Heal, 'Food Gifts', pp.54, 67.
[53] Felicity Heal, *Hospitality in Early Modern England* (Oxford University Press, 1990), p.19.

and entertainment suited to their status, the hosts also reaped significant benefits.[54] As generosity and good household management were important components of reputation for the landed gentry and elite, hospitality offered an ideal venue for exhibiting these virtues.[55] Impressive displays of magnificence secured economic alliances, intimidated outsiders, and demonstrated a lord's dedication to the welfare of their tenants and other dependents.[56] For those lower down the social scale, hospitality often manifested in the form of open houses and generosity during harvest feasts, and rites of passage, including marriages, christenings, and funerals, and served to reinforce bonds of kinship, friendship, and community.[57] As with gift-giving, while some degree of sentimentality might accompany the act of hospitality, an element of strategic self-interest was also clearly at play.[58]

The only historical scholarship as yet to explicitly examine early modern English friendship from an emotions history approach— Lizbeth Powell's, 'The Emotional Landscape of Sir Thomas Parkyns of Bunny, Nottinghamshire: Friendship', is the latest addition to the discussion on the emotional dimension of friendship. Investigating the emotions present in the friendships of an eighteenth-century gentleman, Sir Thomas Parkyns, with the intention of providing 'a more subtly nuanced understanding of this relationship', Powell argues that 'it is not possible to maintain the distinction between instrumental and sentimental friendship as though the form and expectation of each were distinct'.[59] Powell points out that within sentimental friendships such experiences as pleasurable interactions with friends, receiving emotional and social support, as well as 'social recognition and inclusion' provided early modern friends with 'not only social, but also physical and psychological benefit'.[60] Significantly, however, Powell illuminates how Parkyns's friendships in which there was no apparent intimacy and personal attachment were also 'underpinned by emotion' in the sense that they too offered, and were motivated by, emotional benefits, such as feelings of security, contributing to societal harmony, and 'experiencing social

[54] Heal, *Hospitality*, pp.55-6.
[55] Ibid, pp.13, 141.
[56] Ibid, pp.186-90.
[57] Ibid, pp.363-75.
[58] Ibid, p.20.
[59] Powell, 'Emotional Landscape', pp.185,189.
[60] Ibid, p.198.

acceptance', among others.[61] In carefully probing the emotions exhibited in Parkyns's friendships Powell was able to go further than simply adding weight to arguments in a familiar debate, and generate new insights into the nature and experience of the relationship. While it is evident that historians have long placed importance on emotion in endeavoring to understand early modern friendship, Powell's article, therefore, demonstrates that there is much to be gained from applying an informed emotions approach.

This thesis draws on the work of Tadmor, Thomas, and Powell, aiming to build upon their contention that early modern English friendship was most often a complex combination of practicality and emotion in order to develop a fuller and more detailed understanding of the contours of this fusion in seventeenth-century England. Because this research will, like Powell's, focus not just on identifying the presence of sentimental feeling, but on investigating the full spectrum of emotions generated within friendship, it will also, therefore, support Powell's proposition that utilitarian friendships were grounded in emotion, though developing this argument by applying it to a greater number and range of friendships than Powell examines, across an earlier century. In pointing out the various emotional returns which all forms of friendship offered it will consequently also extend Keith Thomas's assertion that friendship was a means by which early modern English people attempted to live emotionally fulfilling lives.

From this starting point this thesis intends to further widen the scope of scholarship in multiple ways. It will examine the emotional experience of conflict within friendship- a hitherto unexplored aspect of this relationship. As friendship was crucial for wellbeing in early modern England, interpersonal conflict— which could weaken or sever important ties— reveals much about early modern English people's expectations, anxieties, and attitudes towards emotions, as well as the impact of gender and social rank on emotional experience and expression within disputes. Furthermore, though men and women were thought to experience emotions differently in early modern England due to their perceived distinct physiological makeup, historians have yet to explore how gender has influenced the emotional experience of friendship. As such, this thesis will add new depth by venturing into this uncharted territory

[61] Powell, 'Emotional Landscape', pp.198-9.

as well, challenging current understandings of male and female friendship in key scholarship. Not least, this research is based upon the study of correspondence which has not been utilized in the context of friendship, with a focus on the seventeenth century, intending to interpret a larger body of evidence than is currently available.

Friendship and Gender

Scholars have also recently examined friendship from a gender perspective. Although there are currently no emotions history analyses investigating the impact of gender on the experience of seventeenth-century English friendship, historians have recognized the significance of emotions in studying friendship through the lens of gender as well. Scholarship on female friendship, for example, has focused largely on its sentimental, emotionally supportive nature, highlighting the practice among female friends of sharing feelings with one another as a key distinguishing feature of the relationship. Lamenting that historians had 'still to study women's relationships with one another', Patricia Crawford first drew attention to the loving bonds between women previously overlooked in the historical record. She proposes, in her essay on 'friendship and love between women', which was drawn from an ongoing research collaboration with Sara Mendelson, that Stone's belief in an affectionless early modern English society was likely due, in part, to a disinterest in and disregard for 'female activities' which centered on companionship, mutual sympathy, and support.[62] Female friendship was, Crawford argues, a 'part of women's culture' which she and Mendelson view as having been 'separate from the dominant misogynist elite and popular cultures', revolving around women's mutual interest in creating and sustaining life.[63] The 'sense of solidarity' which close female connections gave to women, Crawford suggests, enhanced

[62] Patricia Crawford, 'Friendship and Love Between Women in Early Modern England' in Andrew Lynch and Phillipa Maddern's, *Venus and Mars: Engendering Love and War in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (University of Western Australia Press: 1995), pp.52-3.
[63] Crawford, 'Friendship and Love', p.49.

their lives emotionally, and allowed women to articulate 'their own demands', thus being 'fundamental to their gaining of rights'.[64]

This research was further developed in Crawford and Mendelson's previously mentioned study which explores the lives of early modern English women from childhood to adulthood. The affectionate nature of female bonds is emphasized in this work as well. Crawford and Mendelson explain that the surviving evidence, which gives priority to the experience of the middle and upper ranks of society who maintained their ties through correspondence, demonstrates that women of these ranks had 'intimate friendships', often with their sisters-in-law and other female relatives, most properly described as 'sentimental friendship' in which 'feeling and its refined expression were paramount'.[65] They caution, however, that scholars should be 'wary of concluding that female friendship was merely functional at the lowest levels of society, grounded in mutual help and co-operation, and more affective among the upper ranks, fostered by the leisured cultivation of the finer feelings'.[66] Friendship, furthermore, 'could cross class barriers'.[67]

Crawford later considered female friendship with Laura Gowing in a brief section of their annotated primary source collection on early modern English women. Crawford and Gowing came to similar conclusions, noting the 'depth of connection' early modern women experienced and openly expressed in their friendships, and asserting that historians must 'allow for' warmth, 'intimacy, and attachment' in their 'readings of the limited documents' which provide a window into the experiences of women lower down the social scale as well.[68] This view is shared by Keith Thomas, who highlights the affective nature of female bonds in his study of friendship as a source of fulfillment in early modern England, suggesting that women's ties faced less scrutiny than male bonds and intense, intimate

[64] Crawford, 'Friendship and Love', p.58.
[65] Sara Mendelson and Patricia Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England*, (Clarendon Press: Oxford, 1998), pp.232,234.
[66] Mendelson and Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England*, p.231.
[67] Ibid.
[68] Patricia Crawford and Laura Gowing, *Women's Worlds in Seventeenth-Century England: A Sourcebook*, (Routledge: 1999), p.217.

friendships between women were therefore permissible while such relationships between men were increasingly scorned in the seventeenth century.[69]

Amanda E. Herbert similarly places emphasis on sentimental feeling in female friendship in her wide-ranging study of women's alliances in the early modern British Empire, spanning England, Wales, Ireland, America and the West Indies. Women's friends were among those with whom they formed 'alliances', and Herbert argues that early modern women 'strove to create happy friendships' and 'sought to tie themselves to other women through displays of emotion, love, and feeling'.[70] It was thought, Herbert explains, that by embracing their perceived naturally heightened emotions, and 'by expressing heartfelt, sincere, and fervent sentiments, women could find much in common, could take pity on one another, could be moved to assistance, and could offer one another sororal love'.[71] The widely held patriarchal view of women as emotionally unrestrained, Herbert posits, enabled women to perceive of themselves as inherently predisposed to experiencing and articulating warmth and friendship.[72]

Though his examination of women's relationships centers on the concept of 'gossips' rather than friends, Bernard Capp's study of how plebeian women negotiated patriarchal control in early modern England yields similar insights. In this work Capp identifies 'gossip networks' as one of the most effective means of female agency.[73] These networks, Capp perceives, were formed by a woman's friends, neighbors, and acquaintances, and offered women of the middling and lower ranks significant practical and emotional support. They provided women with 'an identity beyond the narrowly domestic, a temporary escape, a means of coping with patriarchal pressures and alleviating them, and a powerful weapon for both defence and attack.'[74] Though he is careful to acknowledge that plebeian women's relations were also sometimes characterized by rivalry and exclusion, the primary emphasis of Capp's

[69] Thomas, *The Ends of Life*, p.207.
[70] Amanda Herbert, *Female Alliances: Gender, Identity and Friendship in Early Modern Britain* (Yale University Press: 2014), p.196.
[71] Herbert, *Female Alliances*, p.196.
[72] Ibid, p.33.
[73] Bernard Capp, *When Gossips Meet: Women, Family and Neighbourhood in Early Modern England* (Oxford University Press: 2004), p.382.
[74] Capp, *When Gossips Meet*, p.382.

analysis is the 'mutual support' of both an instrumental and emotional nature provided by gossip networks.[75]

Not all scholarship, however, has focused on the sympathetic and supportive nature of female friendship. Following her review of Bernard Capp's work on gossips in which she proposes that 'it may be the notion of 'friends' that provides better grounds for inquiry into the realities of women's relationships', and challenges historians to consider whether female friendships were 'perceived as instrumental, in the same way elite men's relations seem to have been', Laura Gowing examined the meanings of bodily gestures of friendship shared between women.[76] She suggests that in women's bonds, as in male friendship, 'gifts of the body marked power, patronage, and protection', pointing to such examples as the kisses the diarist Anne Clifford bestowed upon her female tenants and friends, which 'marked a relationship that also enabled Clifford to berate' them when they displeased her.[77] In a wider context, scandalized, anxious reactions to Queen Anne's intense, physically and emotionally intimate friendships with the Duchess of Marlborough and then Abigail Masham, are utilized to illustrate how such ties in which women disregarded their perceived purpose as 'conduits of male political transactions and the objects of male friendship' stoked fear in both men and women and disrupted the political power dynamic.[78] Gowing concludes that 'while rarely in the same way as the intimacies between men', bodily acts of friendship between women 'were indeed deeply political' and that female friendships, 'like men's bonds…had political meanings that might support or undermine structures of power; like men's, they could also be threatening'.[79] This article sheds important light on the nature and impact of female friendship and raises questions as to potential similarities and differences between male and female ties. Scholars have not, however, developed this line of inquiry any further in the historiography, nor taken up Gowing's earlier suggestion to explore whether female friendships were understood as instrumental.

[75] Capp, *When Gossips Meet*, p.372.
[76] Laura Gowing, 'Reviewed work: *When Gossips Meet: Women, Family and Neighbourhood in Early Modern England,* by Bernard Capp', *Reviews in History*, no. 365 (2004).
[77] Laura Gowing, 'The Politics of Women's Friendship in Early Modern England' in Laura Gowing, Michael Hunter and Miri Ruben's *Love, Friendship and Faith in Europe 1300-1800* (Palgrave Macmillian: 2005), p.136.
[78] Gowing, *Politics*, p.138.
[79] Ibid, p.147.

This thesis expands upon those interpretations which posit that female friendship in early modern England was generally affective and intimate in nature, and that women intentionally sought to build fulfilling connections with one another. It intends to enhance understandings of sentimental female friendship through the application of an emotions lens, uncovering, for example, how women attempted to regulate their internal emotional experiences as well as expressions as a means of demonstrating care towards their female friends. The use of underused correspondence for this research which allows for a view of a long-term friendship that spans key life events such as marriage, childbirth, and widowhood is further intended to augment previous studies. This is because, though highly significant contributions have evidently been made to the study of female friendship, they have, for the most part, been brief in length and wide in breadth, and historical knowledge of women's relationships within the family still outweighs that of their relationships with one another. Herbert's recent analysis is the most sustained consideration of female friendship in the historiography to date, and while its broad transatlantic scope and vast source base are undoubtedly strengths in providing focused glimpses into many different female friendships in Britain and its colonies, they also constrain the possibility for in-depth analysis of individual relationships. Overall, as Dr. Leonie Hannan concluded of Herbert's study, the existing scholarship, while immensely valuable, 'highlights the need for further detailed studies' of female relationships.[80]

Crucially, this thesis will also investigate the largely overlooked functional aspects of elite female friendship, illuminating how elite women, like their male counterparts, sometimes formed and sustained friendships for purely utilitarian purposes, though they felt pressure to conform to societal norms that expected female bonds to be intimate and affectionate. In doing so, it will be pointed out how historians' conceptualizing of women's relations which do not appear to be based in sentiment as 'alliances' or 'gossip networks' can lead to a limited perception of the complexities of female friendship.

[80] Dr. Leonie Hannan, 'Reviewed work: Female Alliances: Gender, Identity and Friendship in Early Modern Britain, by Amanda Herbert', *Reviews in History*, no. 1735 (2014).

Research on male friendship and gender, on the other hand, has centered on its role in shaping male identity, demonstrating how men utilized their ties with one another to attempt to develop ideal male qualities such as independence and self-sufficiency, and viewed emotional intimacy as potentially threatening. In her examination of early modern English manhood, for example, Elizabeth Foyster explains that 'instead of seeking mutuality' within male friendships, 'men's talk is often featured in the records left to us as highly competitive and concerned with one-upmanship.' Further, friendships in which men exchanged 'worries, concerns, and complaints […] ran the risk of being seen as indicative of weakness or lack of self-reliance.'[81] Likewise, Alexandra Shepard stresses the importance that early modern English society placed upon 'competition' and 'independence' in male bonds, as 'relationships between men […] were central to the establishment of male identity in early modern England', utilized to cultivate ideal masculine characteristics. She concludes that 'despite the rhetoric emphasizing the importance of male friendship' in early modern English society, intimacy within individual male friendships 'was regarded with fear and suspicion.'[82]

Karl Westhauser similarly sees early modern English male friendship as being perceived as a tool for shaping male identity and thus a space in which to attempt to perform ideal manhood.[83] His exploration of how two men of the middling ranks attempted to cultivate social lives which would enhance their social statuses and reputations— and in turn their marital relations— highlights how participating in such social activities as hospitality was utilized by early modern English men to gain respect.[84] As being able to successfully command an ordered household was considered the most important responsibility of a married man, hospitality was an ideal form of sociability which could demonstrate this achievement of the male head of household and signal his value to other men.[85]

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[81] Elizabeth A. Foyster, *Manhood In Early Modern England: Honour, Sex, and Marriage* (New York: Routledge, 2014), pp.129-30.
[82] Alexandra Shepard, *Meanings Of Manhood In Early Modern England*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p.79.
[83] Karl Westhauser, 'Friendship and Family in Early Modern England: The Sociability of Adam Eyre and Samuel Pepys', *Journal of Social History* 27:3 (1994).
[84] Westhauser, 'Friendship and Family', p.525.
[85] Ibid, p.526.

Friendship was thus utilized by these men as an opportunity to showcase their honorable manhood in order to gain the esteem of prominent men who had the power to influence another's social status, credit, and reputation.[86]

Harold Perkin's examination of patronage, discussed previously, also depicts male friendship as being viewed by early modern English men as an instrument for social and political advancement. In an 'age of glittering courtiers and competing favourites', patronage was essentially the only route to promotion and men entered into friendship ties and performed services for their social superiors, Perkin argues, in the 'hope and expectation of "place"'.[87] Friendship is regarded by Perkin as a competitive, exhibitionistic realm in which men sought to display their instrumental worth to other, more powerful men who could offer them protection and opportunities for advancement.

Tadmor's investigation of Thomas Turner's male friendships offers similar findings and arguably lends weight to key analyses of male friendship. Tadmor observes that Turner's 'select' male friends were often people for whom 'he felt special regard'.[88] They all, however, were men whom he was 'particularly proud' to be publicly associated with, indicating that it was important to Turner to befriend men who demonstrably met societal expectations of ideal male citizens.[89] These relationships were, furthermore, all instrumental in some capacity and demonstrating capability, honesty, and good moral character— all essential male characteristics— were, therefore, important concerns in the establishment and maintenance of such friendships.[90] Displaying worth was also paramount in Turner's political connections. Noting that Turner's 'world was strongly connected with the political sphere of his time', Tadmor illustrates how Turner and other local men participated in friendships with the Duke of Newcastle, Thomas Pelham-Holles, voting for him and performing various services in return for his patronage.[91] As the Duke could offer 'jobs', 'positions', and 'financial assistance', Turner and his male friends were keen to prove their

[86] Westhauser, 'Friendship and Family', p.527.
[87] Perkin, *Origins*, pp.41-2.
[88] Tadmor, *Family and Friends*, p.205.
[89] Tadmor, *Family and Friends*, p.205.
[90] Ibid, pp.204-5.
[91] Ibid, p.216.

value and remain in the Duke's good graces.[92] As such, male friendship was, for Turner, often an arena in which to perform ideal male attributes and to endeavor to preserve his good reputation. Even within his most sentimental connections it is evident that Turner attached great significance to public perception, and this likely influenced both his choice of male friends as well as his own conduct in friendships.

Alan Bray and Michel Rey also point to the importance of public perception of male friendships, demonstrating how the increasing anxiety around sodomy in the seventeenth century undermined the innocence that was once associated with the intimate 'public signs' through which male friendship was formed and acknowledged.[93] Prior to the mid-seventeenth century, physical gestures of male friendship—such as embracing, dining together, sharing a bed, or emptying a socially superior friend's chamber pot—were, Bray explains, regarded as 'gifts of the friend's body', and indicated the protection provided by friendship in an uncertain world.[94] The redefining of the family in the period as being composed solely of parents and children, excluding outside kin, however, 'placed a burden of social meaning' on marital relationships which they had not previously shouldered on their own.[95] This shift coincided with growing fears around sodomy and a new understanding of homosexuality as a 'perversion', which, Bray and Rey assert, inadvertently associated sodomy with the new responsibility imposed upon marriage.[96] The notion of the body as 'a gift', therefore, came to be viewed as appropriate only within the context of heterosexual, marital relationships and by the mid-seventeenth century, 'Englishmen had replaced the embrace and the kiss with the handshake'.[97] Displays of intimacy between men, Bray and Ray argue, had, from that point on, lost their innocence and were perceived with apprehension and distrust.

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[92] Tadmor, *Family and Friends*, p.223.
[93] Alan Bray and Michel Rey, 'The Body of the Friend: Continuity and Change in Masculine Friendship in the Seventeenth Century' in Tim Hitchcock and Michelle Cohen (eds.) *English Masculinities 1660-1800* (Routledge: 1999), p.82.
[94] Alan Bray, *The Friend* (The University of Chicago Press: Chicago, 2003), p.158; Bray and Rey, 'The Body of the Friend', p.82.
[95] Bray and Rey, 'The Body of the Friend', p.83.
[96] Ibid, pp.81, 83.
[97] Ibid, p.82.

Keith Thomas echoes Bray and Rey's argument in his exploration of male friendship. Intimate friendships between men, Thomas asserts, were severely jeopardized by mounting concerns in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries 'about the dangers of homosexual desire between adult males'.[98] The physical gestures of male friendship, widely perceived as acceptable in previous centuries, Thomas explains, were swiftly cast aside, and relations between men took on a greater sense of formality and distance.[99]

Though not focused explicitly on male-male friendship, Lizbeth Powell's 'The Emotional Landscape of Sir Thomas Parkyns of Bunny, Nottinghamshire: Friendship', also supports these leading analyses. The article is not centered around gender as a lens; however, a gendered perspective is applied in Powell's exploration of Parkyns's passion for competitive wrestling which reveals that Parkyns and his male friends involved in the sport viewed this combative activity as a way in which men could cultivate physical strength and a sense of competition. It is noted that Sir Thomas and this friendship group 'subscribed to a common understanding of ideal masculine behaviour that, at least in part, was founded on and sustained by physical prowess'.[100] Thus, Parkyns and these male friends viewed their friendships as spaces in which to develop and perform ideal masculinity through engaging in competitive physical activities with one another and reiterating that through correspondence.

While this thesis broadly supports the consensus in the historiography that manhood was understood as important to attain and preserve, and that friendship served as a means by which to do so, this research will, however, demonstrate the necessity for detail and nuance within current understandings of male friendship through bringing to light relationships in which men allowed themselves to defy the established norms of male friendship in the era. It will be revealed that some men viewed their bonds as safe spaces in which to share experiences of failed manhood and explicitly seek emotional and material support. Further, by applying the tools of emotions analysis this study delves deeper into experiences of

[98] Thomas, *The Ends of Life*, p.206.
[99] Ibid, pp.206-7.
[100] Powell, 'Emotional Landscape', p.5.

manhood and friendship in early modern England, investigating such areas as the management of emotional intimacy and expression between male friends, as well as the common occurrence of distrust, scrutinizing the impact of social rank on these experiences. Moreover, while men, rather than women, have traditionally been the subjects of historical investigation, it is only fairly recently with the development of gender as a category of analysis that masculinity has been subjected to historicization, and men's relationships with one another examined from this perspective. Gender analyses of early modern English male friendship, like those of female friendship, have, for the most part, been short in length and wide in scope, composed from examination of a copious assortment of primary sources rather than close examinations of individual relationships. This research, which interrogates the friendship experiences of sixteen seventeenth-century Midlands men, will, therefore, also contribute to historical scholarship by offering a more contextualized, detailed consideration of male friendship.

Friendship between the sexes has also very recently attracted attention from historians. Emotion has played a relatively significant role in this work too, with historians contemplating attitudes towards male-female emotional and physical intimacy. In his study of avenues to fulfillment, Keith Thomas, for example, highlights how opposite sex friendship in early modern England was a complex issue. Because friendship was perceived as a 'union of souls' rather than bodies, platonic ties between men and women were, therefore, considered possible, though most male authorities viewed women as unfit for participating in higher forms of friendship.[101] Spiritual bonds between men and women, Thomas notes, were viewed as viable 'in early Christian times and in medieval monastic circles; and the idea retained some currency in early modern times'.[102] These friendships were meant to be conducted from a safe distance, however, as close ties between men and women could raise suspicion of fornication and cause scandal.[103] With the increasing emphasis on companionate marriage in the seventeenth century, matrimonial unions came to be more widely accepted towards the end of the period as 'the highest state of

[101] Thomas, *The Ends of Life*, p.209.
[102] Ibid.
[103] Ibid.

friendship', and highly intimate friendships between men and women were, therefore, permissible within this context.[104]

Frances Harris's exploration of the passionate spiritual friendship between the married seventeenth-century diarist, John Evelyn, and the much younger, unmarried courtier, Margaret Blagge (later married to Sidney Godolphin) offers comparable findings. Examining the relationship within 'the context of the post-Reformation debate concerning marriage, and the much longer and less studied tradition of intense friendships between men and women in religious settings', Harris emphasizes the normalcy and societal acceptance of the relationship, while also acknowledging the tensions surrounding it.[105] She explains that, despite the Protestant emphasis on confining male-female friendships within matrimony, early modern people still had traditional concepts of opposite sex spiritual friendship to draw on, which, though more popular in France, continued to appeal to some English Protestants.[106] John and Margaret's spiritual friendship, in which the two developed great admiration and love for one another, Harris argues, 'was not a furtive, isolated, or eccentric episode. It was conducted in terms quite familiar to their contemporaries and in full view of their families and their court circle, who were for the most part supportive and sympathetic.'.[107] John and Margaret did, however, experience unease at the eventual transformation of John's feelings towards Margaret from a spiritual love to sexual desire, and the relationship was monitored by both.[108] Throughout, the friendship offered them a significant alternative bond to marriage, and opposite sex friendships in the early modern period, Harris claims, rendered the constraints of marriage more manageable.[109]

This thesis will contribute to this emerging site of inquiry by examining the navigation of conflict within male-female friendship, paying attention to the interplay between gender and social hierarchies

[104] Thomas, *The Ends of Life*, pp.215-16.
[105] Frances Harris, *Transformations of Love: The Friendship of John Evelyn and Margaret Godolphin* (Oxford University Press: 2002), p.3.
[106] Harris, *Transformations of Love*, p.5.
[107] Harris, *Transformations of Love*, p.8.
[108] Ibid, p.6.
[109] Ibid, p.5.

within these experiences. This source base does, however, contain far more material with which to study male-male and female-female friendship, and these pairings therefore receive greater scrutiny within the necessarily limited scope of this study.

Historians have thus made important contributions to studies of same and opposite sex friendships. Scholars' emphasis on sentimentality among female friends and practicality and fear of intimacy among male friends, however, serves, to some extent, to reinforce earlier notions of friendship falling into either an affective or instrumental category. As indicated, there still remains a need for nuance within key interpretations of same and opposite sex friendships. This thesis, therefore, aims to probe more deeply into the nature and experience of friendship in seventeenth-century England, seeking to provide a fuller understanding of this relationship.

Gender

As noted, this research utilizes gender as a vital category of analysis to investigate seventeenth-century English friendship. The above survey of scholarship which explores friendship through a gender prism highlights how being male or female significantly shaped the experience of this relationship in early modern England. Applying gender analysis is thus crucial to thoroughly comprehending this aspect of the past.

Given that historians of early modern England were comparatively slower in engaging with women's history than their medieval and modern history counterparts, scholarship examining masculinity and gender as social constructs with histories co-occurred with scholarship on women's experiences. Much of the scholarship exploring early modern English men from a gender perspective is centered on comprehending how masculinity was constructed and experienced in the period. This research particularly emphasizes the challenges men faced in endeavoring to achieve patriarchal ideals of manhood. In his comprehensive survey of evolving perspectives on the meaning of gender, for example, Anthony Fletcher delves deeply into early modern English constructions of gender as fluid and malleable,

illuminating how such perceptions simultaneously supported and undermined patriarchy.[110] Aside from scriptural interpretations of women as weaker and morally inferior, shaped by the biblical account placing the blame for mankind's fall from divine grace firmly on the first woman, Eve, gender in sixteenth and seventeenth-century England, Fletcher explains, was perceived as being determined by the balance of bodily humors.[111] According to the humoral model, which served to explain all bodily processes within the period, men were understood to be in possession of a greater amount of heat— the source of mental and physical strength— while women's bodies were colder and wetter.[112] These understandings of men and women were employed to establish a gender hierarchy where men, presumed to possess greater reason and strength than women, assumed positions of authority, while women were expected to be subordinate.[113] Given the challenge of clearly delineating the exact point at which the heat that defined masculinity transitioned into the cold that characterized femininity, however, the concept of gender appeared hazardously unfixed and uncertain.[114] As such, Fletcher notes, there was the potential for intersection, and 'the boundaries could be crossed both ways: manhood, learnt, practised and prized, might always degenerate into effeminacy.'[115] Fears around effeminacy and other perceived risks associated with women are abundant in the literature and drama of the period, which often functioned to remind men of the necessity of retaining their control and dominance.[116] Manhood was, furthermore, Fletcher proposes, more uncertain than scholars have realized: more difficult to achieve, more difficult to maintain and assert in accordance with early modern English societal rules.[117]

Fletcher's primary argument in this work is that, throughout history, men's power has rested upon their ability to reshape patriarchy.[118] Unsatisfied with the inherent fluidity and instability of a gender hierarchy that relied upon men consistently demonstrating their superiority over women, men in the late

[110] Anthony Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination in England, 1500-1800* (Yale University Press: 1995).
[111] Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination*, p.xxvi.
[112] Ibid, p.xxvi.
[113] Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination*, pp.xvi-xvii.
[114] Ibid, p.33.
[115] Ibid, p.xvii.
[116] Ibid, p.382.
[117] Ibid, p.403.
[118] Ibid, p.191.

seventeenth and eighteenth centuries replaced its traditional scriptural and medical underpinnings with a more secure, secular system of gender beliefs.[119] This new framework was based upon a two-sexed body and defined gender as immutable and unchanging.[120] Fletcher's hypothesis has, however, been questioned by historians such as Linda Pollock and Susan Amussen. It is pointed out that Fletcher fails to take into account the complexity of the lived experience of patriarchy, leaving women's agency and objectives out of the picture entirely, as well as not considering the experiences of the lowest ranks.[121] This work continues to serve, however, as a significant general guide for comprehending perceptions of gender, manhood, and patriarchy in early modern England.

Alan Bray's study of early modern English men's disturbed responses to their physical desires for indulgence in sex, food, and drink yields comparable findings. Bray found that men's desires and their acts of indulgence often triggered fears within them concerning self-control. As the measure of masculinity in the period was a man's ability to control himself as well as others, losing oneself to consumption, Bray explained, could lead to a man's 'radical undoing'.[122] The male gender in early modern England, therefore, Bray posited, was not conceived of as 'something that exists of itself, but rather as something that was always threatened and contingent'.[123]

Katharine Hodgkin similarly sheds light on the challenges that early modern English ideals of masculinity posed for men in her study of a sixteenth-century gentleman's struggles with attaining a fundamental aspect of manhood: the mastery of both self and others. As a musician bound by the need for patronage, the gentleman, Thomas Whythorne, continually sought and devised strategies to exert control within the confines of his situation. He reflected in his journal upon the inferiority and emotional instability of women, and of the disgraceful loss of self-control displayed by men who drank, highlighting

[119] Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination*, p191.
[120] Ibid.
[121] Linda Pollock, 'Reviewed Work: Gender, Sex and Subordination in England, 1500-1800', *Journal of Family History,* 22:2 (April 1997), pp.227-8; Susan D. Amussen, 'Reviewed Work: Gender, Sex and Subordination in England, 1500-1800', *The American Historical Review*, 102:2 (April 1997), pp.450-1.
[122] Alan Bray, 'To Be a Man in Early Modern Society: The Curious Case of Michael Wigglesworth', *History Workshop,* Vol. 41 (1996), p.155.
[123] Bray, 'To Be a Man in Early Modern Society', p.161.

his own adeptness in managing his emotions and communicating wisely.[124] Whythorne also avoided working in homes in which his dependence would be made too explicit when he was able, and made unsuccessful endeavors to transition into a career which would afford him greater economic autonomy.[125] These actions all served, Hodgkin explains, as attempts to demonstrate both to himself and others that he was a man worthy of respect despite the necessity of his being employed as a hired servant by male and sometimes female employers, who possessed the authority to issue commands and terminate his service at their will.[126] Obtaining the mastery expected of men in early modern English society was, for Whythorne, a central and enduring preoccupation throughout his life.

Elizabeth Foyster similarly explores male quests to achieve patriarchal manhood, underscoring the requirement for an ongoing demonstration of manhood in order to retain it. In her examination of early modern English manhood Foyster demonstrates how patriarchal ideals, intended to secure men's dominant position within society, proved difficult to attain and maintain, paradoxically exposing men to the risk of losing their power. Manhood in early modern England, Foyster stresses, was not an inevitable life-stage reached by aging. Rather, it was a status to be earned and then upheld through the display of perceived essential male traits such as reason and strength.[127] At the core of these traits was the exercise of authority over the sexual conduct of the women with whom a man was affiliated, whether they were members of his kin, household, or antenuptial lovers.[128] The mastery of women's sexuality, Foyster argues, was of such paramount importance to the construct of honorable manhood across the social spectrum that, without it, 'all other contributing facets to male reputation', such as honesty, self-sufficiency, and emotional restraint, 'could be meaningless'.[129] By making manhood contingent upon the sexual behavior of women men had, unintentionally, vested women with the capacity for wielding power,

[124] Katherine Hodgkin, 'Thomas Whythorne and the Problems of Mastery', *History Workshop,* Vol.29 (1990), p.22.
[125] Hodgkin, 'Thomas Whythorne and the Problems of Mastery', p.25.
[126] Foyster, *Manhood*, p.29.
[127] Ibid.
[128] Ibid, p.210.
[129] Ibid, p.10.

as women's 'words and actions could endanger manhood with the most devastating effect'.[130] The loss or questioning of a man's manhood carried significant practical consequences, leading early modern English men to experience considerable anxiety and exert substantial effort to prevent such situations. Few early modern English men, Foyster concludes, would have been able to achieve the ideals of the patriarchal system in full.[131] This did not, however, deter the majority from continually trying.[132]

The difficulty of achieving patriarchal ideals is also a central focus of Alexandra Shepard's study of the 'meanings of manhood' in early modern England. Charting the complicated relationship between understandings of manhood and patriarchal norms, Shepard argues that 'manhood and patriarchy were not equated in early modern England'.[133] While designed to be advantageous for men, patriarchal ideals nevertheless aimed to regulate and penalize men as well as women.[134] Patriarchal imperatives were not universally accessible to all men, and, consequently, some men may have found themselves positioned as 'subordinates' or 'opponents', as well as 'beneficiaries' within this system.[135] Shepard posits that certain men, particularly young men and those on the margins of society, embraced 'explicitly *anti*-patriarchal stances' by engaging in such activities as 'immoderate drinking', 'illicit sex', and 'violent disruption', which 'inverted the attributes of patriarchal manhood in celebration of counter-codes of manhood rooted in prodigality, transience, violence, bravado, and debauchery'.[136] Such activities offered these men a strong sense of masculinity.[137] Shepard further suggests that, for some men, such as those who never married and did not lead households, or whose wives and children were obligated to contribute economically, patriarchal prescriptions held little relevance.[138]

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[130] Foyster, *Manhood*, p.55.
[131] Ibid, p.4.
[132] Ibid.
[133] Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood*, p.1.
[134] Ibid.
[135] Ibid, p.2.
[136] Ibid, p.248.
[137] Ibid.
[138] Ibid, p.187.

These points have, however, been challenged by Elizabeth Foyster in her review of Shepard's work. Foyster asserts that the indulgence and disorder embraced by some young men does not constitute an 'alternative code' of masculinity, but was rather a rebellious youthful phase, discarded by most men upon reaching adulthood.[139] Shepard's use of the term 'code' in describing the behavior of these men is particularly seen by Foyster as problematic. Early modern English patriarchal notions of manhood, Foyster points out, can be considered to form a code because they were a collection of rules and principles which found broad, though not universal, acceptance, and were explicitly documented in written works such as conduct literature, medical manuals, and political texts.[140] There is no evidence provided, Foyster argues, to suggest that the youthful behavior Shepard reveals 'ever amounted to a code in this sense'.[141] Further, Foyster contends that, while men certainly struggled to attain the patriarchal ideal in full, the patriarchal code was 'too pervasive and too important in the structuring of early modern society and its institutions to be so easily dismissed'.[142] Men could find other ways to assert their dominance over women than simply through 'the control of economic resources', as the patriarchal model was designed in such a way that men could achieve its objectives of self-control and authority over others through various expressions of behavior.[143] Foyster references Anna Clark's study of the British working class, in which Clark explores how eighteenth-century men who turned to drinking in periods of economic hardship attempted to maintain positions of dominance over their wives via the use of violence, as illustrating an alternative way in which men could exert control.[144] Nevertheless, Shepard's analysis underscores the contradictory nature and inherent unattainability of the patriarchal ideal, provides important insights into diverse perceptions and experiences of manhood, and illuminates the significant nuances in the allocation of patriarchal privileges, not only among men and women, but among men themselves.

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[139] Elizabeth Foyster, 'Reviewed Work: *Meanings of Manhood in Early Modern England*', *Continuity and Change,* 21:1 (May 2006), p.198.
[140] Foyster, 'Reviewed Work', p.198.
[141] Ibid.
[142] Ibid.
[143] Ibid, p.199.
[144] Ibid.

In his recent exploration of attitudes towards men shedding tears in early modern England, Bernard Capp similarly delves into the intricacies surrounding the patriarchal ideal of self-control. Because the sexual body was perceived in sixteenth and seventeenth-century elite male medical thinking as mutable and unstable, Capp explains, it was seen as necessary to 'enforce strict codes of gender conformity'.[145] Women were viewed as less able than men physiologically to control their emotions and it was therefore imperative for men to distinguish themselves through self-control and emotional regulation.[146] Noting that tears were usually met with disfavor, Capp proposes that there were, however, exceptions in specific circumstances and distinctions in the way male tears were regarded among different social ranks and religious groups.[147] Bereavement was a particular circumstance in which moderate tears were considered acceptable across the social strata.[148] Among the elite, 'literary, romantic' tears were approved of but any actual tears that indicated vulnerability were frowned upon.[149] There was, on the other hand, more 'tolerance', Capp suggests, for male tears among the lower ranks.[150] Moreover, tears within a religious context, especially in puritan and nonconformist circles, were perceived by certain men not as an indication of effeminacy but rather linked to robust and manly exertion.[151] Such perspectives are viewed by Capp as reflecting 'an alternative masculinity in which passion and emotion was approved and admired, at least within the spiritual sphere'.[152] As such, Capp concludes, it is evident that there was no singular form of masculinity or 'emotional regime' that entirely dominated the Tudor-Stuart era. While male tears typically garnered negative reactions, much was contingent upon context and social status.[153]

Because women had essentially been omitted from the historical record prior to the emergence of women's history in the 1970s, scholarship on early modern English women, on the other hand, has sought

[145] Bernard Capp, "Jesus Wept' But did the Englishman? Masculinity and Emotion in Early Modern England', *Past and Present*, Vol. 224 (August 2014), pp.78-9.
[146] Capp, 'Jesus Wept', p.77.
[147] Ibid, p.107
[148] Ibid.
[149] Ibid, p.104.
[150] Ibid.
[151] Ibid, pp.100-1.
[152] Ibid, p.100.
[153] Ibid, p.107.

to explore every facet of their lives, spanning from childhood to old age. Emphasis has, however, particularly been placed on how women navigated patriarchy, highlighting their agency as well as their experiences of subordination, and the subversive power of female bonds as well as women's participation in upholding patriarchal norms. Barbara Harris, for example, illuminates the political involvement of upper-class women in early Tudor England, a domain that historians traditionally associated solely with men. Noting that women did not occupy the same positions as men or participate as often in politics, Harris argues, however, that it was not uncommon for women of the upper ranks to engage in 'forming, maintaining, and exploiting patronage networks'.[154] Women, primarily widows who assumed the role of heads of households, orchestrated the marriages of their children with the aim of enhancing their family's wealth, influence, and standing.[155] They also dedicated significant time and energy to nurturing relationships at court, sending 'gifts and tokens' to influential figures such as Henry VIII, Wolsey, and Cromwell, and often utilized these connections when making requests to the king and his leading advisors.[156] These requests covered a range of matters, including petitions for help with legal cases, court placements, and serving as executrices of wills, and were sometimes in regard to public affairs and 'sensitive political matters'.[157] Additionally, Harris asserts that women took part in activities such as campaigning for the elections of male relatives and were legally permitted to act as justices of the peace, though she acknowledges the absence of evidence to confirm their participation in this capacity.[158] The realm of Tudor politics was, therefore, Harris posits, unquestionably accessible to women, and cannot fully be understood without historians taking into account their, albeit limited, participation.[159]

Laura Gowing similarly sheds light on ways in which sixteenth and seventeenth-century London women exercised authority both formally and informally within law and local government. In examining ecclesiastical lawsuits initiated by women, Gowing argues that women's utilization of the legal system

[154] Barbara J. Harris, 'Women and Politics in Early Tudor England', *The History Journal*, 33:9 (1990), p.260.
[155] Harris, 'Women and Politics', pp.261-2.
[156] Ibid, pp.266-7.
[157] Ibid, p.272.
[158] Ibid, p.209.
[159] Ibid, p.260.

allowed them to emerge 'as brokers of several kinds of power in neighbourhood, social, and gender relations'.[160] By engaging in legal disputes over slanderous speech, often of a sexual nature, and expanding upon sexual insults aimed at other women, as well as testifying about men's sexual misconduct, women exercised a 'moral authority to define and sanction sin that in law was confined to men'.[161] Additionally, women were responsible for upholding sexual order through the practice of examining pregnant or suspected pregnant women and interrogating mothers of illegitimate children.[162] In these ways, Gowing asserts, early modern English women transformed their duty of sexual 'honesty' into a basis for their own personal and local influence, negotiating 'their dependence, autonomy, or authority around the legal and social guarantees of men's primacy'.[163]

It must be noted, Gowing explains, in a later analysis which also examines female authority in matters of ensuring sexual order, that the concerns of women in this regard 'intersected' with the agendas of men and legal officers.[164] Women's participation in upholding local sexual order and 'the process of becoming an illegitimate mother', Gowing argues, 'suggest that the key to patriarchal structures sometimes needs to be sought in the relations between women, in the battles over bodies and the stories through which women asserted their authority or felt their subordination in households and parishes'.[165]

Crawford and Mendelson also explore avenues through which women asserted agency and pursued their own interests while operating within the constraints of a patriarchal society. As was noted in the historiography on friendship and gender, Crawford and Mendelson suggest that women in early modern England occupied a distinct, 'autonomous' female culture, separate from both the presiding male

[160] Laura Gowing, *Domestic Dangers: Women, Words and Sex in Early Modern London*, (Clarendon: Oxford, 1996), p.265.
[161] Gowing, *Domestic Dangers*, p.275.
[162]Gowing, *Domestic Dangers,* p.272.
[163] Ibid.
[164] Laura Gowing, 'Ordering the Body: Illegitimacy and Female Authority in Seventeenth-Century England' in (ed.) Michael J. Braddick and John Walter, *Negotiating Power in Early Modern Society: Order, Hierarchy and Subordination in Britain and Ireland* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2001), p.62.
[165] Gowing, 'Ordering the Body', p.62.

elite and popular cultures.[166] While they recognize that variations in social rank, age, and location influenced female relations and experiences, Crawford and Mendelson contend that common values related to motherhood transcended these differences, and that women possessed a strong sense of a shared 'female consciousness'.[167] They point out, for example, that women of the upper ranks might pay visits to their lower-ranked neighbors to assist during childbirth, offer gifts of essential items for the baby, and provide medicinal remedies.[168] From early modern English women's point of view, 'they preserved a culture with important life-enhancing values'.[169] Recognizing this female culture, Mendelson and Crawford argue, is imperative in part because historians have largely linked shifts in women's societal status to intellectual advancements, such as the impact of the Reformation and the consequences of liberal ideology, indicating that women's status in society was shaped by men's thoughts and actions.[170] Such interpretations, Crawford and Mendelson explain, strip women of their autonomy and twist aspects of feminist ideology, overlooking how 'female consciousness and women's culture added another element to the tradition of women's collective action'.[171] Women's bonds and their activism in history formed the cornerstone of subsequent feminist movements aimed at changing women's position in society.[172] This independent early modern English female culture, Crawford and Mendelson posit, 'offered a space where women could support each other, develop their own ideas, resist the assumptions of patriarchy, and, in some cases, challenge their subordinate position'.[173]

While Bernard Capp's investigation of the ways in which plebeian women negotiated patriarchy (also explored in the friendship and gender literature survey) similarly underscores the subversive and mutually supportive nature of women's relationships in early modern England, it also challenges the concept of a self-contained female subculture. Conceding that Mendelson and Crawford's argument for

[166] Crawford, 'Friendship and Love', p.49; Crawford and Mendelson, *Women in Early Modern England*, p.13.
[167] Crawford and Mendelson, *Women in Early Modern England*, pp.204-5.
[168] Ibid, p.209.
[169] Crawford and Mendelson, *Women in Early Modern England*, p.204.
[170] Ibid, p.254.
[171] Ibid.
[172] Ibid.
[173] Ibid.

an independent female culture grounded in collaboration and reciprocal aid is persuasive, Capp asserts, however, that 'in attempting to define a distinctively female subculture', historians 'run the risk of imposing an artificial uniformity'.[174] A genuinely unique subculture, Capp argues, 'should be visible in terms of behavioural patterns as well as values and taste'.[175] In various aspects of their lives, however, women often exhibited diverse and occasionally contradictory values and behavior patterns.[176] Instances of women offering shelter to unmarried pregnant women near the date of delivery, even though it was legally prohibited, lend credence to the notion of a female subculture.[177] Sources such as 'court records', however, Capp elucidates, 'confirm that family loyalties often overrode those of gender, and in local disputes a woman was far more likely to identify with her husband than with his opponent's wife'.[178] Early modern English women demonstrate competitiveness as well as cooperation and helpfulness in their relations with one another. This does not, Capp clarifies, diminish the vital role of women's mutual support which was their most effective way of navigating their patriarchal society.[179] Gossip networks had a highly significant and broad impact upon the lives of early modern English women.[180] Historians must, however, consider the intricate interplay between cooperative, competitive, and hostile aspects in attempting to understand 'the cultural world of women', taking care not to force an unrealistic sense of sameness upon them.[181]

This thesis's investigation into how gender influenced the emotional experience of friendship in seventeenth-century England builds on the above bodies of scholarship. It explores, for example, how subordinate men may have attempted to achieve ideals of patriarchal manhood in friendships with socially superior men and women and examines instances in which men chose to defy societal expectations regarding self-control and expressed overwhelming emotions. This thesis also contends that women

[174] Capp, *When Gossips Meet*, p.371.
[175] Ibid, p.369.
[176] Ibid.
[177] Capp, *When Gossips Meet*, p.370.
[178] Ibid, p.372.
[179] Ibid.
[180] Ibid, p.68.
[181] Ibid, pp.372-3.

engaged with and held high regard for some male friendship values. Furthermore, it posits that elite women pursued purely utilitarian friendships with each other, resembling those typically observed among men, where the primary focus was on fulfilling one's own material and economic interests. Consequently, it questions Crawford and Mendelson's argument that early modern English female friendship existed within an entirely separate female subculture, adding weight to Capp's proposition that the notion of a female subculture fully detached from the dominant male culture itself may impede understandings of the complexity of women's relationships and experiences in this period.

Moreover, this study aims to augment current understandings of the lived experience of being a man or woman in this period. Exploring the various ways in which men and women experienced and perceived emotions in the context of friendship offers valuable insights into their experiences as gendered beings in seventeenth-century England more broadly. As mentioned in the literature survey on friendship and gender, for example, this study examines how the women in this source base endeavored to regulate internal emotional experiences as a means of demonstrating care towards their female friends. They would either permit or strive to suppress feelings such as sadness, frustration, and displeasure based on their perceptions of the circumstances of women close to them. Conversely, the men in this source base regulated their emotional experiences with the aim of preserving their manhood. The differing interests and priorities of men and women within friendships, therefore, shaped by societal norms and expectations around gender, resulted in distinct experiences and understandings of their emotions.

Emotions history

Interest in historical emotions has surged to the point that it is being suggested that we are currently witnessing an 'emotional turn', and many historians now consider emotion to be as essential a category of analysis as gender.[182] As noted previously, however, it is not necessarily surprising that early modern English friendship has yet to be subjected to emotions analysis in any depth, given that it is only

[182] Katie Barclay, 'State of the Field: The History of Emotions', *The Journal of the Historical Association* 106:371 (August 2021), p.5.

within the past few decades that the historical study of emotions has developed as a distinct scholarly field. Nonetheless, there were calls for historians to examine emotions as early as the mid-twentieth century.[183] Historical sociologist, Norbert Elias, notably, was one of the first scholars to recognize that emotions are subject to historical change, and to underscore their importance in understanding past and present societies in his 1939 work *The Civilizing Process*. Elias posited that Europe had, beginning in the sixteenth century, undergone a 'civilizing process', in which 'the monopolisation and centralisation of taxes and physical force' necessitated that emotions be increasingly regulated and suppressed in order to facilitate tact and cooperation in social relationships.[184] This process was perceived as a linear progression wherein Europe gradually evolved from a reactive, emotionally immature, and barbaric culture to a civil, refined, and well-mannered society. The containment of emotion through self-discipline was viewed by Elias as playing a key role in this shift.

Elias's text had little influence until it was translated to English in 1978 and thus made available to a broader readership.[185] In the meantime, the historian, Lucien Febvre, who was unaware of Elias's work, shared a similar belief in the gradual and linear progression of Western society, where primitive emotions were eventually subdued by rational thought. He perceived, however, in the context of the Second World War, that this transition was being undermined by recent events, and that there existed an 'emotional life within us which is always ready to inundate intellectual life and to carry out a sudden reversal of that evolution we were so proud of from emotion to thought […]'.[186] Febvre implored historians to investigate 'the history of hate, the history of fear', and 'the history of cruelty', as these

[183] See also an earlier study which engaged with emotion: Johan Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages*: *A Study of the Forms of Life, Thought, and Art in France and the Netherlands in the XIVth and XVth Centuries*, trans. Frederik J. Hopman (New York: 1924) from the original Dutch: *Herfsttij der Middeleeuwen: Studie over levens- en gedachtervormen der veertiende en vijftiende eeuw in Frankrijk en de Nederlanden* (Harlem, 1919).
[184] Norbert Elias, *The Civilising Process: Sociogenetic and Psychogenetic Investigations*, trans, Edmund Jephcott (Oxford: 1994), p.41.
[185] Andrew Linklater, 'Norbert Elias, The Civilizing Process: Sociogenetic and Psychogenetic Investigations- An Overview and Assessment', *History and Theory* 49:3 (October 2010), p384.
[186] Lucien Febvre, 'Sensibility and History: How to Reconstitute the Emotional Life of the Past', in *A New Kind of History: From the Writings of Febvre,* ed. Peter Burke, trans. K. Folca (New York: Harper and Row, 1973), p.19.

emotions 'will tomorrow have finally made our universe into a stinking pit of corpses'.[187] A history of emotions was, therefore, in Febvre's view, an essential undertaking.

This appeal received little response until progress within the field of psychology and other life sciences introduced concepts that inspired and aided the investigation of emotions in historical analysis. Two opposing theories of the nature of emotions— universalist and social constructivist— were developed which were then employed in historical study. The universalist theory considers emotions to be biological reactions to stimuli, constant and universally experienced, with only the modes of expression varying over time and place.[188] The social constructivist explanation views emotions as socially constructed and culturally specific, implying that emotions themselves are subject to change.[189]

These new conceptions of emotions enabled historians to begin to develop methodologies for investigating emotions in historical contexts. Regarded as the pioneers of modern emotions history, Peter and Carol Stearns, for example, developed their concept, 'emotionology' with the universalist perspective that primary emotions experience little variation across time in mind. The Stearns' suggest that historians concentrate on investigating emotional norms, which they view as more susceptible to change.[190] In order to uncover emotional norms the Stearns' employ emotionology, which they define as 'the attitudes or standards that a society, or a definable group within a society, maintains toward basic emotions and their appropriate expression'.[191] First examining private documents such as diaries, the Stearns later focused on self-help literature, positing that emotional norms were a product of modern times. Their concentration on advice literature has been criticized by Barbara H. Rosenwein, who argues that this poses a barrier to studying emotions in periods prior to the existence and popularity of self-help literature and neglects the

[187] Febvre, 'Sensibility', p.19.
[188] Jan Plamper and Keith Tribe, *The History of Emotions: An Introduction*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), p.5.
[189] Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Generations of Feeling: A History of Emotions, 600-1700*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), p.2.
[190] Peter N. Stearns and Carol Z. Stearns, 'Emotionology: Clarifying the History of Emotions and Emotional Standards', *American Historical Review* 90 (October 1985), p.829.
[191] Stearns and Stearns, 'Emotionology', p.813.

perspectives of individuals outside of the middle class, whose views were not reflected in such sources.[192] The Stearns' perception of emotional standards as developing primarily in the modern period, furthermore, Rosenwein asserts, serves to support Elias's problematic narrative of a gradual increase in emotional restraint in Western society since the seventeenth century, which dismisses medieval emotions and the forces that molded them as unworthy of investigation.[193] The Stearns' contributions have, nevertheless, paved the way for further exploration, and their emphasis on the importance of understanding emotional norms and their evolution over time has influenced numerous approaches to the historical study of emotions.

William M. Reddy's concepts of 'emotives' and 'emotional regimes', introduced as forming a new framework for the examination of historical emotions in 1997, for instance, incorporate emotionology though he does not explicitly acknowledge them as doing so. Utilizing ideas from cognitive psychology, cultural anthropology, and speech act theory, Reddy proposes that the words utilized to describe emotions, which he terms 'emotives', are not only influenced by societal standards and the emotional experience of the person articulating them, but also have an impact on that experience, as well as on the experiences of those who receive or engage with the expression.[194] Declaring an emotion, Reddy explains, may lead to 'confirming, disconfirming, intensifying, or attenuating the emotion claimed', and can induce an emotional response in the listener.[195] Identifying emotives, Reddy argues, allows for the uncovering of 'emotional regimes' within a given political system, which he defines as a 'set of normative emotions and the official rituals, practices, and emotives that express and inculcate them'.[196] All stable political systems, Reddy explains, are grounded in such regimes.[197] As such, Reddy is not only concerned with understanding historical emotional norms, which is the primary objective of

[192] Barbara H. Rosenwein, 'Worrying About Emotions in History', *American Historical Review* 107: 3 (June 2002), pp.824-5.
[193] Rosenwein, 'Worrying About Emotions', p.825.
[194] William M. Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of Emotions*, (Cambridge University Press: 2001), pp.104-5.
[195] Reddy, *Navigation of Feeling*, pp.103, 107.
[196] Ibid, p.129.
[197] Ibid.

emotionology, but with the reciprocal influence between internal emotional experiences and these norms, and how this functioned to create and maintain emotional regimes. Reddy's framework has been applied widely in historical scholarship in recent years, though it has, however, been pointed out that this has frequently been limited to simply identifying emotives and emotional norms.[198] Reddy's usage of the modern nation state as his 'prototypical political regime' has also been called into question, as in most periods of history there was no organized state exerting extensive control and influence over many aspects of social life.[199] Nonetheless, key emotions historians suggest that Reddy's theory still holds much potential for understanding social and political transformations.[200]

Determined to develop an analytical framework which allowed for the study of emotions in earlier centuries, and which was not confined to the examination of politics and power, medieval historian, Barbara Rosenwein, proposed the concept of 'emotional communities' as a new way forward in her 2002 article, 'Worrying about Emotions in History'.[201] In contrast to Reddy's emotional regimes, Rosenwein's emotional communities are much more fluid in nature, defined as 'groups in which people adhere to the same norms of emotional expression and value— or devalue— the same or related emotions'.[202] The model is fairly complex, comprised of a large 'overarching emotional community' within which individuals belong to smaller 'subordinate emotional communities', which can be subdivided and overlapping with other communities.[203] There are, furthermore, other large communities which 'may exist, entirely isolated from or intersecting with the first at one or more points'.[204] Rosenwein's overall aim in applying the methodology of emotional communities is to expose 'systems of feeling', which encompass what the communities and their individual members perceive and judge as

[198] Plamper and Tribe, *An Introduction*, p.265; Tania M. Colwell, 'Emotives and Emotional Regimes', in Susan Broomhall ed. *Early Modern Emotions: An Introduction*, (Routledge: 2017), p.9.
[199] Jan Plamper, William Reddy, Barbara Rosenwein and Peter Stearns, 'The History of Emotions: An Interview with William Reddy, Barbara Rosenwein and Peter Stearns', History and Theory, 49:2 (May 2010), p.242; Rosenwein, 'Reviewed Work: The Navigation of Feeling: A framework for the History of Emotions William M. Reddy', The American Historical Review, 107: 4 (October 2002), p.1182.
[200] Colwell, 'Emotives and Emotional Regimes', p.9; Rosenwein, 'Reviewed Work: Navigation', p.1182.
[201] Rosenwein, 'Worrying About Emotions', p.842.
[202] Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages* (Cornell University Press: 2006), p.2.
[203] Rosenwein, 'Worrying About Emotions', p.24.
[204] Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities*, p.24.

beneficial or detrimental to them; the appraisals they form about one another's emotions; the types of emotional connections they acknowledge; and the various ways of expressing emotions which they anticipate, endorse, accept and disapprove of.[205] Due to the model's adaptable nature, Rosenwein has identified emotional communities in her work spanning from Merovingian courts to even small groups of two people, such as the sixth century bishops Gregory of Tours and Venantius Fortunatas, whom she perceives as exhibiting a subtly different emotional style to some of their clerical peers. The model's versatility has allowed historians to apply it widely to other periods as well, and 'emotional community' is currently one of the most popularly utilized terms within the field of emotions history.[206] It has been pointed out by Jan Plamper, however, that the notion of emotional communities 'suffers from the problems of any theory of societization', in that 'it is insufficiently open and radical', with the outlines of an emotional community being 'so porous and transient' that it pushes one away from the language of 'boundary' and consequently of 'community'.[207] In a similar vein, Andrew Lynch has questioned how early modern historians, working with a far greater number and broader variety of sources than medievalists such as Rosenwein, are meant to choose from the manifold possible communities that could be formed.[208]

Scholarship such as prominent early modern English historian, Linda Pollock's, 'Anger and the Negotiation of Relationships in Early Modern England', however, illustrates how historians can accomplish similar ends as Rosenwein without applying the analytical framework of emotional communities.[209] While not explicitly acknowledging her methodology as linked to Rosenwein's concept

[205] Rosenwein, 'Worrying About Emotions', p.842.
[206] Andrew Lynch, 'Emotional Community' in Susan Broomhall (ed.) *Early Modern Emotions: An Introduction*, (Routledge: 2017), p.3.
[207] Plamper and Tribe, *An Introduction*, pp.70-1.
[208] Lynch, 'Emotional Community, pp.5-6.
[209] E.g. Powell, 'Emotional Landscape', which explores shared values and sentiments within groups like male wrestling companions and the elite in eighteenth-century Nottinghamshire without utilizing the concept of emotional communities; Stephanie Tarbin, 'Raising Girls and Boys: Fear, Awe, and Dread in the Early Modern Household' in Susan Broomhall *Authority, Gender and Emotions in Late Medieval and Early Modern* England, (Palgrave Macmillian: 2015), which examines the distinct experiences of girls, boys, and adults with regard to the role of fear in the practices of early modern European childrearing, also without applying the framework of emotional communities.

of emotional communities, Pollock, too, endeavors to uncover a system of feeling— 'the emotional system of early modern England'— by investigating the norms governing emotional expression in context and the differing perceptions of what constituted appropriate behavior.[210] Examining 'the situated use of emotion', Pollock explains, illuminates the 'different emotional mentality of the seventeenth century which linked emotions in unfamiliar ways' and allows for a view of 'how individuals engaged in daily life with cultural scripts'.[211] In her article, Pollock focuses on how the seventeenth-century English elite employed anger as a means to confront and resolve unacceptable aspects of their relationships, demonstrating that, when expressed in a perceived moderate manner, this emotion was accorded a respected place in society. Like Rosenwein, Pollock challenges the idea of a civilizing process, contending that the shift in the eighteenth century towards softer and less direct expressions of anger does not indicate an ongoing civilizing process in Western society, but, rather, signifies the emergence of a new emotional system 'involving a different model of the association and privileging of sentiments'.[212] Without assigning the elite seventeenth-century English people of her source base, who are predominantly close kin, to emotional communities, Pollock takes into consideration how factors such as one's position as a familial authority or dependent, or being male or female influence the uses and effects of anger in the period. While undoubtedly a useful concept that has the potential to add much richness to understandings of the emotional lives of past peoples, it is not, therefore, necessary to utilize Rosenwein's emotional communities in a formulaic way to discern emotional similarities and distinctions among diverse social groups within pre-modern periods. Considering that existing, recognized groups in the early modern period, such as those formed by gender and social rank, have only begun to be analyzed through an emotions history lens, it is logical to focus on these units at this time, rather than constructing myriad emotional communities and outlining where their boundaries begin, end, and intersect as the model requires. The valuable insights derived from Pollock's exploration of the expression of anger within kin

[210] Linda Pollock, 'Anger and the Negotiation of Relationships', *The Historical Journal*, 47:3 (Cambridge University Press 2004), p.567.
[211] Pollock, 'Anger', p.567.
[212] Ibid, p.587.

relationships, furthermore, underscore the potential benefits of employing such an emotions-focused approach to investigate seventeenth-century English friendships, which were often the most important relationships in a person's life, and often comprised of individuals from different social ranks, allowing for a broader discussion of the impact of social position on emotional expression and experience in disputes.

Building on the major analytical contributions of the Stearns, Reddy, and Rosenwein, scholars of emotions history have expanded their investigations in various directions, incorporating theories related to materiality, space, psychology, and more in their examinations of historical emotions. Particularly relevant to this thesis are theories on the performativity of emotions, which are closely related to Reddy's concept of emotives. Scholars of performativity have drawn on anthropologist Erving Goffman's hypothesis that individuals portray distinct versions of themselves in different situations, based on what they consider to be most fitting and appropriate, in an attempt to achieve particular aims. This can include dressing suitably for an occasion, demonstrating knowledge, manners, and other behaviors tailored to achieve their desired outcome, as well as expressing emotion in the perceived appropriate way.[213] Such performances, Goffman posits, transform emotion into a type of labor.[214] This model was further developed by philosopher Judith Butler, who asserts that everyday behaviors, such as mannerisms and emotional expressions, which indicate gender identity, and which appear to be natural and rooted in biology, are performed practices. It is through the repetitive performance of these conventional behaviors, Butler explains, that the gendered self is produced.[215] For Butler, and for many emotions historians, emotions both convey and shape one's sense of self. As such, emotional performances are not viewed merely as insincere shows but also as a means of internalizing the expressed emotions within the performer and those receiving the expression. Susan Broomhall and Jacqueline Van Gent, for example, illustrate how emotions such as love and affection played a significant role in the performative aspects of

[213] Erving Goffman, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (New York: Anchor Books, 1959), p.2.
[214] Goffman, *The Presentation of Self*, p.2.
[215] Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (London: Routledge, 1999).

the marriage negotiations of the early modern Orange-Nassau family, with potential spouses expressing emotions in ways that were crucial for achieving their intended outcomes. They concede, however, that because 'there was a component of performance in their expressions in this context did not mean that sentiments of love could not, on occasion, be deeply felt'.[216] The 'rhetoric of romance…and marital affections' furthermore, 'were not simply symbolic or convenient fictions, but were certainly effective' in influencing negotiations 'and in their own way real'.[217] This and other recent works demonstrate the immense value of applying theories of performativity to the study of past relationships.[218]

The field of emotions history is evidently a rapidly expanding one in which there is no clearly established standard methodology. Scholars have developed their own methods, each with its own merits and limitations. Given the current abundance of diverse approaches to the study of emotions in history, this thesis, like recent scholarship, will selectively employ aspects of these methodologies that are deemed most useful for this research.[219] It will draw, throughout, from relevant aspects of Rosenwein's model of textual analysis, examining explicit as well as implicit expressions of emotion in correspondence. Similar to the objectives of Rosenwein and Pollock, this thesis aims to explore societal perceptions of emotions and how these informed emotional experience and expression. It also seeks to contribute to unearthing the overall emotional structure of early modern England. It has, however, been of greater utility in undertaking this research to utilize, as Plamper suggests may be more appropriate, a less structured and complex approach than that of emotional communities, which allows for the focus of the research to remain primarily on the emotional experience of friendship, rather than on identifying and defining the contours of the various emotional communities which a past person may be operating within in any one

[216] Susan Broomhall and Jacqueline Van Gent, 'Courting Nassau Affections: Performing Love in Orange-Nassau Marriage Negotiations', in Phillipa Maddern, Joanne McEwan, and Anne M. Scott (eds.), *Performing Emotions in Early Europe* (Brepols Publishers: Belgium, 2018), p.165.
[217] Broomhall and Van Gent, 'Courting Nassau Affections', p.165.
[218] E.g. Katie Barclay, 'Performance and Performativity' in Susan Broomhall (ed.) *Early Modern Emotions: An Introduction*, (Routledge: 2017); Susan Broomhall, 'Performances of Entangled Emotions and Beliefs: French and Spanish Cultural Transformations on the Sixteenth-Century Florida Peninsula', *Cromohs: Cyber Review of Modern Historiography* 10:13 (2016), pp.21-51.
[219] E.g. John McCallum, *Exploring Emotion in Reformation Scotland: The Emotional Worlds of James Melville 1556-1614* (Palgrave Macmillan: 2022); Powell, 'Emotional Landscapes'; Tarbin, 'Raising Girls and Boys'.

interaction or moment. This thesis will, therefore, investigate individual emotional experiences and expressions in context, adopting an approach akin to Pollock's by utilizing the identifying factors which social historians have traditionally employed, such as gender and social rank, to make broader assessments about the emotional experience of friendship, and the meanings and functions of emotions in seventeenth-century England. It will, for example, analyze the standards governing emotional expression in conflict, exploring how lower-ranked friends employed restraint and nuance in the articulation of anger to higher-ranked friends in friendships which were necessary to their wellbeing. It also examines how emotions aroused other emotions, such as how the perceived unrestrained experience of any feeling often generated anxiety and shame in men, even when the emotion was experienced in private.

This thesis's approach is also informed by methodologies and theories on the performativity of emotions. It investigates, for example, the ways in which women employed emotional displays as a means of forging female friendships, exploring how these performances could serve to embed the expressed emotions within the women. It also explores situations in which emotional displays failed or were possibly not truly intended to elicit particular emotional responses.

Just as there is a diverse range of perspectives and methodologies within the field, there is also no definitive consensus among historians regarding the nature of emotions. Understanding the defining features of an emotion was a concern for early scholars in the field, with many choosing one of the two opposing camps which emerged within the life sciences to organize their research around. The Stearns, for instance, argue that basic emotions are unlikely to change over time, pointing to how breastfeeding produces hormones which promote bonding between mother and baby to demonstrate the biological components to emotions.[220] Ute Frevert, on the other hand, emphasizes how emotions, such as 'honour' defy biological explanations.[221] As William Reddy points out, however, there is currently no overarching model or theory on emotion and cognitive functioning within the life sciences which historians can adopt

[220] Stearns and Stearns, 'Emotionology', p.829.
[221] Ute Frevert, *Emotions in History-Lost and Found* (Central European University Press: 2011), pp.80-5.

and apply to their research.[222] Unless historians possess in-depth knowledge of the vast amount of evolving theories and models there is a risk of these concepts being employed uncritically in historical scholarship.[223]

Assessing the validity of arguments put forth by psychologists, anthropologists, neurobiologists, and others is beyond the scope and purpose of this thesis. It is apparent, furthermore, from the growing body of scholarship offering new insights into the past without entering this debate, that it is not necessary to do so in order to partake in emotions analysis and make valuable contributions to historical knowledge. As Stephanie Olsen and Rob Boddice highlight in their discussion of the Stearns' work, there is no need for the Stearns' or other emotions historians to delve into a deep investigation of the intrinsic essence of emotions because the current research illustrates clearly 'that emotions— at the level of meaning and experience— change over time. *What* they are is historical. The nature/nurture debate, or the problem with hardwiring, seems now only to be a distraction in these works. The debate has moved on'.[224] Jan Plamper similarly emphasizes the need for scholars to move past the social constructivism and universalism dichotomy, arguing that, regardless of whether emotions have biological or social origins, historical studies reveal a diverse range of 'emotional conceptions and cultural patterns' over time, allowing for fresh perspectives on the past.[225] Nevertheless, it will be noted this research will operate from the stance that some emotions may possess a biological element. It also, however, recognizes that emotions are constructed socially, being experienced, expressed, and perceived in different ways across different periods and places, and, as such, must be comprehended within the specific historical context in which they are observed.

Sources and Approaches

[222] Plamper, Reddy, Rosenwein and Stearns, 'The History of Emotions: An Interview', p.248.
[223] Ibid.
[224] Stephanie Olsen and Rob Boddice, 'Styling Emotions History', *Journal of Social History,* 51:3 (2018), p.483.
[225] Plamper and Tribe, *An Introduction*, pp.299-300.

Correspondence

As mentioned previously, this project's primary source base is formed predominantly by seventeenth-century correspondence. Travel in the early modern period was both logistically difficult and expensive, and, as such, correspondence was the main form of contact between friends separated by distance. As one seventeenth-century author of a letter-writing manual explained: 'Letters, whose Influences effectually create [the] same Effects and right Understanding, as if the Sender or Writer were present…are agreed upon by all Hands to be the maintainers of Love, Amity, Correspondency'.[226] In his study on 'the emotional-expressive capacity of letters' Gary Schneider echoes this when he argues that letters were perceived to be an authentic substitute for in-person interactions. He posits that 'the epistolary evidence suggests that…emotions such as love, happiness, anger, shame, and pleasure' were textualized by letter-writers.[227]

The similarity of early modern correspondence to templates in letter-writing manuals, however, has caused concern among historians about the ability to recover emotional experience from letters. Jonathan Gibson, for instance, points out 'the artifice which underpinned renaissance epistolary practice' and asserts that letters were not 'a window on to a [...] private self'.[228] Fay Bounds similarly highlights the use of cultural scripts in epistolary practice, arguing that the 'content and structure' of letters in the early modern period 'were no less crafted than church court depositions'.[229] She asserts that, rather than reflecting inner experience, letters are more revealing of 'the socially available paradigms used to convey feeling'.[230]

While acknowledging that the relationship between experience and expression is a legitimate concern for historians, Linda Pollock, however, disagrees that the use of cultural scripts in

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[226] Thomas Hill, *The Young Secretary's Guide: or, A Speedy help to learning in two parts* (T Fleet: Boston, 1691), p.2.
[227] Gary Schneider, 'Affecting correspondences: Body, behavior, and the Textualization of emotion in early modern English letters' in Early Modern English Letters', Prose Studies, 23, 3 (2000), pp.31,32.
[228] Jonathan Gibson, 'Significant Space in Manuscript Letters', *The Seventeenth Century*, 12, 1(1997), p.7.
[229] Fay Bounds, 'Writing the Self? Love and the Letter in England, c.1660-c. 1760', in *Literature and History*, 11:1 (May 2002), p.5.
[230] Bounds, 'Writing the Self?', p.13.

correspondence impedes historical recovery of the lived experience of emotion. She points out that 'cultural scripts are an essential part of the communication of emotion in personal relationships' even today, and that, furthermore, early modern correspondence illustrates how letter-writers employed, revised, and adapted these scripts in daily life. Correspondence, in Pollock's view, 'allows us to explore the articulation of emotion, the dynamics of emotional engagement, and the role of emotions in interpersonal relations.'[231]

Michael Roper takes a similar view to Pollock, arguing that letters offer 'a source of clues to emotional states'.[232] Insisting that letter-writing is a 'psychological activity', Roper demonstrates how 'incorrect dates or transposed words, silences, things crossed out, and other psychically redolent matter' can convey emotion.[233] Pollock's and Roper's work, along with other recent scholarship, suggest that, when approached with caution, letters serve as a useful source with which to recover at least some of the lived experience of emotion, particularly within relationships.[234] Katie Barclay points out in her research on the life-cycle of marriage in early modern Scotland, for example, how correspondence can be utilized to gain insight into how spouses 'expressed love and created intimacy' throughout their relationships.[235] Letters are, she asserts, 'uniquely situated to provide insight into life-cycles, capturing not just a single moment in time, but giving a sense of change over time'.[236]

Indeed, the analysis of correspondence in this thesis illuminates how letters allow for a view of emotional expression and experience within friendships and the evolution of these relationships over time.

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[231] Pollock, 'Anger', pp.572-573.
[232] Michael Roper, 'Slipping Out of View: Subjectivity and Emotion in Gender History', in *History Workshop Journal,* No.59 (2005), p.65.
[233] Roper, 'Slipping Out of View', p.65.
[234] The following recent scholarship demonstrates that correspondence is a particularly useful source with which to study interpersonal relationships and emotion: Katie Barclay, *Love, Intimacy and Power: Marriage and Patriarchy in Scotland 1650-1850* (Manchester University Press:2011); Sara Mendelson and Mary O' Connor, "Thy Passionately Loving Sister and Faithfull Friend': Anne Dormer's Letters to her Sister, Lady Trumbull' in Naomi J. Miller, Naomi Yavneh, Allyson M. Poska, Abby Zanger, and Colleen Reardon's *Sibling Relations and Gender in the Early Modern World* (Routledge, 2006); Pollock, 'Anger'; Powell, 'Emotional Landscape'.
[235] Katie Barclay, 'Intimacy and the Life Cycle in the Marital Relationships of the Scottish Elite During the Long Eighteenth Century', *Women's History Review*, 20:2, (2011), p.193.
[236] Barclay, 'Intimacy and the Life Cycle', p.193.

Expressions of affection and devotion at the beginning of female friendships, for example, are argued to be intentional performances of emotion aimed at nurturing intimacy between women. The eventual broadening of epistolary discussion topics beyond mere pleasantries to referencing shared secrets and expressing hopes and emotional pain is suggested to indicate that these feelings were genuinely fostered over time, internalized within the women through emotional displays and shared bonding experiences in person. Additionally, changing modes of address reflecting shifts in friends' specific relation to one another, it is argued, illustrate how the concept of friendship, as an umbrella term encompassing various types of relationships, provided a means for individuals to maintain intimate emotional connections when such experiences as remarriages severed certain ties. Letters, furthermore, can offer the voices of both members of the relationship; an advantage which sources like diaries and autobiographies cannot provide. While the correspondence collections examined in this thesis do contain some return letters, in instances where this is not the case, it is still possible, and necessary as Mirielle Bossis and Karen McPherson contend, to consider how a letter reflects the other, absent, side of the exchange.[237]

Censorship is another limitation to be taken into account when using correspondence as a primary source. Letters were often intended for circulation amongst family members, and early modern English people were mindful of the risk of private letters being intercepted.[238] Consequently, letters may have been written with some self-censorship. The intended audience of a letter, however, can sometimes be deduced from the content. A letter between two female friends utilized in this project, for example, refers to a secret which the writer did not dare to put on paper, suggesting that the women intended their correspondence to be private but were wary of interception, and likely discussed such content in person rather than in writing.[239] Though no secret is revealed, the letter is still telling of the intimate nature of the relationship. A letter between another pair of female friends contains a distressed apology that the

[237] Mirielle Bossis and Karen McPherson, 'Methodological Journeys Through Correspondence', *Yale French Studies*, No. 71, (1986), p.68.
[238] Gary Schneider, *The Culture of Epistolarity* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1996), p.23.
[239] Lettice Wendy to Emma Willoughby, 29 December 1673. Family and Estate Collections, University of Nottingham Manuscripts and Special Collections, Mi Av 143/36/21.

previous letter was accidentally placed into the hands of the recipient's husband whom it was not meant to be seen by, indicating that the letters were supposed to be confidential.[240] Friends Henry More and Anne Conway, furthermore, made an explicit agreement that their correspondence was for their own eyes only.[241] Whether the intended audience or degree of censorship in a letter is clear, however, correspondence can still serve as a rich and unrivalled source from which emotions, attitudes, relationship dynamics, and detailed explanations of events can all emerge.

Sources Examined

The emotional experience of friendship is investigated in this thesis through eighty-seven letters. While approximately four hundred letters were initially examined, prominent themes eventually materialized and became the focus of the research. Consequently, letters that did not align with the chosen themes were excluded due to the necessarily restricted scope of this thesis. Additional exclusions were made to concentrate on the seventeenth century, as well as in instances where the content of a letter is similar to that of other letters within a particular epistolary relationship and did not offer new insights. These decisions were made to adhere to the constraints of the thesis.

The letters examined in this thesis are sourced from the collections of five seventeenth-century elite Midlands-based families: the Willoughby, Cavendish, Holles, and Bentinck families of Nottinghamshire, and the Conway family of Warwickshire. The letters of the Willoughby, Cavendish, Holles, and Bentinck families were accessed through the University of Nottingham's Manuscripts and Special Collections archive, while the Conway correspondence was accessed through Marjorie Hope Nicolson and Sarah Hutton's revised 1992 edition of *The Conway Letters: The Correspondence of Anne, Viscountess Conway, Henry More, and their Friends 1642-1684*. The correspondence collections contain exchanges among family members and also between family members and their external friends. These

[240] Lady Margaret Boyle to Frances Cavendish, 10 February [1655-1676], Family and Estate Collections, University of Nottingham Manuscripts and Special Collections, Pw 1/37.
[241] Henry More to Lady Anne Conway, 2 November 1651, in Marjorie Hope Nicolson and Sarah Hutton (e.d), *The Conway Letters: The Correspondence of Anne, Viscountess Conway, Henry More, and their Friends 1642-1684* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), Pp.53-5.

collections were, as mentioned previously, selected in part for their understudied nature and lack of prior utilization in the context of friendship studies. They also offer ample evidence with which to examine the gendered experience of emotion in friendship, and emotion in friendships of unequal social rank and among kin and non-kin in a linked geographical and social setting. Moreover, they contain correspondence spanning long-term female friendships and, as noted above, include return letters in some cases, a rarity in archival correspondence collections, especially concerning female authored letters as these have far less often been preserved in archives than letters written by men.[242]

There are more male than female epistolary relationships in this source base. There are, however, fewer extant letters exchanged between men in individual relationships compared to those between women. The female correspondence is, therefore, fuller, allowing for a deeper analysis of individual friendships— an aspect which the historiography on female friendship currently lacks. The male-authored letters, however, sometimes offer the advantage of providing a broader view of how particular individuals conducted friendships with different people, including those of varying social ranks, and those with whom they appeared to have sentimental attachments to versus those they did not. This feature of the source base has proved useful in investigating the themes which arose most prominently in the examination of male friendship—vulnerability, intimacy, and distrust— shedding light on how factors such as social standing and emotional attachment influenced these experiences.

Some of the individuals whose correspondence is examined in this research are notable figures and have attracted the interest of historians. William Cavendish (1593-1676), the first Duke of Newcastle upon Tyne, for example, is mentioned in Civil War scholarship, and his abilities in horsemanship and contributions to architecture have also been objects of examination.[243] The correspondence in this source

[242] Bossis and McPherson, 'Methodological Journeys', p.68; James Daybell, *Early Modern Women's Letter Writing, 1450-1700* (Palgrave: Hampshire, 2001), p.3.
[243] E.g. Martyn Bennett, *The English Civil War: 1640-1649* (Routledge: Oxon, 2013), p.52; Lucy Worsley and Tom Addyman, 'Riding Houses and Horses: William Cavendish's Architecture for the Art of Horsemanship', *Architectural History*, Vol. 45, (2002) pp.194-229; Lucy Worsley, 'Building a Family: William Cavendish, First Duke of Newcastle, and the Construction of Bolsover and Nottingham Castles', *The Seventeenth Century*, 19:2 (2004), pp.233-259.

base was not, however, employed in those studies as they are not focused on interpersonal relationships. William Cavendish's son, Henry Cavendish (1630-1691), the second Duke of Newcastle upon Tyne, Henry's wife, Frances (1630-1695), and their children have also come under study, particularly with regard to early modern English marriage. Trevor Foulds's chapter, ''Nothing Less Than a Duke': Henry 2nd Duke of Newcastle and the Marriages of his Daughters', and Laura Charles's doctoral thesis, *'An Honourable estate': A study of marriage in an elite family network, 1660-1753*, both examine marriage within this family.[244] There is some overlap in the Cavendish correspondence utilized, however, those analyses are concerned with understanding early modern marriage and marital arrangements whereas this study interrogates the source material with the aim of understanding friendship.

Naturalist, John Ray (1627-1705), is another relatively well-known figure, though scholars have focused on exploring his career and research contributions in fields like botany and zoology. Historians have also investigated Cambridge tutor, author, and philosopher, Henry More's (1614-1687) career and life, and the Viscountess Lady Anne Conway (1631-1679) too is a figure of interest for her philosophical mind and writings.[245] While the edited collection of Anne and More's correspondence offers a comprehensive view of their enduring friendship, however, it is a window into the 'intellectual milieu' of their era, and the 'intellectual biographies' of Anne and More, as well as insights into the 'leading medical minds', and notable individuals that the editors emphasize as being provided by the collection.[246] Its value for understanding the nature of friendship in the period is not highlighted or exploited. The correspondence which forms the bulk of this thesis's source base, therefore, remains underutilized by historians and has not been employed to examine early modern English friendship.

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[244] Trevor Foulds, "Nothing Less Than a Duke': Henry 2nd Duke of Newcastle and the Marriages of his Daughters', in Richard A. Gaunt (ed.), *Church, Land and People: Essays Presented to John Beckett* (Thoroton Society: Nottingham, 2020); Laura Charles (2021) *An Honourable Estate': a Study of Marriage in an Elite Family Network, 1660-1753,* PhD thesis, Nottingham Trent University.

[245] E.g. Sean M. Costello, 'Anne Conway on Memory' *British Journal for the History of Philosophy,* 31:5 (2023), pp.912-931; Sarah Hutton, *Anne Conway: A Woman Philosopher* (Cambridge University Press: 2009); David S. Sytsma, *Richard Baxter and the Mechanical Philosophers* (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 2017); C. Webster, 'Henry More and Descartes: Some New Sources' *British Journal for the History of Science*, Vol. 4, (1969) pp.359-77.

[246] Hutton and Nicolson (ed.), *The Conway Letters*, pp.pvii-pviii.

While there are numerous friendships studied within this thesis some feature more prominently than others. The following table and chart provide an overview of the extent and timeframe of the correspondence analyzed within these specific relationships, detailing the number of letters examined and the start and end dates of the correspondence:

Table 1: Correspondence details

Correspondents	**Initials**	**No. Letters Examined**	**Dates of Correspondence**
Lady Anne Conway // Henry More	AC & HM	14	1660- c.1664
Lady Lettice Wendy // Lady Emma Willoughby	LW & EW	20	1668-c.1676 +
Lady Katharine Winstanley // Lady Emma Willoughby	KW & EW	1	1668
John Ray // Lady Emma Child (formerly Willoughby)	JR & EC	5	c.1673-1680
Frances Cavendish, Countess of Ogle // Elizabeth Percy, Dowager Countess of Northumberland	FC & EP	11	c.1670-1676

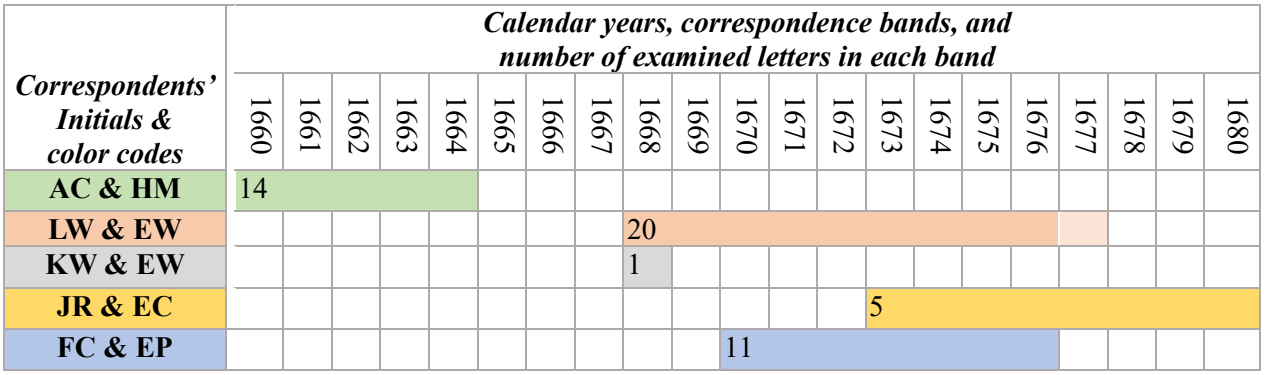

Figure 1: Correspondence calendar

These friendships will be analyzed as thoroughly as possible within the body of this thesis. There is one particular friendship— that of Lady Anne Conway and Henry More— however, for which the conclusions drawn are also informed by extensive research into their correspondence (contained in the edited collection) which is not included in this study. As such, readers will benefit from some background information. The pair were introduced by Lady Anne's brother, John Finch, who studied under More at Cambridge, and arranged for More to act as an informal tutor for his intellectually curious sister. What

began as a rather formal exchange of intellectual ideas in 1650 became an increasingly personal, affectionate correspondence which spanned nearly thirty years until Anne's death.

The correspondence sketches a detailed picture of their friendship, highlighting its largely sentimental nature. Intellectual stimulation, amusement, and emotional support were key features of the relationship. There are numerous visits mentioned which More made to Lady Anne during his breaks from Cambridge, including More's accompanying Anne to France to undergo surgery for her chronic illness.[247] The letters also illuminate that the pair became entwined instrumentally, with Anne and her husband, the Viscount Lord Edward Conway, acting as patrons to More, while he provided services for them such as selecting and persuading people to fill positions within the Conway estates.[248]

Readers will also benefit from information not included within the body of the thesis on the relationship between Lady Lettice Wendy (d. 1696) and her sister-in-law, Lady Emma Willoughby (1644-1725). Their correspondence reveals that the women developed a long-lasting, intimate friendship upon Emma's marriage to Lettice's only brother, Francis Willoughby, in 1668. The female friendship chapter of this thesis will delve deeply into the nearly ten-year span of their friendship that the correspondence collection provides a window onto, scrutinizing the emotions present at the formation of their relationship, and throughout key life phases such as marriage, childbearing, and widowhood. There are twenty-four letters from Lettice to Emma in the collection. As the correspondence often references subjects not discussed in the previous letters, however, it is likely that, in addition to having in-person discussions during visits, the women corresponded frequently and that there were more letters from this period than those currently extant in the archive.

The last of their surviving correspondence reveals their friendship remaining close after the death of Francis Willoughby and Emma's remarriage to the wealthy East India Company merchant, Sir Josiah

[247] Lady Anne Conway to Lord Edward Conway, April 1656, in Marjorie Hope Nicolson and Sarah Hutton (e.d), *The Conway Letters: The Correspondence of Anne, Viscountess Conway, Henry More, and their Friends 1642-1684* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), Pp.135-136.
[248] Hutton and Nicolson (ed.), *The Conway Letters*,p.118.

Child in 1676, and the analysis of their relationship in the chapter on female friendship ends at this point. In 1680, however, Emma and the late Francis Willoughby's twelve-year-old son, Francis, ran away from Sir Josiah Child's residence at Wanstead to live with his aunt, Lettice.[249] With Lettice's help Francis and his siblings filed a bill of complaint against Sir Josiah, Emma, and others, circa 1682, requesting that their inheritance, which Child had 'laid out in the East India cottons' with the promise that it would 'greatly improve' their late father's estate, 'be disposed of on termes of more certainty and invested in a purchase of Lands' rather than continuing to risk 'the danger and hazard of money in trade'.[250] As such, Lettice and Emma may have experienced friction in their relationship due to disagreement over the management of the inheritance. Lettice's inclusion of Emma in her 1694 will, however, leaving Emma her 'biggest Silver Ladle my two biggest Silver Plates, ten pound of my old Gold after the old rate' and 'the Bible that is cover'd wth black velvet' suggests that if there had been ill feeling between them at the time of the bill of complaint their friendship and longstanding affection for one another survived.[251] The recollections of Cassandra Willoughby, daughter of Emma and Francis, in her volume of the Willoughby family history, indicate furthermore that the women preserved their relationship throughout the ordeal. Cassandra mentions correspondence between Lettice and Emma (which was later lost) in which Lettice promised to take special care of Francis and weighed options for his education during his stay, suggesting that the women maintained amicable communication and sought to cooperate with one another.[252] The younger Francis's displeasure was also said to be directed towards Sir Josiah rather than Emma, and Cassandra did not mention any strife between Lettice and Emma.[253]

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[249] University of Nottingham Manuscripts and Special Collections, 'Biography of Sir Francis Willoughby, 1st Baronet (1668-1688)' at https://www.nottingham.ac.uk/manuscriptsandspecialcollections/collectionsindepth/family/middleton/biographies/biographyoffranciswilloughby(1588-1665).aspx [accessed 1 September 2024].
[250] Bill of Complaint of Francis Willoughbye, Baronet, and others against Sir Josiah Child and others, circa 1682. Family and Estate Collections, University of Nottingham Manuscripts and Special Collections, Mi 6/176/185.
[251] Will and Testament (Copy) of Lettice Wendy, widow of Sir Thomas Wendy of Haslingfield, 13 June 1694. Family and Estate Collections, University of Nottingham Manuscripts and Special Collections, Mi 1/13/22.
[252] Cassandra, Duchess of Chandos (ed.) AC Wood, *The Continuation of the History of the Willoughby Family* (Nottingham: The University of Nottingham, 1958), pp.119-121.
[253] Cassandra, Duchess of Chandos, *The Continuation*, p.121.

Lettice's sister, Katharine Winstanley (1630-1694) was also, as the female friendship chapter will show, closely bonded with Lettice and Emma. There is little recorded about Katharine's life, and only two letters from Katharine to Emma in the collection and none between Katharine and Lettice, though Lettice mentions having written to Katharine in letters to Emma. Frequent references to Katharine in Lettice and Emma's correspondence, however, reveal the important place she held in their lives. They worried about how her perceived irresponsible and unkind husband affected her emotional wellbeing, devised ways to comfort her, shared private information with her, and, upon being widowed, Lettice hoped to spend the remainder of her life in Katharine's company. As such, Katharine is a figure of note in the chapter on female friendship, despite the lack of preserved correspondence written by or to her.

While this project is primarily concerned with the lived experience of friendship it also utilizes contemporary conduct literature to enrich the examination of correspondence. Seventeenth-century English people had various and contradictory notions of friendship available to them in literary works, including a celebrated intellectual tradition of Classical and Christian writings on the relationship.[254] Classical texts on friendship, particularly Aristotle's *The Nicomachean Ethics* and Cicero's *Laelius de Amicitia*, were incorporated into some university curricula and, following their translations into English in the sixteenth century, became accessible to a wider audience.[255] The educated population of early modern England would probably have been familiar with Aristotle's division of friendship into the virtuous, the pleasant, and the useful.[256] Virtuous friendship, in which friends were alike in their integrity, aimed to cultivate virtue, uphold truth, and promote the public good.[257] This perceived highest form of the relationship was viewed by Aristotle as the primary element of social unity, its encouragement of morality and justice between friends rendering laws unnecessary.[258] Pleasant friendship, in which individuals bonded purely for the enjoyment of each other's company, was seen as a lower form of the relationship,

[254] Tadmor, *Family and Friends*, p.238.
[255] Johnson, 'Friendship, Coercion, and Interest', p.56.
[256] Ibid.
[257] Thomas, *The Ends of Life*, p.190.
[258] Ibid.

and useful friendship, in which friends were interested primarily in utilizing one another to fulfill practical needs, was considered the least desirable type.[259] In a somewhat similar vein, Cicero viewed friendship as 'a complete sympathy in all matters of importance, plus goodwill and affection', placing connections of such a sentimental nature above instrumental ties.[260] The medieval theologian, St Thomas Aquinas, on the other hand, whose *Summa Theologica* most notably articulated Christian views on friendship, felt that these exclusive conceptions of the relationship conflicted with the Christian principle of universal goodwill.[261] Aquinas argued that, to honor God, 'a man should not limit his love to his friends, but love his neighbour and fellow-man'.[262] While it was, Aquinas acknowledged, commendable to love one's friend, it was far more laudable to love one's enemy, as loving one's friend was effortless, whereas loving one's enemy was truly an act of service to God.[263]

The influence of Classical and medieval Christian ideas on early modern English understandings of friendship is apparent in sermons, literature, and advice manuals published during the period. Reflecting Aristotle and Cicero's perspectives on instrumental bonds, for example, the philosopher Francis Bacon perceived utilitarian motives as undermining the essence of friendship. It was only, he claimed, in a 1625 essay, truly 'friendship, when a man can say to himself, I love this man without respect of utility', though, as mentioned previously in the introduction, he lamented in another essay that there was 'little' true 'friendship in the world', and the friendship which did exist was often of an unequal, instrumental nature.[264] Similarly, the Anglican cleric Samuel Masters disdained the all-too-common application of the label 'friend' to any helpful or agreeable neighbor or acquaintance, declaring in a

[259] Thomas, *The Ends of Life*, p.190.
[260] Tadmor, *Family and Friends*, p.238.
[261] Johnson, 'Friendship, Coercion, and Interest', p.59; Tadmor, *Family and Friends*, p.238.
[262] Tadmor, *Family and Friends*, p.238.
[263] Ibid.
[264] Francis Bacon, *The Essayes or Counsels,* ed. Michael Kiernan (Oxford, 2000), pp.80, 149.

sermon published in 1685 that a friendship was only 'true' when between men of similar 'moral goodness', age, social rank, and intellectual ability who could genuinely love one another.[265]

The preacher Robert South echoed Aristotle's thoughts on virtuous friendship in his 1692 *Twelve Sermons Preached Upon Several Occasions*, asserting that the purpose of the relationship was the preservation of virtue in society.[266] South argued that gratitude within friendship was a kind of justice because gratitude planted 'such an overruling Generosity in the Heart of Man', it 'more effectually' inclined 'him to what is brave and becoming, than the Terrour of any Penal Law whatsoever'.[267] Friendship involved functional expectations, such as providing guidance and assistance with 'Problems of business and contrary affairs'; however, a friend's willingness to help was not about creating a debt to ensure a favor in return, but about exercising benevolence and generosity, with the ultimate aim of maintaining moral integrity in society.[268]

Anglican divine, Jeremy Taylor's highly popular and influential treatise on the nature and practice of friendship, which circulated in print seven times between the years 1657 and 1684, is noted by historians for its attempt to reconcile Classical and Christian notions of friendship with practices Taylor likely observed in his own social world.[269] In an effort to demonstrate how friendship was 'authoris'd by the principles of Christianity', for example, Taylor argued that it was not in violation of the principle of 'Christian charity' to focus one's attention and efforts on a select few in 'actuall friendship' rather than extending it to everyone.[270] Friendship, he reasoned, 'must be *limited* because *we are so*'.[271] Because men

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[265] Samuel Masters, *A Discourse of friendship preached at the Wiltshire Feast in St Mary Le-Bow Church December the Ist, (1685)*, pp.7-8.
[266] Robert South, *The Practice of Religion Enforced by Reason: In a Sermon Preached Upon PROV. X.9. at Westminster-Abbey, 1667* in *Twelve Sermons preached upon several occasions* (London, 1692), 1:488, pp.490-91.
[267] South, *Twelve Sermons* 1:490-91.
[268] Ibid, 2:91.
[269] Tadmor, *Family and Friends*, pp.238-45; Thomas, *The Ends of* Life, p.13. The integration of Classical and Christian ideals with contemporary views of friendship in literature was not a novel concept. Francis Bacon, for example, whose writings predate Taylor's treatise, also merged tradition and his current reality in his discussions on the subject. Bacon's views, however, more closely align with tradition, whereas Taylor, as will be shown, endeavored to unite realities of seventeenth-century English friendship, such as the prioritization of practicality, with Classical and Christian principles which stipulated that functional incentives were incompatible with true friendship.
[270] Taylor, *Friendship,* pp.14-17.
[271] Ibid, p.14.

were unable to give equally 'to all' in the world, they must show their 'readinesse to do more good to all by actually doing more good to all them to whom' they could.[272] Those who should be selected for friendship, furthermore, were 'vertuous' individuals, possessing the moral goodness which Aristotle prized.[273] A friendship with such an admirable individual could be a source of great pleasure, as well as: 'the allay of our sorrows, the ease of our passions, the discharge of our oppressions, the sanctuary to our calamities, the counsellor of our doubts, the clarity of our minds […]'.[274] Taylor did, however, concede that compromises must sometimes be made in the choice of friends; most friends were unlikely to possess all the coveted characteristics of a virtuous individual.[275] He explained, moreover, that some friendships 'are worthy, and some are necessary', reflecting the necessity in early modern England for individuals to sometimes participate in friendships with those whom they did not particularly enjoy or esteem.[276]

While Taylor extolled virtuous friendship, his ideal friend was, above all, a highly useful individual who could be relied upon for any practical 'benefit or support' within their power to provide, such as financial aid, wise counsel, and serving as trustee of a will, among other responsibilities.[277] The necessity of a friend's usefulness, however, did not diminish the importance of a friend's worthiness; instead, it defined and underscored their worthiness. As Taylor explained: 'although I love my friend because he is worthy, yet he is not worthy if he can do no good'.[278] It was 'those friendships' in which the friends were 'most useful' which were 'most perfect'.[279] After all, Taylor contended, God was not loved solely for his 'Beauties', but also— and predominantly— for the benefits he provided his subjects: '*does* Job *serve God for nought*?'.[280] Unlike Aristotle then, who ranked friendships based on utility as inferior to those founded on pleasure and virtue, Taylor envisioned the ideal friendship as a blend of all three

[272] Taylor, *Friendship*, p.16.
[273] Ibid, pp.18-19.
[274] Ibid, pp.23-4.
[275] Ibid, p.28.
[276] Ibid, p.12.
[277] Ibid, p.30.
[278] Ibid, p.24.
[279] Ibid, p.27.
[280] Ibid, p.25.

aspects, with usefulness being the indispensable component. While striving to uphold Christian and Classical ideals of friendship, therefore, Taylor perceived the relationship's purpose to be unapologetically functional, his embrace of self-interest and utility distinguishing his perspective from those of other early modern writers and thinkers, such as Bacon, Masters, and South. His effort to harmonize what was undoubtedly a familiar reality for many early modern English people— friendships based on mutual practical obligation with varying degrees of importance and emotional closeness— with revered traditional ideals may explain the enduring appeal of his treatise throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The interrogation of conduct literature in this thesis aims to provide a fuller picture of societal ideas about seventeenth-century English friendship and assess the impact of such advice literature on the lived experience of this relationship. As such, Jeremy Taylor's treatise is central, not only because of its popularity, but because Taylor himself was connected socially to members of this project's source base.[281] He was both socially and instrumentally linked with the Conway's, and through them associated with Henry More.[282] The Conway's ties extended to elite Nottinghamshire families through the marriage of Anne Finch Conway to Lord Edward Conway, namely the Cavendish and Holles families, who were both affiliated with the Willoughby's. The elite seventeenth-century English people whose friendships are examined in this thesis therefore would likely have been familiar with this tract.

Methodology

As discussed in the survey of emotions history literature above, this thesis employs pertinent aspects of Barbara Rosenwein's model of textual analysis as its primary methodology. Rosenwein's model, designed to examine emotional communities, involves identifying emotion words as well as indicators of emotion, such as gestures, and noting their occurrences and contexts to locate patterns. These patterns are then used to delineate the contours of emotional communities and the systems of

[281] Tadmor, *Family and Friends*, p.239; Herbert, *Female Alliances*, p.27.
[282] Hutton and Nicolson (ed.), *The Conway Letters*, pp.148,176.

feeling within them, which include the ways emotions are understood, evaluated, and expressed by these communities. In a manner similar to Rosenwein this thesis examines both explicit and implicit expressions of emotion within seventeenth-century English friendship, utilizing traditional social history identifying factors— gender, social rank, and age— however, to assess patterns of how emotions were experienced, evaluated, and expressed by different societal groups rather than prescriptively applying the framework of emotional communities. It is not, therefore, only emotion words which will be examined but indirect expressions of emotion, such as a lower-ranked friend's reference to people within his social circle questioning the behavior of his higher-ranked friend towards him possibly operating as an expression of his own displeasure and disappointment in the friend, or how material provision and forms of practical assistance served as demonstrations of affection and care. It also searches for emotions that, while not explicitly expressed, influence emotions that are articulated, such as how the expression of anger may indicate an underlying experience of sadness or fear. This is an established practice in historical research; it has been asserted, for example, that expressions of grief offer insight into the depth of affection between early modern spouses or parents and children.[283] As previously mentioned, the examination of emotions in this thesis is also informed by theories on the performativity of emotions. It analyzes certain emotional expressions as performances, sometimes intended to embody the performed emotions in the performer and those to whom the emotions were expressed. In other cases, it is argued that the performed emotions were not meant to be internalized but rather aimed to yield emotional gratification by engendering pleasurable feelings, such as power and value, in the recipients of these performances.

In this thesis's search for experienced and expressed emotions caution is taken to ensure that emotions are accurately identified and understood, an aspect of textual analysis which Rosenwein emphasizes is essential. There are, as Gail Kern Paster, Katherine Rowe, and Mary Floyd-Wilson explain,

[283] E.g. David Cressy, *Birth, Marriage, and Death: Ritual, Religion, and the Life-Cycle in Tudor and Stuart England* (Oxford:1997), p.391; Ralph Houlbrooke, *Death, Religion and the Family in England, 1480-1750* (Oxford University Press: 1998), p.231; Macfarlane, *Family Life*, p.113.

'broad similarities' in emotions across the early modern and modern periods, though to insist on the universality of emotion obscures the diversity of emotional experience and expression.[284] Similarities in emotion terms and understandings of emotions from the early modern to the modern period have been noted by social historians who, prior to the recent surge in emotions history, were already identifying and assessing past feelings. Ralph Houlbrooke, for example, posits in his study of death and religion in early modern England that 'there is no reason to suppose that the basic character of grief changed' from the early modern period to the present, although 'the means of its expression and their availability certainly did'.[285] There is validity to this view; indeed, if early modern and modern emotions did not exhibit parallels much of the existing historiography would be fundamentally undermined. Many emotions historians may disagree with Houlbrooke, however, that only the modes of expression have altered, as emotions scholarship has demonstrated that attitudes towards and understandings of emotions in a particular period can affect the experience of that emotion.[286] Indeed, it will be argued in this thesis that seventeenth-century English women compared their circumstances in bereavement with those of their female friends to determine the level of grief it was appropriate to privately experience and express. If one's circumstances were deemed worse than others' it was perceived as more acceptable to indulge in feelings of grief. If one's situation was seen as more fortunate, however, grief was expected to be quickly regulated to show compassion for less fortunate friends and to avoid appearing ungrateful to God. As such, women may have simultaneously experienced shame and fear if they were unable to restrain their grief despite enjoying better circumstances than some friends, whereas it is commonly believed to be a healthy practice to accept and engage with the full extent and range of one's feelings in Western societies today.[287] Historians of early modern English emotions benefit, however, from such scholarship which

[284] Gail Kern Paster, Katherine Rowe, Mary Floyd Wilson (e.d) *Reading the Early Modern Passions: Essays in the Cultural History of Emotions* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), p.2.
[285] Houlbrooke, *Death, Religion and the Family*, p.231.
[286] E.g. Pollock, 'Anger', pp.580, 585; Tarbin, 'Raising Girls and Boys', p.107.
[287] Brett Q. Ford, Phoebe Lam, Oliver P. John, and Iris B. Mauss, 'The Psychological Health Benefits of Accepting Negative Emotions and Thoughts: Laboratory, Diary, and Longitudinal Evidence', *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 115:6 (2018), pp.1075-92.

provides insights into the emotion terms in use at the time, their meanings, and forms of expressions, thus offering a solid foundation with which to engage in systematic examinations of emotions.

This thesis draws on the historiography of early modern England, including recent emotions studies examining sentiments such as anger, and information from the Oxford English Dictionary to identify and interpret experienced and expressed emotions within seventeenth-century English friendship. The emotion words used in this thesis to describe the feelings that a past person may have been experiencing or expressing are terms that were both common in the period and remain in use today. Some terms, however, held more than one definition or definitions which would not be recognized now. While the word 'amaze', for example, was used as it is today to mean 'to greatly surprise (a person); to fill with astonishment or wonder; to astound', it also had usages that are now obsolete, meaning to 'stun or stupefy' a person as well as to 'terrify' a person.[288] The term appears in a man's description of himself in this thesis as 'So astonishte diseye & amasde with misfortuns as I knowe not wether I am a wake or no or wether I am a live for…I am travelde beyonde hopes sum dayes Jurneys towardes dispayre'.[289] The man's portrayal of himself as being unsure whether he is awake or alive suggests a feeling of stupefaction, indicating that he is using the term in its obsolete sense of 'stun or stupefy'.[290] Whether the term was used in its modern or obsolete sense, however, does not alter the point which will be made in that discussion: that a man was openly expressing his experience of overwhelming emotions and inability to reason to a male friend. The term 'embarrassed', furthermore, had various meanings at the time, none of which align with our current understanding of the word.[291] It is used in this thesis in its modern sense (to describe, for instance, how Henry More may have felt when a socially esteemed and cherished friend

[288] *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. "amaze (v.)," at https://doi.org/10.1093/OED/1015210822 [accessed 11 September 2024].
[289] William Cavendish to an unnamed nobleman, 30 October 1649. Family and Estate Collections, University of Nottingham Manuscripts and Special Collections, Pw 1/537.
[290] *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. "amaze (v.),".
[291] *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. "embarrass (*v.*)," at https://doi.org/10.1093/OED/1035731088 [accessed 13 July 2024].

failed to acknowledge him and respond to his invitations), however, to convey information to readers in a way in which they will readily understand.

As mentioned, this thesis also identifies emotions that are not explicitly expressed. In her study of anger among the early modern English elite, Linda Pollock points out that 'sentiments could be conveyed without being named'.[292] 'Writers of letters', Pollock notes, 'rarely stated "I am angry" in the letter, rather they vented their vehemence so that the recipient of the letter would be fully cognizant of their state of mind'.[293] Anger was, however, clearly an identifiable concept and the individuals within her source base sometimes explicitly recognized the emotion within themselves and others, aiding Pollock in identification of the implicit experience and expression of this emotion. There are numerous explicit expressions of emotion and discernments of emotions experienced by an individual's self and others within the letters examined in this thesis. Lord Edward Conway, mentioned in the above discussion on the correspondence which forms this thesis's source base, for example, informed his friend: 'my Lord Granard is angry with me that I do not appear or concern myself for his son so much as he would have me'.[294] Borrowing from Pollock's approach, this thesis utilizes these explicit identifications of emotions, along with insights from historical scholarship, and the Oxford English Dictionary to infer the implicit experience of emotion.

Discerning Friendship

As has been demonstrated in this introductory chapter, a diverse spectrum of relationships fell under the umbrella of friendship in early modern England, and historians have grappled with determining exactly which types of relationships could be categorized as friendships. There are many instances in the correspondence utilized in this study where friends and friendships are referred to as such. As Tadmor

[292] Pollock, 'Anger', p.573.
[293] Ibid.
[294] Lord Edward Conway to Sir George Rawdon, 28 December 1677, in Marjorie Hope Nicolson and Sarah Hutton (e.d), *The Conway Letters: The Correspondence of Anne, Viscountess Conway, Henry More, and their Friends 1642-1684* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), pp.447-9.

illustrates in *Family and Friends*, however, it is easy to unconsciously apply modern conceptions of friendship in analyzing past relationships and mistakenly view a warm social tie between neighbors, for example, as a friendship when the past people involved in it would not have considered it as such.[295] In those cases in which the nature of the relationship is not explicitly stated in the correspondence, therefore, caution has been taken to identify the relationship accurately so as to avoid wrongly imposing a label of friendship. This identification relies on contextual information, as well as the established interpretation of the term 'friend' as refined by key scholars like Tadmor and Thomas, as referring to a member of kin, or a person who offered some form of support such as a patron, client, employer, guardian, guarantor, master, apprentice, political affiliate etc.[296] This understanding of the term friend is employed not only because it is recognized by prominent early modern English historians but because the analysis of explicitly termed friendships in this thesis affirms its validity. As such, in the case in this thesis in which a man employed by Henry Cavendish, the second duke of Newcastle, is distraught by an accusation that he had lied and stolen money from the duke, for example, contextual information and the established understanding of early modern friendship can serve as a sound basis for identifying the relationship. The man's longstanding employment by the duke and his distress at the possibility of losing his role and being out of the duke's favor indicate that the position was imperative to his wellbeing, and that he therefore would likely have perceived the duke to be a friend, someone who offered crucial practical support in his life. Furthermore, the example in this thesis in which a lower-ranked man, Mr. Murray, was informed by his elite employer, John Holles, that if he continued to serve him well it would 'confirm' to Holles Mr. Murray's 'worth and friendship', provides further contextual support for considering socially unequal relationships between employer and employee to be friendships.[297] It was, as Tadmor explains, common for men to conduct politics, business, and patronage within the framework of friendship in order to 'introduce an element of sentiment and reciprocity into these patently unequal and utilitarian

[295] Tadmor, *Family and Friends*, p.173.
[296] Tadmor, *Family and Friends*, pp.174, 237; Thomas, *The Ends of Life*, pp.191-92.
[297] John Holles to R. Murray, 26 June 1693. Family and Estate Collections, University of Nottingham Manuscripts and Special Collections, Pw1/358.

relationships'.[298] Tadmor does, however, distinguish between Thomas Turner's friends and his political 'friends' in her study, using quotation marks to signify the 'sweeping sense' that the term 'friend' acquired in the political sphere of Turner's life.[299] Although Turner used the label more liberally within this context Tadmor perceives these political relationships to be part of the broad spectrum of friendship and acknowledges that they were often 'closely interlinked with many other ties of kinship, affection, neighbourliness and trade' and thus necessary connections whose clutches were difficult to escape.[300] In exercising caution when discerning relationships this research aims to acknowledge the complexity of social bonds in seventeenth-century England and to interpret them as they were understood by people of early modern English society.

Palaeographic Conventions

Primary sources have, for the most part, been transcribed verbatim within this thesis, with occasional additions of letters to words placed in brackets for better legibility. Early modern abbreviations, such as La^{pp} or La^{sp} for Ladyship, are preserved in their original form from the sources, however, the contemporary character known as the 'thorn' has been silently modernized, employed as 'th' to improve readability.

Chapter Outline

This thesis is structured around the themes which emerged most distinctly from the primary source material. Such an arrangement reflects the nature of the source material but has also allowed for the complexities of friendship to be explored as far as possible. The identifying factors which significantly informed the experience of friendship— gender and social rank— are examined in depth while enriched further by the overarching application of an emotions analysis. Although not allocated its

[298] Tadmor, *Family and Friends*, p.236.
[299] Tadmor, *Family and Friends*, p.236.
[300] Ibid, pp.236-37.

own chapter, the theme of social rank permeates throughout, coming under particularly significant scrutiny in the chapters examining conflict and male friendship.

The first chapter of this thesis examines the emotions aroused by conflict within friendship. The investigation of this previously unexplored territory offers valuable insights into early modern English people's perceptions and expectations of friendship, and sheds light on the diverse ways friendships were conducted among both kin and non-kin, individuals of varying social standing, and across gender divisions. This analysis establishes the framework for delving deeper into the intricacies of friendship in the subsequent chapters, where male-male and female-female friendships will be scrutinized for further nuances. The anxiety early modern English people displayed at the possibility of offending friends and fracturing friendships is first examined, focusing on how social rank and epistolary communication informed this experience. It is postulated that the possibility of conflict aroused unease and sadness even in purely instrumental friendships, highlighting how utilitarian ties were grounded in emotion, and how the complex interweaving of practical and emotional aspects meant that the potential dissolution of a friendship carried significant consequences. As such, maintaining good relations within friendship was a significant concern. This chapter also investigates the friendship obligation, admonishment, finding that this practice was another source of anxiety and displeasure within relationships, and was perceived as a risk worth taking by some friends, while others chose to avoid it. The failure to perform obligations within friendship is further discussed. It is argued that although the failure to fulfill obligations was widely considered unacceptable, individual perspectives diverged within the lived experience on the precise nature of obligations and the degree to which friends were bound to one another, complicating understandings of neglected responsibilities. The ways in which an early modern English person's social position and gender informed both the nature of obligations and the manner in which emotions, particularly anger, were expressed in reaction to perceived unfulfilled duties are investigated. It is found that in necessary, or valuable friendships, the expression of anger was curtailed and adjusted by lower standing friends in the interest of preserving these more fragile ties. In uneven friendships which were not

essential to the lower ranked friend's wellbeing, however, deference may only have been exhibited so long as it was deemed advantageous by the subordinate friend. Social rank alone did not dictate power dynamics within friendships; gender also played a significant role. Male friends seem to have been less tolerant of displays of anger from female friends, regardless of their social status.

Chapter Two examines the emotional experience of male friendship. It begins by exploring emotional transparency and vulnerability within male friendships, revealing that, in contrast to prevailing historiographical portrayals of male ties as emotionally distant and competitive, some men perceived their male friends to be safe confidants, turning to them for emotional and practical support when they confronted struggles and failures of manhood. It is argued that the very anxieties that led to suspicion and rivalry among early modern English men might have, paradoxically, fostered a sense of connection between them in their shared pursuit of honorable manhood. It is, however, recognized that such emotionally open friendships constitute a minority within this source base and there were, therefore, likely only a small number of men within an early modern English man's network of friendships with whom he felt he could be emotionally vulnerable with. This chapter also analyzes the monitoring and management of intimacy and emotional expression within male friendships, finding that the experience of this was more complex than current scholarship suggests. It is posited that emotional intimacy was perceived by men as both a desirable goal in friendship and something to safeguard against. Within the utilitarian friendships that many men inevitably engaged in, intimacy could serve as an indicator of favor and attachment, and thus, security, in relationships vital for both survival and welfare. Closeness also, however, was regarded as potentially jeopardizing manhood, leading men to navigate a delicate balance between intimacy and the preservation of their masculinity. Lastly, this chapter investigates distrust within male friendship, illustrating that this sentiment was prevalent due to the serving of one's own practical and material interests being a fundamental priority of male friendship. It is argued that despite the apparent emphasis placed by men on trustworthiness as a foremost quality of an ideal friend, distrust was perceived as an almost inherent element of the emotional experience of male friendship.

Chapter Three examines the emotions involved in female friendship, first delving into the expectation and experience of emotional intimacy in women's bonds. It is asserted that early modern English women desired and expected emotionally satisfying relationships with one another, conscientiously cultivating intimacy and affection right from the outset of forming their friendships. The emotions women expressed at the inception of their friendships are explored, finding that women may have performed care and affection for one another with the intention of genuinely nurturing these feelings over time. It is also argued that although women clearly held distinct priorities within their friendships compared to men, female ties were not immune to the influence of male friendship ideals. Rather than containing female friendship within an entirely female subculture, as key scholarship suggests, women were aware of and respected some male friendship conventions, and adapted and tailored these ideals where necessary to align with the nature and objectives of female friendship. Furthermore, this chapter considers the enduring emotional and practical benefits of female friendship, as well as how the label 'friend' may have provided women, such as sisters-in-law, a sense of validation for their ongoing sentimental commitment to one another, even after ties of kinship were broken by death and remarriage. This chapter also investigates utilitarian female friendship, revealing that elite women sometimes established and maintained friendships with one another solely for instrumental reasons, while simultaneously navigating societal expectations that prescribed intimacy and affection within female bonds. Predominant historiographical interpretations of female ties as requiring a sentimental element to be labelled as friendships are challenged here. The emotions women expressed at the outset of these friendships are examined, finding that, unlike in sentimental female friendships, displays of affection and admiration may not have been designed to elicit such sentiments. Nonetheless, these friendships did provide emotional rewards and this chapter explores the benefits themselves, as well as the strategies utilized to obtain them. Male perceptions of functional female bonds are also considered, and it is argued that early modern English men perceived female friendships as possessing the potential to be both potentially hazardous and beneficial to their own interests.

Chapter 1

'In much trouble and anxiety of mind': Conflict and Emotion

This chapter examines conflict within friendship, investigating how and when conflict arose in friendships and its effects, focusing on the particular emotions aroused. While historians have long acknowledged the significance of friendship for wellbeing in early modern England, conflict within friendship— capable of threatening or dissolving connections essential to an individual's physical and emotional welfare— has received surprisingly little attention. The source base examined for this project suggests, however, that a comprehensive understanding of the experience of friendship in seventeenth-century England cannot be achieved without exploration of this area. Conflict offers a window into the expectations, fears, and tensions underlying the relationship, and illuminates variations in how friendships were conducted among kin and non-kin, individuals of different social ranks, and across gender lines. The source base demonstrates, furthermore, that conflict provides considerable insight into how individuals experienced and articulated emotions, their perspectives on the appropriate ways feelings should be experienced and expressed, and their understandings and uses of emotion. Scholars have yet, however, to employ the tools of emotions analysis to examine the range of emotions involved in discord between seventeenth-century English friends.

The bulk of scholarship on disputes in early modern England consists of examinations of legal records. Historians point out that the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries experienced a significant surge in litigation dealing with interpersonal conflict.[301] While scholars acknowledge that there is still

[301] C. W. Brooks, 'Interpersonal Conflict and Social Tension: Civil Litigation in England, 1640–1830', in A. L. Beier, D. Cannadine and J. M. Rosenheim (eds.), The First Modern Society: Essays in English History in Honour of Lawrence Stone (Cambridge, 1989), p.360; Gowing, *Domestic Dangers*, p.30; J. A. Sharpe, *Defamation and Sexual Slander is Early Modern England: The Church Courts at York*, Borthwick Papers, 58 (York, 1980), p.1; Keith Wrightson, 'Mutualities and Obligations: Changing Social Relationships in Early Modern England: Raleigh Lecture on History' in P. J. Marshall (ed.), *Proceedings of the British Academy, Volume 139, 2005*, (Oxford: 2007), p.180.

much to be explained about the causes behind the upsurge in litigation and whether it evidences an increase in societal conflict, the specific contentions that resulted in judicial action are well-defined.[302] Debts and defamation account for a significant number of cases, with broken contracts and promises also brought before the court.[303] Additionally, matters such as perceived harmful intent from neighbors and disputes over coveted church pews, among others, were subjects of legal contention.[304] It is emphasized that the protection of material wealth and honorable reputation held considerable importance for early modern English people across all ranks of society, to the extent that they were willing to pursue legal action to address these concerns.[305]

Although this period is characterized by contention, historians also underscore the perceived importance of maintaining harmonious relations in early modern England.[306] James Sharpe argues, for example, that while early modern English society valued resolving disputes in a manner that satisfied those involved, preserving the existing bonds between litigants by preventing further conflict was also seen as crucial.[307] Early modern English people were, as Keith Wrightson points out, 'all too aware' of the potential of tensions to 'disrupt a whole range of interdependent social relationships', and, as such, they placed great importance on containing that possibility.[308] Efforts to prevent conflict are discernible in the courts' navigation of disputes with the intention of maintaining social ties and are also evident in the types of actions that were deemed chargeable offences such as defamation, squabbling with neighbours, and arguments and physical altercations in church.[309]

While these analyses have added much to our understanding of social relations in early modern England, friendship is not a focus. Conflict within friendship, specifically, however, is briefly addressed

[302] Gowing, *Domestic Dangers*, pp.36,111; Wrightson, 'Mutualities and Obligations', p.180.
[303] Brooks, 'Interpersonal Conflict and Social Tension', p.391; Gowing, *Domestic Dangers*, p.30; Sharpe, *Defamation and Sexual Slander*, p.2; Wrightson, 'Mutualities and Obligations', p.180.
[304] Wrightson, 'Mutualities and Obligations', p.180.
[305] Gowing, *Domestic Dangers*, p.136; Sharpe, *Defamation and Sexual Slander*, p.20.
[306] Gowing, *Domestic Dangers*, p.138; James Sharpe, '"Such disagreements betwixt Neighbours"; Litigation and Human Relations in Early Modern England' in John Bossy, (ed) Disputes and Settlements, (Cambridge University Press: 1983), pp.167-189.
[307] Sharpe, 'Such disagreements', pp.167-189.
[308] Wrightson, 'Mutualities and Obligations', p.180.
[309] Gowing, *Domestic* Dangers, p.138; Donald Spaeth, 'Words and Deeds: Gender and the Language of Abuse in Elizabethan Norfolk', *History Workshop Journal*, no.78 (2014), p.1.

in Naomi Tadmor's analysis of the eighteenth-century shopkeeper, Thomas Turner's friendships, surveyed in the introductory chapter of this thesis. Tadmor observes that, while Turner's friendships with his kin were 'affective', they were not, however, 'always amicable'.[310] Turner discussed his kin conflicts in his diary using 'the language of 'friendship'', which, Tadmor explains, revolved around a concept of 'service'.[311] The quarrels, from Turner's perspective, were caused by the 'self-interest' of his relations, and he noted his disappointment in their willingness to 'take his services for granted, while rendering him none'.[312] A perceived lack of the reciprocity and mutuality associated with friendship, therefore, resulted in tension and altercations between Turner and his kin.

Though not within the context of friendship, Linda Pollock also examines disputes among primarily close kin in her study on anger and its function in negotiating relationships. Conceding that court records are highly valuable sources, Pollock points out, however, that they are limited in the information they can offer about emotions such as anger. While they yield evidence 'on the type of fury which erupts into violence or on displeasure expressed as insult', they 'have little information on the broader functions of anger'.[313] Correspondence, on the other hand, Pollock asserts, can offer 'a great deal of material on emotional life', providing insights into how individuals carefully articulated emotions, including expressing feelings which they may not have been comfortable communicating face-to-face, and allowing for various viewpoints on a dispute as well as personal rather than institutional interpretation of feelings.[314]

With the aim, therefore, of contributing to understandings of the wider uses of anger and to address the current 'paucity of research on emotions in early modern England', Pollock utilizes familial correspondence to examine the 'situated use of anger in the English elite during the period 1580 to 1690',

[310] Tadmor, *Family and Friends*, p.178.
[311] Ibid.
[312] Ibid, p.179.
[313] Pollock, 'Anger', p.567.
[314] Ibid.

focusing on the verbal articulation of this feeling.[315] As mentioned when discussing this study in the introductory chapter, Pollock contests the notion of a civilizing progression in Western society, arguing that the transformation in the eighteenth century towards less overt displays of anger indicates instead the development of a new emotional system in which feelings were perceived and privileged in different ways.[316] The landed elite, she asserts, practiced a type of 'constructive anger' to highlight breaches in boundaries and norms, to demand respect, and to reshape relationships by correcting another's perceived misbehavior and seeking restitution for grievances.[317] In expressing anger within a dispute, individuals selected from a 'range of competing principles' to support their position due to the 'lack of a clearly established hierarchy of principles' in early modern England.[318] Individuals also endeavored to 'excite other feelings to bring a disputant around to their point of view'.[319] These approaches were not deemed objectionable and the individuals in Pollock's source base did not condemn one another as acting uncivilly.[320] Anger expressed moderately and within the context of negotiating relationships and protecting rights, reputation, and order was, therefore, viewed by the landed elite as a socially acceptable and necessary aspect of daily life.[321]

This research aims to expand upon the currently limited scholarship on conflict within friendship. It will reinforce Tadmor's analysis by highlighting how the perceived neglect of duties within friendship often culminated in dispute, while also further developing this argument by focusing on an earlier century. Moreover, it endeavors to extend the existing historiography in new directions by unearthing the spectrum of emotions that emerged within conflict, additional causes of dispute, the consequences, and how variables like social rank, gender, and the specific nature of friendship relationships contributed to these dynamics. This research also endeavors to build upon Linda Pollock's exploration of anger and its role in negotiating relationships in early modern England. Pollock's study focuses predominantly on

[315] Pollock, 'Anger', p.571.
[316] Pollock, 'Anger', p.587.
[317] Ibid, pp.587-8.
[318] Ibid, p.585.
[319] Ibid.
[320] Ibid, p.587.
[321] Ibid.

anger between close kin, with only one of the examined relationships being a non-kin tie. This investigation will, however, explore the experience of conflict between kin as well as a number of unrelated friends. The inclusion of unrelated friends also allows this study to explore anger within relationships of unequal social rank whereas Pollock's focus on kin and the elite limits discussion of social position. This examination will, therefore, also contribute to expanding the available evidence and analysis on the lived experience of anger within early modern English relationships.

This chapter will explore the recurrent themes which emerged most distinctly from the extensive qualitative research carried out. It will begin investigating the emotions surrounding conflict within friendship by first examining the anxiety seventeenth-century English people demonstrated at the possibility of conflict within friendships. Attention will be paid to how social rank influenced this anxiety, and also to the ways in which epistolary communication highlighted and exacerbated these anxieties about displeasing friends. The analysis will then move on to exploring admonishment within friendship, and how and why it could lead to contention. From there the examination will focus on a common cause of dispute: the perceived failure to perform friendship obligations, paying close attention to how social rank informed obligations as well as the expression of anger within friendship. Finally this study will examine how differing interpretations of friendship complicated perceptions of how it should function, leading to dispute. Notice will again be paid to social rank, as well as gender, and their influence on the expression of anger.

Anxiety over Offense and Displeasure

While letters served as the chief mode of communication for friends at a distance this form of interaction came with a host of potential problems. There was always the possibility of letters miscarrying, and even when they were safely arrived the hazard of confusion and misinterpretation, all of

which could result in conflict.[322] Explicit anxiety at the possibility of having offended or displeased a friend is present in a number of letters examined for this study, suggesting that offending a friend was a significant concern for early modern English people. Cambridge tutor, philosopher, and writer, Henry More, for instance, was 'in much trouble and anxiety of mind' at the possibility of having offended his close friend and informal pupil, the Viscountess Lady Anne Conway when he did not receive a reply from her by the usual time.[323] He assured Anne that if anything he had written in his previous letter had displeased her it was not out of 'ill will' but 'want of judgement'.[324] He went on to speculate that it may have been his 'smart' comments about her brother delaying his return home and explained that he had made them out of sympathy because of a sense of the 'sorrow and trouble of minde' she 'had conciev'd by his neglect'.[325] His interpretation of the unanswered letter as a sign of Anne's displeasure suggests that epistolary delays and silence, as Gary Schneider posits, were indeed not only perceived as a potential indicator of letter miscarriage but also as an indication of anger or loss of favor in a relationship.[326] Rather than writing again to check whether his letter may have miscarried, as Schneider asserts was a common response to delays in communication, however, More concluded that the unanswered letter must be a signal of irritation. This suggests that ignoring correspondence was, in his perception, a typical reaction to being offended and, at least in this particular relationship, a more likely explanation for epistolary silence than letter misplacement.[327]

More was evidently anxious that he had insulted Anne and felt the need to clarify that the comments he had made were well-intentioned. This indicates that criticizing a friend's sibling may have been considered offensive or inappropriate, though as More had made the comments in the first place, he likely did not think that they would be regarded as such. It is possible that More was feeling out the

[322] Gary Schneider, 'Affecting correspondences', p.32.
[323] Henry More to Lady Anne Conway, 5 June 1660, in Marjorie Hope Nicolson and Sarah Hutton (e.d), *The Conway Letters: The Correspondence of Anne, Viscountess Conway, Henry More, and their Friends 1642-1684* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), pp.163-4.
[324] Henry More to Lady Anne Conway, pp.163-4.
[325] Ibid.
[326] Schneider, *The Culture of Epistolarity*, p.147.
[327] Ibid p.146.

boundaries of their intimate yet unequal friendship in which he was significantly lower down in the social scale. Some time later, when their friendship had grown quite intimate, More again became anxious about the possibility of conflict due to an unanswered letter. Like the last time, he wrote again after the amount of time had passed in which he usually received a reply. He once again reflected on anything he had written which might have offended her, speculating that it might have been his 'unduly rejecting' her suggestion that he continue his 'Cabbala through more chapters'.[328] This suggests that it could be perceived as rude to dismiss a friend's suggestion without giving it much consideration, especially in the context of their friendship where the exchange of intellectual ideas was a favorite pastime.

Epistolary communication, in which there was potential for misinterpretation and no possibility for immediate intervention could clearly exacerbate anxieties about offending a friend. More however, took care to intervene as soon as he suspected that Anne may have taken offense to something, even though he acknowledged the second time that it was possible that her letters had miscarried or her illness had prevented her from writing. Though he knew there were other possibilities for her silence he was clearly preoccupied with worries about the possibility of conflict and made sure to try and prevent it.

As well as being an indication of the receiver being offended an unanswered letter could also be a cause of offence, as a letter from Lady Anne Conway to her husband, Lord Edward Conway, demonstrates. Explaining that she was feeling particularly unwell and not up to the task of writing, Anne instructed her husband in the letter to 'make my excuse' if 'any of my friends seem to take it ill I doe not write to them'.[329] Anne clearly anticipated that her hiatus from letter-writing might be perceived by her friends as an insult, and if so that they might express their displeasure. This idea is echoed in a letter from Anne's husband to his brother-in-law, George Rawdon, in which he responded to Rawdon's dissatisfaction with his perceived lack of communication. Conway addressed Rawdon's criticism, noting

[328] Henry More to Lady Anne Conway, 6 February 1663-4, in Marjorie Hope Nicolson and Sarah Hutton (e.d), *The Conway Letters: The Correspondence of Anne, Viscountess Conway, Henry More, and their Friends 1642-1684* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), p.221.
[329] Lady Anne Conway to Lord Edward Conway, 10 March 1664-5, in Marjorie Hope Nicolson and Sarah Hutton (e.d), *The Conway Letters: The Correspondence of Anne, Viscountess Conway, Henry More, and their Friends 1642-1684* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), Pp.234-5.

'You find fault with me for not writing to you in the multitude of your troubles'.[330] He asserted, however, 'I am most certain I neither omitted, nor delayed to answer all your letters in what was material for me to answer.'[331] Conway's defense indicates that he understood it was expected of him to reply to all letters sent to him by his brother-in-law, and in a timely fashion.

Anne's anticipation of her friends feeling insulted and Rawdon's complaint to Edward Conway contrast quite glaringly with Henry More's response to unanswered letters from Anne. There are no examples in which More chided Anne for not writing back; he only expressed worry that he had offended her. More's expressed reaction to these unanswered letters may be a reflection of their unequal social ranks, or as More referred to it, 'that great inequality of our persons that there is'.[332] As receiving a letter was perceived as a favor or privilege in the early modern period, those of lower social ranks, such as More, may not have felt comfortable demanding timely responses and attention from their higher-ranked friends like George Rawdon did when he confronted Edward Conway.[333] Entitlement to a prompt response, or even a response at all, may have been perceived as only appropriate to express within friendships of more equal social status and by higher-ranked friends to their friends of lower standing.

Worry, however, was not just reserved for Henry More in his friendship with Anne. In one letter Anne confessed that she was 'fearfull of displeasing' More if she continued any longer to press the matter of him accompanying her to the Conway's residence in Ireland when he had already discussed it with her a couple of times and declined.[334] This indicates that at least in an intimate friendship, such as More and Anne's, angering a friend was a worry regardless of social rank, though the type of offense seventeenth-

[330] Lord Edward Conway to Sir George Rawdon, 28 December 1677, in Marjorie Hope Nicolson and Sarah Hutton (e.d), *The Conway Letters: The Correspondence of Anne, Viscountess Conway, Henry More, and their Friends 1642-1684* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), pp.447-9.
[331] Lord Edward Conway to Sir George Rawdon, pp.447-9.
[332] Henry More to Lady Anne Conway, 7 January 1655-6, in Marjorie Hope Nicolson and Sarah Hutton (e.d), *The Conway Letters: The Correspondence of Anne, Viscountess Conway, Henry More, and their Friends 1642-1684* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), Pp.128-9.
[333] Powell, 'Emotional Landscape', p.189.
[334] Lady Anne Conway to Henry More, 5 December 1662, in Marjorie Hope Nicolson and Sarah Hutton (e.d), *The Conway Letters: The Correspondence of Anne, Viscountess Conway, Henry More, and their Friends 1642-1684* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), Pp.208-9.

century English people worried about committing was evidently informed by their position in the hierarchy. Pressuring More to keep her company on a journey which he had already explained he was unable to take was clearly perceived by Anne as a likely as well as appropriate reason for More to become irritated.

It is apparent from More's responses to her request that he too felt his refusal was reasonable. More wrote to Anne, 'I should suspect that the disappointment of my last weeks expectation of your Ladiships letters may proceed from a displeasure you have felt towards me for not wayting upon you into Ireland. But I profess Madame my staying behinde is no fault of mine.'[335] More appears far less anxious here about unanswered correspondence compared to the previous two examples, which suggests that he felt his actions were not offensive. He did, however, express how troubled he was by her unhappiness and reminded her that he would not risk 'the hazard of displeasing you' if it was up to him, emphasizing his devotion as her friend.[336] This letter reinforces the idea that displeasing a friend was dangerous, or a 'hazard' to the relationship, however, there also appears to be a recognition that displeasure and disappointment could not always be avoided and in particular circumstances, such as these, should not result in conflict.

While Anne may have felt displeasure at More's refusal as he suspected, it is apparent from Anne's letter in which she expressed her willingness to drop the subject out of fear of irritating him that she recognized More's actions as acceptable, and that her desire to avoid conflict in her friendship was greater than any displeasure felt. The deep emotional intimacy this friendship provided, as well as being a space in which Anne could exercise her passion for philosophy, suggests that it was an immensely important relationship to Anne and that she therefore would have been highly motivated to preserve it.

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[335] Henry More to Lady Anne Conway, 14 April 1661, in Marjorie Hope Nicolson and Sarah Hutton (e.d), *The Conway Letters: The Correspondence of Anne, Viscountess Conway, Henry More, and their Friends 1642-1684* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), Pp.184-5.
[336] Henry More to Lady Anne Conway, pp.184-5.

Preserving friendship was a significant concern for friends whose relationships fell on the instrumental end of the spectrum as well. A letter from Thomas Baines to Lord Edward Conway illustrates the anxiety that could be aroused by the potential loss of an instrumental friendship. After three of his letters to Lord Conway had gone unanswered, Baines lamented not having 'the comfort and assurance' of Conway's 'ancient love and favour,'and, in a final attempt, expressed his desire to be assured that Lord Conway was still 'what you used to bee my ancyent patron'.[337] Concluding, as Henry More did in previous examples, that the unanswered letters indicated disfavor or disinterest, Baines assured Lord Conway 'I shall not dare by letter to repeat my service any oftener, but shall never cease in my heart with all divotion,'.[338] This desperate letter suggests that Baines felt significant anxiety, insecurity, and even sadness at the thought of losing his friendship with Conway, so much so that he risked provoking Conway's anger by sending it after two previous attempts to reach out, recognizing that he would 'not dare' send any more. The loss Baines appears to have felt of 'the comfort and assurance of' Lord Conway's 'ancyent love and favour' demonstrates how an instrumental friendship such as this supplied necessary practical support in the form of employment, patronage, and services, but also provided emotional support by fostering feelings of comfort and security.

A similar sense of unease can be observed in a letter from John Digby to his patron, the third Duke of Newcastle, John Holles. Explaining that he had written to the Baronet, Thomas Willoughby and 'acquainted him with what you was pleased to write to me', Digby then reported that he had had 'no answer either to that or to the severall other letters I have writ to him, which makes me fear I have some way or other incurred his displeasure'.[339] Similar to More and Baines, Digby was troubled by the lack of a response, interpreting it as a sign of potential displeasure or disapproval directed at him. He also did not convey entitlement to a response from his higher-ranked friend, expressing only concern at the absence of

[337] Thomas Baines to Lord Edward Conway, 16 April 1667, in Marjorie Hope Nicolson and Sarah Hutton (e.d), *The Conway Letters: The Correspondence of Anne, Viscountess Conway, Henry More, and their Friends 1642-1684* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), pp.284-5.
[338] Thomas Baines to Lord Edward Conway, pp.284-5.
[339] John Digby to John Holles, 1 January 1711. Family and Estate Collections, University of Nottingham Manuscripts and Special Collections, Pw 2/45/1-2.

one, further indicating that it was not deemed appropriate for a friend of lower social standing to insist on communication from those of higher rank.

Digby assured John Holles that though he worried he had displeased Willoughby: 'I am not conscious to my self that I have done any thing to deserve itt neither woud doo it to one that has always been so good a friend to me'.[340] His defense of his actions as a friend highlights the importance he placed on adhering to ideals of friendship conduct and a belief that 'good' friendship performance should be reciprocated.[341] It suggests that experiencing dissatisfaction from an esteemed, valued friend could trigger feelings of inadequacy and self-doubt with regard to one's own worth and capability as a friend. Men, furthermore, may have associated their prowess as a friend with their sense of manhood, considering that competence and self-sufficiency were perceived integral aspects of masculinity.[342] The ability to foster and maintain successful male friendships was instrumental in enabling men to navigate life independently (or, as independently as possible for men lower down the social scale who relied on patronage for support and advancement).

The defense of his conduct also indicates that Digby was anxious to demonstrate his value as a friend to Holles and ensure that Holles's perception of him was not affected by Willoughby's possible dissatisfaction. His professions of duty, loyalty and gratitude, along with his claim that his only 'good fortune' in life was the Duke's 'patronage & kindness' to him, suggest that Holles's material support was necessary for Digby and, as such, he wanted to make certain this friendship remained secure.[343] In the face of the uncertainty of his friendship with Willoughby— a landed man with high status and resources— this connection with another powerful friend likely became even more important to protect. Digby's evident apprehension at the potential loss of his friendship with Willoughby, coupled with his assertion that Holles's patronage constituted his sole source of 'good fortune' underscores the pragmatic

[340] John Digby to John Holles, Pw 2/45/1-2.
[341] Ibid.
[342] E.g. Foyster, *Manhood*, pp.129-30; Hodgkin, 'Thomas Whythorne and The Problems of Mastery', p.22; Shepard, *Meanings Of Manhood*, p.79.
[343] John Digby to John Holles, Pw 2/45/1-2.

necessity of these relationships. They also hint however, at the emotional sustenance these friendships provided Digby, offering him solace, a sense of safety, and possibly feelings of personal worth and success as a man.

These letters highlight how both the physical and emotional wellbeing of early modern English people were tied up in their friendships, even purely functional ones. While most recent scholarship recognizes that there was an emotional element to early modern friendship it is often in regard to pointing out the existence of affection and sentiment in friendships.[344] The role of emotion in less sentimental or unsentimental, functional friendships has largely been overlooked by historians, with Lizbeth Powell's recent study the only scholarship to explore this aspect.[345] It is evident, however, that instrumental friendships were also grounded in emotion— in these particular cases feelings of comfort, safety, value, and competence. The intertwined practical and emotional factors involved meant that there was a lot at stake in the potential loss of a friendship and this therefore made harmony and good relations within friendship very important to these correspondents.

Admonishing Friends

While seventeenth-century English people evidently worried about offending a friend and causing conflict, there was one particular circumstance in which expressing displeasure with a friend was considered an obligation, and even perceived as virtuous. This was the admonishment of a friend's misbehavior. Included among Jeremy Taylor's ten laws of friendship, the admonishment of perceived misbehavior in a friend was to be conveyed 'without bitterness' and without 'reproach', reflecting early modern English anxieties about conflict in friendship.[346] It is evident from this study's examination of

[344] E.g. Tadmor, *Family and Friends*, p.202; Thomas, *The Ends of Life*, p.199.
[345] Powell, 'Emotional Landscape', pp.198-9.
[346] Taylor, *Friendship*, p.66.

correspondence that seventeenth-century English people perceived that admonishing a friend could be taken offensively and provoke anger. It appears that performing this obligation was considered a risk worth taking by some while others shied away.

Lady Lettice Wendy clearly felt it her duty as a friend to admonish her sister-in-law, and cherished friend, Lady Emma Willoughby for traveling when pregnant. She revealed to Lady Emma, 'I thought it a little rashnes in yu & in yr condition to undertake yr Journy whn twas soe p'bably hazardous', and declared 'I must be so bold upon yu to admonish yu to be carefull of yr selfe for indeede yu have bin very ventrous…'.[347] Though admonishment of a friend was considered to be an act of care, Lady Lettice's preface of her reprimand with the instruction 'yu must not be angry' suggests a recognition that it was nevertheless unpleasant to be chastised and that it could, therefore, stir up defensiveness and conflict.[348] Her justification following the admonishment further indicates that seventeenth-century English people perceived this friendship obligation could result in conflict and illustrates the caution they took to avoid it. Lettice assured Emma that the reprimand 'was meerly in relation to yr owne safty: & not to please o[u]r owne humor for I have learned long since to deny tht in wch all things doth not stand wth my friends'.[349]

Here Lettice emphasized that it was solely her concern for Emma which motivated the admonishment. While the wider context of Lettice's longstanding and intimate correspondence with her sister-in-law, outlined in the introduction, suggests that Lettice would have indeed been genuinely concerned for Emma's safety, it is also likely that the motivations behind this reprimand were more complex than simply concern. The careful manner in which Lettice framed and delivered the admonishment suggests that she was aware of popular societal prescriptions such as Taylor's about how to conduct friendship properly. Conforming to societal expectations by performing friendship obligations may have signaled to Lettice that she was a good, useful friend and member of society, providing her with

[347] Lettice Wendy to Emma Willoughby, 1672. Family and Estate Collections, University of Nottingham Manuscripts and Special Collections, Mi Av 143/36/7.
[348] Lettice Wendy to Emma Willoughby, Mi Av 143/36/7.
[349] Ibid.

a sense of purpose and pride. It can be argued then, that admonishing a friend also had an emotional reward for seventeenth-century English people in the sense of providing the confronter with positive feelings of belonging and value. This emotional reward may have been a factor in why friends performed this obligation despite the risk of conflict.

Henry More certainly felt that admonishing a friend was a risk worth taking. In a heated rant about 'pretended friendships' to Anne Conway, More deplored how in many friendships 'a man may with more applause and acceptance destroy a friend body nd soule then…give the least check to him in his carier though he be running to the brinkes of death'.[350] More perceived that some early modern people felt afraid of risking conflict by performing the friendship obligation of admonishment and said only agreeable things to their friend, or, worse, did not care enough about their friend to perform it. Like Lettice's explicit reasoning for her admonishment of Emma, More's frustration with pretended friendship illustrates an understanding that risking conflict in these situations came from a place of legitimate concern which friends should have for one another. His observation that some people did not feel this way made More feel outrage which put him into a 'distemper…both of body and minde'.[351] His passionate response to the observed neglect of this friendship obligation, which was clearly perceived as an act which could protect a friend from danger, suggests that More would have felt hurt and betrayed if a friend neglected to admonish him when needed. It also suggests that being a good friend was an important part of More's self-identity, and self-worth. Performing this obligation, then, was an avenue through which he could achieve feelings of worth and satisfaction even if it did result in conflict.

Continuing their discussion, More complained to Anne in a following letter that pretended friendships were 'so rotten and ridiculously delicate and civill'.[352] He lamented that this type of friendship

[350] Henry More to Lady Anne Conway, 14 April 1661, in Marjorie Hope Nicolson and Sarah Hutton (e.d), *The Conway Letters: The Correspondence of Anne, Viscountess Conway, Henry More, and their Friends 1642-1684* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), pp.184-5.
[351] Henry More to Lady Anne Conway, pp.184-5.
[352] Henry More to Lady Anne Conway, 22 April 1661, in Marjorie Hope Nicolson and Sarah Hutton (e.d), *The Conway Letters: The Correspondence of Anne, Viscountess Conway, Henry More, and their Friends 1642-1684* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), pp.185-6.

was ‘ordinary in the world’, suggesting that he shared Samuel Masters’ perspective that ‘true friendship’ was ‘so great a rarity’.[353] More’s assertion that, in contrast to these ‘rotten’ relationships, his ‘friendship is so reall’ further emphasizes that the way in which More conducted his friendships, which appears to have been significantly informed by ideal representations, was a source of pride for him.[354] Because his friendship was so ‘reall’, More explained that when it came to his friends he therefore could not ‘abstain from intimating my dislike of those thinges that I judge mischevious to them’.[355] As such, he explained he had written to Anne’s brother, John Finch, ‘last week but left off, being interrupted by company coming in, but that short touch I ventur’d at may do as much it may be if I had proceeded, and I know not whether I should have proceeded.’[356] The ‘short touch’ concerned More’s disapproval of John Finch and Thomas Baines pursuing admission to Cambridge for an MA by proxy. More’s uncertainty over whether he should have written more indicates that even though he felt so passionately about this friendship obligation, he was, however, still wary of provoking anger. Similarly to Lettice Wendy, More viewed admonishing a friend as an important obligation to be fulfilled despite the risk of conflict, though caution should still be exercised to minimize the risk.

Failure to Perform Obligations

The anger displayed by More at the failure of friends to perform the obligation of admonishment is reflective of the attitudes in this source base towards the perceived neglect of obligations generally. Friendships, even predominantly sentimental ones such as More and Anne’s, were understood to be mutually beneficial exchanges in which friends were obliged to perform services for one another. Jeremy Taylor explained that ‘what we can be obliged by friendship…is every thing that can be honest and prudent, useful and necessary.’[357] Similarly, Samuel Masters declared that ‘true friendship…will disdain

[353] Henry More to Lady Anne Conway, pp.185-6; Masters, *A Discourse of friendship*, p.29.
[354] Henry More to Lady Anne Conway, pp.185-6.
[355] Ibid.
[356] Ibid.
[357] Taylor, *Friendship*, p.55.

no Offices as too mean' and should 'decline none as too difficult'.[358] The source base illustrates a common perception that obligations were a key feature of friendship and that the failure to perform them was unacceptable. It also indicates, however, that within the lived experience of friendship individual perceptions varied as to what exactly obligations entailed and to what extent friends were obliged to one another, complicating perceptions of neglected duties. The failure to perform obligations, as well as the differing perceptions surrounding them, appear to have been common sources of conflict within early modern English friendships.

A letter from Lady Anne Conway to her husband is illustrative of how unfulfilled obligations could be a source of friction within friendship. In the letter Anne discussed 'that trouble' her sister-in-law was giving to her husband and his mother and how she wished they were 'eased of that'.[359] The trouble was reported to stem from the sister-in-law's belief that 'her friends were carelesse of her and would doe nothing for her'.[360] This indicates that it could be highly upsetting for a seventeenth-century English person to feel as though their friends did not care for them and would not perform their friendship obligations. As a person's 'friends' encompassed the people most important to their wellbeing and success in life, the relationship had great significance practically and emotionally. While it is evident from the examination of sources for this study that friendship could be a source of comfort, security, purpose and pleasure for early modern English people, it also could clearly be a source of great distress when a friend felt their needs were not being met. As is demonstrated here in the unhappiness of the sister-in-law, and, in turn, those friends around her who were affected by her ill mood, perceived failure to perform friendship obligations could be a source of conflict within early modern friendships.

This letter also highlights the role of individual perceptions in these conflicts. While the sister-in-law felt her friends were 'carelesse of her' and were neglecting their obligations to her, Anne and the

[358] Masters, *A discourse of friendship*, p.15.
[359] Lady Anne Conway to Lord Edward Conway, January 1655-6, in Marjorie Hope Nicolson and Sarah Hutton (e.d), *The Conway Letters: The Correspondence of Anne, Viscountess Conway, Henry More, and their Friends 1642-1684* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), p.129.
[360] Lady Anne Conway to Lord Edward Conway, p.129.

other kin perceived that friendship duties were being adequately performed, and that there was misunderstanding on the part of the sister-in-law. The early modern English people in this source base evidently shared a basic understanding of proper friendship conduct, which was largely in line with the "laws" set out in Jeremy Taylor's popular treatise.[361] The treatise, however, is a rather generic, general guide and there was clearly significant room for nuance in interpreting how to properly conduct friendship within the lived experience. This space for interpretation demonstratively played a role in creating 'that trouble' between Anne's sister-in-law and her friends.

Like Lady Anne's sister-in-law, Henry More also had a strong reaction to the perceived neglect of friendship obligations. He wrote to Anne that he was 'very angry' at her brother, Sir John Finch (who was also More's friend) 'for his neglect of all his English friendes' by deciding to remain abroad.[362] More admitted, however, that he did still 'very heartily love and wish well to him' and that 'the frustration of my own hopes of seeing him did also add something to my passion'.[363] More's complicated feelings about the prolonged absence of Sir John Finch suggest that friendship obligations such as maintaining contact and visiting were not perfunctory tasks- they had meaning in the sense that they indicated to early modern English people that they were valued, that they were useful, and also provided enjoyment for friends who liked one another. Thus the neglect of these obligations could elicit strong feelings of anger and hurt.

Henry More's frustration with Sir John Finch only seemed to increase after John and his companion, Thomas Baines, finally returned to England from Italy. More wrote to Anne; 'I left a very extraordinary kinde letter at Sir Heneage Finchs for Dr Baines to be given him when he returned to London, and wrote also as civilly as I could to Sir John to invite them to Cambridge, but I have receiv'd

[361] Taylor, *Friendship*, p.1.
[362] Henry More to Lady Anne Conway, 5 June 1660, in Marjorie Hope Nicolson and Sarah Hutton (e.d), *The Conway Letters: The Correspondence of Anne, Viscountess Conway, Henry More, and their Friends 1642-1684* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), Pp.163-4.
[363] Henry More to Lady Anne Conway, pp.163-4.

no letter from either of them since the last time I saw them'.[364] He remarked (seemingly bitterly) of John Finch, 'I understand nothing of the Italian genius'.[365]

As mentioned previously, being sent a letter in early modern England was understood to be a mark of esteem or an 'honour and happiness', as More described receiving a letter from Anne.[366] It was therefore considered polite to respond, especially in the case that there was an invitation as in More's letters. It is likely, then, that More's seemingly bitter observation that he understood 'nothing of the Italian genius' indicates that he felt rejected and embarrassed by the lack of social recognition, and confused as to why he was being ignored. Considering the context of his previous letters concerning John Finch it is likely that More also felt hurt and disappointment at not seeing a friend whom he loved 'heartily'.[367]

These letters from More to Anne also highlight the influence of social rank on friendship conduct. As suggested earlier, it may not have been socially acceptable for friends of a lower social status to express anger at untimely responses to their higher status friends. While More vented his annoyance to Anne, it appears from the context of his following letters that he did not confront Sir John Finch and Thomas Baines themselves. In his intimate relationship with Anne he clearly felt comfortable complaining about others but did not express anger to Anne for a late response from her or lack thereof, nor did he directly express anger to Finch and Baines. Similarly, when he suspected that he would not see Finch and Baines though they had promised him a visit before going abroad again, More did not confront them but confessed to Anne 'Some times these things vex me…but I shall learn patience in time'.[368]

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[364] Henry More to Lady Anne Conway, 14 September 1661, in Marjorie Hope Nicolson and Sarah Hutton (e.d), *The Conway Letters: The Correspondence of Anne, Viscountess Conway, Henry More, and their Friends 1642-1684* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), pp.192-3.
[365] Henry More to Lady Anne Conway, pp.192-3.
[366] Henry More to Lady Anne Conway, 26 October 1661, in Marjorie Hope Nicolson and Sarah Hutton (e.d), *The Conway Letters: The Correspondence of Anne, Viscountess Conway, Henry More, and their Friends 1642-1684* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), Pp.193-5.
[367] Henry More to Lady Anne Conway, pp.163-4.
[368] Henry More to Lady Anne Conway, 16 November 1661, in Marjorie Hope Nicolson and Sarah Hutton (e.d), *The Conway Letters: The Correspondence of Anne, Viscountess Conway, Henry More, and their Friends 1642-1684* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), Pp.195-6.

These reactions expressed to Anne illustrate that More did feel anger and pain at unanswered letters and missed visits but refrained from confronting the offending friends if they were of a higher social rank. His lower social standing meant that this was not an appropriate reason to instigate a conflict, but something he must 'learn patience' to excuse.[369]

In his examination of manners in early modern England, Keith Thomas notes that 'superiors could choose whether or not to be "courteous" to their inferiors, but the inferiors had always to be "civil" to them'.[370] This dynamic was clearly not limited to interactions between acquaintances, strangers, or those in utilitarian relationships, but extended even to friendships in which there was significant emotional attachment. Whatever the depth of sentimental feeling in an unequal friendship there existed a boundary restricting the emotions that the socially inferior friend could express.

These examples complicate the representation of ideal friendship in Taylor's treatise which, aside from his emphasis on usefulness, resembles classical ideas of 'perfect friendship' in which friends were meant to have 'similarity of character, virtuous inclinations… and, particularly important, equality in social status, age, and intellect'.[371] Unlike the preacher, Samuel Masters who explicitly specifies that his discourse concerns the higher form of friendship between social equals 'in the strictest Sense' of the relationship, rather than ordinary friendship in the 'large Sense', Taylor does not address social rank, and his laws of friendship conduct were presented as being applicable to friendships in general.[372] This source base, however, reveals a lived understanding within the strictly hierarchical society of early modern England that the rules of conduct in friendship differed significantly according to a person's social rank. Friends of more equal social standing like the Baronet George Rawdon and Lord Edward Conway could freely confront one another about untimely responses and inattention, and Anne Conway clearly had a number of friends who she assumed would express irritation to her if she failed to respond to

[369] Henry More to Lady Anne Conway, pp.195-6.
[370] Keith Thomas, *In Pursuit of Civility: Manners and Civilization in Early Modern England* (Yale University Press: 2018), p.51.
[371] Thomas, *Ends of Life*, p.196.
[372] Masters, *A discourse*, pp.7-8.

them. More, on the other hand, while evidently having similar feelings of irritation, hurt, and anger in these instances, seemed to only have the options to 'learn patience' or worry about whether he had written anything that could have been taken offensively.[373] Thomas Baines, though sentimental friends with Lord Conway's brother-in-law, was of a distinctly lower rank than Lord Conway, whom he considered his patron, and similarly only expressed worry and meek acceptance about unanswered letters to him. John Digby responded to ignored correspondence in much the same way. More's anger, however, indicates that Baines and Digby may also have experienced frustration and resentment at the disregard of their higher-ranked friends— especially in light of Digby's perception of himself as fulfilling his own duties admirably— but, like More, felt unable to express these emotions to them. It is evident then that obligations differed according to social position; and that responding to letters and visiting friends of lower ranks was not an obligation but an optional privilege for higher-ranked friends to bestow upon them.

As such, these were not situations in which lower-ranked friends could appropriately express anger, even if they did clearly feel it as Henry More did. This indicates that emotional expression within friendships— particularly the expression of anger— was also, then, informed by social rank. In her study of anger within early modern English relationships, Linda Pollock notes that expressing anger 'was not confined to the partner with the superior status in the relationship'.[374] The relationships in Pollock's source base, however, are almost uniformly close kin relationships, and notably, when she makes this point she is referring to 'dependents' who 'had a strong sense of their rights, material and cultural, and would react vehemently when they were threatened'.[375] This study's analysis aligns with Pollock's observation when it comes to kin. Lord Conway's sister freely expressed anger about her needs not being met and gave 'trouble' to her social superiors, Lord Conway and her mother.[376] The non-kin friendships between people of different social statuses, however, illustrate much more complexity in the articulation

[373] Henry More to Lady Anne Conway, pp.195-6.
[374] Pollock, 'Anger', p.575.
[375] Pollock, 'Anger', p.575.
[376] Lady Anne Conway to Lord Edward Conway, p.129.

of anger. There appears to be much more reserve and nuance in the expression of anger by friends of inferior social status.

Aside from rules of etiquette in a hierarchical society it is likely that anxiety about the loss of friendships informed these different boundaries around the expression of anger. Ties among kin in early modern England were bound much more securely than those of other relationships. As Jeremy Taylor explained of kin bonds 'their mutual duty is bound upon them by religion long before any other friendships can be contracted; and therefore having first possession must abide for ever'.[377] Because of this, he elaborated, 'My brother', even if he is a poor friend, will still 'have my hand to help him'.[378] Though they did not always adhere to this societal expectation, early modern English people were expected to care for and aid their kin, regardless of how they personally felt about them. Thus, displeasing kin friends did not necessarily carry the same repercussions, making kin freer to express anger to one another. Non-kin friends, especially those of inferior status, however, appear to have had much more anxiety about upsetting their friends as it could result in the dissolution of a friendship necessary to their wellbeing. As such, the expression of anger had larger consequences for non-kin friends of lower social status and was modified, regulated, and limited accordingly.

Being of equal social rank, Lord Conway did not seem to have an issue confronting his friend, Lord Arlington for failing to perform an obligation owed to Conway's brother-in-law, Sir John Finch. Conway reported to John in a letter that when Lord Arlington, whom Conway had recently been in contact with, had mentioned wanting to 'setle a friendship' between himself and Sir John Finch, Conway had reminded him of his poor friendship conduct towards John Finch in the past:

> I that had no greater passion then to shewe that your friends could remember you in your absence made answer, that I could easily make as much pretended friendship as he wished, but I would not assure him of a reall friendship unlesse he made

[377] Taylor, *Friendship*, p.43.
[378] Ibid, p.50.

> satisfaction for an injury he had done to you about 2 yeares since, by promising my Brother an employment for you, and afterwards he would not performe it.[379]

The neglect of this obligation was clearly considered unacceptable conduct by Lord Conway, and presumably by John Finch as well who had let the friendship remain unsettled afterward. While it appears as though this broken friendship was purely instrumental— i.e., based on services and employment— Conway's reference to the broken promise as an 'injury', and his intent to show that Finch's 'friends could remember' him, indicates that Arlington's behavior was perceived not just as a breach in proper friendship conduct, but as offensive; a blatant sign of disregard for John Finch and his value as an employee and friend. Despite this, Lord Arlington's promise to rectify the 'injury' was deemed by Lord Conway as sufficient to mend the friendship.[380] This is likely because, as Lord Conway admitted to John, Lord Arlington's 'protection' was great and 'his Power and readinesse to oblige is greater than any mans', and, as such, it would be in Sir John Finch's best interest to repair the friendship.[381]

It was likely not just concern for his brother-in-law's feelings that motivated Lord Conway to challenge Lord Arlington about his behavior, especially as mending the utilitarian friendship was seen as an advantageous choice for John Finch. It is probable that Conway was also concerned with protecting his own reputation. As Linda Pollock explains, 'Those of landed status in early modern England were meant to seek redress for injury, and would be thought less of by their peers if they did not.'[382] John Finch was the younger brother in a gentry family and, as such, by the early modern English custom of primogeniture did not inherit the family's land. He was still a member of the gentry, however, born into a landed family, and brother-in-law to the landed Lord Conway, and thus, his actions and reputation would be associated with Lord Conway. A confrontation and demand for rectification by Lord Conway, then, would serve to protect his kin's, and thus his own reputation in the eyes of his peers.

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[379] Lord Edward Conway to Sir John Finch, June 1665, in Marjorie Hope Nicolson and Sarah Hutton (e.d), *The Conway Letters: The Correspondence of Anne, Viscountess Conway, Henry More, and their Friends 1642-1684* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), pp.239-40.
[380] Lord Edward Conway to Sir John Finch, pp.239-40.
[381] Ibid.
[382] Pollock, 'Anger', p.583.

Expressing anger was thus a way in which landed seventeenth-century English people protected their reputations, rights, credit, etc. As a series of letters from Henry More to Lady Anne Conway will demonstrate however, anger could be a powerful tool in protecting the reputations and social credit of non-landed people as well. Henry More described to Anne a conflict he was having with a 'barbarous fellow', Stubbes, who had claimed that More had printed falsehoods and 'grossly and vehemently… rayld at me in the coffy houses in Oxford before he printed' a 'scurrilous letter'.[383] Evidently outraged by the public attack on his work and character, More suggested, either in person or in a letter which is no longer extant, that Anne's husband, Lord Conway, publicly express disapproval of Stubbes on his behalf. This suggestion indicates that More felt anger publicly expressed by Lord Conway, an esteemed aristocrat, would be effective in protecting his reputation and quieting Stubbes. This request was either rejected or ignored, however, as More wrote to Anne apologetically:

> Your Ladiship will pardon my curiosity that ever I suggested the fitness of my Lords signifying some dislike of Stubs publick injury against me…I have had more civility from my Lord then I have ever been in any capacity to requite, his Lordship not being at leasure to regard those things in which I am most serviceable, if in any thing at all.[384]

This apology acknowledges More's lower social rank and the limitations that it placed upon his usefulness to Lord Conway, who had shown him so much 'civility' that More was indebted to him and therefore could not expect him to do any favors.[385] While he claimed that it was 'a boldnesse' he would 'scarce take again' it becomes evident upon further reading the letter that it was precisely More's intention to persuade Lord Conway to do this favor and, moreover, that More felt disobliged by Conway's inaction.[386]

Following his apology, More went on to explain that he was, however, 'not much mistaken' in his 'judgement' that Lord Conway should publicly reject Stubbes, noting that other people had 'taken notice'

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[383] Henry More to Lady Anne Conway, 14 March 1670-71, in Marjorie Hope Nicolson and Sarah Hutton (e.d), *The Conway Letters: The Correspondence of Anne, Viscountess Conway, Henry More, and their Friends 1642-1684* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), pp.355-8.
[384] Henry More to Lady Anne Conway, pp.355-8.
[385] Ibid.
[386] Henry More to Lady Anne Conway, pp.355-8.

and ‘wondered at’ the behavior of Lord Conway when he ‘had done some severall favours to Stubbes since this publick and grosse abuse of me’.[387] Here, More emphasizes that it was not only himself who had felt that Lord Conway should publicly rebuke Stubbes, but undisclosed others were also questioning Lord Conway’s conduct as a friend. It is apparent that though More had assured Anne that he would ‘scarce take again’ the ‘boldnesse’ to suggest such a thing, he was suggesting it again— albeit indirectly through the opinions of others. Similarly, his association later in the letter of Conway’s public rejection of Stubbes with ‘marks of friendship’ emphasizes that it would have been the friendly thing for Conway to do. Once again in a position in which he felt wronged by a friend of a superior social status, More did not directly express anger but negotiated the limits of his inferior position by tempering his criticism in a diplomatic way— as if it were not criticism at all. More’s tact illustrates again the reserve and nuance seventeenth-century English people of inferior social status employed in the expression of anger towards their socially superior friends.

More’s subtle request was evidently granted, as in a following letter he thanked Lord Conway and reported that ‘What my Lord sayd to Stubbes though it signify little at Ragley’ (one of Anne and Lord Conway’s residences) ‘yett I make since some use of it at London.’[388] That More was able to quickly make ‘some use of it’ indicates that this outcome was indeed More’s intention, and that he recognized that the expression of anger could serve as an effective means to preserve his reputation, particularly when the anger was expressed publicly by a powerful friend.

Finally, these letters concerning the Stubbes incident also have implications for a previously discussed letter from More to Anne in which he expressed his anger towards her brother, John Finch for not answering correspondence and breaking his promise to visit.[389] It is possible that besides wanting to express vexation to his intimate friend, More perceived that Anne (who must have discussed his further

[387] Henry More to Lady Anne Conway, pp.355-8.
[388] Henry More to Lady Anne Conway, 29 May 1671, in Marjorie Hope Nicolson and Sarah Hutton (e.d), *The Conway Letters: The Correspondence of Anne, Viscountess Conway, Henry More, and their Friends 1642-1684* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), Pp.340-2.
[389] Henry More to Lady Anne Conway, pp.192-3.

suggestion about Stubbes with Lord Conway) might persuade John to keep his promise, without requiring More to overstep boundaries around the expression of anger.

Anger over unfulfilled obligations, however, was not just fueled by the desire to protect one's own wellbeing, rights, and reputation, but that of loved ones as well. A letter from Lord Edward Conway to his brother-in-law, Sir George Rawdon, illustrates how the anxiety of parents over securing the wellbeing of their children through marital alliances could lead to conflict. In the letter, Lord Conway discussed the marital plans of Rawdon's daughter, who appeared uninterested in marrying the son of Conway's friend, Lord Granard. Lord Conway reported to Sir Rawdon that, 'my Lord Granard is angry with me that I do not appear or concern myself for his son so much as he would have me.'[390] Lord Granard's vexation is representative of observations in scholarship on marriage such as David Cressy's which illustrate how courtship could be a highly stressful time for early modern parents concerned about securing the future emotional and financial wellbeing of their offspring through suitable and advantageous matches.[391] Lord Granard evidently felt anxious for more assistance from friends in securing his son a good marriage and was upset when it was not provided.

Despite Lord Granard's expectations, Conway assured Rawdon, however, that '… I shall never do more for any one in the world, than only to agree to whatsoever you do. This is my resolution to him and all mankind in this matter.'[392] This letter highlights again differing interpretations of appropriate friendship conduct, as discussed earlier in relation to Lord Conway's sister who felt neglected by her friends. The seventeenth-century English friends in this source base, while evidently sharing a basic understanding of friendship, seem to have had differing perceptions of what obligations entailed exactly and to what extent friends were obliged to one another. Lord Granard's anger with Lord Conway indicates that he felt Lord Conway was obliged as a friend to make more of an effort than he had with his son's marital pursuits. Conway however, did not agree that he should concern himself further, and

[390] Lord Edward Conway to Sir George Rawdon, pp.447-9.
[391] Cressy, *Birth, Marriage, and Death*, pp.249-50, 257-8.
[392] Lord Edward Conway to Sir George Rawdon, pp.447-9.

appears unabashed and firm in his resolve to limit his involvement to supporting whatever Sir George Rawdon's decision was, suggesting that he felt he was behaving appropriately. As unfulfilled friendship obligations: meant perceived practical needs not being met; could signify that one was not valued by important people in their life; and also had implications for a person's reputation, it is then understandable why this circumstance was highly upsetting for early modern English people. Alternatively, being accused of not fulfilling obligations signified that a person was dishonorable, and irresponsible. As such, it is apparent why these differing perceptions surrounding obligations could result in anger and conflict within early modern English friendships.

Differing Perceptions of Friendship and Obligations

Differing perceptions of friendship obligations caused a bitter dispute between naturalist, John Ray and Lady Emma Child (formerly Emma Willoughby, whose relationship with Lettice Wendy is discussed in the 'Admonishing Friends' section above). John Ray's efforts to elect two new trustees to replace deceased ones in the will of Lady Emma's late husband— and John Ray's close friend— Francis Willoughby, instigated the conflict. Acting as sole trustee since the two others had died, John Ray explained to Lady Emma that he had written to 'Mr Jessop & Sr Philip Skippon to signifie…the choice of two new Trustees in the rooms of Sr Thomas Wendy & Sr Henry Barnard deceased, & accordingly they have in their severale answers to mine signified their concurrence with me in […] the persons I told your Ladyship I intended to propose to their choice.'[393] This news was clearly not well received by Lady Emma, as John Ray wrote in a following letter to her that he perceived she was 'highly offended' by his actions in arranging to change the trusteeship.[394] Ray insisted, however, that he had acted honorably,

[393] John Ray to Lady Emma Child, 2 July 1680. Family and Estate Collections, University of Nottingham Manuscripts and Special Collections, Mi E 4/29.
[394] John Ray to Lady Emma Child, 11 August 1680. Family and Estate Collections, University of Nottingham Manuscripts and Special Collections, Mi E 4/30.

having ‘done nothing but what I feel my self in conscience & gratitude obliged to doe’.[395] Ray’s statement indicates that he understood his obligations differently than Emma did— that he perceived his responsibility was to carry out the will exactly as he understood Francis had wanted it to be, whether it was approved by her or not. He went on to convey that he had not just a different, but better, understanding of what Francis had wanted, and thus his obligations in this situation, when he claimed that he doubted she would be nominated for trustee ‘in the circumstances you now are’ because he knew just what Francis Willoughby’s ‘mind was should be done in such a case’ as her remarriage.[396] Ray evidently felt that he understood his responsibilities better than Emma did and that he was fulfilling them. His remarks suggest, furthermore, that, while Ray and Lady Emma were embedded within each other’s circles of friendship because of their close ties to Francis, thereby also having such friends in common as Francis’s sister, Lettice Wendy, Ray’s sense of obligation towards Francis outweighed that towards Emma, resembling Lord Conway’s stronger allegiance to Sir George Rawdon over Lord Granard. Whereas Emma felt her desires should matter in this instance, Francis’s wishes clearly held more significance to John Ray.

The dispute was not resolved there, as in a following letter Ray addressed a threat of legal action and again defended his decision to elect two new trustees, asserting that he had been doing his duty all along ‘…but as I doe not delight in it so I know it was not Mr Willughbys minde yt I should intermedle wth ye managemt but only in concurrence wth others’.[397] Again, Ray stressed that he knew what Francis had wanted better than Lady Emma did. His confidence that Francis would not want him to be in the position he was in if he did ‘not delight in it’, suggests that he felt Lady Emma did not understand the values which had governed his and Francis’s friendship.[398] Ray perceived that his feelings and personal pleasure were important to Francis and would thus influence the performance of obligations. Letters from

[395] John Ray to Lady Emma Child, Mi E 4/30.
[396] Ibid.
[397] John Ray to Lady Emma Child, 27 August 1680. Family and Estate Collections, University of Nottingham Manuscripts and Special Collections, Mi E 4/31.
[398] John Ray to Lady Emma Child, Mi E 4/31.

Francis Willoughby to John Ray indicate that their friendship centered on their mutual passion for naturalism and exploring, with Francis imploring John to 'by no meanes…part with your Bookes.'[399] As such, John Ray may have felt that Francis would not have wanted his studies to be negatively impacted by his time-consuming responsibility as sole trustee.

Ray's perception of his and Francis's relationship may have been informed by classical ideas of virtuous, perfect friendship, mentioned previously. Such idealized 'perfect' or higher friendship, as opposed to a purely utilitarian relationship between self-interested individuals, was understood as a valuable and enriching connection based not only on mutual practical benefit but also on mutual moral enhancement.[400] It was deemed by most male authorities to be achievable only between men— due to women's perceived moral and intellectual inferiority— of similar age, station, and intellect, who were committed to serving each other faithfully.[401] While John Ray and Francis Willoughby were not social equals, their collaborative work in zoology indicates that they perceived themselves to be intellectual equals both dedicated to the pursuit of knowledge, and may, therefore, have viewed their friendship as operating in this way. As a woman, Emma may have been seen by Ray then as unable to grasp the priorities of this type of friendship. This disagreement shows the various meanings of friendship available to early modern English people through their lived experiences of different types of friendships, and how this complicated individual perceptions of how friendship should function and could lead to passionate conflict.

John and Lady Emma's differing perceptions of obligations and friendship conduct led to weighty accusations being levied. John Ray listed Emma's allegations against him rather scathingly, 'you reproach me wth insufficiency laziness dishonesty…'.[402] He fired back at her, however, 'But worldly riches are apt

[399] Francis Willoughby to John Ray, 1662. Family and Estate Collections, University of Nottingham Manuscripts and Special Collections, MS 746/1.
[400]Thomas, *The Ends of Life*, pp.195-7.
[401]Ibid.
[402] John Ray to Lady Emma Child, Mi E 4/31.

to inspire people wth pride & contempt of others'.[403] As Emma had remarried Sir Josiah Child who had acquired immense wealth as a merchant and governor of the East India Company, Ray's 'wordly riches' comment was likely in reference to her growing wealth.[404]

The above use of the term 'reproach' by John Ray may be significant, as it was used by Jeremy Taylor in his instruction to early modern English people to be 'without bitterness' and 'reproach' when admonishing or chiding a friend.[405] Linda Pollock notes that none of the early modern English people in her analysis accused one another of being rude or uncivil for their displays of anger because they adhered to socially acceptable reasons for expressing it such as protecting rights and property and addressing lapses in duty.[406] There are no explicit accusations of rudeness or incivility here, and Emma's anger fits the socially acceptable reasons of perceived insufficient duty, and protecting her rights and property. Considering that Jeremy Taylor's treatise on friendship was well-known, however, Ray's choice of the term 'reproach' may have been intentional in order to communicate to Emma that she had crossed the line into rudeness.[407]

Ray's forcefully expressed anger, especially his accusations of pride and contempt, contrast startlingly with the previous examples in this study of the experience of anger within unequal friendships. The examples thus far have demonstrated the friend of lower social rank either refraining from expressing anger or restricting and modifying the expression of it towards socially superior friends, supporting Keith Thomas's assertion that social inferiors must always exhibit courtesy to their social superiors.[408] The dispute between John Ray and Lady Emma, however, evidences that this may have been a trend but was not a rule in unequal friendships in early modern England.

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[403] John Ray to Lady Emma Child, Mi E 4/31.
[404] Andrea Finkelstein, *Harmony and the Balance: An Intellectual History of Seventeenth-Century English Economic Thought* (University of Michigan Press: 2000), p.131.
[405] Taylor, *Friendship*, p.66.
[406] Pollock, 'Anger', p.586.
[407] John Ray to Lady Emma Child, Mi E 4/31.
[408] Thomas, *In Pursuit of Civility*, p.51.

In his examination of religious deference, Donald Spaeth points out that historians have sometimes used the term 'deference' to describe social relations which, owing to a significant disparity in social status, can more properly be understood as subservient.[409] Spaeth clarifies that, rather than referring to a relationship based on 'unquestioning and servile obedience', deference 'describes a two-way relationship based on reciprocity', entailing negotiation and the willing acceptance by some individuals of the leadership of others.[410] Deference is interpreted by Spaeth as involving 'a delicate balance of the interests and wishes of the governors and the governed', and is not, he asserts, 'the same as dependence.'[411] This is an important distinction and, while Spaeth analyzes deference within the broader context of 'cultural co-operation between rich and poor in village society', this interpretation can be extended to shed light on how socially uneven friendships operated in early modern England at an individual level.[412]

The particular friendship between John Ray and Lady Emma, for instance, differs from the previous examples in that the socially lower-standing John Ray does not appear to have needed or particularly wanted his friendship with Lady Emma. While his warm sign-off prior to Emma's initial offended response: 'with tender of my very humble service to Sr Josiah & the rest of your honoured relations at Wansted, I take leave & rest Madame, your much obliged and devoted servitor' indicates that he may previously have been interested in maintaining a friendship with Emma and, by extension, the powerful Sir Josiah Child, the subsequent insult and subdued sign-offs following Emma's offended response— 'your La:pp most humble servitour'— suggest that if he had desired it, he no longer felt compelled to maintain the friendship in the face of Emma's scorn.[413] An examination of a previous letter between Ray and Emma, prior the trustee incident, furthermore, illustrates that their friendship fell towards the instrumental end of the spectrum, likely based upon Ray's perceived obligation to act as a

[409] Spaeth, *The Church*, p.84.
[410] Ibid, p.85.
[411] Ibid.
[412] Ibid, p.106.
[413] John Ray to Lady Emma Willoughby, 22 April 1673. Family and Estate Collections, University of Nottingham Manuscripts and Special Collections, Mi Av 143/40; John Ray to Lady Emma Child, Mi E 4/31.

friend to Francis's kin.[414] Before Francis's death, he and Emma were on pleasant terms to the extent that Ray's visits to her home were perceived as pleasurable occasions for Emma, and others inquired about his wellbeing through her and asked Emma to convey their regards.[415] Ray also reportedly inquired about Emma's welfare when visiting her sister-in-law, Lettice Wendy.[416] They do not appear, however, to have shared the closeness that Ray and Francis evidently did and seemed to correspond primarily to discuss pragmatic matters. In addition to executing the will, Ray had agreed to play a role in the education of Emma's children, and was later asked to help a relative of Emma's secure a fellowship.[417] Their lives were, and remained, entwined but it was Emma who relied upon Ray to perform services for her and her kin and it does not appear as though Ray needed her to do the same for him.

As such, in this circumstance Ray may not have felt the anxiety that More, Baines, and Digby appeared to feel at the possibility of fracturing their unequal friendships which they depended upon for wellbeing. As trustee of the will, he would have been able to continue carrying out his execution of the will, and thus obligation to Francis, with or without Lady Emma's favor or approval. Moreover, he may not have felt it was necessary to maintain the level of amicable terms with Emma that would likely have been expected of him when Francis was alive. This may have provided Ray with a sense of freedom to exhibit wrath towards Emma and to disregard her commands. Socially inferior friends, therefore, may have only chosen to engage in deference and courteousness towards higher-ranked friends if they perceived the balance of interests to be sufficiently in their favor.

Additionally, this may have been a particular circumstance in which it was socially acceptable for a lower-ranked friend to express anger. It was demonstrated in the previous situations that unanswered letters, broken promises to visit, and association with a friend's enemy were not acceptable reasons for

[414] John Ray to Lady Emma Willoughby, Mi Av 143/40.
[415] Lettice Wendy to Emma Willoughby, 27 August 1672. Family and Estate Collections, University of Nottingham Manuscripts and Special Collections, Mi Av 143/36/16.
[416] Lettice Wendy to Emma Willoughby, 31 July [1669]. Family and Estate Collections, University of Nottingham Manuscripts and Special Collections, Mi Av 143/36/2.
[417] Lettice Wendy to Lady Emma Child, 13 December 1673. Family and Estate Collections, University of Nottingham Manuscripts and Special Collections, Mi Av 143/36/20.

socially inferior friends to express discontent to or make demands of their higher-ranked friends. These were perceived as privileges which socially superior friends might bestow upon their inferior friends as they wished. A situation such as John Ray's and Lady Emma's, however, in which Ray was in a position of responsibility and was being prevented from carrying out his obligations (as he saw them) in executing Francis's will, may have been perceived as warranting the use of anger in order to resolve the conflict.

Furthermore, perceptions of gender likely played a role in Ray's open display of anger. Because capability, self-sufficiency and honesty were regarded in the period as ideal male attributes, Emma's accusations of insufficiency, laziness, and dishonesty were likely seen by Ray as undermining his manhood.[418] Ray may have felt compelled, therefore, to demonstrate that Emma's negative assessment of him stemmed from her own moral failings rather than any genuine shortcomings on his part. His belief that he understood Francis's wishes better than Emma, furthermore, suggests that he perceived Emma as attempting to intermeddle in men's affairs which she, as a woman, could not fully comprehend.

John Ray's open disdain for Emma indicates that there were limits as to the extent socially inferior men were willing to submit to socially superior women. As Pollock notes in her discussion of a women's verbal fury towards her husband and another's towards her brother, women in early modern England were 'willing to express rage if they thought the circumstances justified it', yet, 'a woman's anger was…seen as a challenge to male authority, a refusal to recognize her proper place.'[419] The male kin on the receiving end of anger in Pollock's study, while sharing elite status with the women, would have been perceived as socially positioned above them due to their gender. Ray's response to Emma indicates, however, that even men of lower social ranks may have reacted to the anger of a socially superior woman with the attitude that they held a position of authority that was not being duly acknowledged. In contrast to Henry More who openly recognized his subordinate role within his friendship with Lady Anne Conway, and maintained this stance even during periods of disagreement,

[418] E.g. Foyster, *Manhood*, pp.129-30; Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood*, p.79.
[419] Pollock, 'Anger', pp.568-9.

John Ray appeared to have regarded his status as a man as affording him a sense of parity with, or even superiority over Lady Emma, portraying himself as having stronger morals and a greater understanding of proper friendship conduct.

As discussed in this thesis's survey of scholarship on early modern English masculinity, historians assert that achieving and maintaining the patriarchal ideal of mastery of oneself and others was a consistent preoccupation for men in early modern England.[420] Those of lower social ranks attempted to find ways to attain this despite the necessity of their relying upon patronage and employment by social superiors for survival.[421] Katherine Hodgkin's study of Thomas Whythorne's struggles to achieve the patriarchal ideal identifies Whythorne's reflecting on the inferiority of women in his journal and attempting to avoid patronage situations in which his dependence on both male and female employers was too obvious as strategies by which he attempted to wield control within the limitations of his circumstances.[422] The refusal to tolerate a female friend's anger may also have functioned as one of the various manifestations of behavior by which men who were constrained by their inferior social status, and thereby unable to achieve the patriarchal ideal of asserting dominance over women through command of economic resources, could still perceive themselves as exercising authority over women. The differences in how Henry More and John Ray navigated anger in their unequal friendships, however, suggests that male friends of lower social rank weighed the potential consequences of expressing anger to or resisting demands from socially superior female friends, and shaped their behavior accordingly.

This conflict further complicates Pollocks assertion that the verbalization of anger was not exclusive to the person with the superior status in a relationship, raising questions as to the precise factors determining superior status in a non-kin male-female friendship. While John Ray was below Emma in the social hierarchy, he was, nevertheless, a man in a patriarchal society and seemed to draw a sense of power

[420] E.g. Bray, 'The Curious Case of Michael Wigglesworth', p.155; Foyster, *Manhood*, p.4; Foyster, 'Reviewed Work: *Meanings of Manhood in Early Modern England*', p.198; Hodgkin, 'Thomas Whythorne and the Problems of Mastery', p.22.
[421] Foyster, *Manhood*, p.4; Foyster, 'Reviewed Work', p.198; Hodgkin, 'Thomas Whythorne and the Problems of Mastery', p.22
[422] Hodgkin, 'Thomas Whythorne and the Problems of Mastery', p.25.

in the relationship from his status as a man. In her study of eighteenth-century English peer correspondence, Amy Harris posits that youthful sibling relationships, including those of brothers and sisters, were egalitarian bonds of a more horizontal nature within the vertically structured hierarchical world of eighteenth-century England.[423] In contrast to marital relationships in which men were positioned as authorities over their wives and to adult sibling relationships in which the distinctions of gender and birth order significantly influenced the nature of these ties, youthful brothers and sisters enjoyed a measure of equality in the 'special time of life separate from the formal adult world'.[424] As the conflict between John Ray and Lady Emma suggests, non-kin male-female friendships in seventeenth-century England may similarly have been a space in which men and women were sometimes positioned— or perceived themselves to be— on relatively equal ground. The intersecting hierarchies of gender and social rank may have had the capacity to mitigate disparities, shaping the contours of these relationships in unique ways.

Conclusions

Just as early modern English friendship networks were complex and broad-ranging, so too, evidently, was the experience of conflict within friendship. This chapter set out to expose the emotions involved in friendship disputes, attempting to address both the scarcity of scholarship on conflict within friendship and emotions in early modern England. It was shown that seventeenth-century English people exhibited anxiety at the possibility of friction in friendships of all types, a concern frequently triggered by unanswered correspondence, which was interpreted as a sign of discontent. The distressed reactions to lapses in communication highlighted both the practical and emotional importance of friendship, demonstrating how even utilitarian friendships in which there was little to no perceptible emotional bond between friends were nevertheless infused with emotion. The potential breakdown of utilitarian

[423] Amy Harris, "This I Beg My Aunt May Not Know": Young Letter-Writers in Eighteenth-Century England, Peer Correspondence in a Hierarchical World', *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth*, 2:3 (2009), p.354.
[424] Harris, "This I Beg My Aunt May Not Know", p.354.

friendships, as suggested by epistolary silence, evoked feelings of sadness, discomfort, insecurity, deficiency, and, it was posited, anger. While friends of equal social standing and those bound by kinship in this source base directly expressed dissatisfaction to one another in instances of feeling ignored, however, friends of lower rank in socially unequal ties limited their responses to timidly asking whether they had offended superior friends, suggesting that timely communication was not considered a duty for higher-ranked friends, but a privilege they could bequeath to social inferiors as they pleased. Both obligations and emotional expression in friendship, it was argued, were informed by social rank.]

Differing perceptions of friendship obligations and conduct were further delved into. It was demonstrated that despite a shared understanding among the people in this source base that obligations were an integral aspect of friendship and that the failure to perform them was unacceptable, individual perceptions diverged as to what obligations entailed precisely and to what degree friends were obliged to one another. This complicated interpretations of overlooked responsibilities, sometimes leading to strife and discord. It was shown that rifts caused by the failure to perform obligations, as well as by different perceptions surrounding responsibilities, often induced feelings of distress and anger, though how and whether these emotions were expressed to the offending friend differed depending upon an early modern English person's position in the social hierarchy and specific relation to the friend. In ties of kinship and equal social rank individuals felt freer to articulate feelings of indignation and resentment and demand fulfillment of perceived duties, whereas, in unequal friendships, communicating displeasure towards a friend of higher rank was a more complex matter. In the friendship examined which was of great practical and sentimental importance to the lower-ranked friend, anger was limited and modified in the interest of preserving this more fragile tie. In the uneven friendship which was not essential to the lower standing friend's wellbeing, however, fury was openly displayed, suggesting that deference may only have been exhibited so long as it was perceived by the inferior friend as beneficial.

Social hierarchy was not, however, the sole determinant of power dynamics within friendships; gender also appears to have wielded significant influence. It was demonstrated that perceptions of male

moral and intellectual superiority informed interpretations of conflict between male and female friends, suggesting that this dynamic may have led some men to be unwilling to tolerate a female friend's expression of anger regardless of social rank. The dismissal of a socially superior female friend's anger as stemming from irrationality and moral failure, it was posited, may have served as a means by which men of lower social ranks, limited by their inferior position and thus unable to attain the patriarchal ideal of command of oneself and others, could still feel as though they were enforcing power over women. The different approaches to handling anger in the unequal male-female friendships in this source base indicate, however, that the importance and value of a friendship played a significant role in informing how a socially inferior man responded to the anger of a socially superior female friend. The interaction of gender and social hierarchies, therefore, may have informed the nature of non-kin male-female friendships in distinctive ways, sometimes situating men and women on perceived even footing. The following chapters of this thesis will explore in depth the impact of gender on the emotional experience of friendship across a wider range of experiences and events, unraveling further layers of complexity in the diverse experiences and conduct of friendships.

Chapter 2

'It is a great releefe to me in my greefe to impart my selfe to soe noble a frend': The Emotional Experience of Male Friendship

As early modern English friendship itself has scarcely been subjected to emotions analysis, the ways in which the emotional experience of friendship may have been informed by gender have also not yet been examined. It is widely acknowledged within historical scholarship, however, that gender significantly informed the experience of early modern English people. Moreover, emotions were understood to be influenced by gender during this period. Medical understandings of physiology outlined in texts such as Alexander Ross's 1651 *Arcana Microcosmi, or, The Hidden Secrets of Man's Body Disclosed* asserted that due to differences in their humoral makeup, men and women would (and should) naturally experience emotion differently from one another. The perceived colder, moister bodies of women made them prone to anger, lust, temptation, and an overall susceptibility to being overwhelmed by emotion.[1] On the other hand, the hotter, drier bodies of men allowed for reason to flourish which tempered their emotions.[2] As such, an investigation into how ideas about gender informed the emotional experience of friendship in early modern England appears to be a fruitful, and moreover, necessary area for historical enquiry. While attention was briefly paid to how gender influenced the emotional experience of friendship in the previous chapter, the specific source pool examined for this project allows for an in-depth discussion of the subject on its own— particularly with regard to the emotional experience of adult males and females. This chapter will explore friendship between men.

Although not from an emotions perspective, early modern English male friendship has in recent years increasingly come under historical investigation. As highlighted in the historiography on male friendship in this thesis's introductory chapter, key historical scholarship emphasizes emotional

[1] Alexander Ross, *Arcana Microcosmi, or, The Hidden Secrets of Man's Body Disclosed,* (London: 1651), p.86.
[2] Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination*, p.xxvi; Ross, *Arcana Microcosmi*, p.86.

detachment, competitiveness, and fear of intimacy as primary aspects of the lived experience of the relationship. Male friendship was perceived as a means for shaping male identity, used by men to cultivate ideal masculine qualities such as reason, strength, and self-sufficiency.[3] Rather than pursuing mutual connection in interactions with one another, prominent scholars suggest that men were predominantly focused on displaying their manhood.[4]

While these interpretations are recognized here as having validity, the correspondence examined for this study evidences that there is significant room for detail and nuance within current understandings of early modern English male friendship. This is not only in terms of the necessity for an emotional lens to be applied to analyses of friendship and gender to deepen understanding of historical experience, but also in recognition of the complications and contrasts presented by the sources with regard to current understandings of male friendship. As such, this chapter will explore the themes which emerged as distinct features of the emotional experience of male friendship. It will begin by investigating vulnerability and openness within male friendship, revealing how some men viewed their friendships as safe spaces in which to share experiences of failed manhood and explicitly seek emotional support. From there the examination will explore the regulation of both emotional expression as well as the intimacy of information shared by male friends. Finally, this study will consider the presence of distrust within male friendship, paying particular attention to how social rank informed this emotional experience.

As explained in the introduction, the correspondence between female friends in this source base is more extensive than that between male friends. Although there are more male than female letter writers, the surviving correspondence between men in individual relationships is less full than that between women. While this limits the depth of analysis possible for individual male friendships compared to female friendships, the greater number of male correspondents sometimes offers a wider lens, demonstrating how some individuals navigated friendships across different social ranks and with both

[3] E.g. Bray and Rey, 'The Body of the Friend', pp.81-3; Foyster, *Manhood*, pp.129-30; Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood*, p.79; Thomas, *The Ends of Life,* pp.206-7; Westhauser, 'Friendship and Family', p.527.
[4] E.g. Foyster, *Manhood*, pp.129-30; Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood*, p.79.

those to whom they appear to have been sentimentally attached and those with whom they did not. This aspect of the source material has facilitated the analysis of how men experienced vulnerability, intimacy, and distrust within their wide-ranging and diverse friendship networks.

Vulnerability, Safety, and Sympathy

In direct contrast with dominant interpretations of male friendship (discussed above) which highlight competitiveness, one-upmanship, and independence in early modern English male interactions, the correspondence examined for this study illuminates male friendships in which the opposite was the case. The letters illustrate that men sometimes saw these friendships as spaces in which to share their intimate concerns, bewail their misfortunes, and seek emotional as well as material support. William Cavendish, the first Duke of Newcastle, for instance, bemoaned his unfortunate circumstances to his unnamed male friend in October 1649, lamenting that; 'Treuly My Lorde I am So astonishte diseye & amasde with misfortuns as I knowe not wether I am a wake or no or wether I am a live for…I am travelde beyonde hopes sum dayes Jurneys towardes dispayre'.[5] As William fled to the continent following the crushing defeat of the royalist army under his command at Marston Moor in July 1649, this letter is likely in reference to the public scorn and disapproval he faced regarding his perceived bravery and skills as a military commander, by both enemies and allies.[6] Indeed, the Duke explained that his despair resulted from the desertion of his friends: 'My aquayntanses hide them selves from mee & my freindes & kindered stande as farr off – Affections fled frome the fase of the Earth & freindship buried alive & no fayth lefte'.[7] Noting that in the past they had been 'treuly so obligde to the power I had', but had since his

[5] William Cavendish to an unnamed nobleman, Pw 1/537.
[6] Lynn Hulse, "Cavendish, William, first duke of Newcastle upon Tyne (bap. 1593, d. 1676), writer, patron, and royalist army officer", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (September 2004), p.10.
[7] William Cavendish to an unnamed nobleman, Pw 1/537.

downfall become distant and refused to lend him money, William concluded that his friends were 'freindes onlye to prosperetye' and did not care to be involved with him in his times of difficulty.[8]

This transparency about his abandonment by his friends is remarkable in that the situation, as well as his reaction to it, had the potential to reflect poorly on William Cavendish in multiple ways. His utter hopelessness highlights a lack of self-sufficiency— considered an ideal male quality during the period— and his admission that he was so overcome with feelings of surprise, confusion, and despair that he was unsure whether he was 'a wake' or 'a live' could easily have been viewed as a subversion of the gender norms which upheld the patriarchy. As explained previously, it was perceived in early modern England that their naturally superior reason and self-control allowed men to restrain and rise above their emotions while women, weaker and intellectually inferior, were thought to be easily consumed by them. It was, essentially, 'a rejection of "feminine" qualities through a display of the "masculine" qualities of reason and strength' by which men maintained their perceived manhood and thus authority over women.[9] These understandings of masculine and feminine attributes evidently informed how early modern English men interacted with one another, as the content of the majority of male friendship letters examined during this project's research centered on discussion of business matters rather than personal feelings and concerns. Yet here, William did not seem to feel the need to restrict his emotional expression in order to uphold a masculine identity, but openly admitted to an engulfment in emotions and an inability to think— traits strongly associated with femininity which could certainly have been utilized to question his manhood.

Furthermore, William's disclosure revealed what a weak and vulnerable position he was in and, as such, how little he would have had to offer as a friend. As friendship was commonly understood to function as a mutually advantageous relationship in which both parties had something to offer— especially when the members were not kin— this utter lack of connections, resources, and power would have rendered William an undesirable partner for friendship. Popular contemporary conduct writer

[8] William Cavendish to an unnamed nobleman, Pw 1/537.
[9] Foyster, *Manhood*, p.31.

Jeremy Taylor emphasized the importance of being 'on the giving and assisting' end of the relationship, and to 'hope and strive to do the benefit', however, he nonetheless maintained that 'I will not have such a friendship that is good for nothing'.[10] This notion articulated by Taylor is evidently one which William was aware of, as it is clear from William's description of being forsaken by all his friends and acquaintances due to his misfortune that he felt his bleak circumstances influenced his perceived worth as a friend. Thus, it was clearly a risk for William to share this information with his remaining friend when he recognized that he had already lost many because of their awareness of it.

William's willingness to be open about his troubles and intense feelings in light of this indicates that he felt this particular friendship was a space in which it was safe to do so. There is no indication, in William's account of his misery, of a need to compete or an expectation that his male friend might respond with one-upmanship, or by using the information to his disadvantage. Rather, there is a sense that William was seeking understanding of, and sympathy for, his situation. His decision to send this letter suggests that he expected his friend would respond in this way. His recognition, moreover, that expressing himself to his friend in the letter 'Eases mee' illustrates that William's free emotional expression within this friendship served as a means of catharsis for him, and indicates that this was acceptable to openly acknowledge between them.[11]

A sense of safety in sharing personal troubles and feelings within male friendship can also be seen in a letter from Lord Edward Conway to his brother-in-law, Sir George Rawdon. Troubled by his wife, Lady Anne Conway's socializing with Quakers, Conway complained to Rawdon that his house was often 'as full of them as it can hold' and explained that the Quakers 'lodge here…and all their horses in the stables better fed than mine…'.[12] His lamentation that the horses of the lodgers were better fed than his own indicates that Conway felt he was not receiving the respect he perceived as owed to him as the

[10] Taylor, *Friendship*, p.57.
[11] William Cavendish to an unnamed nobleman, Pw 1/537.
[12] Lord Edward Conway to Sir George Rawdon, 23 June 1676, in Marjorie Hope Nicolson and Sarah Hutton (e.d), *The Conway Letters: The Correspondence of Anne, Viscountess Conway, Henry More, and their Friends 1642-1684* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), Pp.542-3.

male head of household. As previously mentioned, successfully heading a household was considered to be the most important duty of a married man in early modern England, and, as such, it is not surprising that Conway felt bothered by his household being run in a way outside of his full control. Because, as Shepard points out, it 'was associated with the mastery not only of a man's self, but of his subordinates and his resources', control of the household 'was often equated with manhood itself'.[13] It is clear that Lord Conway did not feel that he had sufficient mastery over his subordinates or his resources here as his wife was behaving in a way which distressed him, and he perceived his servants to be using his resources so as to make his unwanted houseguests more comfortable than himself. Interestingly, however, it is not clear whether Conway felt unable to exercise control in this situation or was choosing not to. Either way, it is evident that he felt exasperated by the running of his household and the perceived lack of respect towards him as the household head.

It was not just the Quakers crowding his house and receiving better treatment than he did that bothered Conway, however, but the rumors which then developed about Anne Conway due to her close association with them. Assuring Rawdon that his wife was 'no Quaker', Conway explained that this affiliation, however, resulted in 'reproach of her being a Quaker' and the spreading of 'a thousand other stories'.[14] These rumors about Anne being a Quaker would likely have reflected poorly on Conway. While there was, as Barry Reay notes, a 'general reaction' of 'hostility and fear' towards Quakerism 'at all levels of society', the upper ranks were far more alarmed due to the possibility of 'social revolution'.[15] Quakers' 'property-threatening stand against tithes' and their 'unwillingness even to recognize titles— courageous stuff in the deferential world of the seventeenth century— predictably enraged the men of property'.[16] Thus, his wife's involvement with this contentious sect which posed a threat to the social order, would not only have suggested that Conway was incapable of commanding obedience in his

[13] Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood*, p.70.
[14] Lord Edward Conway to Sir George Rawdon, pp. 542-3.
[15] Barry Reay, 'Popular Hostility Towards Quakers in Mid-Seventeenth-Century England', *Social History*, 5:3 (October 1980), p.387.
[16] Reay, 'Popular Hostility Towards Quakers', p.388.

household, but would also probably have stirred anger among fellow members of the elite at his perceived allowance of the dissemination of Quakerism.

It is also possible that among the 'thousand other stories' that proceeded from Anne's close relationships with Quakers and especially the leader of the particular Quaker group lodged at her house, Monsieur Van Helmont, was speculation about cuckoldry. If so, this likely would have caused Lord Conway great anxiety as it has been identified by gender historians that control over one's household— and most importantly within this being sexual control over one's wife— was the primary determinant of a man's reputation in early modern England.[17] Being identified as a 'cuckold' meant that a man had lost control of his household, could not be certain of the legitimacy of his children, and was viewed as a failure within his community. There was, as Foyster has pointed out, 'no more powerful a way to wreck male honour'.[18] As such, hinting at such speculation (if that was indeed what the speculation concerned) would likely have been difficult and anxiety-provoking for Lord Conway. In any case his following comment 'I am almost mad when I begin to write of this subject, and therefore I'll leave off at this time', illustrates that he was clearly significantly disturbed about the gossip being spread about his wife and household, whatever the particular content.[19]

Despite this anxiety about his familial disorder being discussed by others, Lord Conway evidently felt comfortable bringing up these troubles with Rawdon. His openness indicates that Conway felt a sense of safety within this friendship and did not feel that he would be judged or looked down upon by Rawdon for not being in control of his household. He also felt secure admitting that these troubles were causing him to feel 'almost mad'. In a similar manner to William Cavendish, Conway clearly felt that it was acceptable to reveal to a male friend— at least this particular one— that he was experiencing powerful emotions which threatened his ability to reason. Whereas William did not express a sense of

[17] E.g. Foyster, *Manhood*, p.39; Laura Gowing, 'Women, status and the popular culture of dishonour', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* (TRHS), 6th ser., 6(1996), pp.225-34.
[18] Foyster, pp.66-7.
[19] Lord Edward Conway to Sir George Rawdon, pp. 542-3.

embarrassment about his being consumed by feelings, however, Conway evidently felt uncomfortable as his decision to 'leave off at this time' due to feeling overwhelmed with emotion illustrates. This discomfort reflects early modern English societal understandings and expectations of men which determined that men should naturally be able to control their emotions and thus exercise superior reason (as excessive emotion was believed to be incompatible with reasoning). It indicates that experiencing intense emotion may have aroused anxiety and a sense of shame in early modern English men, as this was associated with femininity and may therefore have signaled abnormality, as well as a threat to their perceived manhood.

Rather than simply attempting to restrain his emotions whilst keeping this uncomfortable experience to himself, however, Lord Conway openly admitted to having intense feelings which endangered his sanity. This suggests that while it was seen as undesirable societally, and evidently perceived by Conway as such, it was still viewed as safe to discuss the occurrence of intense feelings with particular male friends. Though Conway did not explicitly say so, his decision to express himself indicates that it was possibly a relieving experience for him, as it was for William Cavendish, to share personal feelings and troubles within a friendship in which they would be received sympathetically.

Lord Conway's displeasure with the situation at his household continued into the following year, as another letter to George Rawdon demonstrates. Replying to Rawdon's request for his daughter to be sent from Ireland and housed at Conway's in order to meet potential marriage suitors, Conway informed Rawdon that he knew 'not how to provide for her…so as I would do, and as might be proper for her'.[20] This was because, Conway explained, 'In my family all the women about my wife…are Quakers…an unpleasing sort of people, silent, sullen, and of a removed conversation, which can be no ways agreeable to your daughter, nor for her advantage.'[21] Here, Conway again acknowledged the control that he either

[20] Lord Edward Conway to Sir George Rawdon, 28 December 1677, in Marjorie Hope Nicolson and Sarah Hutton (e.d), *The Conway Letters: The Correspondence of Anne, Viscountess Conway, Henry More, and their Friends 1642-1684* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), pp.447-9.
[21] Lord Edward Conway to Sir Geroge Rawdon, pp.447-9.

did not feel he had or was choosing not to exert over his household. He openly admitted to Rawdon that his house was not fit for hospitality (but for the Quakers he appeared to detest), nor was it a suitable environment for cultivating the marital prospects of a young woman.

This admission of Conway's is significant as the provision of hospitality to friends was perceived as both an important duty of, as well as a determinant of reputation for, landed elites in early modern England. 'Shame', Felicity Heal, explains, 'traditionally attached to those who failed to personate themselves as men of generosity, and by implication there was also the danger that shame led to the diminution of that natural authority that derived from land and wealth'.[22] Conway's awareness of all the problems preventing him from being a suitable host and his comment that he 'should willingly agree' otherwise indicates that he was aware of this convention.[23] As the head of the household, Conway's inability to extend hospitality to his niece therefore prevented him from fulfilling an important friendship obligation and would also have had the potential to reflect negatively on his reputation in terms of gender and social rank. His failure to prevent disorder and unconventionality within his household could be seen to undermine his authority as a man, and the inability to exercise generous hospitality certainly had the potential to damage his perceived power and capability as a member of the landed aristocracy.

Furthermore, Conway's remark that staying at his house would not just be unpleasant for his niece but would also not be to 'her advantage' indicates that he perceived his niece would be looked down upon by potential suitors for her choice of accommodation.[24] As at this point Anne Conway had actually converted to Quakerism, it is likely that the gossip and speculation Conway had complained about in the letter previously discussed had not improved and had possibly even worsened. This comment, as well as his assertion that he understood what would be proper but was unable to provide it again indicates that he was aware of what his household situation was costing him and his reputation. Rather than attempting to make an excuse which did not reflect unfavorably on him, however, Conway was able to freely admit this

[22] Heal, *Hospitality*, p.389.
[23] Lord Edward Conway to Sir Geroge Rawdon, pp.447-9.
[24] Ibid.

to Rawdon suggesting that he still felt being open about his undesirable household situation would not negatively impact their relationship or Rawdon's opinion of him. This friendship was evidently viewed by Conway as one in which it was safe to expose personal troubles, overwhelming emotions, and shortcomings as a male head of household.

Division and disorder within the household were also experiences which Henry Cavendish, the second Duke of Newcastle, and son of William Cavendish, felt the need to express his distress about to a male friend. He revealed to his 'noble…frend', the Marquess of Halifax, George Savile, that he was experiencing 'greefe' because it 'is very well known in my Family' and 'I believe in ye Countrey wth wt scorne and slight my Wife and my Daughter Margrett proseed Towards me and they Publish me to be ye Very rog[u]e in ye World because I desire ye like of ym I did in Feb: last to wch they submitted and now they refuse. '[25] Whereas it is unclear in the previous example whether Lord Conway chose not to or perceived he was unable to wield control over his wife and household, it is evident here that Henry Cavendish was attempting— and failing— to effectively exert control that he felt was rightly his as the male head of household. Henry's distress at his wife and daughter's refusal to submit to his commands highlights again how a lack of authority over one's household was a significant anxiety-provoking situation for early modern English men. As Elizabeth Foyster has pointed out:

> Since the household was regarded as the basic unit of society, the most fundamental duty for its head was that he should ensure order was maintained between household members. If a household was known to be disorderly, and relationships broke accepted or conventional bounds, then the spotlight of responsibility would fall on the male head of household.[26]

That Henry perceived a negative spotlight fell on him is evident from his complaint that his disorderly household situation was known widely 'in ye Countrey'. Not only then did he experience the failure of commanding obedience within his family, but this failure was made public knowledge as well. Worse still, the talk of the domestic disorder was not originating from outside sources as it did in Lord Conway's

[25] Henry Cavendish to George Savile, 17 January 1687. Family and Estate Collections, University of Nottingham Manuscripts and Special Collections, Pw1/642.
[26] Foyster, *Manhood*, p.66.

situation, but was apparently being spread from within the family, as Henry's claim that his wife and daughter 'Publish me to be ye Very rog[u]e in ye World' indicates.[27] While Lord Conway may not have been regarded as having the power to command what others outside his family said, as the male head of household Henry would have been expected to exert control over what his own wife and daughter said publicly about him. This openly expressed defiance then would have acted as a further demonstration of Henry's lack of authority.

The particular insult apparently utilized by Henry's wife and daughter could also have added to the potential for harm. As Shepard notes in her study of early modern English manhood 'rogue' was one of the defamatory insults commonly challenged by men in court cases as it was seen as slanderous and damaging to male reputation.[28] The term was associated with 'deviance, low status, and dishonesty'; traits at complete odds with those required for honorable patriarchal manhood.[29] It is therefore not surprising that this public denial of his honor as male head of household by his wife and daughter caused Henry 'greefe' as it would have had the power to allow his manhood to become open to contestation by others.[30]

Despite being upset that his wife and daughter's outright defiance of him was known widely within his social circle, Henry acknowledged that 'it is a great releefe to me in my greefe to impart my selfe to soe noble a frend'.[31] This statement highlights again, as in William Cavendish's letter discussed previously, that confiding in a particular, trusted male friend about personal troubles and feelings served as a form of catharsis for early modern English men, and was openly recognized as doing so. As with William Cavendish and Lord Conway's letters, it can be inferred here as well that by writing and sending the letter Henry perceived that his news and emotional expression would be received sympathetically by his male friend and would not be met with derision or used against him.

[27] Henry Cavendish to George Savile, Pw1/642.
[28] Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood*, p.161.
[29] Ibid, p.175.
[30] Henry Cavendish to George Savile, Pw1/642.
[31] Ibid.

In her assessment of early modern English male friendship, Foyster points out that it was 'men who betray and cuckold other men' and that 'whilst men had a common interest in the preservation of the patriarchy, this was within a political arena in which men were engaged in a power struggle against each other for honour.'[32] While this assertion may be broadly representative of early modern English society, it also, however, suggests that the uniquely male situation of attaining and guarding honorable manhood was one which early modern English men may have felt only other men would be able to truly understand and thus be able to sympathize with.

Indeed, whereas Foyster's and other leading scholarship on early modern English male friendship emphasizes the importance of adhering to convention, as well as ideal male characteristics as key features of the nature of male friendship, it has been demonstrated here that some men were comfortable being vulnerable with one another and sought emotional intimacy as well as sympathy within their male friendships, particularly with regard to experiences of not meeting expectations of ideal manhood. The males in the correspondence examined felt they could be transparent with one another (at least in these particular friendships) about their failures to achieve and maintain this ideal manhood in various areas of their life such as marital relationships, as male heads of households, in managing finances, etc. In admitting these failures to each other, and in seeking emotional support to deal with them, these men were allowing themselves to subvert the perceived priorities of male friendship in the era.

It is apparent that these men recognized they did not want to always adhere to gender roles within their male friendships as it was explicitly acknowledged that sharing troubles and intense emotions with one another was a soothing, cathartic experience. It was expressly a relief to William to admit to his male friend his utter powerlessness and consumption by emotion, as well as to Henry to express his grief over his failure to keep an orderly household. Whilst Conway did not mention any comfort derived from his communication, his writing the letter demonstrates he clearly felt a desire to express his unhappiness with

[32] Foyster, *Manhood*, p.127.

his unconventional household and likely expected understanding and support in return. The gendered nature of the problems discussed by these early modern English men (as well as the problems involving clashes with their wives and daughters) indicates that they may have perceived the women in their lives as not being able to fully understand the emotional effects of these experiences of failed manhood, whereas other men could not only empathize with but likely sympathize with the feelings surrounding them. As such, the very anxieties which made early modern English men suspicious of and competitive with one another may also have provided them with a sense of connection in their shared experience of the struggle for honorable manhood.

This openness and vulnerability, however, was evidently something which early modern English men only felt comfortable with in certain friendships, as the anxiety these men exhibited at others within their social networks being aware of their situations indicates. Their unease suggests that they recognized how these issues posed threats to their manhood, and perceived other friends as those who they were engaged in a competition for honor and status with. As these letters containing seemingly free emotional expression are a minority within the collection examined it is likely that there may have been only a few male friends in an early modern English man's web of friendships with which he felt the sense of safety and emotional intimacy illustrated here.

It must be acknowledged, however, that sexual control, or cuckoldry, did not explicitly feature in any of the problems shared by these men (though it is possible that it may have been included in one of the 'thousand other stories' Lord Conway referred to). While it may simply not— and does not appear to— have been one of the issues experienced by these men, it is also possible that, due to cuckoldry being by far the most potentially destructive threat to an early modern English man's reputation this deeply humiliating condition may have been considered off-limits for discussing in a vulnerable manner even within emotionally close male friendships perceived as non-threatening. The rarity of court cases which address this issue suggest that cuckoldry was a problem which early modern English men wanted to keep

as quiet as possible unless forced by the talk of others to publicly address it.[33] Furthermore, scholarship on this topic explains that when early modern English men did have to face being labeled a cuckold, they were intently focused on restoring their own honor by placing all blame on their wives and exacting punishment which demonstrated their authority and regain of control over their wives to others.[34] As such, this time was likely considered an unsafe one to expose any vulnerable feelings or behavior which could further endanger a man's already tenuous manhood.

The Regulation of Intimacy and Emotional Expression

Manhood was nonetheless understood as important to preserve, as other correspondence examined illustrates that men perceived that regulating intimacy and emotional expression was important within male friendship, but with the experience of this being more nuanced than current scholarship would dictate. Within this complex negotiation of manhood and vulnerability, intimacy within male friendships appears to have been regarded by men as both something to strive for as well as something to guard against.

A letter from Lord Edward Osborne to his father, the Earl of Danby, provides a glimpse into the ways in which intimacy within male friendship was viewed by early modern English men. Describing to the Earl of Danby his recent visit to the home of Henry Cavendish, one of his and the Earl's friends, Lord Osborne recalled that 'My Lo Newcastle gave mee if possible a Kinder reception then ever & took mee into his closett alone & acquainted mee wth all the affaires of his famely as if I had been one of them'.[35] This remark indicates that the disclosure of personal information (which, in this case, included inheritance plans for the Duke's estate, potential marriage arrangements for his children, financial exchanges and

[33] Foyster, *Manhood*, p.167.
[34] Ibid, pp. 167,172.
[35] Lord Edward Osborne to Thomas Osborne, 4 October 1687. Family and Estate Collections, University of Nottingham Manuscripts and Special Collections, Pw1/662.

disagreement with his wife, etc.) was regarded as a sign of intimacy within male friendship, and that such signs were taken note of by men. His description of this treatment as kind, moreover, suggests that the intimate behavior was viewed by Lord Osborne as a positive sign in his friendship with the Duke of Newcastle; an indication of favor. In male friendships which were based upon instrumentality, a signal such as this indicating closeness and affection may have provided early modern English men with a sense of value with regard to their role in friendship as well as a bolstered sense of security and opportunity in the relationship, possessing both instrumental value and personal favor.

The pursuit of intimacy with a man was the objective of Mr. Murray, as a letter from Jo. [sic] White to John Holles, the Earl of Clare and later the third Duke of Newcastle, reveals. White reported to Holles that Mr. Murray 'says he has been Sometimes in the Lord Gl: company but has no intimacy with him'.[36] While, in this instance, John Holles was utilizing his friend, Mr. Murray to gauge the trustworthiness of another friend, his brother-in-law Lord Glenorchy, his strategy to have Mr. Murray cultivate closeness with Lord Glenorchy suggests that intimacy was viewed as a means to understand the feelings and true intentions of a friend, thereby providing a sense of safety in friendship. Monitoring the actions of Lord Glenorchy was not enough to allow Holles to feel secure in the relationship; having access to his intimate thoughts offered a further layer of protection.

The disclosure of personal information, however, was also clearly regarded as something to be regulated. Lord Osborne's note that the Duke's sharing such knowledge with him made it feel as though he 'had been one of them' highlights not only how the divulgence indicated special treatment to him, but also, that intimate information about family affairs was expected to be kept mainly within the family. His observation further in the letter 'I find my Lady Duchess & he are on very ill tearmes & he ownes it but too publickly' further demonstrates this notion and suggests that sharing such information widely

[36] Jo. White to John Holles, 27 July 1693. Family and Estate Collections, University of Nottingham Manuscripts and Special Collections, Pw1/361.

amongst your social contacts was perceived to have negative consequences.[37] The contrast between his appreciation of the Duke of Newcastle's disclosure of 'all the affaires of his famely' to him and his disapproval of the Duke's openness about his marital strife with others further demonstrates, as was asserted in the previous section, that it was considered safe for early modern English men to share such sensitive details only with certain, trusted friends.[38] Because, as previously explained, the primary responsibility of married men in early modern England was to successfully command an ordered household, the Duke's marital troubles would have had the potential to reflect poorly on his capability as a man and could therefore have been dangerous information in the hands of less sympathetic friends.

That Henry did not seem to feel he was sharing too widely, however, suggests that early modern English men had differing interpretations as to whom among their friends it was appropriate to disclose sensitive, personal information to (and possibly as to what constituted sensitive personal information). As Henry's dismay at his household issues being widely known in his letter to George Savile the same year (discussed in the previous section) demonstrates, however, he did feel discomfort at certain people knowing his situation and so may have perceived that he had safe, emotionally intimate relationships with all the friends he discussed it with. Henry's letter to George Savile made apparent, however, that he was aware his wife and daughter were spreading the news widely, so it is also probable that he felt it was unnecessary to restrict discussion of it with his friends as they would likely have already known. Discussing the problems from his perspective may have allowed Henry to feel that he was taking control of the narrative and could possibly have been seen as a means to reassert his manhood. As the following letter demonstrates, however, it was not just Lord Latimer that seemed to feel Henry was too open about his marital troubles.

While he responded sympathetically that he was 'very much troubled to heare of any division or disorder in yr family', another male friend, Thomas Shadwell, declared to the Duke that 'I can not nor is

[37] Lord Edward Osborne to Thomas Osborne, Pw 1/662.
[38] Ibid.

fitt for mee to looke into ye secret causes from whence this disorder springs'.[39] This assertion suggests that Thomas felt that the Duke's family affairs were not his business and that it would be inappropriate for him to engage in an intimate discussion concerning them. It is likely that his not being Henry's kin, and especially his lower social rank (being a poet and playwright patronized by Henry's father, William Cavendish, and later by Henry as well) played a part in Thomas's refusal to discuss the 'disorder' in any depth, as to do so may have been considered inappropriate.[40] That Henry was seemingly inviting his input, however, and that the remainder of the letter, while brief, consists of Thomas's affirming the Duke's honor as a male head of household suggests that the refusal was also informed by an understanding of societal expectations surrounding male behavior.

These expectations are visible in Thomas's assertion 'I am well assured tht yr Grace is a man of tht judgement & tht honour that yu will not bee in the wrong'.[41] This assurance demonstrates Thomas's awareness of ideal male attributes, and his perception that these attributes, such as superior judgement and morality, allowed men to behave rationally and morally thus ensuring their correctness in conflict. This statement, especially within the context of Thomas's refusal to discuss the problems, can be read as more than just a comforting assurance but also as a subtle reminder of proper male conduct. Thomas's affirmation of Henry's judgement and honor as a man discourages any pondering over or discussion of the causes of the familial disorder by asserting that, by simply being a man of reason and integrity, Henry could not be in the wrong. This reasoning implies that for Henry to be overcome with doubt about his judgement and therefore caught up in emotion— as he was presumably perceived as doing or being possibly on the verge of doing— could mean the risk of losing the male characteristics which Thomas was affirming. Thomas's discouragement of discussing it also promotes self-sufficiency, another ideal male quality in early modern England. As such, these comments and the refusal can arguably be interpreted as also being a tacit reminder to regulate emotional expression and intimacy.

[39] Thomas Shadwell to Henry Cavendish, 31 January 1688. Family and Estate Collections, University of Nottingham Manuscripts and Special Collections, Pw 1/248.
[40] Trevor Foulds, 'Nothing Less Than a Duke', p.38.
[41] Thomas Shadwell to Henry Cavendish, Pw 1/248.

Thomas's refusal to discuss the matter indicates that, similarly to Lord Latimer, he felt that the Duke was being too open about his household disorder. Unlike Latimer, however, he did not welcome the intimacy extended to him, suggesting that he did not view himself as one of those friends with whom it should be shared or simply did not approve of emotional openness and acknowledging vulnerability within male friendship. Thomas's response— whilst promoting adherence to societal expectations of men, and thereby discouraging the free feeling and expression of emotion— can also be read, however, as being meant to provide emotional support. The support was provided in such a way, however, as to allow himself and Henry to retain masculine identities. In addition to his affirmations of the Duke's masculine qualities, for example, Thomas's hope that 'my Lady Duchess who has ever been held a wise woman will have wisdome enough to find tht it is fitt for her to submit it to yr Grace in all affaires whatsoever' firmly directs the blame for the situation at Henry's wife and her current lack of wisdom rather than on Henry as an insufficient male head of household.[42] Here Thomas took what could have been considered a shameful situation for Henry as a man and spun it, whilst adhering to societal conventions surrounding male interactions, as an unfortunate circumstance which Henry was in through no fault of his own. This assurance of his intact manhood was likely intended to provide Henry with comfort in addition to its possibly being an implicit reminder of proper male behavior, as discussed above. Assurances such as this may have been a way for male friends who were not comfortable being as emotionally vulnerable or intimate with one another to still engage in providing emotional support whilst attempting to perform ideal manhood.

The regulation of emotional expression was evidently important to philosopher Henry More, as his description to his close friend and unofficial pupil, Lady Anne Conway of an experience in which he was overwhelmed with emotion in front of her husband, Lord Edward Conway and their friend, Mr. Van Helmont demonstrates. More reported to Anne that whilst in conversation with Mr. Vanhelmont, he had reflected upon how Vanhelmont had 'a hearte so good, so kind…and so desirous of the publick good, that

[42] Thomas Shadwell to Henry Cavendish, Pw1/248.

the consideration of that in conjunction with something els, putt me into such a passion of joy and benignity, that I could not for my life keep my eyes from letting down teares'.[43] More recalled that, being unable 'to supresse' his tears, he left the room 'thinking to rid my self of this passion'.[44] More's apparent frustration that he 'could not for' his 'life' hold his tears in indicates that he viewed this particular expression of emotion in front of his male friend as undesirable behavior.

His leaving the room and engaging in a conversation with Lord Conway to distract himself, however, did not rid him of his powerful urge to cry, as he explained to Anne; 'the more I endeavor'd to suppresse it the more it broke out, as old happinesse sometimes touches laughter in Melancholy men'.[45] This comparison of his crying with 'laughter in Melancholy' men suggests that More viewed the occurrence of his overwhelming feelings which could not be stifled in this instance as similar to experiencing a mental aberration, as melancholy was perceived in this period to be a mental affliction characterized by intense or irrational fear, sorrow, and delusions.[46] This connection of his emotional expression with a mental aberration, as well as his attempts to hide and stifle his crying again illustrate how More perceived this behavior as abnormal and embarrassing. If there was, as Bernard Capp suggests, more 'tolerance' for male tears among the lower ranks, this may not, therefore, have extended to situations in which a lower-ranked man shed tears in the company of elite men.[47] It also highlights, again, a distinct chain of emotions which has been observed in this chapter as being experienced by early modern English men; particularly how the experience of overwhelming emotions aroused feelings of anxiety and embarrassment. In this case, however, it was not just the experience of being overcome with emotion, as it was for Lord Conway (described in his letter to George Rawdon), but More's unintentional expression of them in front of male friends as well which induced feelings of discomfort and

[43] Henry More to Lady Anne Conway, 14 March 1670-71, in Marjorie Hope Nicolson and Sarah Hutton (e.d), *The Conway Letters: The Correspondence of Anne, Viscountess Conway, Henry More, and their Friends 1642-1684* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), pp.335-8.
[44] Henry More to Lady Anne Conway, pp.335-8.
[45] Ibid.
[46] Michael MacDonald, *Mystical Bedlam: Madness, Anxiety, and healing in seventeenth-century England* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1981), p.157.
[47] Capp, "Jesus Wept' But did the Englishman?', p.104.

embarrassment. Whereas Conway did choose to share his emotions with Rawdon, including his discomfort at having them, More clearly did not want to express his to his own male friends.

Lord Conway and Vanhelmont's reactions to More's tears suggest that they understood this outpouring of emotion would result in distress for More. After a reportedly surprised Lord Conway was informed by More that he was 'not [to] be troubled' because 'there was nothing tragicall in the buisinesse', he 'sent for a can of Norden ayle' and proceeded to change the subject to his business affairs, telling More about them 'amongst other passages'.[48] Following this, More recalled that after he had regained his composure Lord Conway took him 'down againe into the parlour and expressed his kindnesse to me in a glasse of Canary' where the three of them became 'pretty humoursomely merry, and I excused myself as well as I could to Mr Helmont for that unexpected passion'.[49] This recollection, and More's perception of the behavior as kind, suggests that Conway and Vanhelmont discerned More was embarrassed by his inability to suppress his tears, and thought that ignoring the emotional outburst and shifting focus would alleviate More's discomfort. As More reportedly became 'humoursomely merry' along with them afterwards, it appears this behavior did have a soothing effect on More.[50]

Rather than sympathetic acknowledgment or discussion of feelings which the male friends in the previous section appeared to be seeking, the 'kindness' which More perceived was extended to him here was in the form of a 'glass of Canary' and his friends looking the other way.[51] The crying was acknowledged but then quickly ignored, suggesting that these men considered it appropriate for More to restrain his emotions in that situation. His inability to control them in the beginning, however, was not met with shame or questioning of his manhood, but was responded to with perceived 'kindness', drawing attention again to how much more complex male friendships and interactions were than has been

[48] Henry More to Lady Anne Conway, pp.335-8.
[49] Ibid.
[50] Ibid.
[51] Ibid.

understood so far.[52] Like Thomas Shadwell's assurances of Henry Cavendish's ideal male qualities, these men purposefully overlooking More's outburst can also be seen as both a reminder of proper male behavior as well as an attempt to provide emotional support within male friendship whilst remaining within the perceived boundaries of early modern English manhood.

Significantly, this recollection of More's allows for a view of how Lord Conway, whose own emotional expressions and open vulnerability were explored in the previous section, responded to displays of intense emotion in male friends. As noted, Conway's reaction adhered to conventions surrounding male interactions in that he retained an image of reason and self-control and attempted to help More to regain his by disregarding the outburst and providing distraction from it. His presentation of self in this situation contrasts with his openness and willingness to discuss intense feelings with Rawdon. Lord Conway's friendship with Henry More does not appear to have been as close as his with Rawdon's, nor as close as More's with his wife, Anne. Conway may simply not have felt as close a connection to More, however, it is likely that Conway's higher social rank informed his behavior here as it has been demonstrated in this thesis's exploration of conflict that social rank clearly influenced interactions between the two men— particularly in restricting More's expression of anger towards Conway. Conway may have only felt comfortable appearing vulnerable and being emotionally intimate in male friendships of equal social standing, though his anxiety at others within his social circle knowing his household troubles illustrates that he was selective in sharing that side of himself with friends of equal rank as well. This contrasts with Henry Cavendish's apparent desire to share his troubles with the lower-standing Thomas Shadwell, however Thomas's refusal to discuss them, as well as Latimer's disapproval of Henry's transparency with others indicates that he may have been unique in his openness with friends and especially those of a lower social rank.

Conway's actions, as well as More's interpretation of them as being kind, indicate, however, that he felt understanding and forgiving of this passionate display of emotion, suggesting that he recognized

[52] Henry More to Lady Anne Conway, pp.335-8.

that this loss of emotional control happened to men occasionally. Conway's perceived kind reaction also indicates that overwhelming 'joy and benignity' were likely considered more acceptable emotions for friends of a lower social standing to express to their higher ranked friends than emotions such as anger and frustration.[53]

Distrust

Friendship in early modern England, as has been explained elsewhere in this thesis, tended towards a mutually advantageous relationship based on the fulfilment of concerns such as security and subsistence. Kin, both through blood and marriage, naturally formed a significant proportion of this support network, however, due to their roles in the public arena, men often had to branch out beyond their kin to get along and advance in life in such areas as 'government and public office, in the Church, in business, and in the professions [...]'.[54] This necessitated entering into instrumentally based friendships with other men whom they may not have known, or known very well, which appears to have caused anxiety as to the trustworthiness of these friends.

As such, evaluating the trustworthiness of a potential friend seems to have played a significant role in friendship formation for early modern English men. Lord Conway, for instance, perceived it important that the morality of a potential friend be confirmed before entering into a relationship, as letters to his male friends indicate. Writing to his brother-in-law, Sir John Finch about a potential friendship Conway felt would be beneficial for John to enter into, he explained that the friend in question was 'a person of the greatest honor and merit that ever I was acquainted with in my life'.[55] Similarly, in another recommendation, he wrote to his friend, Sir Edward Dering that he would like to persuade him to befriend

[53] Henry More to Lady Anne Conway, pp.335-8.
[54] Thomas, *The Ends of Life*, p.192.
[55] Lord Edward Conway to Sir John Finch, June 1665, in Marjorie Hope Nicolson and Sarah Hutton (e.d), *The Conway Letters: The Correspondence of Anne, Viscountess Conway, Henry More, and their Friends 1642-1684* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), Pp.239-40.

a man named Valentine Greatrakes in whom Conway had observed 'so much worth, and integrity'.[56] It is evident that having the character of a potential friend vouched for by someone trusted was considered by Conway, and likely the male friends he was writing to, to be of significance in deciding whether or not to enter into a friendship. The emphasis on honor and honesty in these character judgements reflects both the value early modern English men placed upon trustworthiness in a friend, as well as the unease felt about determining it in instrumentally based friendships.

It was not just the trustworthiness of friendship candidates that was a concern for early modern English men but also that of men with whom they were already in an established friendship. Recalling his recent meeting with Holles's friend, Mr. Murray, who, as noted previously, was reporting on the actions of Holles's known and potential enemies as well as acting as a messenger to them, White explained that Mr. Murray promised to continue seeking justice for Holles and assured him; 'I doe verily believe Mr M: is very sincere to yr Lordpp & speakes of you with ye greatest defferance & regard imaginable.'[57] These assurances indicate that, although Holles was in a friendship with Mr. Murray and utilizing him for the important task of spying on and communicating with his friends and enemies, he had doubts regarding Mr. Murray's loyalty and honesty and wanted his actions monitored as well. This distrust of Mr. Murray, and the suspicions towards Lord Glenorchy, discussed earlier, highlight again how the instrumental nature of many male friendships in which the friends may not have had much personal knowledge of or emotional attachment to one another could result in anxiety related to the safety of the relationship. With practical benefit being the primary concern, a friend who became dissatisfied might be persuaded to place their loyalty elsewhere if it was perceived there was more to be gained. To Holles's mind, friendship was clearly no guarantee of loyal service and friends (at least, particular ones), as well as enemies, must be kept an eye on.

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[56] Lord Edward Conway to Sir Edward Dering, 20 June 1666, in Marjorie Hope Nicolson and Sarah Hutton (e.d), *The Conway Letters: The Correspondence of Anne, Viscountess Conway, Henry More, and their Friends 1642-1684* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), Pp.274-5.

[57] Jo. White to John Holles, 27 July 1693. Family and Estate Collections, University of Nottingham Manuscripts and Special Collections, Pw1/361.

It is evident that Mr. Murray himself shared this view that friends could become enemies. Relaying to Holles communication that he had received from his brother, Murray explained that his brother saw 'my Lord Glenorchy', and 'writs that he [h]eard him express him selfe much in the favors of the Earl of Thanet and against your Lordp: …which surprised me very much'.[58] He reasoned that Lord Glenorchy may have been pretending to be against Holles and in agreement with his enemy, the Earl of Thanet, in order to 'color his designe' but assured Holles that when his brother visited him he would know more.[59]

Murray later updated Holles that because the Lord Glenorchy's father, the Earl of Breadalbane, had been assured to be 'so much your friend' he was inclined to believe that 'his Son shall serve you in being treu to what he so oft has said on that affair'.[60] He warned, however, that as the Earl of Breadalbane 'is angry at his son for his Expenses this may oblidge him to reiceve favors from others' who could be Holles's foes.[61] Murray's warning highlights again the perception that men could be very fickle in their friendships, being swayed towards wherever their own material and practical interests might best be served. Fulfilling personal interest was even considered enough of a desire to make a man enter into friendships with people working against the interests of his closest kin, as Murray's worry about Lord Glenorchy illustrates. For Holles, familial rivalry was a reality, as his main foe during this time, Lord Thanet, was his brother-in-law. Thanet was engaged in a legal battle against Holles to claim a share of their late father-in-law, the second Duke of Newcastle's estate which had been left entirely to Holles's wife and thus, by extension, to Holles. Given Holles's conflict with Thanet and the perception that a son might easily join those opposing his father's interests, it is unsurprising that Holles would be concerned about the genuineness of his other brother-in-law, Glenorchy's, promises of loyalty. Thus, the serving of

[58] R. Murray at London to John Holles**,** Earl of Clare [later 3rd duke of Newcastle] at Welbeck, 15 June 1693. Family and Estate Collections, University of Nottingham Manuscripts and Special Collections, Pw 1/353.
[59] R. Murray to John Holles, Pw1/353.
[60] R. Murray to John Holles, 27 July 1693. Family and Estate Collections, University of Nottingham Manuscripts and Special Collections, Pw1/356.
[61] R. Murray to John Holles, Pw 1/356.

one's own practical and material interests was evidently perceived by these men to be a foremost goal within friendship— if not the foremost goal— and, as such, could cause men to shift allegiances.

Conduct writer Jeremy Taylor, mentioned previously, considered friendship to be 'the marriage of souls' and counseled early modern English people to 'treat thy friend nobly'.[62] He did, however, recognize that betrayal was a possibility within friendship, and asserted; 'There are two things which a friend can never pardon, a treacherous blow and the revealing of a secret, because these are against the nature of friendship; they are the adulteries of it, and dissolve the union'.[63] That betrayal is addressed very briefly in Taylor's treatise amongst reflections on the virtues of friendship and counsel as to how to conduct the relationship wisely and honorably makes it seem as though treachery was considered a somewhat rare occurrence, and that people were mainly concerned with how to avoid mistakes in performing friendship rather than committing or guarding against genuine treachery. These types of concerns were seemingly important as indeed, the 'pretended friendship' which Henry More ranted about and which Lord Conway accused Lord Arlington of offering (explored in this thesis's conflict chapter) referred to instances in which friendship obligations were perceived as not being fulfilled rather than betrayal. The suspicion displayed by the men in these letters, as well as the perceived importance of assurances of the moral character of a potential friend, and the actions taken to prevent betrayal indicate, however, that this was a fairly significant preoccupation of early modern English men, as well as a source of anxiety. Indeed, in men's letters to close, trusted male friends explored earlier in this chapter, there was perceptible anxiety about other friends finding out sensitive information about them. While the early modern English people in this thesis's source base appear to have had a shared understanding that their friendships would not all live up to Taylor's 'marriage of souls' ideal, trust seems to have been in particular a concern for men due to the purely or largely instrumental nature of many of their friendships. It was their male friends whose trustworthiness and actions men were consumed with in these letters, anxiously attempting to discern whom among them they could and could not rely on to act in their favor.

[62] Taylor, *Friendship*, pp.63,67.
[63] Ibid, p.63.

It has been recognized elsewhere in this thesis that being— and being perceived by others as— an honorable and true friend could act as an avenue through which early modern English people achieved feelings of belonging, purpose, and value. It was suggested in the chapter on conflict, for instance, that Henry More's perception of himself as a good, true friend formed part of his self-identity, and served as a means through which he could attain feelings of worth and satisfaction. His hinting that people were questioning Lord Conway's friendship conduct indicates that he perceived, on the other hand, that being viewed as a poor friend could arouse feelings of deficiency, shame, and anxiety. John Holles was evidently aware that these feelings could be elicited from friendship and of how they could be utilized to influence men, as another letter from Holles to Mr. Murray indicates. After mentioning to Murray that if he heard of any further attempts by Lord Thanet or Thanet's 'Agents' to persuade Lord Glenorchy to betray him, Holles assured him that 'if yu continue to impart them to me it will confirm me in ye opinion I have of yr worth & friendship'.[64] Here, Holles explicitly acknowledged that trust was not a given but needed to be earned within their friendship. His expectation that Murray would want to prove his trustworthiness and value as a friend demonstrates that he perceived— and figured Murray likely did as well— that possessing these qualities and having them recognized by others was an achievement to strive for. It also indicates that an early modern English person's perceived worth as a friend was considered to directly correlate with their perceived worth as a person. This kind of motivational statement then could serve as an indirect warning that betrayal of a friend would reflect poorly on both a person's value as a friend and person and was likely another means by which Holles attempted to ensure friends acted in his favor. That he had Murray and other male friends watched and reported on, and perceived betrayal to be a realistic threat, however, suggests that he did not consider the reward of feelings of value from being deemed a good friend, or the fear of shame from being labeled a poor one enough to ensure trustworthiness in his male friends.

[64] John Holles to R. Murray, Pw1/358.

This letter also draws attention to social rank as it was Mr. Murray who was required to prove his trustworthiness in the friendship and not Holles. There is no indication in the letters between the two that Mr. Murray questioned or measured Holles's worth and trustworthiness or expected them to be proven. This indicates that due to his lower social rank it may not have been considered appropriate for Murray to explicitly demand evidence of these qualities from Holles.

Just as men's distrust of their male friends could be a source of significant worry, being on the other end of distrust could also be a distressing experience, as a letter from John Sheffield, the Marquis of Normanby to William Bentinck, the first Earl of Portland, demonstrates. Deeply unsettled that he was not being consulted to the same degree as friends were on parliamentary decisions, Lord Normanby lamented that neither the queen, king nor 'his ministers here have yet understood that I am more trusted or to be summond to ye Secretary's office' than others.[65] He felt that he should be 'entrusted' to hear the 'reasonable ground' for decisions right away rather than 'when presented to the Councell after others have digested them in a place of more private Councell'.[66] This was not because Normanby was concerned about having an opposing opinion, as he added that if he were able to discuss 'with the rest' he would then be 'silent at least afterwards' if he 'had the misfortune to differ with the rest' which he 'should hardly do', as they were all persons he 'value[d] extreamely'.[67] His displeasure at being excluded from the private discussions was so great that he threatened: 'unless this be soon rendered, I shall be compelled by the force of an unheard of ill usage to do what I regret at a thousand times more than any misfortune that can befall me'.[68] Normanby's passionate reaction and his promise to be silent if he disagreed suggests that his perturbation was less about making parliamentary decisions and more about a desire to be perceived as trustworthy by the other men, seen as capable of being one of the select, trusted few.

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[65] John Sheffield, Marquis of Normanby [later 1st Duke of Buckingham] London to William Bentinck [1st Earl of Portland], 15 May 1694. Family and Estate Collections, University of Nottingham Manuscripts and Special Collections, Pw A 1151/1-2.
[66] John Sheffield to William Bentinck, Pw A 1151/1-2.
[67] Ibid.
[68] John Sheffield to William Bentinck, Pw A 1151/1-2.

This was evidently how the Earl of Sunderland, Robert Spencer, interpreted it, whom Normanby had clearly also complained to, as he reported to Bentinck that he had assured Normanby that he was 'confident he is and will be as much trusted as any body'.[69] He later commented of Normanby, however, that 'all mankind is set against him even to my Lord Chamberlain who never was so against anybody.'[70] Despite Lord Sunderland's assurance to Normanby of his perceived trustworthiness, therefore, it is evident that these men did not trust or esteem Normanby in the way he wished and that his perception of this had a significant emotional impact on him. Having the trust and respect of these men would likely have resulted in practical benefits such as political advancement, and Normanby may therefore have been in pursuit of feelings of value, safety and security which such trust could potentially offer. His profound dismay at what he perceived as 'unheard of ill usage' by these men indicates, however, that their lack of trust also impacted his sense of self-worth.[71] This response suggests that he interpreted their distrust as a personal affront, highlighting again the perceived link between one's value as a friend and one's value as a person in early modern England.

Whereas Normanby only suspected that he was distrusted by male friends who assured him of the opposite, Nicholas Whitehead, on the other hand, was explicitly accused of being untrustworthy, as a letter from him to Andrew Clayton, the steward for the second Duke of Newcastle, illustrates. Addressing an accusation from a Sir Frances Topp that he had stolen money of the Duke of Newcastle's after lying about the price of crops, Whitehead declared that he could not imagine how Sir Frances could 'thinke mee so great a knave as to Account for soe Injustly to his Grace'.[72] He insisted that if Clayton or the Duke were to believe what his accusers 'say Agaynst mee, I shall be branded wth' that 'wch I was neve[r]

[69] Robert Spencer [2nd Earl of Sunderland] to William Bentinck [1st Earl of Portland], n.d. [c. May 1694]. Family and Estate Collections, University of Nottingham Manuscripts and Special Collections, Pw A 1232/1-2.
[70] Robert Spencer [2nd Earl of Sunderland] to William Bentinck [1st Earl of Portland], at Althorpe, Northamptonshire, August 1694. Family and Estate Collections, University of Nottingham Manuscripts and Special Collections, Pw A 1240/1-3/2.
[71] John Sheffield to William Bentinck, Pw A 1151/1-2.
[72] Nicholas Whitehead to Andrew Clayton, 9 August 1668. Family and Estate Collections, University of Nottingham Manuscripts and Special Collections, Pw1/515.

gultye off'.[73] These passionate, defensive statements suggest that being distrusted by these men would have had serious practical consequences for Whitehead, resulting in his possibly having to pay back money he claimed never to have had, as well as his likely termination from his employment, and consequent inability to find other work due to being 'branded' a dishonest and immoral man.

Whitehead's further comments indicate, however, that the potential loss of trust in him would have also resulted in emotional consequences aside from anxiety over practical and material concerns. His lamentation, for instance, that 'Tis very sad tht after soe many yeares service… I should bee trubled…by those persons whoe I was commanded to prosecutt upon his Graces Account' suggests that this incident had caused Whitehead to feel unappreciated by the Duke, as if his many years of good service should have allowed him by now to be regarded as a faithful friend who was beyond distrust.[74] While this mention of his sadness being caused by people he had been 'commanded to prosecutt upon his Graces Account' was probably meant to remind Clayton and the Duke (whom Clayton would have relayed the message to) that the people who had accused him were untrustworthy themselves, it also indicates that he felt upset at the thought of the Duke regarding him to be the same as the people who presumably had acted unfaithfully towards or performed services poorly for the Duke.

Additionally, there is further nuance to the performance of services within friendships for men of the lower and middling ranks as it has been demonstrated that their identities were significantly informed by their occupations. As Foyster has pointed out, for instance, 'the honour of certain trades and occupations was proudly asserted' by men of these social ranks.[75] It is likely then that Whitehead's seeming desire for appreciation and recognition of his 'many yeares [of] service' may also reflect pride that he took in his work and how he conducted it, alongside pride in his performance of friendship. Within his male friendships, performance in his occupation (especially in relation to his ability to aid friends

[73] Nicholas Whitehead to Andrew Clayton, Pw 1/515.
[74] Ibid.
[75] Foyster, *Manhood*, p.7.

through his occupation) would have been closely connected to Whitehead's ability to perform desirable friendship, subsequently informing his identity and perceived value as a man.

Similarly, William Melbourne and James Bell— both employed by the second Duke of Newcastle to collect rent from his tenants— seemed to have interpreted distrust and anger towards their performance of friendship services as an attack on their personal honor and worth. In response to a letter from Clayton which informed the men that the Duke was 'in a great passione' with them for failing to collect rent from his tenants, believing they had done so purposely out of sympathy for them, Melbourne and Bell asserted that if they had not attempted to perform this service to the best of their ability they would 'be very untrustworthy and unfaithfull to him that intrusts us'.[76] They further insisted 'wee have done what possibly both in our Honor both by faire and finole meanes to gett it and cannot'.[77] These comments suggest that they felt it imperative to prove that they understood that their friend, the Duke's, trust in them was an honor to be repaid with trustworthiness, and that betrayal was unacceptable. Their insistence that they had acted 'in our Honor' in performing this service also underscores again the belief that a man's perceived honor as a friend was affected by his perceived honor as a person, and vice versa; because Melbourne and Bell had honor as men they would thus perform friendship duties honorably. While defending themselves against the practical consequences of the Duke's distrust would have likely been a primary concern for these men, their assertion of their honor also hints that, similarly to Whitehead, they wished to preserve others' perceptions of them as trustworthy, valuable friends as this contributed to their personal sense of self-worth.

Ultimately, their recognition that to have done what the Duke believed they did would be untrustworthy, along with the perceptions of other men in this source base that acting unfaithfully was unjust and that being a true friend gave a man worth, underlines that these early modern English men appeared to share an understanding that betrayal of a friend was morally wrong and deplorable. Despite

[76] William Melbourne and James Bell to Andrew Clayton, 5 March 1667. Family and Estate Collections, University of Nottingham Manuscripts and Special Collections, Pw1/475.
[77] William Melbourne and James Bell to Andrew Clayton, Pw1/475.

this, men were evidently still significantly afraid of treachery and on guard against it within their male friendships, suggesting again that they perceived at least a significant amount of their male friends as having the potential to betray their trust.

The Earl of Sunderland, Robert Spencer, was evidently on guard against the disloyalty of male friends. In another letter to his friend, William Bentinck, Lord Sunderland reported the positive results of the action he had taken to quell ill talk of him by male friends. He relayed that he had had 'very good success' when he had confronted the men with 'what I heard they had said of me'; disclosing that they all denied or renounced it, and that one of the men, Montagu, 'positively denies everything, so much as to protest he thinks they should be undone without me, that he will be guided and governed by me, with abundance of that kind which I could not hear'.[78] He concluded that 'In short all that company pretend to be more zealous than ever, and I hope will take warning'.[79] While his observation that the men 'pretend', and his reference to Montagu's professions of veneration as 'abundance…which I could not hear' indicate that he did not believe their denials, and perceived their claims of trustworthiness as insincere, Lord Sunderland was evidently pleased with their outward submission to him. As his friends speaking ill about him behind his back could have thrown doubt on or presented a challenge to his reputation as an honorable man, it is unsurprising that Sunderland would have felt the need to take action to extinguish the talk, and would have perceived their obedience to be a 'very good success'.

That Lord Sunderland's confrontation of the men seemingly forced them into submission and even inspired one to declare devotion to him illustrates how much more power and influence he held as a friend than Nicholas Whitehead, William Melbourne and James Bell. Lord Sunderland was evidently considered a necessary friend to these men likely due to his high social rank, and the power and resources which accompanied it, whereas Whitehead and the others would have been able to offer far less and, as such, could only hope that Clayton and the Duke would believe in their professed innocence. Lord Sunderland's

[78] Copy letter from Robert Spencer to William Bentinck, 18 August 1695. Family and Estate Collections, University of Nottingham Manuscripts and Special Collections, PwA 1249/1-3.
[79] Copy letter from Robert Spencer to William Bentinck, PwA 1249/1-3.

choice to confront the men suggests that he expected it to result in a favorable resolution and indicates that he was aware of his great instrumental value to them. This contrast between Lord Sunderland's confidence and Whitehead's fear that he would be branded guilty suggests that instrumental value had a significant impact on whether men would enter into and stay in friendships with one another. Similarly to the example explored in the conflict chapter, in which Lord Conway suggested that Sir John Finch re-enter into a friendship with a powerful man who had previously disappointed him, this illustrates that instrumental value could, and clearly did sometimes supersede personal feelings within male friendship.

This was evidently the case even when the personal feeling was distrust rather than simply dislike; as similarly to John Holles, Lord Sunderland continued to be friends with these men despite not trusting them and seeming to remain vigilant so as to prevent any betrayal. Spencer also clearly did not feel it necessary to trust Normanby, though his empty assurance of Normanby's trustworthiness indicates that he was gaining certain benefits from the friendship that he aimed to preserve. The main concern of both Sunderland and Holles appears to have been ensuring that the men acted in their favor rather than building trust with them. In these cases the benefits offered by such instrumental friendships as feelings of security with regard to material and practical interests were perceived as outweighing feelings of insecurity towards a friend. This suggests that though trustworthiness was clearly valued, hoped for, and perceived as a key characteristic of an ideal friend (as the men in these sources both looked for it in others and strove to prove they possessed it themselves), that distrust was accepted by early modern English men as an almost intrinsic feature of the emotional experience of male friendship.

Conclusions

This chapter suggests the need for a deeper, more nuanced understanding of seventeenth-century English male friendship by employing an emotions lens and bringing to light the challenges this source base presents to existing understandings of early modern male friendship in key scholarship. The experience of emotional intimacy and emotional expression within male friendship was shown to have

been far more complex than has previously been suggested. Whereas prominent scholars assert that male friendship was viewed as a space in which to develop and display ideal masculinity, marked by competitiveness and apprehensions about intimacy, it was demonstrated that men sometimes chose to break away from the established ideals associated with the relationship and engaged in emotional intimacy and vulnerability with one another by discussing struggles and failures of manhood. These men exhibited unease, however, at the prospect of their circumstances becoming more widely known and it was therefore concluded that there were few male friends within an early modern English man's social circle with whom he would have felt secure in divulging such information and openly expressing strong emotions. The regulation of intimacy and emotional expression was also explored and it was argued that emotional closeness was both viewed as an indication of favor and security in friendship as well as a potential threat to manhood. The seventeenth-century English men in this source base exhibited diverse levels of comfort with intimacy across various friendships. Regardless of their individual degrees of comfort with intimacy, however, male friends who appeared to possess some sentimental affection for one another seemed inclined to provide emotional support, whether this was by overlooking a perceived inappropriate emotional expression rather than condemning it or assuring a friend of their fully preserved manhood. These responses, it was argued, can be interpreted as instances where friendship was employed to reinforce male identity, but, also, as strategies through which men navigated the hazardous terrain of offering emotional support to one another without compromising their perceived masculinity. As the fulfillment of material and practical concerns was the primary objective of male friendship, however, men were nevertheless concerned with preventing betrayals by friends enticed by more advantageous benefits offered by adversaries. Distrust was revealed to be a pervasive element in the dynamics of utilitarian friendships between strangers and men who did not share a tight bond. This was also, however, shown to be not merely a perceived notion but an actual possibility even in friendships among close male kin. It was concluded that, despite the value and priority assigned by men to trustworthiness in friendship, distrust was perceived as an almost inherent facet of the emotional landscape of seventeenth-century English male friendship, making the risks undertaken by some men who utilized these relationships for

open emotional expression, potentially characterized as effeminate, and sharing experiences of failed manhood that could be used against them all the more significant. As shall be seen in the following chapter, the female friendships examined for this research similarly highlight the necessity for subtlety and intricacy within current historiographical interpretations of the relationship.

Chapter 3

'Intirely affectionate'? The Emotional Experience of Female Friendship

Although inspired by a woman's queries to him on the nature of friendship, Jeremy Taylor's treatise only addresses women in a brief section and appears otherwise to be intended for a male readership.[1] Women are, furthermore, only considered in this brief section in relation to men; Taylor explains why he, unlike many others, thinks it possible to admit women into 'noble friendship', and weighs their potential value as friends to men. Friendship between women was evidently not thought worth contemplating by Taylor.[2] Samuel Masters' discourse on friendship has no mention of women and is also clearly aimed at male friends.[3] The disinterest in female friendship displayed by these early modern English male authors is reflected in the historical scholarship. Female friendship in early modern England has, as Laura Gowing points out, 'often been invisible to the historian's eye'.[4] Just as in early modern England women were inextricably linked to their identities as wives and mothers, the bulk of historical interest has focused on understanding women in terms of these relationships. It is only fairly recently that historians have recognized the significance of exploring women's relationships with one another as a means of gaining a deeper insight into the lives of early modern English women.

The majority of scholarship on early modern English female friendship, discussed in detail in this thesis's introductory chapter, emphasizes the sentimental, affectionate nature of women's bonds.[5] As was noted in that discussion, however, though historians acknowledge the significance of emotion in comprehending female friendship there have been no analyses yet conducted from an informed emotions history approach. The lack of detailed analyses of individual female relationships was also highlighted, as

[1] Celia A. Easton, 'Excusing the Breach of Nature's Laws: The Discourse of Denial and Disguise in Katherine Philips' Friendship Poetry', *Restoration: Studies in English Literary Culture, 1660-1700*, 14:1 (1990).
[2] Taylor, *Friendship*, pp.60-2.
[3] Masters, *A discourse of friendship*, pp.1-26.
[4] Gowing, 'The Politics of Women's Friendship', p.132.
[5] E.g. Crawford and Gowing, *Women's Worlds,* pp.1-314; Herbert, *Female Alliances*, pp.1-256; Mendelson and Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England*, pp.1-436.

most studies offer only brief glimpses into numerous friendships. Moreover, it was observed that despite Laura Gowing's call to scholars to investigate whether female friendships were understood as instrumental, akin to elite men's relations, historians have yet to explore utilitarian female friendship in any depth.[6]

Despite increasing steps towards examining this area, the early modern English historiography is evidently in need of further scholarship on female friendship. This chapter will, therefore, make a start on addressing these gaps in the research. It aims to enhance understandings of female friendship by employing an emotions analysis to capture early modern English women's experiences more comprehensively. Furthermore, it will conduct thorough examinations of long-term individual friendships, exploiting the richness of the source material, which offers substantial correspondence between women in particular relationships. It will also delve into the largely uncharted utilitarian dimension of the female friendship experience. This will first be accomplished by exploring the expectation and experience of emotional intimacy, contentment, and support within female friendship, paying particular attention to the distinct phases of the enduring tie of Lady Lettice Wendy and her sister-in-law, Lady Emma Willoughby, a friendship that has already received some attention in the introduction and conflict chapter of this thesis. From there, the chapter will examine a long-term elite utilitarian female friendship between Francis Cavendish, wife of Henry Cavendish and Duchess of Newcastle, and Elizabeth Percy, the Dowager Countess of Northumberland, which evidences that women sometimes established connections with one another solely for instrumental purposes, yet felt pressure to outwardly conform to the conventions of female friendship which dictated that these relationships should be emotionally intimate and companionate. Comparisons with the emotional experience of male friendship will be drawn throughout the chapter, with the intention of enriching understandings of both types of relationships.

[6] Gowing, [reviewed work] *When Gossips Meet,* p.2.

The Expectation and Experience of Emotional Intimacy, Satisfaction, and Support

The initial exchange of letters between Lady Lettice Wendy and her new sister-in-law, Lady Emma Willoughby, indicate that expectations of emotional intimacy, satisfaction, and support were present at the outset of the formation of female friendship. Welcoming Lady Emma to the family, Lady Lettice rejoiced that her 'deare', and only, 'Brother', Francis Willoughby, 'hath at last Pitcht on one soe suteing to him'.[7] She begged that Emma 'give ths paper leave to kisse yr hands fro mee, & to carry my happiest wishes to yu', and shared that she hoped 'I shall never be wanting in wht I may to approve my selfe yr most affectionate sister and faithfull servant'.[8] The women may not yet have met in person, as Lettice's wish to 'p'sonally…express my joy to yu & to sattisfie my eyes wth tht I have soe much thirsted after' suggests.[9] She noted that she must, however, 'wait for tht: till time offers an opportunity'.[10] Lettice's warm welcome highlights an implicit assumption that she and Emma should, and would, share an emotional connection. Though they had possibly not yet met (and, in any case, evidently did not know one another well at this point as subsequent correspondence reveals), Lettice had already professed herself to be 'affectionate' and 'faithfull' and expressed a hope that she would never falter in these qualities throughout their relationship. In this instance, Lettice made a clear and unequivocal commitment to Emma, pledging not only her affection, but also her unwavering support to the best of her abilities. Lettice's keen desire to meet Emma in person and her expression of 'joy', furthermore, underscore the anticipation that that this relationship would be a source of mutual happiness.

Lettice Wendy's sister, Katherine Winstanley—whose correspondence with Lettice and Emma, as noted in the introduction, has largely not survived— also made an early effort to cultivate a sense of warmth and intimacy in her relationship with Emma. She similarly declared herself as being 'intirely

[7]Lettice Wendy to Emma Willoughby, 4 February [1668]. Family and Estate Collections, University of Nottingham Manuscripts and Special Collections, Mi Av 143/36/1.
[8] Lettice Wendy to Emma Willoughby, Mi Av 143/36/1.
[9] Ibid.
[10]Ibid.

affectionate' towards Emma and conveyed the immense happiness she, her brother and 'all his Relations have in yu'.[11] This letter may not have been the first, as Katherine's 'Disturbance of a line or two' was 'in harty thanks' for Emma's 'affectionate favores'. [12] The date being the year of Emma and her husband, Francis's marriage and their seeming lack of familiarity with one another, however, indicate that it is among their earliest correspondence. Both Katherine and Emma then were evidently taking steps to forge an emotional bond with each other in this period.

Katharine informed Emma in the letter that her son, Jemme, was 'very well' and shared that she had 'bin much concernd lest yu caught cold'.[13] These comments indicate a desire on Katharine's part to foster a deeper connection between them by introducing conversation topics. While it is unclear whether Lettice and Katharine already held deep feelings for Emma or simply felt obliged to perform such sentiments, ensuing correspondence reveals that these initial efforts to nurture intimacy did indeed give rise to strong emotional attachments. It is possible that women regarded their early displays of sentiment as a means of cultivating affection for each other, with the expectation that genuine feelings would naturally develop and deepen over time.

Lettice and Katharine's expressions of affection for Emma highlight significant distinctions in the formation of male and female friendships. In the sources examined, male friends often described themselves or others they were endorsing as 'faithful', or as having 'honor', 'merit', 'worth', or 'integrity' at the outset of friendship (though, as has been demonstrated in this thesis, male friends' loyalty and sincerity was not taken at face value). The primary focus lay in assessing how faithfully and honestly a man would serve a potential friend, with mutual affection not emerging as a requirement or even a desired outcome. Within this source base there are only two instances where men express 'affection' for each other and both occur within long-established friendships.[14] Though the only examples

[11] Katherine Winstanley to Emma Willoughby, 1 November 1668. Family and Estate Collections, University of Nottingham Manuscripts and Special Collections, Mi Av 143/35/1.
[12] Katharine Winstanley to Emma Willoughby, Mi Av 143/35/1.
[13] Ibid.
[14] Henry Cavendish to Thomas Osborne, Pw1/538; Thomas Baines to Lord Edward Conway, pp.281-2.

of male friendship formation in this collection involve non-kin friends, the infrequent use of the term 'affection' restricted to familiar friends suggests that that it was not an expected sentiment even within kinship relations, such as brothers-in-law. A declaration of affection at the inception of a male friendship would likely have been perceived as disingenuous and regarded with suspicion.

These early letters functioned not only as a means of initiating a relationship but also as a method of maintaining connection between face-to-face encounters. Lettice thanked Emma a few months after her congratulatory letter for 'tht time of enjoyment we had' when Emma and Francis visited Lettice at her home, Haslingfield, and professed gratefulness that Emma had been 'pleased to make a favorable constitution of all Haselingfiels faillings'.[15] Lettice's gratitude for Emma's warm reception of her home is further indication that the two had either not met in person prior to the engagement or, if they had, had very limited familiarity with each other, as it suggests that this was Emma's first time at Haslingfield. If this indeed marked her first visit, it was the first of many which are mentioned as either having occurred or being hoped for throughout their correspondence. Haslingfield would, as Lettice insisted in a later letter, always provide hospitality to Emma,' whilst I am Mrs their'.[16]

These visits appear to have played a pivotal role in strengthening their bond. References in their letters to subjects not previously broached imply that they devoted a substantial portion of their time to conversing about personal feelings and sharing updates about kin and acquaintances. In-person interactions also offered the opportunity to discuss sensitive subjects privately. Lettice mentioned, a few years into their friendship, for example, wanting to acquaint Emma with something about her nephew, Stuart, which was 'not fit to commit to paper', and suggested that Katherine, who was staying with Emma at the time, 'may know wch I meane'.[17] Lettice was sure she 'never told any body els'.[18] In-person visits,

[15] Lettice Wendy to Emma Willoughby, 5 August [1668]. Family and Estate Collections, University of Nottingham Manuscripts and Special Collections, Mi Av 143/36/13.
[16] Lettice Wendy to Emma Willoughby, 1 July [1670]. Family and Estate Collections, University of Nottingham Manuscripts and Special Collections, Mi Av 143/36/12.
[17] Lettice Wendy to Emma Willoughby, 29 December 1673. Family and Estate Collections, University of Nottingham Manuscripts and Special Collections, Mi Av 143/36/21.
[18] Lettice Wendy to Emma Willoughby, Mi Av 143/36/21.

therefore, served as occasions in which to deepen intimacy through exchanging secrets and information which was too intimate to risk writing down. As indicated by Lettice's later remark that 'writing' to her 'Deare freinds tis a kinde of conversing wth them', face-to-face interactions were seen as more natural and preferable. Nonetheless, letters served as the most effective means to sustain connection during periods of physical separation.[19] Their regular exchange of correspondence demonstrates the importance they attached to the continual cultivation of their relationship.

It is apparent that nurturing and sustaining a deep emotional bond was a central focus in these friendships. Even the practical aspects of female friendship seem to have been interwoven with the anticipation of emotional closeness and contentment. The fulfilment of obligations, such as aiding one another in childbirth, appears to have been regarded as an opportunity to express sentiments through actions. Lettice asserted, for example, that, 'Truly' when Emma was ready to 'command tht Duty' of her with the birth of her first child, she would not send her daughters to do it for her but desired 'to doe it my selfe in P'son' because she did not like the idea of 'p'forming it by Deputy'.[20] This comment indicates that Lettice believed her active involvement in the birthing process, rather than delegating it to her daughters, illustrated a heightened level of care. It suggests her sincere investment in Emma's wellbeing, motivating her to personally ensure that Emma's childbirth experience was as safe and comfortable as possible. Given that this occurred during the initial stages of their friendship, Lettice's demonstration of commitment to Emma's welfare may have played a significant role in cementing the strength of their bond.

Jane Cavendish Cheyne similarly used practical aid as a means of illustrating her deep concern for her sister-in-law, the Countess of Ogle (and later Duchess of Newcastle), Frances Cavendish. Jane reported that she had seen and tended to Frances's 'deare Brother' who was suffering from an injured leg,

[19] Lettice Wendy to Emma Willoughby, 13 December [1673]. Family and Estate Collections, University of Nottingham Manuscripts and Special Collections, Mi Av 143/36/20.
[20] Lettice Wendy to Emma Willoughby, 5 May [1670]. Family and Estate Collections, University of Nottingham Manuscripts and Special Collections, Mi Av 143/36/3.

and assured Frances that she had been 'very perticuler with him beecaus I wish him as well as hee can with himself, a long Life & a speedy recovery'.[21] She promised that she would see him 'once a fortnight' and that she would 'writ of him againe'.[22] There is a similar sense here that the assistance she offered was not solely out of necessity but motivated in large part by affection. Jane's reassuring tone suggests that she aimed to convey to Frances to that her actions were not only about assisting an injured kin member but about caring for Frances's emotions. It was likely because Jane knew how 'deare' Frances's brother was to her that she took such 'perticuler' care of him.[23]

The men within this source base also endeavored to establish their value as a friend through the fulfillment of obligations. For men, showcasing their dedication to a friend often had the potential to yield practical or material benefits, such as career advancement, educational opportunities, or patronage. These kinds of opportunities, however, were largely not accessible to women in early modern England.[24] Nevertheless, earning the favor of a friend due to devoted service might enhance the likelihood of receiving more substantial assistance in return. As sisters-in-law, however, these women were already bound by kinship ties to provide mutual support. This suggests that the care they took in signifying their devotion to one another was also simply in the interest of building an emotional connection for its own sake.

The performance of obligations could also serve to strengthen female friendship ties by providing opportunities for pleasure and amusement. While Lady Lettice referred to assisting Emma in childbirth as a 'Duty', it is evident that she also approached it with a sense of enjoyment. For example, in preparation for the birth, Lady Emma left 'Double Cloathes' and a 'courses diaper' with Lettice and Katherine to assemble for her.[25] The pieces for the diaper, however, had either been lost or were never provided by

[21] Lady Jane Cheyne to Frances Cavendish, Countess of Ogle, 2 July 1668. Family and Estate Collections, University of Nottingham Manuscripts and Special Collections, Pw 1/90.
[22] Lady Jane Cheyne to Frances Cavendish, Pw 1/90.
[23] Ibid.
[24] Crawford and Mendelson, *Women in Early Modern England*, p.301.
[25] Lettice Wendy to Emma Willoughby, 5 August [1668]. Family and Estate Collections, University of Nottingham Manuscripts and Special Collections, Mi Av 143/36/13.

Emma in the first place. Lettice, in response, inquired if Emma could 'finde it ot some way that yu left noe more' and jested, 'els yr workwomen have reason to be ill thought of; & loose yr Custome'.[26] Lettice clearly saw this mishap as an opportunity to bond through humor. Since Lettice expected that her friendship with Emma would bring them both joy, it is conceivable that the necessary practical obligations that came with it were also regarded as chances to pursue happiness and strengthen their connection. The practical aspects of these female friendships were, therefore, intrinsically linked to expectations of emotional intimacy and satisfaction. These women harnessed the performance of their obligations as a means to forge stronger bonds and derive pleasure, demonstrating how early modern English women sought fulfilling emotional ties in their lives and recognized that such connections could be cultivated through female friendships.

This desire for emotional connection is also evident in Lettice's emphasis on authenticity within her friendship with Emma. Lettice wrote to Emma, for example, that she was her 'Brothers Sister in not loving Complements' and that she hoped 'wht pases betwixt us is reall & tht it deserves a better name yn Complement'.[27] Lettice's wish for sincerity between herself and Emma may reflect an awareness that because women were expected to form close ties with their female relatives, expressions of affection and sentiment in a female friendship may sometimes have been simply performances of convention rather than demonstrations of genuine feelings. Indeed, Lettice's articulation of affection in her earliest correspondence with Emma, when they either did not know or hardly knew one another, was most likely performative even though, as it appears, she did truly intend for them to become close. The expectation of intimacy in female friendship then may have caused some anxiety for women as to whether declared sentimental feelings in these relationships were sincere.

Lettice's attitude towards compliments here also mirrors broader societal perspectives on flattery and genuineness in friendship. Jeremy Taylor, for example, instructed his readers to 'praise' a friend only

[26] Lettice Wendy to Emma Willoughby, Mi Av 143/36/13.
[27] Ibid.

for 'worthy purposes and for just causes, and in friendly measures; too much of that is flattery'.[28] In a similar vein, Samuel Masters warned that 'the most common and dangerous imposter in *friendship* is the Flatterer, who like *Jacob,* appears in the dress of a Brother, and with a smooth voice supplants and betrays him…to allure and decoy a *friend* into a prey.'[29] Concern about flattery can even be observed in letter-writing manuals such as Thomas Hill's 1691, *The Young Secretary's Guide: or, A Speedy help to learning in two parts*. An example 'Letter of Consolation to a Friend in Adversity', provides a template on how to attempt to comfort a friend who has experienced 'false Friends, or rather Flatterers, that chattered and sung to your Morning-wake in the Summer season of your Prosperous state', but whom had later 'taken Wing at the approach of rising Storms'.[30] Friends who engaged in flattery were perceived by these male social commentators as dishonest and motivated primarily by self-interest.

These concerns suggest that being involved with such a friend was perceived as having significant ramifications. This notion can be discerned in the male friendships explored throughout this thesis. William Cavendish, for example, believed that his dire financial situation was the result of his being abandoned by friends who had shown great appreciation for him when he held power but had little interest in supporting him during times of adversity. Likewise, Lord Sunderland expressed a strong aversion to compliments and pledges of devotion from a male friend whom he believed had threatened his reputation by speaking ill of him behind his back, though he was pleased with the friend's outward obedience, nonetheless. Lord Sunderland seemed to feel his awareness of the false compliments served as a protective measure, keeping him vigilant against potential betrayal. The primary concern in these instances appears to revolve around the practical and material consequences of being involved with a friend who employs flattery for personal gain. The anxieties of these men regarding insincerity in friendship leading to betrayal and difficulties echo the apprehensions expressed in conduct literature.

[28] Taylor, *Friendship*, p.66.
[29] Masters, *A discourse of friendship*, pp.29-30.
[30] Hill, *The Young Secretary's Guide*, p.6.

It was argued in the conflict chapter of this thesis that the early modern friends in this source base, such as Lady Lettice Wendy, were cognizant of the prevailing societal norms regarding friendship conduct. It is worth considering specifically here, however, women's awareness of prescriptions espoused in conduct manuals and treatises primarily focused on male friendships. Lettice's desire for sincerity does not appear to stem from concerns about betrayal and material repercussions, but rather from a yearning for a genuine emotional connection achieved through authenticity. Her recognition, however, that compliments within friendship might indicate a lack of sincerity, and her hope the mutual admiration between her and Emma 'deserves a better name yn Complement' suggest that she shared similar feelings of apprehension and disgust towards flattery as the male friends and authors in this source base.[31] Certainly, she knew felt the same way as her brother, as her acknowledgement that she was her 'Brothers Sister in not loving Complements', demonstrates.[32] Lettice's perspective here illustrates that women were well-acquainted with models of ideal noble friendship put forth in conduct literature, and that these ideals informed how they understood their relationships with female friends.

This is hardly surprising when considering that, while women of the middling and upper ranks had abundant societal guidelines on their roles as wives, mothers, and mistresses of the house, there was no equivalent body of literature addressing female-female friendship.[33] As previously mentioned in this chapter, Samuel Masters' discourse made no mention of women, and although Jeremy Taylor's treatise was created in response to a woman's inquiries about the proper conduct of friendship, Taylor only briefly considered female friends in the context of their potential utility to men, and did not give any thought to relationships between women. Female friendships, for the most part, were not a subject of focus in popular literature outside of portrayals of gossips, which were concerned with the dangers women's talk posed to men.[34] This omission is likely rooted in the fact that early modern English society did not assign as much significance to female bonds as it did to male ties. Male friendships provided men

[31] Lettice Wendy to Emma Willoughby, Mi Av 143/36/13.
[32] Ibid.
[33] Crawford, *Friendship and Love*, p.48.
[34] Foyster, *Manhood*, pp.60-61.

with the means to earn livelihoods, were perceived as politically important, and were understood as a vital tool for shaping male identity, thus crucial to upholding patriarchal authority.

In addition to the societal preoccupation with male alliances, it is possible that women also sought guidance from men in this area due to the belief held by most male authorities that friendship, in its highest form, was simply unattainable for women, owing to perceived moral and intellectual inferiority.[35] As explained in this thesis's chapter on conflict, idealized higher friendship was understood as an enriching bond grounded not solely in mutual practical gain but also in mutual moral refinement and growth, deemed achievable between individuals of similar age, station, and intellect.[36] The belief that this relationship was unavailable to women was not shared by all men as, noted previously, Jeremy Taylor took the view that women could participate in such friendships. It was, however, 'virtuous', 'brave', and faithful women, specifically, which Taylor felt 'may as well' be allowed into this domain of friendship.[37] He acknowledged the various ways in which women were less useful to men than male friends but conceded that women possessing such perceived positive attributes could still be of use in safeguarding men's secrets, and offering love and pleasant conversation, and could therefore be 'partners in a noble friendship'.[38] This vision of noble friendship is presented by Taylor as something special and desirable that could be accessible to women, albeit in limited ways, if they were among those who were able to transcend the limitations ascribed to their sex and cultivate characteristics prized by men.

Taylor's perspective here is exemplary of early modern English male attitudes towards women more widely. Men in early modern England consistently conveyed to women that they were incapable of behaving as ethically or reasonably as men, while simultaneously expecting them to strive for such conduct. This paradox is particularly evident in the expectation that women must be unwaveringly faithful to their husbands and maintain their chastity prior to marriage, despite the widespread belief that women

[35] Thomas, *The Ends of Life*, p.209.
[36] Ibid, pp.195-7.
[37] Taylor, *Friendship*, pp.60-61.
[38] Ibid.

were inherently lascivious and susceptible to temptation. If women did conform to these perceived weaknesses, especially with regard to sexuality, they were not met with understanding or sympathy but with scorn and derision.[39] Women were encouraged by society to aspire to the supposedly loftier moral and intellectual heights of men. Consequently, performing friendship in a manner recognized by male contemporaries as noble and honorable, especially when it was believed that only virtuous women (if any women at all) could genuinely partake in such friendships, may have been perceived by women as an alternative route, alongside chastity, for individuals of their sex to gain societal approval, and in turn, feelings of worth and value.

As mentioned above, Lettice's aversion to compliments in this context does not appear to stem from concerns of betrayal, as observed among the male friends in this source pool. Instead, it seems to be based in her desire for a genuine emotional connection. Her sharing afterward that she lay 'under the unhappiness of such an uneven temper wch causes more failings in me' further underscores her hope for what passed between them to be 'reall' was in regard to wanting authentic exchanges of feelings with a friend who truly cared.[40] This suggests that while women were clearly aware of and influenced by male perspectives on flattery and insincerity, they altered these ideas to suit the nature of female friendship wherein elite women were largely excluded from the public sphere, friends were primarily relatives by blood or marriage, and emotional intimacy was openly expected and desired. There was evidently a lived understanding among the women in this source base that female friendships were distinct from male relationships. It is apparent, however, that this conception was, in part, shaped by ideals established by men which were subsequently modified by women where needed to align with the nature and priorities of female friendship.

In addition to her stance on flattery, Lettice also clearly shared similar views with men regarding admonishment within friendship. Lettice deemed it imperative, for example, to admonish Emma for

[39] Foyster, *Manhood*, p.48.
[40] Lettice Wendy to Emma Willoughby, Mi Av 143/36/13.

traveling when pregnant and expressed that this was done purely to protect Emma from physical harm.[41] As explained when discussing this situation in the conflict chapter, the act of admonishing a friend's misbehavior was considered an obligation within friendship. It was meant to be an act of care carried out solely for the sake of a friend's wellbeing, though, as was demonstrated, early modern English people were aware that fulfilling this duty could potentially provoke defensiveness and anger in the friend being admonished. As noted in that discussion, Lettice framed her reprimand in accordance with popular societal norms, indicating her awareness of established ideas about friendship conduct in published treatises and discourses, as well as her endorsement of these norms. Her choice to risk incurring Emma's displeasure by offering this rebuke suggests that, like Henry More, she viewed the performance of this obligation as a potentially difficult, but necessary act of friendship.

As observed in that chapter the admonishment was likely motivated not only by Lettice's genuine concern for Emma but also by the desire to feel like a worthy friend and citizen. Because this perceived virtuous friendship duty was recognized as one that some individuals found too uncomfortable to fulfill, it may have allowed those who did undertake it to feel brave, honorable, and superior to friends who shied from it. For female friends, in particular, this might have been another area in which they could demonstrate possession of the qualities which Taylor believed were essential for their inclusion in noble friendship.

Following the birth of Emma's child, Lettice felt compelled to offer more guidance to Emma. She once again expressed concern for Emma's health, writing that she hoped Emma's friends at the house would 'minde you to be carefull of yr selfe for I receive by my Bro: you are very venturous too much for the time'.[42] While this statement was not framed as a direct admonishment like the previous one, the underlying warning that Emma should exercise greater caution is evident. Lettice also addressed Emma's

[41] Lettice Wendy to Emma Willoughby, 30 December 1669. Family and Estate Collections, University of Nottingham Manuscripts and Special Collections, Mi Av 143/36/7.
[42] Lettice Wendy to Emma Willoughby, May [1670]. Family and Estate Collections, University of Nottingham Manuscripts and Special Collections, Mi Av 143/36/5.

marital relationship. She mentioned that her brother had paid her a visit while on his business journey and confessed that she 'was amazed whn I heard he was come at ths time & could not (as glad as I was to see him) but a little chide him tht he could finde in his heart to leave yu'.[43] She declared, however: 'but yu know him soe well tht I hope yu neither doe nor ever will have cause to censure any of his acttions to p'ceede for want of affection'.[44] This remark, while providing reassurance of her husband's fondness, and expressing sympathy for Emma having been left so soon after giving birth, also serves as an instruction to Emma not to interfere with her husband's actions. Because, as Lettice explained, Emma knew her husband 'soe well', she should therefore be able to trust in her husband's affection regardless of his physical presence and never feel the need to try to prevent his journeys from going ahead. If she did try to 'censure any of his actions to p'ceede', the implication is that it would be a mistake on Emma's part due to a failure to understand and trust her husband.

That Lettice did not see an issue with attempting to exert control over Emma's behavior as a new mother and a wife while simultaneously advising her not control her husband's actions, is likely because Lettice perceived her advice as being proffered not to serve her own interest, but to promote Emma's safety, marital harmony, and her brother's public duties. It was widely understood in early modern England that individuals should conduct themselves in ways that benefited society, with public responsibilities taking precedence over private ones.[45] As such, any attempt by Emma to hinder her husband's business journeys, would have been seen as detrimental, stemming from a self-serving desire to keep her husband by her side at all times. Notably, Lettice's warnings were issued from one woman to another, whereas if Emma had attempted to control her husband's actions this would likely have been regarded as a subversion of the gender hierarchy.

[43] Lettice Wendy to Emma Willoughby, 5 May [1670]. Family and Estate Collections, University of Nottingham Manuscripts and Special Collections, Mi Av 143/36/3.
[44] Lettice Wendy to Emma Willoughby, Mi Av 143/36/3.
[45] Thomas, *The Ends of Life*, p.197.

Ensuring that friends adhered to gender norms was evidently considered a responsibility in both male and female friendships. While the male friends in this source base were preoccupied with emotional regulation and maintaining an image of independence and control, women were more concerned with fulfilling their roles as wives and mothers. Admonishment could clearly serve as a valuable tool for female friends who aimed to meet this perceived duty.

Aside from acknowledging its shared foundation in reciprocity, much of the scholarship on female friendship emphasizes its distinctness from male friendship and from the patriarchal culture of early modern England. As noted in the introductory chapter's survey of literature, for example, Mendelson and Crawford posit that female friendship should be regarded as 'a part of women's culture', arguing that it 'was separate from the dominant misogynist elite and popular cultures'.[46] The relationships examined here support these key interpretations in the sense that it is clear that women often held different expectations and priorities for their friendships compared to men. This chapter has thus far demonstrated that, in contrast to male friendships, women anticipated and fostered affection and intimacy, coupled functional expectations with sentimental ones, and predominantly engaged in epistolary communication to exchange feelings, concerns, and personal and familial news. It has also been shown in this chapter, however, that female friends adhered to some male prescriptions of friendship conduct and appeared to derive a sense of satisfaction and self-worth from doing so. Lettice's explicit decision to act in accordance with these guidelines, for example, along with her assertion that she shared her brother's values, suggests that conducting friendship in this manner was perceived by Lettice as virtuous and something to take pride in. That Lettice's adherence to these values did not appear to cause any ruptures with Emma indicates that Emma, too, considered this behavior as appropriate.

Women's subscription to these male ideals is arguably subversive in the sense that they were choosing to conduct their friendships in ways that many men believed were beyond their capacity. It is

[46] Crawford, *Friendship and Love*, p.48; Crawford and Mendelson, *Women in Early Modern England*, p.13.

possible that Lettice's sense of pride in sharing her brother's friendship values was based solely in the belief that she was expressing female agency by maintaining friendships with integrity, courage, and a devoted commitment to service, rather than merely seeking societal acceptance or appreciating these principles for their intrinsic worth. Lettice's evident affection for Emma, however, suggests that she desired to conduct their friendship in ways she deemed honorable and ethical, and therefore likely valued these conduct ideals established by men. Emma's acceptance of Lettice's approach to friendship suggests that she felt respected in the relationship and also held these ideals in high regard. If the observance of these prescriptions, furthermore, was solely about exercising the agency to enact male-coded patterns of behavior, women were still engaging with male friendship values and applying them to their relationships, even if they did tweak them as they saw fit to suit their specific circumstances and preferences.

Female friendship therefore was not solely a byproduct of a completely distinct female culture; it was evidently influenced by male ideas and values. To fully grasp the intricate nature and dynamics of female friendship, it is essential to acknowledge not only the aspects that set it apart from the prevailing misogynistic culture, but also the facets that linked it to that culture. It is widely recognized in early modern English gender scholarship that women negotiated their roles within the patriarchal system, often both resisting patriarchal rule and participating in upholding it.[47] This same negotiation is evident in women's egalitarian relationships with one another.

Conflicting attitudes towards patriarchal values within female friendships are particularly visible in women's discussions of marriage. Lettice wrote to Emma, for instance, expressing her regret that Emma was forced to part suddenly from her parents because of her husband, and commiserated: 'thyise Husbands are such things tht it rarely fals ot but we must pt fro Parents'.[48] She conceded, however, that 'happy are they tht have such as doe in pt make up: Yu & I have noe reason to Complaine; would my

[47] E.g. Capp, *When Gossips Meet*, p.380; Gowing, *Domestic Dangers*, p.265; Gowing, 'Ordering the Body', p.62; Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination*, p.172; Wrightson, *English Society*, p.92.
[48] Lettice Wendy to Emma Willoughby, Mi Av 143/36/12.

poore Sister had noe more'.[49] While Lettice once again reminded Emma that she had no cause for unhappiness with her husband, she also recognized the broader challenges that women faced within marriage due to their subordinate position. Women were expected to follow and obey their husbands, often resulting in separation from their own kin. Women's happiness, Lettice acknowledged, was dependent upon the character of their husbands. Even satisfactory husbands, though, only made up for women's situation 'in pt'.[50]

This discontent with marriage within a patriarchal system illustrates a sense of a shared experience among early modern English women. It also demonstrates that women viewed female friendship as a space to navigate and seek emotional support for the unique challenges posed by this shared experience. Lettice and Emma evidently felt comfortable discussing their feelings about the condition of being wives with each other, and since Lettice mentioned her 'poore' sister, Katharine Winstanley had 'reason to Complaine', it is possible that Katharine also confided her marital woes with them. It was shown in the previous chapter that in crises of failed manhood some of the men in this source base turned to other men for solace. The gendered nature of their problems, often involving a failure to exert control over the women in their lives, suggests that they may have felt that only fellow men could truly understand and empathize with the struggle to attain and maintain honorable manhood. Likewise, women probably desired the understanding of other women with regard to the perceived challenges of their subordination in marriage and society. Lettice's comment that good husbands only partially mitigated the hardships women experienced in marriage, furthermore, does not seem like a remark that would have been considered appropriate for a woman to make in the company of men. Women may have preferred to confide in female friends about such issues due to their shared experiences, but also because they anticipated that complaints regarding wifehood might not be well received by men.

[49] Lettice Wendy to Emma Willoughby, Mi Av 143/36/12.
[50] Ibid.

Lettice's comments emphasize again women's awareness that their marital relationships could not fully meet their emotional needs. In Lettice's perspective, as well as evidently in Emma's, the companionship of a good husband was not an adequate replacement for the absence of other beloved individuals. This further highlights how seventeenth-century English women openly yearned for emotionally intimate connections, recognizing them as crucial for their happiness. This shared understanding among women of the significance of intimacy may have been the reason they entered into female friendships with expectations of forming affectionate, emotionally fulfilling bonds with one another.

Despite her dissatisfaction with the sacrifices women were compelled to make in marriage, Lettice evidently believed that such sacrifices were to be accepted and endured. She and Emma were not to indulge any farther than this in complaining as, within this system, their husbands fulfilled their expected roles. Only Katharine, whose husband appeared to be neglecting his perceived marital obligations, was seen as having legitimate cause to complain. Indeed, throughout their extensive correspondence, neither Lettice nor Emma ever criticized or expressed displeasure with their husbands. As it is highly improbable that they never experienced frustration or conflicts with their husbands, Lettice and Emma's silence in their letters was likely informed by early modern English ideals of honorable wives. Conduct literature portrayed virtuous wives as those who consistently spoke modestly and considerately about their husbands and avoided gossip.[51] Whereas men were granted the privilege of free speech, women who spoke ill of their husbands risked damaging their honor.[52] Lettice and Emma may therefore have wished to conform to this ideal of the virtuous wife and saw it as important not only for them to exhibit respect for their husbands in public but also within the privacy of their female friendship. Additionally, a woman's submission to her husband was, as Mendelson and Crawford point out, 'interpreted as a measure of affection for her spouse', while 'insubordination was taken as proof that she

[51] Katie Barclay, 'Love and Other Emotions' in Amanda L. Capern (e.d) *The Routledge History of Women in Early Modern Europe* (Routledge: 2021), p.86; Foyster, *Manhood*, p.62.
[52] Gowing, *Domestic Dangers*, p.122; Jane Kamensky, 'Talk Like a Man: Speech, Power and Masculinity in Early New England', *Gender and History*, 8:1 (April, 1996), pp.22-47.

no longer loved him.'[53] By demonstrating submission in private discussions, they may have intended to reflect genuine affection for their spouses. It is also possible, however, that Lettice and Emma only discussed such issues in person. Despite the seemingly private nature of this letter, there were, as revealed earlier, some things which Lettice felt were simply 'not fit to commit to paper'.[54] Direct complaints about their husbands may have been considered too risky to write down.

Whatever the case, Lettice's response indicates a complex perception of her role as a friend. Her commiserative tone suggests that she wanted Emma to feel understood and to know that she was not alone in her feelings. All women, her reply suggested, experienced the challenges of their subordinate position in marriage, and female friendship provided a suitable space to acknowledge this. Patriarchal values, however, were quickly reinforced when Lettice asserted that she and Emma had no reason to complain about their husbands. There was evidently a line not to be crossed, at least, in epistolary form.

In some male friendships within this source base, intimacy was considered both something to aim for and something to manage and guard against. A similar balancing act is observable here in the negotiation between the desire to recognize the downsides of life in a patriarchal society and the desire to meet patriarchal societal expectations. Although women did not face the same pressure as men to monitor intimacy in their friendships, Lettice and Emma seemingly felt the need to restrict what they wrote to one another regarding their husbands. If, in fact, they did refrain from criticizing their husbands even in face-to-face conversations, this likely would not have been viewed as inauthentic or as withholding intimacy in their friendship. Instead, it might have been seen as a conscious choice to align with societal values they respected. Furthermore, as idealized noble friendship aimed to encourage mutual moral enhancement, Lettice's adherence to societal gender norms in this letter may have been intended to ensure that their relationship operated in such a way.

[53] Crawford and Mendelson, *Women in Early Modern England*, p.174.
[54] Lettice Wendy to Emma Willoughby, Mi Av 143/36/21.

Husbands who were unable to 'make up in pt' for women's suffering in marriage, however, were clearly not regarded by Lettice and Emma as deserving of the same respect.[55] In a letter to Emma discussing the death of Katharine's husband, Lettice sharply criticized and insulted him, referring to him as 'an excellent foyle'.[56] His perceived foolishness stemmed from his association with some men of 'soe transparent Lustre', as well as his excessive spending.[57] The 'timeing' of his death was, Lettice believed, a reason to praise God, as 'had his life bin lengthened ot a few yeares longer', Katharine might have ended up 'destitute' as a widow, having to be 'burdensome to her friends'.[58] He had not only been neglectful of Katherine's financial future, but also of her emotional wellbeing. Lettice remarked that she was 'sorry he should be noe more kinde to his poore wife living now Dying' and recalled that he never 'did express any kindness in bare word to her after she came to him: nor did he seeme to care whether she wer wth him or not wch seemes to me a little hard'.[59] This interpretation of the husband's coldness towards Katherine as only 'a little hard' reflects again the perception held by these women that husbands were not expected to fully meet their wives' emotional needs.[60] It was clearly considered unkind, however, if husbands failed to display some degree of affection and appreciation.

The care and devotion that Katharine's husband withheld, in Lettice's view, should be supplied by her friends instead. She expressed gratitude for the 'grt affection' that Emma had shown Katharine and detailed her own efforts to 'comfort' her sister.[61] Lettice enlisted her husband to handle practical matters at Katharine's house and proposed that inviting Katharine to stay with her for an extended period, and having her travel to Lettice in the 'most handsome and creditable' way, might help her to feel better.[62] Lettice and Emma's efforts to console Katherine further demonstrate the great importance women placed on emotional wellbeing. There is an underlying assumption that women should not have to endure

[55] Lettice Wendy to Emma Willoughby, Mi Av 143/36/12.
[56] Lettice Wendy to Emma Willoughby, 27 August [1672]. Family and Estate Collections, University of Nottingham Manuscripts and Special Collections, Mi Av 143/36/16.
[57] Lettice Wendy to Emma Willoughby, Mi Av 143/36/16.
[58] Ibid.
[59] Ibid.
[60] Ibid.
[61] Lettice Wendy to Emma Willoughby, Mi Av 143/36/16.
[62] Ibid.

emotionally distressing or unfulfilling lives, and that it was a shared responsibility among female friends to help one another avoid such hardships. While husbands could largely overlook their wives' feelings, female friends were expected to remain devoted to one another's emotional welfare.

Katherine's circumstances evidently provided Lettice and Emma with a firsthand understanding of how significantly an unsatisfactory husband could adversely affect a woman's life. While being a wife in early modern England was undoubtedly challenging, it was clearly far more arduous to be the wife of an uncaring, 'foyle'.[63] Considering this, Lettice's assurances that there was no valid reason for Emma or herself to be discontented likely also functioned as a means of emotional comfort. They were fully aware of their good fortune in having husbands who fulfilled their perceived marital obligations and expressing gratitude for this may have helped them to cope with the hardships that came with marriage.

Lettice's decision to abstain from airing grievances about her husband, while encouraging Emma to do the same, might also have been motivated by a desire to demonstrate care and sensitivity to Katherine's misfortune, even in her absence. Lettice likely considered that complaining about their more favorable matrimonial experiences would not have been appreciated by Katherine, and Lettice's disdain towards Katharine's husband, and her profound concern for Katharine's feelings, suggest that she was intent on expressing her care and respect in every possible manner. Exercising self-awareness regarding her perceived comparatively minor issues may have been another way Lettice could feel she was accomplishing this objective.

Frances Cavendish, on the other hand, did not feel compelled to conform to the ideal of a virtuous wife within her female friendships, as evidenced by her husband's agitated letters to his male friends. The second Duke of Newcastle, Henry Cavendish remarked to his friend, George Savile, for instance: 'Your Lo^{p} must heare of ye difference between my Wife and I and in deed my Lord Mrs Grace Johnson will not

[63] Lettice Wendy to Emma Willoughby, Mi Av 143/36/16.

find her Councell to my Wife wise, for I will not be Hectored'.[64] Though it is unclear exactly what Mrs. Grace Johnson's advice to Frances was, it is apparent that she was encouraging Frances to challenge Henry rather than submit to him. Given that Frances had plans to live separately from Henry a few months after this exchange due to disagreement over dowry and marriage arrangements for their daughters, it is possible that Mrs. Grace Johnson was supporting her decision to do so.[65] Regardless, her counsel ran counter to the beliefs of Henry, who refused to be 'Hectored', and his friend, Thomas Shadwell, who hoped that 'my Lady Duchess who has ever been held a wise woman will have wisdome enough to find tht it is fitt for her to submit it to yr Grace in all affaires whatsoever'.[66]

Henry and Shadwell's reactions suggest that they viewed this situation as a significant challenge to Henry's authority as a man and as the head of household. Women were expected in early modern England to submit to men and wives were meant to respect and obey their husbands, as Shadwell pointed out, 'in all affaires'.[67] Instead of following this convention, however, Frances was planning with her female friend how she might defy Henry. This meant that another woman had been made privy to Henry's perceived faults as a husband and, along with his wife, was openly questioning his authority. The relationship with her female friend evidently provided Frances with support by validating her perceptions of Henry's actions and offering advice. Both of these forms of support may have been crucial for her to gain the confidence to ultimately oppose her husband. Female friendship, therefore, had the potential to easily undercut male power, something that Henry seemed acutely aware of. Frances's decision to employ her female friendship to help her challenge Henry suggests that she, too, recognized this potential.

Frances not only shared complaints about Henry with her friends but also, apparently, insults. As mentioned in the chapter on male friendship, Henry expressed his distress to George Savile that it 'is very well known in my Family' and 'I believe in ye Countrey wth wt scorne and slight my Wife and my

[64] Henry Cavendish to George Savile, Pw 1/641.
[65] P.R. Seddon, 'Cavendish, Henry, second duke of Newcastle upon Tyne (1630-1691)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (23 September 2004), p.3.
[66] Thomas Shadwell to Henry Cavendish, Pw1/248.
[67] Ibid.

Daughter Margrett proseed Towards me and they Publish me to be ye Very rog[u]e in ye World because I desire ye like of thm I did in Feb: last to wch they submitted and now they refuse.'[68] Henry's alarm that the situation was widely known, along with his suspicion that his other friend, Shadwell, had already heard about the turmoil in his household, suggests that it might have been both men and women to whom Frances criticized Henry. More likely, however, men in their social circle had become aware of the insults Frances shared with her female friends. Mutual male friends of Frances and Henry would probably not have been a very receptive audience and would have reacted similarly to Shadwell. As explained in that chapter, the prospect of a woman's negative talk about her husband reaching the ears of his male friends and acquaintances was a situation which early modern English men greatly feared. It signified the husband's failure to assert authority over his household, the most important responsibility of a married man. Considering that she would likely have been aware of the fundamentals of male reputation, Frances may have been attempting to intimidate and exert control over Henry by insulting him to her friends.

Frances and her friend, Lady Margaret Boyle, also communicated about topics that were perceived as potentially threatening to Henry. Explaining that she 'was most unfortunat in haveing my Letter deliverd to the Duke' whom she had 'designed it not for', Lady Boyle begged Frances's pardon.[69] She confessed that 'that which gives mee most trouble in the accident is, it might have brought some prejudice one yr La[sp] whom I wishe all happiness and satisfaction to'.[70] Though the specific content of the 'report' which Lady Boyle intended for Frances is not disclosed, it was evidently regarded as something that might provoke Henry's anger toward Frances and, thus, likely pertained to him in some way. Whatever the subject, it was clearly the type of conversation that honorable wives, who prioritized the interest of their families, were discouraged from participating in.

Women evidently held varying perceptions of what was considered acceptable to discuss about their husbands within the context of their female friendships. Lettice and Emma chose to refrain from

[68] Henry Cavendish to George Savile, Pw1/642.
[69] Lady Margaret Boyle to Frances Cavendish, Pw 1/37.
[70] Lady Margaret Boyle to Frances Cavendish, Pw 1/37.

expressing any form of dissatisfaction with their own husbands directly, while they found it permissible to criticize and insult another woman's husband. In contrast, Frances appeared to be comfortable sharing her grievances about her husband and seeking advice for marital problems. That her female friends engaged in offering advice that angered her husband and participated in discussions with the potential to vex him, indicates that they shared similar perceptions with Frances. Whatever their individual comfort levels regarding discussions about their husbands, however, all these women viewed female friendship as a source of emotional and practical support in dealing with the challenges they encountered in their marriages. Whether this support involved simply comforting each other with reminders of how relatively fortunate they were as wives or offering counsel on how to challenge a husband, women turned to one another to navigate the complexities of matrimony.

The struggles women faced as wives were not, however, only related to their subjection. The death of a husband was another facet of marriage that could lead to considerable practical and emotional distress for women. The source base suggests that this was another area in which women possessed a strong sense of a common experience, underscoring the perceived significance of the support provided by female friends during such times. While Katharine was evidently not close to her husband, for example, his death was still viewed by her friends as an emotionally challenging time for her. Lettice found her husband's lack of concern for Katherine's wellbeing and his complete disinterest in her throughout their marriage to be particularly distressing. As seventeenth-century English women's lives were meant to revolve around their roles as wives and mothers it was probably gratifying, therefore, for women to have their performance as a spouse acknowledged and appreciated by their husbands, either explicitly or implicitly through their husband's actions towards them.[71] When Lettice's husband later died, for instance, she reflected on her successful marriage and expressed her gratitude, noting that her husband

[71] Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination*, p.60; Mendelson and Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England*, p.301.

had been 'most excellent' to her.[72] Similarly, when Emma's husband died, Lettice believed that Emma could find solace in the fact that she had experienced a much more fulfilling marriage than their 'poore Sister who wants many of those alleviations of her greife tht yu have'.[73] Lettice explained to Emma that she should be thankful that her husband's death was, 'the grt est losse yet', because it reflected the happiness she had been more fortunate than many others to experience in her life.[74] Katharine, on the other hand, had no fond memories or sense of success in her marriage to provide comfort. Consequently, others could not console her with reminders of such things either. As such, Lettice's determination to ensure that Katharine received lots of affection from friends during this time was likely intended to compensate for this lack, signaling to her that she was valued and not seen as a failure in her role as a wife. Only another woman would likely have been able to understand how Katharine's experience in marriage shaped her grief and thus discern the type of emotional support she needed.

Lettice's attempts to instill positive thinking in Emma about her husband's death waned when she, herself, eventually became overwhelmed by grief for her brother. She confessed to Emma that during her visit to Emma and Francis's home, 'there was soe much sadnes & Drooping Spirits tht it forced me to Rouse up all I could tht I might not contribute to the adding more: but since my returne home ye greife for or unparaled Loss hath gotten grter victory over me; having him continnally in my hart & eye.'[75] There was, she reasoned, 'noe better a tieme' for 'or grief', but admitted that she found enduring it 'a hard task & soe I feare doe yu'.[76] This letter highlights Lettice's perception that Francis's death was a shared experience. In her view, the grief belonged to both women, and bearing it was a difficult 'task' that they were forced to undertake together.[77] Lettice's description of the loss as a shared one, as well as her candid expression of her pain to Emma indicate that she desired to feel a sense of connection in her suffering,

[72] Lettice Wendy to Emma Willoughby, 13 December 1673. Family and Estate Collections, University of Nottingham Manuscripts and Special Collections, Mi Av 143/36/20.
[73] Lettice Wendy to Emma Willoughby, Mi Av 143/36/16.
[74] Ibid.
[75] Lettice Wendy to Emma Willoughby, 9 November 1672. Family and Estate Collections, University of Nottingham Manuscripts and Special Collections, Mi Av 143/36/18.
[76] Lettice Wendy to Emma Willoughby, Mi Av 143/36/18.
[77] Ibid.

and regarded Emma, who had evidently also been experiencing excessive grief, as being able to provide this. In turn, Emma would likely have seen Lettice as able to offer both a wife's understanding of the potential gravity of losing as husband, as well as an appreciation of the depth of the loss as someone who knew and loved Francis as a unique individual. Their bond as sisters-in-law, coupled with their shared experience as women, likely facilitated the depth of empathy between them, making them especially adept at providing emotional support to one another in this situation.

Just a year after the challenging loss of her brother, Lettice confronted the death of her husband. She wrote to Emma shortly before his passing that she was 'in doelfull condition enough much feareing the event at last'.[78] When the dreaded 'event' did occur, Lettice was devastated. She described her 'condition' as 'sad and Deplorable…grter thn I can express or any one think having lost the Joy of my Life'.[79] She declared that she 'must goe to him but he shall not returne to me: to the hand of Divine p'vidence wth ot any iffs or ands'.[80] Lettice's reference to her husband's dying as 'the event' underscores how the death of a husband was perceived as a significant life-altering milestone in a woman's life, an occurrence that wives anticipated, yet feared, nonetheless. The multifaceted consequences that women faced upon losing their spouses, distinct from the experiences of men, shaped their sense of shared ordeal. Widows, after a lifetime of dependency, suddenly found themselves burdened with the responsibility of managing finances and providing for their families. Simultaneously, they often had to contend with society's suspicion and pity due to their lack of male governance[81]. Lettice's poignant account makes it clear that she saw her overwhelming experience of newfound independence within a gendered context, as she bemoaned that she was 'wholly destitute' of the 'many comforts & assistances' which other widows possessed.[82]

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[78] Lettice Wendy to Emma Willoughby, 29 September [1673]. Family and Estate Collections, University of Nottingham Manuscripts and Special Collections, Mi Av 143/36/17.
[79] Lettice Wendy to Emma Willoughby, Mi Av 143/36/17.
[80] Ibid.
[81] Crawford and Mendelson, *Women in Early Modern England,* pp.124-201.
[82] Lettice Wendy to Emma Willoughby, Mi Av 143/36/17.

Lettice's lament that she previously had 'noe want of father: Bros nor child', further demonstrates that she perceived this experience through a gendered lens.[83] Her husband's death meant that the last of the significant men in her life was now gone. Like most elite women, Lettice would have spent her life up to this point under the authority of her father and then husband.[84] The transition to independence in widowhood appears to have been a destabilizing shock which left her feeling vulnerable. Despite Lettice's discontent with aspects of subordination in marriage, having a husband, especially one who dutifully fulfilled his perceived marital obligations, had evidently provided her with a significant sense of protection.

The pain and fear Lettice felt surrounding her husband's death seemed to be sentiments she felt could only truly be appreciated by another woman. She remarked to Emma that 'every one is apt to think his one sufferance ye gr est though he tht hath ye gr est hath much lesse yn is Deserved'.[85] Lettice clearly felt that she was one of those who had 'much lesse yn is Deserved', because, while she admitted that she had 'not made that improvement' that she should have begun to with her mood, she insisted to Emma; 'yu must needs owne tht my condition is much more Deplorable thn yrs'.[86] This insistence, along with Lettice's earlier comments about her lack of comforts, indicate that Lettice wanted the depth of her pain to be recognized, specifically by someone who could empathize with it. Emma, having recently experienced the death of a husband, and being a woman herself, was perceived as capable of understanding the significance of having no male protectors. By drawing parallels with her own experience, Emma could, in Lettice's perspective, comprehend— or at least, come as close as possible to comprehending— the extent of Lettice's perceived greater suffering and thus provide her with the emotional validation that she evidently craved. It was clearly only another woman who had been through this gender-specific experience that was seen as being able to offer this kind of support.

[83] Lettice Wendy to Emma Willoughby, Mi Av 143/36/17.
[84] Crawford and Mendelson, *Women in Early Modern England*, pp.124-5.
[85] Lettice Wendy to Emma Willoughby, Mi Av 143/36/17.
[86] Ibid.

Lettice's comparison of her situation with Emma's also provides insights into her understanding of her own and others' experiences and expressions of emotions. Because Lettice had judged her widowhood to be a more challenging situation than Emma's, she felt it was acceptable for her sorrow to be less controlled. This same line of thought can be observed in previously examined letters. Lettice considered it permissible, for example, for Katharine to experience and express unhappiness towards her spouse, while she and Emma, who were relatively more fortunate in their marriages, were expected not to indulge in feelings of dissatisfaction or self-pity. When Emma's husband died, Lettice compared Emma's situation to Katharine's and concluded that, given the many comforts Emma had that Katharine and others did not, she should therefore feel grateful and content. Social comparison was evidently perceived by Lettice as a healthy and even necessary means by which one could make sense of their life and feelings. The lack of any apparent disagreement from Emma in their correspondence suggests that she shared this view. It was through observing others, especially within one's social circle, that an individual could gauge how they should feel, influenced by whether their circumstances were perceived as superior, inferior, or equal. If one's situation was deemed better than others', any feelings of discontent or despair must be restrained, and feelings of contentedness encouraged. On the other hand, if one's own situation was evaluated as worse, experiencing such emotions was regarded with more sympathy.

Lettice's views on grief were likely informed by prevailing early modern religious and medical beliefs. Physicians regarded grief as physically detrimental, and, therefore, recommended it be experienced only in moderation.[87] Immoderate grief was also seen as a challenge to divine providence and as a sign of ingratitude toward God.[88] Indeed, Lettice cautioned Emma that her excessive mourning for her late husband might end up 'p'vking' God to show her the true depths of unhappiness.[89] This warning, however, was provided as an additional reason, along with the consideration of Emma's relatively fortunate life, to encourage Emma to moderate her emotions. Moreover, Lettice's concern

[87]Houlbrooke, *Death, Religion and the Family*, pp.221-222.
[88] Ibid, p.222.
[89] Lettice Wendy to Emma Willoughby, Mi Av 143/36/17.

extended beyond the management of physically threatening grief to encompass other emotions such as frustration and dissatisfaction. This indicates that Lettice's perception of emotional experience and expression here was not solely rooted in fears related to the dangers of excessive grief.

As previously suggested, Lettice's decision not to express complaints or allow herself to experience unhappiness towards her husband was likely influenced not only by ideals of virtuous wives but also by her concern for Katharine's feelings regarding her own marriage. Her choice to abstain from complaining about her explicitly acknowledged lesser woes may have been an attempt to demonstrate sensitivity and consideration towards Katharine. Katharine's misfortune was not to be minimized or overlooked because Lettice and Emma dealt with their own frustrations related to the challenges that all women, even the most fortunate, encountered within marriage. This indicates that the outward expression and even the private experience of emotions such as sorrow were perceived by Lettice, as well as likely by Emma and Katharine, as an act of insensitivity towards those who were enduring more significant hardships. It seems to have been considered a demonstration of care for a person to take into account a friend's circumstances and then regulate their emotional expressions and experiences accordingly.

It is notable that Lettice's assessments and comparisons in her correspondence were solely focused on women's circumstances. While it is possible that she made similar assessments with men in face-to-face conversations, or in letters which are no longer extant, the practice of regulating one's emotional experiences as a way of showing care to close friends was likely more prevalent within female friendships. The men in this source base did not engage in explicit comparisons of their lives with those of their friends. Their concerns about emotional experiences and expressions revolved around preserving their manhood, rather than exhibiting sensitivity toward others. As discussed in the previous chapter, upholding manhood rested in part upon men's ability to master their emotions with reason and maintain self-sufficiency and independence. Demonstrating care for others' feelings was not a primary focus within male friendships, though, as was argued in that chapter, men offered emotional support to one another more than has been recognized. Given that it was deemed socially acceptable for women to openly

express their emotions and female friendship was intended to provide emotional support, it is likely that women, in particular, were concerned about managing their emotions in this manner. Additionally, as major life events for women, such as marriage and widowhood, were evidently perceived through a gendered perspective, women were likely more inclined to compare their experiences with those of other women rather than with their male friends, evidencing the prevailing sense of shared identity among seventeenth-century English women.

Considering this, it is unclear why Lettice found it acceptable to openly express her unrestrained sorrow for her brother's death to Emma, who was simultaneously grieving the loss of her husband. Lettice might have assumed that her sorrow was perceived as less significant than Emma's in this situation since losing a brother was not as life-altering as 'the event' of losing a husband.[90] It is also possible that, though these women recognized social comparison as a healthy and acceptable practice, it was nonetheless challenging to prioritize others' feelings and control their own emotions, especially the experience of grief. It may have engendered feelings of distress and defensiveness when an individual could not regulate their feelings despite objectively better circumstances. Thus, Lettice's request for Emma to acknowledge her situation as a widow as bleaker than Emma's, may have been both a plea for emotional validation and an effort to alleviate shame and guilt for her overwhelming emotional experience. By having her suffering recognized as more profound than Emma's, it would not be disgraceful or inconsiderate for Lettice to continue experiencing her emotions in this intense manner.

Whether or not Emma concurred that Lettice's suffering surpassed her own, she was evidently concerned with easing Lettice's pain by providing her with comfort and support. She conveyed 'many affectionate expressions' and invited Lettice to come live at Middleton with her and her children.[91] As Lettice did not require housing— her plan being to stay at her smaller residence, Wendy, until her own death and be buried alongside her late husband— Emma's offer was clearly aimed at preventing Lettice

[90] Lettice Wendy to Emma Willoughby, Mi Av 143/36/17.
[91] Lettice Wendy to Emma Willoughby, 13 December 1673. Family and Estate Collections, University of Nottingham Manuscripts and Special Collections, Mi Av 143/36/20.

from feeling lonely, ensuring she had the solace of companionship. Though Lettice declined the offer, explaining to Emma that her living with her 'would be but a Burden' because, 'you have soe many neere relations of yr owne side & 3 sweete children; tht yu can have noe want of such a one as I am', Emma had accurately anticipated Lettice's need for regular intimate company.[92] As Lettice expressed in a subsequent letter after visiting with Emma and her children, she was 'sure when I pt'd from yu & thm I lost all the comfort I had heere'.[93] She hoped that her 'deare Sister', Katharine, would come to live with her and declared that it would be 'the gr test comfort I expect in ths world.'[94]

During this phase of Lettice's life, when the perceived key events of marriage and childbearing were behind her, her female friendships served as her emotional anchor and were the source of support she anticipated for the future. As she grew older and contemplated the ends of her life, it was these connections which she recognized as providing her with a sense of purpose and pleasure. She did not express any intent to remarry and wished to spend the rest of her days with Katharine, promising herself that if God continued to let her live, she would ensure she had 'the contentment of being sometimes an eye witnes' of Emma and her children's happiness.[95] While practical assistance would remain a crucial component of friendship in a society in which personal alliances were essential for wellbeing, the equally, if not more, significant role of elite female friendship is vividly highlighted here. It served to offer the emotional intimacy, support, and fulfillment that women in seventeenth-century England deeply desired and considered essential for a meaningful life.

The sustaining power of these bonds in later life calls attention to how the label 'friend' could be useful for women. Naomi Tadmor asserts that the term 'friend' in early modern England was 'intentionally opaque', as it 'disclosed only that the individual concerned had ''friends'' and could be

[92] Lettice Wendy to Emma Willoughby, Mi Av 143/36/20.
[93] Lettice Wendy to Emma Willoughby, 18 March [1676]. Family and Estate Collections, University of Nottingham Manuscripts and Special Collections, Mi Av 143/36/22.
[94] Lettice Wendy to Emma Willoughby, Mi Av 143/36/21.
[95] Lettice Wendy to Emma Willoughby, Mi Av 143/36/22.

backed by allies. Their number, gender, and status remained unknown.'[96] The flexibility and inclusiveness of the term could indeed offer protection in that way. It also provided protection in the sense that, as various types of relationships— many of which were naturally of a temporary nature— were encompassed under the term 'friendship', individuals could adapt their relationships over time without undermining their friendship ties. A master-apprentice association, for instance, would conclude upon completion of the apprenticeship, yet the individuals involved could choose to maintain their friendship and provide support in different capacities, thus evolving their relationship. Significantly, when kin-by-marriage links were severed due to the death of a spouse and subsequent remarriage, former kin could remain connected to, and responsible for one another, as friends. Friendship was, after all, ideally perceived as a life-long commitment. The lasting tie of friendship may have been especially important for elite women, as their relative exclusion from the public sphere meant that most of their friendship connections came from kin. Men, on the other hand, built instrumental friendships outside of their kinship networks and therefore would not have been as deeply reliant as women were on these ties.

While Lettice remained an aunt to Emma's children, there is a visible recognition in the correspondence of the shift from their relationship as sisters-in-law. Whereas Lettice had always addressed Emma in her letters as her 'Deare Sister', Lettice referred to her directly after her remarriage as 'Madam'.[97] Other than this initial adjustment in language, though, their relationship appears unchanged. Their willingness to aid and support each other in whatever way possible persisted. Furthermore, due to Emma's remarriage to the wealthy Sir Josiah Child, Lettice gained a connection to a powerful man who could potentially be influenced by his wife to provide support to her. Given Lettice's sense of insecurity resulting from the loss of her husband, father, and brother, Sir Josiah would have been a valuable ally. The capacity of these relationships to continually offer access to practical assistance likely contributed to the expectation that women would form friendships with their sisters-in-law.

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[96] Naomi Tadmor, 'Friends and Families', *The History of Emotions Blog,* (Queen Mary University of London: 20 March 2014).
[97] Lettice Wendy to Emma Willoughby, [12 November, post 1676]. Family and Estate Collections, University of Nottingham Manuscripts and Special Collections, Mi Av 143/36/24.

The label ‘friend’, however, may have provided women with more than just lasting practical support. The status of friendship may have granted legitimacy to friends’, such as sisters-in-law, ongoing sentimental devotion to one another after remarriage. Though Emma had new kin obligations following her marriage to Sir Josiah, her friendship with Lettice appears to have retained the emotional significance it held when they were sisters-in-law. The pair continued to write to one another, visit, and exchange gifts. What passed ‘betwixt’ them in their correspondence seemed as ‘reall’ as it had ever been.[98] This suggests that these women, like Jeremy Taylor, may have perceived of noble friendship and siblinghood as separate bonds that could, ideally, intersect but were not obligated to, especially if a sibling was not inclined toward a higher form of friendship. They developed a friendship because they became sisters, but it was not their sisterhood that determined their emotional closeness and affection for one another. It was their cherished friendship— a relationship which, reassuringly, could remain unchanged when deaths of spouses and remarriages inevitably occurred. As friends in a perceived noble partnership, they could acceptably invest just as much effort into sustaining their emotional bond as they had when they were related as kin. The ties that bind for these seventeenth-century English sisters-in-law were evidently those of friendship.

Functional Female Friendship

It is apparent that emotional intimacy, satisfaction, and support were significant components of elite seventeenth-century English female friendship. Mutual practical support, including the performance of childbed duties, hospitality, and more, which formed the basis of these relationships, was often intricately connected with these sentimental aspects. Other correspondence examined, however, evidences that early modern English women, like men, sometimes sought and maintained friendships for the sole purpose of achieving functional ends. The utilitarian female friendship which will be examined in this

[98] Lettice Wendy to Emma Willoughby, Mi Av 143/36/13.

section suggests that, in contrast to male friendships where instrumental motives could be openly expressed, elite women were expected to cultivate friendships with each other (outside of those naturally arising from blood or marriage) for the sake of companionship, and due to their affection and admiration for the potential friend. Utilitarian interests such as material wealth, economic gain, or access to power were not socially sanctioned reasons for women to forge connections with one another. It is clear, however, that seventeenth-century English women were aware of these pragmatic possibilities and sometimes utilized their relationships solely for these purposes.

Frances Cavendish, whose intimate female friendships were explored above, was one such seventeenth-century English woman. It quickly becomes apparent from their correspondence that Frances pursued a friendship with an acquaintance, the Dowager Countess of Northumberland, Elizabeth Percy, for the purpose of procuring a marriage match between her only son, Henry, who was around eight years old, and Elizabeth's granddaughter, who was about four. Following the death of her father, Joceline Percy, the eleventh Earl of Northumberland, in 1670, Elizabeth's granddaughter, also named Elizabeth Percy, inherited the extensive Percy estates, becoming, at just three years old, one of the most coveted heiresses in the country.[99] Frances's letters to the elder Elizabeth Percy suggest that Frances was keenly aware of this fact.

Though her aim was instrumental, Frances framed her interest in the relationship as resulting from her fondness and esteem for Elizabeth, and a desire to connect further. She presented her contacting Elizabeth, for example, as her begging 'leave to make use of the permistion your La:pp has bin pleased most obligeing to give mee' to convey her 'humble service' to Elizabeth 'in writeing'.[100] Prior to this, Frances had passed her well wishes and service to Elizabeth through 'my Lord…in towne', but evidently desired direct, more personal communication between them.[101] Frances assured Elizabeth that she hoped

[99] R.O. Bucholz, 'Seymour [*née Percy*], Elizabeth, duchess of Somerset (1667-1722)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (23 September 2004), p.1.
[100] Frances Cavendish, Countess of Ogle to Elizabeth Percy, Dowager Countess of Northumberland, n.d. Family and Estate Collections, University of Nottingham Manuscripts and Special Collections, Pw 1/200.
[101] Frances Cavendish to Elizabeth Percy, Pw1/200.

'soe much to continue all my life in your La^{pp} good opinion and memory', and signed off not only with 'all respect' to Elizabeth, but added; 'if I may be soe confident with all affection'.[102]

The brevity of the letter, containing only Frances' expressions of service, admiration and affection, indicates that there was nothing of substance to be discussed between them. It bears resemblance to the initial correspondence between Lettice Wendy and Emma Willoughby, where Lettice conveyed warmth and affection, though the two had likely not yet met. While it is possible that Frances aimed to generate genuine intimacy, the ensuing correspondence strongly suggests that she was above all concerned with arranging an advantageous marriage for her son. As such, she was likely adhering to conventional female friendship practices without intending to create the same level of closeness she had with her sister-in-law, Mrs. Grace Johnson, and Lady Boyle. Her pursuit of the friendship in this outwardly sentimental manner further demonstrates the prevailing expectations of emotional intimacy, satisfaction and support within seventeenth-century English female friendships.

Frances continued to communicate her and her kin's devotion to Elizabeth, writing later that 'notheing would make any of us soe proud as in any thing ever to bee able to doe your La:pp the least service'.[103] She acknowledged Elizabeth's responses to her letters as 'soe beyond our hopes or meritt that all wee can doe is show our thankes and Duty to you'.[104] Similar to their initial correspondence, these letters contained nothing beyond deferential expressions of duty and admiration. Frances omitted any personal news, concerns, or feelings, except her professed affection for Elizabeth and concern for the health of Elizabeth and her family. The absence of personal content further suggests that, despite the warmth conveyed in her statements of loyalty and admiration, Frances was not concerned with fostering real intimacy. There is no indication that steps were being taken towards developing the kind of familiarity found in her other female friendships, where they shared personal news, problems, and advice.

[102] Frances Cavendish to Elizabeth Percy, Pw1/200.
[103] Frances Cavendish, Countess of Ogle to Elizabeth Percy, Dowager Countess of Northumberland n.d [circa 1671], Family and Estate Collections, University of Nottingham Manuscripts and Special Collections, Pw1/201.
[104] Frances Cavendish to Elizabeth Percy, Pw1/201.

In her letters which were 'soe beyond' Frances and her kin's 'hopes or meritt', Elizabeth Percy similarly does not appear to have been interested in cultivating intimacy.[105] She, too, expressed gratitude, thanking Frances for her 'Continued obligeing expressions to me who hath not in the least meritted it', and for Frances's husband's consideration, declaring that she did, 'on all occasions find my Lo: Ogle so very Civile and favourably concerned for any relation of mine that I do not esteeme any thing I can say enough to returne my thankes for itt'.[106] Apart from these articulations of appreciation, however, nothing else was discussed. Frances did not extend any opportunities for building an intimate connection in her letters, and Elizabeth also did not introduce any elements that could be used by Frances to deepen their relationship.

Instead of attempting to broaden the conversation beyond dutiful sentiments, Elizabeth kept her responses concise, explaining; 'for news Madam I shall not venter to send any beleeving you have all that passes from more knowing persons…'.[107] This statement highlights the expectation that correspondence between female friends would entail sharing personal news and discussions about mutual acquaintances. The decision to keep their correspondence brief and entirely impersonal suggests that Elizabeth perceived Frances's interest in their friendship as driven by instrumental, rather than sentimental motives. Furthermore, her willingness to reciprocate Frances's efforts to maintain contact indicates that she was not only aware of but also open to the utilitarian potential of the friendship.

Indeed, Elizabeth would have become aware of Frances's precise goal at some point, as an undated letter (which the University of Nottingham Manuscripts and Special Collections catalogue suggests was likely to have been sent in the first three years of their correspondence) from her daughter-in-law, also named Elizabeth Percy, to Frances demonstrates. Frances had apparently made her intentions for the marriage match explicit, as the younger Elizabeth Percy acknowledged that she was 'very sencible

[105] Frances Cavendish to Elizabeth Percy, Pw1/201.
[106] Elizabeth Percy, Dowager Countess of Northumberland to Frances Cavendish, Countess of Ogle, 25 November, n.y. University of Nottingham, Manuscripts and Special Collections, Pw1/196.
[107] Elizabeth Percy to Frances Cavendish, Pw1/196.

of your La:p civillity both to me and my daughter in the offer you are pleased to make of your sone…'.[108] She explained, however, that she could 'say very lettle as to anything of this nature', as her daughter was 'in the dispose of my lady her Grandmother'.[109] Elizabeth then spoke her mind 'freely', and declared that she thought it 'soe nessesary a thing to the making her happy the choseing for her selfe', and, as such, hoped her daughter would, when the time came, 'find her selfe free from any ingagement made by her frinds'.[110]

This polite refusal marks the only communication between Frances and the younger Elizabeth Percy in the collection. It is possible that there were other letters which are no longer extant (there would likely be at least a couple, given that Frances's offer of her son would presumably have been made in epistolary form and a response would have been expected), however, it seems that Frances actively pursued and aimed to sustain a friendship with the elder Elizabeth Percy rather than the younger one. As the bride was 'in the dispose' of the elder Elizabeth Percy, it is not surprising that she would have been the primary focus of Frances's efforts to forge a friendship.[111]

The younger Elizabeth Percy's refusal to accept the marriage proposal did not dissuade Frances from maintaining her communication with the elder Elizabeth Percy. She persisted in conveying her and her kin's unwavering devotion, assuring Elizabeth that 'any sort of Duty my Lord can pay your La^{p} or any related to you is soe greate a joy and pleasure to him that tis suffishcant reward it selfe with out your La^{p} takeing any notice'.[112] She further insisted that she was 'sencible nothing hee has done or can doe' would ever deserve gratitude from Elizabeth.[113] Much like her previous letters, these brief expressions of duty and admiration remained the sole subject. There was no mention of any other topics or personal matters. As at this point Frances and Elizabeth had been corresponding for at least five years, it is abundantly clear

[108] Elizabeth Percy, Countess of Northumberland to Frances Cavendish, Countess of Ogle, 26 December [c.1670-1673], University of Nottingham, Manuscripts and Special Collections, Pw1/207.
[109] Elizabeth Percy to Frances Cavendish, Pw1/207.
[110] Ibid.
[111] Elizabeth Percy to Frances Cavendish, Pw1/207.
[112] Frances Cavendish, Countess of Ogle to Elizabeth Percy, Dowager Countess of Northumberland, [n.d. circa 1675], Family and Estate Collections, University of Nottingham Manuscripts and Special Collections, Pw1/206.
[113] Frances Cavendish to Elizabeth Percy, Pw1/206.

that emotional intimacy, support, and fulfillment were not, and may never have been, desired aspects of this friendship. The contrast between their interactions and Frances's communication with her other female friends is striking. There was no private content 'designed' for Frances's eyes only, no sharing of marital woes.

While the relationship lacked the sentiment that typically characterized elite female friendships, there were, nonetheless, acts of friendship taking place, at least on Frances's part. As the letter demonstrates, Frances's husband had performed some 'Duty' for Elizabeth Percy or her kin and had likely performed more in the past, as he had been acknowledged by Elizabeth earlier as always being concerned for her kin.[114] Furthermore, Frances's father had performed some 'great favoures' and shown 'particulare civility' to Elizabeth and her family with regard to a lawsuit, which Elizabeth gave 'many thankes' for, noting to Frances that she had 'so newly received many favoures' from Frances's kin.[115] These favors were carried out by Frances's husband and father, who, as elite men, possessed power and resources beyond Frances's reach. It is evident from her repeated assurances that nothing would make her or her kin happier or prouder than to be able to do Elizabeth 'the least service', however, that Frances had positioned herself as a conduit to her husband's and father's assets and would therefore have been associated with— or at least perceived to be associated with— the favors.[116]

Elizabeth's expressing gratitude directly to Frances for the favors indicates that this was indeed the case. This friendship was, therefore, providing Elizabeth Percy with functional benefits. There is no evidence in the correspondence suggesting that Elizabeth was reciprocating services for Frances, though she declared herself Frances's 'most humble servant' at the conclusion of her letters, conveying a willingness through the usage of this common sign-off to engage in the cycle of mutual obligation typical

[114] Frances Cavendish to Elizabeth Percy, Pw1/206.
[115] Elizabeth Percy, Dowager Countess of Northumberland to Frances Cavendish, Countess of Ogle at Welbeck, 30 May 1674, Family and Estate Collections, University of Nottingham Manuscripts and Special Collections, Pw 1/192.
[116] Elizabeth Percy to Frances Cavendish, Pw1/201.

of early modern English friendship.[117] Nevertheless, Frances's likely motivation for facilitating favors was to showcase the benefits of aligning with her kin, ultimately aimed at achieving her functional goal, which was the marriage. Consequently, the friendship served as a means for both women to pursue practical objectives. The presence of instrumental support alongside the complete absence of emotional support and intimacy over the years strongly suggest that functional benefits were likely the sole motivation for both women in initiating and maintaining this friendship.

Frances and Elizabeth's utilitarian motives further demonstrate why regarding female friendship as situated within an exclusively female domain, detached from male influence as Mendelson and Crawford propose, limits a comprehensive understanding of this relationship.[118] While it may have been relatively uncommon, as indicated by the female friendships examined in this study being predominantly emotionally intimate, women evidently participated in utilitarian friendships with one another akin to those among men, driven by the pursuit of practical and material gains, with emotional intimacy and attachment being of little to no importance. Thus, it was not solely that women engaged with and modified male friendship ideals to suit their unique priorities, as demonstrated in the previous section, but, at times, the priorities of female friendship fully mirrored those of male friendship. Such an approach, therefore, risks obscuring the complex reality of early modern English women's experiences and relationships, implying a uniformity in their objectives and the conduct of their friendships.

Comparably limiting perspectives on female friendship emerge in Bernard Capp's study of gossip networks and Amanda Herbert's examination of early modern women's alliances, both surveyed in this thesis's introductory chapter. As mentioned previously, Capp approaches female relationships through the concept of 'gossips', including women's friends, neighbors, and acquaintances in his examination.[119] While employing the terms 'gossip' and 'gossip networks' to discuss female relations, Capp also draws distinctions between 'friends', 'neighbors', 'acquaintances'. He does not explain his criteria for defining a

[117] Powell, 'Emotional Landscape', p.189.
[118] Crawford, *Friendship and Love*, p.48; Crawford and Mendelson, *Women*, p.13.
[119] Capp, *When Gossips Meet*, p.372.

non-kin relationship among women as a friendship (and in many cases the type of relationship is not explicitly specified in the source material provided), however, he often references instances where women appeared intimately connected, relied on one another for emotional support, or socialized frequently as examples of friendship.[120] This implies that Capp views non-kin friendship between plebeian women as involving a sentimental aspect which distinguishes it from other reciprocal, supportive female relationships. His focus on gossips, however, allows him to sidestep deeper consideration of the meaning of female friendship, how it was understood by early modern English women and men.

Herbert, on the other hand, is explicit about her choice of relational terms. In an explanation as to why she specifically chose to use the term 'alliances' to describe women's relationships, Herbert points to a tie examined in her text which 'illustrates some of the problems that arise from the attempt to classify and categorize female relationships'.[121] The relationship was between a maid, Mary Bate, and the woman whose home she worked in, Sarah Savage. Herbert explains that:

> Savage and Bate met when Bate was a young woman and was hired to work in Savage's home in the early 1700s. At this time, Bate worked for pay as Savage's maid […]. This relationship lasted for several years, but when one of Savage's daughters married and moved away Bate followed the daughter to her new home. It is unclear whether this new relationship also involved pay for work, but it seems that Bate acted as a companion to Savage's daughter. Their relationship was apparently so close that when Savage's daughter had her first baby in 1719 Bate stood as godmother. By 1723 Savage and Bate were still associates; now married and with children of her own, Bate visited Savage's home several times to socialize with her. Over the course of the twenty-plus years, Bate had acted as an employee, a family companion, a godmother, and finally an independent visitor and friend. Her relationship with Savage defies any single label or definition of friendship or alliance.[122]

Herbert's identification of the women as friends only when their relationship was purely social and devoid of the utilitarian aspects that initially connected them indicates that Herbert perceives female ties, at least outside of kinship, as needing to be rooted primarily in sentimental feeling and free from power imbalances to be defined as friendships. Indeed, the relationships that Herbert terms 'friendships' rather than alliances in her study, while also serving practical functions, are 'affectionate', 'meaningful'

[120] Capp, *When Gossips Meet,* pp.52, 54.
[121] Herbert, *Female Alliances*, p.16.
[122] Ibid.

ones between women of equal— mostly elite— social standing in which shared 'sentiments bound' them together.[123] Herbert suggests elite women carefully selected individuals they respected and held affection for as friends, emphasizing the importance of the 'emotional attachments' that linked these women.[124] As has been asserted throughout this chapter, the evidence indicates that women often desired and were expected to form intimate, affectionate friendship bonds with one another in early modern England. Given this, and the predominant focus of scholarly attention on the sentimental aspects of female friendship, it is understandable that Herbert hesitates to analyze female ties lacking an evident sentimental nature from the angle of friendship. It is apparent, however, that sentimental attachment was not always an important consideration for friendship, nor was it the exclusive form that the relationship took, even among elite women of equal social status. Herbert's deliberate use of the term 'alliance' to emphasize the diverse range of women's relationships and to prevent overly rigid classifications paradoxically, therefore, results in constraining the definition of female friendship. It is widely recognized that pragmatic friendships in which there was little to no emotional attachment were prevalent among men, and clearly existed between men and women, as the relationship between John Ray and Lady Emma Child, examined in the conflict chapter of this thesis, evidences. Barbara Harris's study of elite women's political involvement in early Tudor England, furthermore, demonstrates that women fostered relationships with politically significant men with the intention of creating connections they could call upon for practical assistance.[125] It is, therefore, improbable that women were not inclined to engage in and cultivate such beneficial friendships amongst themselves to navigate life in early modern England. It is likely that women, like men, perceived of friendship as a versatile relationship, capable of taking different forms, and adaptable to different purposes. Emotional intimacy, while often pursued and cherished, clearly did not always need to be a priority or benefit of the relationship.

[123] Herbert, *Female Alliances*, p.198.
[124] Ibid, pp.38, 50.
[125] Barbara Harris, 'Women and Politics in Early Tudor England', *The History Journal*, 33:9 (1990), pp.266-7.

Moreover, Herbert's understanding of friendship does not take into account Mendelson and Crawford's demonstration that female friendship could traverse social divides. In their study of early modern English women's lives, Mendelson and Crawford point out that some women had significant, trusting, intimate bonds of friendship with their maids.[126] Savage and Bate, therefore, may have considered themselves friends long before the point at which Herbert views them as qualifying as such. It is highly likely that this would have been the case at least by the time that Bate was acting as a godparent to Savage's grandchild— a recognized office of friendship— despite the fact that she may still have been employed by the family.[127]

Within discussions about the meaning of early modern English friendship in a non-gendered context, historians recognize friendship as an overarching term encompassing a spectrum of relationships, varying in emotional depth, involving individuals of both equal and unequal social standing, sometimes freely and carefully chosen, and other times formed out of convenience or necessity.[128] Yet, in the exploration of female friendships, this inclusive perspective often seems to give way to a more restricted interpretation that insists on sentimental connections as the defining factor of friendship. This, as mentioned previously, will in large part be a reflection of the evidence which illustrates that female friendships were often emotionally intimate, a key characteristic that is imperative to acknowledge. Frances Cavendish and Elizabeth Percy's purely instrumental tie, however, highlights the importance for historians to embrace the notion that female friendships could take diverse forms and to undertake the challenge of investigating what those forms may have been. If scholars shy away from examining complex female relationships through the lens of friendship, opting instead for perceived safer concepts like alliances or gossip networks, the intricacies of the lived experience of early modern English female friendship may never be fully explored.

[126] Crawford and Mendelson, *Women in Early Modern England*, p.236.
[127] Cressy, *Birth, Marriage and Death*, 159; Powell, 'Emotional Landscape', p.193.
[128] E.g. Tadmor, *Family and Friends*, pp.207,213; Thomas, *The Ends of Life*, pp.194, 199.

Though women's objectives in friendship sometimes aligned with men's, there were clear differences in the way women pursued and conducted utilitarian ties. While men readily expressed their instrumental expectations in forging and maintaining friendships, Frances and Elizabeth evidently found it necessary to present their bond as rooted in sentimental attachment, despite the clear unimportance of intimacy to both over the years. The performances of sentimental devotion and dutifulness in this friendship do, however, parallel those observed in utilitarian male ties to some extent. Thomas Baines, as noted in the conflict chapter, for example, pledged to Lord Conway that he would 'never cease' in his 'heart with all divotion' when he feared that Lord Conway did not wish to continue acting as his patron.[129] The language of friendship, centering on mutual obligation, as Naomi Tadmor suggests, 'served to introduce an element of sentiment and reciprocity' into 'patently unequal and utilitarian' male relationships.[130] Furthermore, the language of deference, embraced by both Frances and Elizabeth, was utilized in early modern English friendships of varying degrees of emotional attachment irrespective of gender.[131] In Frances and Elizabeth's relationship, however, expressions of devotion and duty did not serve to soften explicit discussions of utilitarian purposes. Apart from Frances's initial proposal of the match (directed to Elizabeth's daughter but likely understood by Elizabeth as linked to her) she placed no requests upon Elizabeth until at least six years into their correspondence. Though she emphasized her eagerness to perform services, Frances consistently portrayed her writing to Elizabeth over these years as primarily a means to strengthen and maintain a connection with someone she admired and had affection for. This suggests that it was perceived by these women as important to mirror, if only minimally, the nature of sentimental female friendships, where an interest in the other's life and wellbeing was a primary concern and purpose of corresponding, and affection was inextricably linked with and provided motivation for performing practical duties. The methods employed to achieve functional ends, moreover, clearly had to conform to the constraints of early modern English gender expectations. Instead of

[129] Thomas Baines to Lord Edward Conway, pp.284-5.
[130] Tadmor, *Family and Friends,* p.236.
[131] Anna Bryson, *From Courtesy to Civility: Changing Codes of Conduct in Early Modern England* (Clarendon Press: Oxford, 1998), p.168.

possessing and dispensing power and resources herself, Frances could only act as a point of access to powerful men. She was dependent then upon her husband or father to be willing to perform services she might request for her friend.

The Duke of Newcastle's willingness to assist calls attention to early modern English male perceptions of female friendships. His involvement suggests that he not only recognized the utilitarian nature of Frances' female friendship, but also endorsed it. While Henry Cavendish may have assumed that the two women might eventually develop or intended to form an emotional bond, Frances's explicit intention to marry their son into the Percy family indicates that he would have been fully aware of and supportive of Frances's ultimate objective in nurturing the relationship.

The chapter examining conflict in this thesis delved into the emotions of male friends regarding an attempt to arrange a marital alliance. In that specific situation, the men (Lord Conway and Lord Granard) were candid and assertive in articulating their instrumental intentions and expectations to each other. Given that in this case, however, matchmaking was under the purview of a woman, Henry and Frances may have surmised that a feminine style of communication, wherein instrumental interests were expressed with greater subtlety and veiled in expressions of sentiment, could prove more effective in securing the betrothal. If so, this suggests an understanding from both Frances and Henry of the unique style and influence of female speech. Henry's involvement indicates that men were indeed aware of women engaging in purely instrumental relationships with one another, and moreover, recognized female friendship to have practical potential for men.

The Duke's approval of a female friendship that operated in a manner similar to utilitarian male bonds is intriguing. Historical scholarship discussing early modern English male perceptions of female friendship predominantly centers on male anxieties about female bonds, particularly male unease at

women's gossip.[132] Men are portrayed as fearing how female talk concerning them— especially discussion around their sexual ability or their wives' unfaithfulness— could harm their reputation. These interpretations are unquestionably valid and are borne out by the source material examined in this project. Frances' intimate friendships with women, discussed in the previous section, for example, clearly provoked anxiety for Henry. Lady Boyle's confidential message to Frances was perceived to be likely to cause trouble when it was accidentally delivered to Henry, indicating that the content of the private female communication may have been distressing to him. Furthermore, Mrs. Grace Johnson's 'Councell' to Frances regarding Frances' marital troubles evidently alarmed Henry as it caused him to threaten that Mrs. Johnson would find it unwise to have issued advice to his wife.[133] Women's talk in these instances was perceived as having the power to damage Henry's manhood.

It is conceivable that in the context of this purely utilitarian female friendship, the lack of intimate communication was a source of relief to Henry. As Frances was focused on securing the marriage match, the information she shared regarding Henry and his kin would likely have been exclusively positive and complimentary, aimed to illustrate the potential advantages of an alliance between the two families. Furthermore, though the friendship was evidently functional in nature, Frances and Elizabeth maintained the appearance of sentimentality, conforming to the conventions of female friendship. Performances of affection may have obscured the parallels with male behavior, making the utilitarian nature less conspicuous and thus tolerable to Henry. Lastly, Henry may have felt a sense of authority over the relationship as the one ultimately bestowing the favors. In any case, his participation indicates that men were aware of and receptive to functional female relationships, viewing female ties as having the power to be both potentially risky and beneficial to them.

[132] E.g. Capp, 'When Gossips Meet', p.60; Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern England*, p.60; Gowing, *Domestic Dangers*, p.122; Gowing, 'The Politics of Women's Friendship', p.136; Mendelson and Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England*, p.215.
[133] Henry Cavendish to George Savile, Pw1/641.

Subsequent letters from Frances to Elizabeth illustrate further resemblances to male friendship and differences as well. At this point, six years into their correspondence, it becomes evident that Frances intensified her efforts to secure the marriage match. Much like the male friends in the source base of this thesis, Frances employed emotional manipulation as a means of persuasion. Her specific strategies sometimes align with those used in male friendships, while at other times, they distinctly deviate, highlighting how prevailing early modern English gender norms influenced manipulation tactics. Francis began, for example, to employ flattery more extensively. While her communication had always been imbued with affection and deference, her expressions of duty and devotion began to incorporate more compliments than before. Instead of merely conveying her appreciation for Elizabeth and her family's exceptional qualities through declarations of affection and loyalty, Francis began to make specific comments about the high regard in which she held their characters. She declared, for instance, that Elizabeth had such an 'exellent Nature and Noble goodness' and referred to Elizabeth's granddaughter as 'the finest young Lady in the world'.[134] These compliments were alongside a more explicit acknowledgement of Frances' lesser value. She proclaimed that the 'Honnor' she had to be acquainted with Elizabeth's 'Noble family' was 'the greatest that ever came to mee' and promised that she would 'earnestly indevor to improve with all care and Duty posible' so as to 'bee kept in your memory…'.[135]

These comments highlight a concern about compliments that was present in Lettice Wendy's intimate friendship with Emma Willoughby, explored in the previous section of this chapter. Lettice explained to Emma that she was her 'Brothers Sister in not loving Complements' and expressed her hope that 'wht pases betwixt us is reall & tht it deserves a better name yn Complement'.[136] It was suggested that this statement, along with the opinions of Jeremy Taylor, Samuel Masters, and Thomas Hill on the subject of compliments, indicates that flattery was perceived in early modern England as a sign of

[134] Frances Cavendish, Countess of Ogle to Elizabeth Percy, Dowager Countess of Northumberland, [n.d. circa 1676], Family and Estate Collections, University of Nottingham Manuscripts and Special Collections, Pw1/202; Frances Cavendish, Countess of Ogle to Elizabeth Percy, Dowager Countess of Northumberland, [n.d. circa 1676], Family and Estate Collections, University of Nottingham Manuscripts and Special Collections, Pw1/203.
[135] Frances Cavendish to Elizabeth Percy, Pw1/203.
[136] Lettice Wendy to Emma Willoughby, Mi Av 143/36/13.

insincerity, indicative of a feigned friendship in which the individuals did not genuinely care for each other and might have hidden agendas. Compliments were meant to be judiciously dispensed, reserved for situations in which an individual had genuinely earned them through commendable behavior. The absence of such compliments in Frances's correspondence with her other female friends implies that she was aware of this societal convention and was employing flattery deliberately, with the aim of evoking in Elizabeth feelings of pleasure and significance.

Considering Frances's probable awareness of this convention, it is unlikely that Frances believed her comments, particularly her reference to the granddaughter as 'the finest young Lady in the world', would have been interpreted by Elizabeth as sincere and thoughtfully measured praise. Due to the popular belief in early modern England that age should be respected, Elizabeth's position as Frances's elder by seven to eight years may have led her to expect a certain degree of deference from Frances, despite their shared elite social status— a factor that may have shaped Frances's compliments and acknowledgement of Elizabeth's superiority.[137] The nearly complete absence of any personal information and feelings (aside from Frances's professed affection) exchanged between the two women, however, indicates their shared awareness that this friendship was grounded in utilitarian purposes. It is likely that the Percy family's wealth and position of power— having their pick among numerous hopeful suitors— were, and were interpreted by Elizabeth as, the primary factors underlying Frances's extravagant displays of deference and admiration. Thus, it is possible that Frances assumed Elizabeth might not be offended by inauthenticity and ulterior motives. Lavish expressions of affection and deference might have been seen by both women as emotional rewards this friendship offered Elizabeth. While the compliments may have appeared insincere to Elizabeth, the implication that she held a position of authority and that another elite woman felt compelled to show excessive respect to gain her favor might have aroused pleasurable

[137] Thomas, *In Pursuit of Civility*, p.55. Scholarship on age gaps in early modern England centers on kin and sibling hierarchies, or the respect and submission expected from younger to older generations and is not, therefore, directly applicable in this instance. For further discussion of the role of age within early modern English hierarchical structures, however, see: Harris, *Siblinghood in Georgian England*, pp.28-38; Pollock, *Anger*, pp. 574-80; Linda Pollock, 'Younger Sons in Tudor and Stuart England', *History Today*, 39:6 (1989) pp.23-41; Thomas, *In Pursuit of Civility*, pp.55-7.

feelings of power, worth, and superiority in Elizabeth. Francis might have believed, therefore, that she had nothing to lose even if her compliments were perceived as mere flattery.

As mentioned previously, analyses of male friendships throughout this thesis reveal that the conventions regarding flattery also informed how men perceived compliments within the lived experience of friendship. Henry More, for instance, was deeply concerned with being an authentic, honest friend who did not shy away from delivering perceived difficult, but necessary truths. The Earl of Sunderland exhibited a similar distaste for insincerity when he referred to statements of excessive admiration and devotion from utilitarian male friends he confronted with disloyalty as 'pretend' and 'abundance of that kind which I could not hear'.[138] That he perceived their professed submission to him to be 'a very good success', however, suggests that, despite finding the flattery insincere and unappealing, it nevertheless made him feel powerful in these friendships, assuring him that his reputation (which may have been threatened by their disloyal talk) was secure.[139] This indicates that, while flattery was generally seen as unseemly in early modern English society, it was used as a tactic for emotional manipulation by both men and women, and that there was an awareness that even when perceived as insincere, it could still achieve the desired effect by demonstrating the power and worth of the person being flattered. It was, however, functional friendships in which flattery was employed in both the male and female examples in this source pool, further revealing the importance of authenticity in forming and preserving sentimental friendships.

Frances did not solely rely on flattery in her increased efforts to secure the match. She also explicitly expressed her and her kin's hopes for the betrothal, using these hopes to attempt to elicit feelings of compassion, sympathy and guilt in Elizabeth. Francis wrote for example, of her son's upcoming trip to Europe to improve himself, mentioning that her regrets at letting him, who she was 'as much a nurse as a Mother to' leave, 'all vanish when that glorius end apeares to my mind in which your

[138]Copy letter from Robert Spencer to William Bentinck, Pw A 1249/1-3.
[139] Ibid.

La^{pp} and your most noble Lord are great Pillars I rest upon'.[140] She further revealed; 'I can not keepe my selfe from those hopes I wish may come to pass which if I could live to see acomplished and then end my life I would not leave it in more contented ease and joy'.[141] Frances evidently desired to convey to Elizabeth the immense relief and joy she would feel if the match was made. Frances's portrayal of Elizabeth and her 'noble Lord' as 'great Pillars' she wished to lean on, furthermore, implies that Elizabeth possessed the ability to offer Frances the solace she so deeply desired, which would enable her to die contentedly.[142]

It has been illustrated throughout this thesis that in friendships in which there was emotional attachment, friends often exhibited concern for each other's feelings. While some men cared about their close male friends' feelings despite societal expectations that dictated men should be self-sufficient and avoid emotional intimacy, this chapter has shown that female friends were expected to openly share feelings and offer emotional support to each other. It is curious, however, in the context of their purely instrumental relationship, that Frances perceived Elizabeth might be persuaded to make a particular decision based on Frances's feelings. It is possible that Frances believed Elizabeth might be swayed by the opportunity to be recognized as a valuable friend. It has been demonstrated previously in this thesis that both male and female friends derived a sense of belonging, value, and purpose from fulfilling friendship duties for one another. In these instances, however, the individuals in this source base were able to find self-worth through their belief that they had met expectations of honorable, worthy friends. It was also shown that, in utilitarian male friendships, being seen as a good friend was associated with success and security. As it is clear that neither of the women were committed to conducting the friendship with honesty and sincerity, however, and the relationship was not necessary for Elizabeth's wellbeing, it does not seem likely that the idea of being considered a good friend by Frances held much appeal as an emotional reward for Elizabeth.

[140]Frances Cavendish, Countess of Ogle to Elizabeth Percy, Dowager Countess of Northumberland, [n.d. circa 1676], Family and Estate Collections, University of Nottingham Manuscripts and Special Collections, Pw1/202.
[141] Frances Cavendish to Elizabeth Percy, Pw1/202.
[142] Frances Cavendish to Elizabeth Percy, Pw1/202.

Another possibility is that, given the prevailing perception in early modern English society that women were heavily influenced by their emotions, Frances may have believed she could appeal to Elizabeth's feelings, notwithstanding the lack of intimacy between them. Her description of herself as 'as much a nurse as a Mother to' her son may have been intended to evoke sympathy in Elizabeth, who, as a mother herself, would likely have understood how it felt to be anxious about parting with a beloved child. Despite the societal view that early modern English women were inherently prone to sin and wickedness, they were also expected to be naturally caring and nurturing in their primary roles as mothers.[143] Mothers who claimed to not love their children were sometimes perceived as suffering from mental disorders, and those who neglected their children were commonly considered insane.[144]

This perception of women as natural nurturers likely shaped broader understandings of the female psyche. As Herbert contends, medical understandings of women's greater natural capacity for emotion enabled women to find common ground, to feel pity for one another, be motivated to provide assistance, and 'offer one another sororal love'.[145] Stirring sympathy in Elizabeth may have been viewed by Frances as a means of creating an emotional connection between them which could, in turn, lead Elizabeth to care about Frances's feelings. Frances may again have perceived that there was little to lose in attempting to elicit a particular emotional reaction from Elizabeth, as her acknowledgment of Elizabeth's higher status and power in this situation may have continued to engender positive feelings of superiority for Elizabeth.

When the prospect of Frances's ending her life in 'contented ease and joy' proved not to be sufficient motivation for Elizabeth Percy to agree to the match, Frances implored Elizabeth to consider her elderly father-in-law, William Cavendish, and son as well.[146] She made a 'humble beg' to Elizabeth for 'a gratius answer to the comfort of a man of his extreme age whoe says he should die contented had

[143] Barclay, 'Love and Other Emotions', p.86.
[144] MacDonald, *Mystical Bedlam*, p.83.
[145] Herbert, *Female Alliances*, p.196.
[146] Frances Cavendish to Elizabeth Percy, Pw1/202.

hee that assurance hee wishes his grand child should attaine such a happynes'.[147] She also reported to Elizabeth that her son's being abroad was 'filling his young head full of feares of beeing forgott' by Elizabeth and her kin, and that if only she could 'comfort his little Hart' that he had a place in Elizabeth's memory, then 'all his indevors to improve him selfe would goe on with the more cheerefullnes'.[148] While in the previous letter Frances had only implied that Elizabeth held the key to her happiness, she explicitly acknowledged here that Elizabeth had control over her and her kin's emotions. By agreeing to the marriage, Elizabeth could console a dying man by granting him his final wish, provide comfort to a distressed young man, and ease the worries of Frances, whose prayers for the match were 'continuall'.[149] Not agreeing to it, by insinuation, meant allowing others to suffer. Their emotional wellbeing, Frances indicated, rested on Elizabeth's decision.

These appeals to Elizabeth's compassion and sense of guilt contrast distinctly with the emotional manipulation tactics utilized in the male friendships studied in this thesis. In those friendships, men used threats of damaged reputation to attempt to instill fear in, and thus control, their male friends. When Henry More was upset that Lord Conway had not publicly rejected his enemy, Stubbes, for example, he mentioned that others questioned Lord Conway's conduct as a friend for not doing so. In a similar manner, John Holles attempted to ensure loyalty from a male friend of a lower social rank, Mr. Murray, by informing him that his continued cooperation would 'confirm me in your worth and friendship'.[150] Although the statement was presented in a positive light, the implication was that to fail to fully cooperate with Holles would equate to failing as a friend and as a person (as it was demonstrated in this thesis that one's worth as a friend was often perceived as directly correlating with one's worth as a person). These threats to their reputations were evidently seen as having real consequences. Lord Conway's quick compliance with More's wish suggests that being viewed as a poor friend by others in his social circle

[147] Copy letter from Frances Cavendish, Countess of Ogle to Elizabeth Percy, Dowager Countess of Northumberland, [n.d. circa 1676], Family and Estate Collections, University of Nottingham Manuscripts and Special Collections, Pw1/204.
[148] Frances Cavendish, Countess of Ogle to Elizabeth Percy, Dowager Countess of Northumberland, [n.d.circa 1675], Family and Estate Collections, University of Nottingham Manuscripts and Special Collections, Pw1/206.
[149] Frances Cavendish to Elizabeth Percy, Pw1/204.
[150] John Holles to R. Murray, Pw1/358.

would negatively impact him. Similarly, Mr. Murray might not have been able to secure future work if John Holles was disappointed and expressed his dissatisfaction to others. Seventeenth-century English men clearly understood the fear of a potentially damaged reputation to be an effective means of manipulating one another.

Here however, Frances was attempting to arouse feelings such as sympathy, pity, and guilt in Elizabeth as a method of persuasion. This suggests a belief that Elizabeth should experience and act upon compassion for others. Because, as mentioned previously, women were perceived as being physically less capable of restraining their emotions, they were likely seen as more susceptible to being swayed by such emotions as sympathy and pity than men, who were meant to value independence, self-sufficiency, and to be in control of their emotions. Fear of a tainted reputation was also likely not viewed by Frances as an effective means of manipulation. Because honorable reputation for women in early modern England hinged on their sexual chastity, there were limited avenues for significant damage (though Linda Pollock has recently suggested that factors not related to chastity, such as being a good mother, may have been more critical determinants of women's honor than previously recognized).[151] On the contrary, men's honorable reputation, while rooted in possessing sexual control over their wives, extended to being perceived as trustworthy and valuable friends. These facets of reputation were crucial for men needing to seek alliances with strangers in the public sphere. The different strategies employed by the early modern English men and women examined in this study illustrate that both genders engaged in emotional manipulation to achieve their goals within relationships, drawing on their understandings of male and female physiology, and societal norms, to determine the most effective tactics.

Frances's strategies of manipulation also, however, raise questions as to societal expectations regarding men's ability to manage their emotions. Her plea for her father-in-law and son to be consoled indicates that she felt men's emotional distress should be addressed and alleviated rather than simply restrained. If Frances had mentioned only her elderly father-in-law, it could be assumed that this was due

[151] Pollock, 'Anger', p.581.

to his age, as it was believed by early modern English physicians that mental faculties weakened with age, making elderly individuals of both sexes more susceptible to mental illness.[152] Thus, men were likely not expected to be able to exert as much control over their emotions at this stage in the lifecycle. Frances's son, who would have been thirteen at the time this letter is thought to have been written, however, would likely have been expected to demonstrate the strength, bravery, and mastery of emotion which early modern English parents sought to cultivate in boys from a very young age.[153]

The previous chapter revealed that the expression and management of emotions within male friendships were more intricate than has been recognized by historians. This complexity suggests that broader perceptions of men's emotional experiences may have been more nuanced than is represented in the historiography. As previously suggested, it is possible that women's nurturing tendences, typically associated with motherhood, might have been expected to emerge in their other relationships. It may have been perceived as acceptable at times, therefore, for men to make their distress and feelings of vulnerability known to women and for women to seek to console distressed male friends. This may have been why Henry More chose to share his perceived shameful experience of spontaneously weeping in front of male friends with Lady Anne Conway, as discussed in the male friendship chapter of this thesis. That the men ignored the crying and attempted to divert More's attention by discussing business matters suggest that they felt the faux pas was best dealt with by overlooking it. This was perceived by More as a kind reaction on their part. More's sharing with Anne, however, indicates that discussing this matter with her was deemed acceptable, and that he wanted the uncomfortable experience acknowledged. He may, therefore, have been hoping for explicit comfort from her which was not provided by male friends.

Subsequent correspondence from Henry Cavendish to his friend, Thomas Osborne, reveals that Frances did eventually see her desire for the marriage realized, though whether her pursuit of the friendship or efforts at manipulation played a role in this outcome is unclear. Henry's letters provide

[152]Macdonald, *Mystical Bedlam*, p.41.
[153] Foyster, *Manhood*, p.31.

further evidence that this female friendship was motivated by functional considerations on both sides. Henry informed Thomas in 1681 that his son, who died the previous year, had been 'reuned by his marriage wch I was ever against' and explained that his son's bride had been 'most unfortunate having people who advised her tht Loves money above all things'.[154] There was, Henry described, 'little truth and Honnesty' in the matter.[155] These mournful observations suggest that Elizabeth Percy, like Frances, had instrumental interests at the forefront of this connection, and that neither of the women was concerned with conducting an honest and honorable friendship.

Although Henry claimed to have always been opposed to the marriage, his awareness of the friendship and his involvement in performing duties for Elizabeth Percy, as explored earlier, suggests that he was, at some point, in favor of the match. Furthermore, it is evident that he took charge of the arrangements for the marriage treaty, as a letter from the Percy's servant informing Henry that the Percy's had agreed to 'what was formerly proposed by yr Grace' regarding the financial maintenance and living arrangements for the couple, demonstrates.[156] His disapproval likely emerged later, or may have been a sentiment he developed in hindsight after the death of his son, but claimed to have felt all along. Nevertheless, Henry's lamentation underscores the purely instrumental nature of this female friendship, demonstrating how early modern English women, like men, sometimes formed and conducted friendships with each other exclusively as a means to achieve functional ends such as power and material gain.

Conclusions

This chapter has contributed to addressing significant gaps in the historiography on early modern English female friendship by shedding light on the diverse emotions experienced and expressed within these relationships, delving deeply into individual friendships, and investigating the utilitarian aspects of

[154]Henry Cavendish, Duke of Newcastle to Thomas Osborne, Earl of Danby, 14 November 1681, Family and Estate Collections, University of Nottingham Manuscripts and Special Collections, Pw1/543.
[155] Henry Cavendish, Duke of Newcastle to Thomas Osborne, Earl of Danby, 22 November 1681, Family and Estate Collections, University of Nottingham Manuscripts and Special Collections, Pw1/544.
[156] Orlando Gee, London to Henry Cavendish, Duke of Newcastle, 2nd January 1679, Family and Estate Collections, University of Nottingham Manuscripts and Special Collections, Pw1/136.

elite female friendship. It was shown that seventeenth-century English women often entered their female friendships with the expectation that these relationships would be emotionally intimate, supportive, and fulfilling. It was argued that professions of affection and devotion at the inception of female friendships in which the friends did not yet know one another or were not yet well acquainted served as emotional performances, conforming to societal expectations of female friendship while also aiming to embed these emotions within the women. The integration of practical duties, such as assisting each other in childbirth, with amusement, frequent correspondence, and conversations about personal and sensitive topics during in-person visits further served to cultivate intimacy, demonstrating women's desire for emotional companionship and their recognition of the potential of female friendship to fulfill this need. While women therefore held different priorities in friendship compared to men, it was also shown that they respected and took pride in adhering to certain friendship ideals established by men, though they adapted these ideals to align with the nature and objectives of female friendship. As such, it was argued that Crawford and Mendelson's assertion that female friendship should be viewed as an element of a separate female subculture, detached from the dominant male cultures of early modern England, obscures the complexities of this relationship.[157]

The women in this source base did, however, display a discernible sense of a shared female experience and their reliance on one another to navigate the challenges of matrimony was explored, revealing how they perceived female friends as bearing greater responsibility for women's emotional wellbeing than husbands. The devotion these women felt towards one another endured well into their old age and widowhood and it was their female friendships in these later stages of their lives which they sought comfort and fulfillment from. It was posited that the flexible and inclusive early modern definition of friendship allowed individuals to maintain their friendships despite changes in the nature of their relationships over time. When bonds of sisterhood were dissolved due to death of a spouse and remarriage, seventeenth-century English women who perceived themselves to be friends in a noble

[157] Crawford, *Friendship and Love*, p.48; Crawford and Mendelson, *Women*, p.13.

partnership could remain tied to one another throughout their lives and legitimately dedicate the same level of effort to maintaining their emotional connection as they had when they were kin.

Although emotional intimacy, support, and satisfaction were evidently common desires in female friendship, it was shown that some women sought to form female bonds purely for utilitarian purposes, such as acquiring power and material gain. The women in the utilitarian friendship examined also displayed feelings like affection and joy during the formation of friendship, however, it was argued that these performances were not necessarily intended to internalize the emotions within the women, but, rather, were attempts to adhere to the conventions of female friendship. The absence of any discernible effort on the part of these women to cultivate an emotional connection over the years, combined with their evident functional interests, it was asserted, further demonstrates why female friendship should not be perceived as entirely insulated within a distinct female subculture, impervious to male influence. Women did not just adapt and adjust male friendship ideals to fit their own needs, but, sometimes, the priorities of female friendship fully aligned with those of male friendship. As such, it was also pointed out that historians' tendency to view female bonds as needing to be rooted in sentiment to be considered friendships inhibits a nuanced understanding of this relationship. It was suggested that if scholars continue to opt out of examining complex female relationships through the lens of friendship, the complexities of the lived experience of early modern English female friendship may remain obscured.

Attempts at emotional manipulation were then explored and it was shown that appeals to compassion and maternal instincts were employed as manipulative tactics. It was posited that such strategies were likely informed by medical understandings of female physiology, which portrayed women as being highly susceptible to the influence of their emotions. It was also shown that flattery was utilized as a manipulation tactic. Although flattery was perceived by both men and women in this source base as distasteful and disingenuous, it was argued that the use of flattery in functional friendships suggests that it could, nevertheless, prove to be an effective means of manipulation by demonstrating the importance and value of the person being flattered. The employment of flattery as a manipulation strategy in female

friendship indicates that women, like men, pursued feelings of dominance, respect, and importance within their friendships. The emotional landscape of female friendship therefore encompassed a broader spectrum of feelings beyond those usually associated with the relationship, such as affection and happiness. These feelings, while evidently a sought-after element of the female friendship experience for many women, did not define the emotional rewards women derived from their friendships.

Conclusion

This thesis has explored the lived experience of friendship in seventeenth-century England, employing emotion as an analytical lens by which to recover this experience. The findings of this research make a substantial contribution to the established historiographical debate on the affective nature of early modern English friendship. Early interpretations of friendship as solely an unemotional bond or a clear-cut opposition between utility and feeling have been increasingly challenged in recent years, with scholars asserting that practicality was often intertwined with some degree of sentimental feeling in friendship.[1] The latest study proposes that all early modern English friendships were, to some extent, based in emotion.[2] Nevertheless, significant gaps in the historiography remained, becoming increasingly apparent in light of the growing body of emotions scholarship demonstrating the potential of this research approach to enrich understandings of past relationships. The significance of this thesis lies in its investigation of the full scope and degree of emotions experienced within a comprehensive range of friendships, with a specific focus on the gendered experience of emotion— an area which has not yet been addressed in the historiography. It is the first work of this depth to analyze the emotions involved in early modern English friendship, drawing from a rich source base which allowed for exploration of friendships of varying levels of emotional attachment, as well as how elements like social rank and kinship shaped the emotional landscape of these ties.

Influenced by the ways in which the burgeoning research on historical emotions has offered new directions of study and reshaped longstanding debates across many areas of History, this project set out with two primary objectives. First, to deepen current understandings of the lived experience of seventeenth-century English friendship— a relationship which, despite being arguably the most significant social tie of the period, has been largely overlooked by emotions historians— by employing the tools of emotions analysis. Second, through analyzing the emotions aroused within friendship to

[1] Tadmor, *Family and Friends*, pp.207, 213; Thomas, *The Ends of Life*, p.199.
[2] Powell, 'Emotional Landscape', pp.198-9.

contribute to the small yet growing pool of emotions research endeavoring to uncover how feelings were understood, experienced, and expressed in early modern England. The process of primary source research further refined these aims, providing evidence with which to address critical gaps in the research on friendship and revealing the necessity for nuance and depth within current interpretations of the relationship independent of emotions analysis. In addition to enhancing understandings of friendship by investigating the full spectrum of emotions generated within various types of friendships, this thesis has expanded the breadth of scholarship by exploring the understudied experience of conflict within friendship and challenging the prevailing historiographical interpretations of male and female bonds.

In studying conflict, this thesis not only addresses a neglected aspect of early modern English friendship, but also opens new ground as the first study to analyze the range of emotions involved in friendship disputes. Its study of the emotions aroused within conflict shed light on the significance of the relationship in the lives of seventeenth-century English people, as well as the impact factors such as social standing, gender, and friends' specific relation to one another had on expectations, conduct, and emotional expression within these relationships. It was found, for example, in the exploration of socially inferior male friends' responses to the prospect of having displeased a higher-ranked male friend, that utilitarian friendships characterized by little to no apparent emotional attachment still held considerable emotional significance. It was shown that these relationships provided seventeenth-century English men with essential practical support through employment, patronage, and services, but also furnished emotional support by nurturing sentiments of comfort and security. It was suggested, furthermore, that being perceived as a valued friend may have held particular significance for men, signifying their capability, respectability, and adeptness in successfully navigating a society reliant upon their ability to form and maintain personal alliances. As such, the potential erosion of these friendships— as inferred by men from unanswered correspondence— was argued to have triggered feelings of apprehension, sadness, inadequacy, and anger. The interconnected practical and emotional elements at play in these friendships meant that the severing of ties carried great consequences.

Lapses in communication were also poorly received in friendships of equal social standing. Rather than timidly questioning whether they had caused offense as the inferior friends in socially unequal ties did, however, the elite friends in this source base displayed a sense of entitlement to timely responses from one another. It was shown that they perceived a lack of communication as an acceptable, and even necessary, justification for expressing offense and discontent, and instigating conflict. Sustaining consistent communication and honoring commitments for social visits were, therefore, considered obligations within equal friendships.

In contrast, within uneven friendships, these practices were not regarded as duties but rather as privileges for socially superior friends to bestow upon their social inferiors as they saw fit. It was argued, as noted above, however, that socially inferior individuals in instrumental friendships experienced anxiety, sadness, and anger when their higher-ranked friends ignored them, though they only articulated concern at potentially having displeased their superior friends. This was also shown to be the case in unequal friendship of a sentimental nature. Henry More's reaction to unanswered correspondence and missed social visits from higher-ranked friends he felt great fondness for demonstrated that he experienced anger and, seemingly, painful feelings of rejection and insignificance in such instances. Like the men in utilitarian friendships, however, he abstained from expressing these sentiments to the offending friends. These grievances were not deemed acceptable grounds for provoking conflict as they were in socially equal friendships, even when the relationship was characterized by strong emotional attachment. Despite the depth of sentimental feeling in an unequal friendship, therefore, there existed limitations as to the specific emotions and degrees of emotion that the inferior friend could express.

Nevertheless, there were evidently ways to convey a certain level of dissatisfaction to a higher-ranked friend safely. The exploration of Henry More's veiled resentment towards Lord Conway for refusing to publicly reprimand his enemy, Stubbes, illustrated how restraint and subtlety could be employed to articulate anger indirectly and demonstrated how a powerful friend's expression of disapproval could be a useful tool in protecting an individual's reputation. It was shown how More

skillfully navigated his subordinate position by framing his criticism in a manner that appeared more diplomatic than critical, pointing out the concerns of others who were discussing Lord Conway's conduct rather than communicating his own displeasure. The complaint was also not expressed directly to Lord Conway, but to Lord Conway's wife, who More clearly perceived would discuss the matter with her husband. This evidence highlights the need for nuance in applying Linda Pollock's argument that expressing anger in early modern England was not 'confined to the partner with the superior status in the relationship'.[3] The individuals in Pollock's source base are predominantly close kin and in making this point she is referring to 'dependents' who vigorously defended their rights when threatened.[4] It was noted that this thesis's examination of kin friendships aligns with Pollock's analysis. Ties of kinship in early modern England were much more tightly woven than those of other relationships, however, with individuals expected to care for kin members regardless of personal feelings or the quality of their kin's performance as a friend. This afforded kin members greater liberty to express their outrage and irritation to one another. Non-kin friends, particularly those of inferior social standing, on the other hand, faced larger consequences in the articulation of anger, risking the potential severing of a relationship crucial to their wellbeing. The expression of anger was, therefore, regulated and adjusted in response to these heightened stakes.

In friendships which were not essential or particularly favorable to a lower-ranked friend's welfare, however, it may have been seen as less important to curb anger. The examination of an unequal male-female friendship, in which the socially inferior male friend, John Ray, responded to his socially superior friend Lady Emma's fury with equal force, suggests that deference may have been practiced only if the inferior friend perceived it as advantageous. It was observed that John Ray did not seem to need or desire this connection in the same way that Henry More did his friendships with the Conway's. The relationship appears to have been grounded largely in his perceived obligation to perform the duties of friendship for his deceased friend, Francis Willoughby's kin. Ray would have been able to continue being

[3] Pollock, 'Anger', p.575.
[4] Ibid.

of use in practical matters, such as executing the will, regardless of Emma's feelings towards him, which may have empowered him to freely express hostility towards Lady Emma. It was argued that it is not the case, therefore, that social inferiors, as Keith Thomas asserts, 'always' had to be respectful to social superiors.[5] Individuals of lower social standing may have opted to exhibit deference towards their higher-ranked friends only if they felt that the alignment of interests in the relationship was beneficial to them.

It was also posited, however, that perceptions of gender influenced John Ray's overt display of wrath within this dispute. While John Ray stood lower down the social scale than Lady Emma, he was a man in a patriarchal society. The particular insults Emma directed at Ray associated him with traits antithetical to the ideals of honorable masculinity and were, therefore, likely perceived as posing a threat to his manhood. As such, John Ray may have felt it necessary to illustrate that Lady Emma's perception of him was inaccurate, arising from her perceived immorality rather than any defects of his own. Throughout the conflict he portrayed himself as having a better understanding of morality, proper friendship conduct, and her husband's wishes, suggesting that he regarded Emma as inferior in these aspects. Given the prevailing belief that men possessed superior morality, reason, and the ability to engage in higher forms of friendship perceived as unattainable by women, John Ray's self-assuredness in these areas, it was argued, stemmed from his identity as a man. Unlike Henry More, who explicitly acknowledged his subordinate role in his friendship with Lady Anne Conway, John Ray seemed to perceive his position as a man provided him with a measure of equality to, or even dominance, over Lady Emma.

This dispute, it was proposed, adds further complexity to Pollock's argument that the articulation of anger was not restricted to the individual with the superior rank in a relationship. John Ray's refusal to submit to Lady Emma's demands and to tolerate her anger, along with the sense of authority he seemed to derive from his perceived moral and intellectual superiority as a man prompt questions as to what exactly determined higher status and shaped power dynamics in a non-kin male-female friendship in early

[5] Thomas, *In Pursuit of Civility*, p.51.

modern England. Opposite-sex friendships remain significantly underexplored in the historiography; much of the scholarship on male-female relations in early modern England concentrates on the marital relationship, wherein men were recognized as exercising authority over their wives as the heads of households. Conversely, non-kin male-female friendships, it was suggested, may have been a space in which the interaction of social and gender hierarchies allowed men and women to experience a semblance of equality in a society predominantly characterized by hierarchical relationships. Due to the inherently limited scope of this thesis and the nature of the source base, which privileges analysis of male-male and female-female friendships, an in-depth, comprehensive exploration of male-female friendship was not feasible within the confines of this project. Further examination of the nature and dynamics of male-female friendships, however, particularly concerning the interplay of gender and social hierarchies presents a promising avenue for future research.

This thesis's investigation of the ways in which the emotional experience of seventeenth-century English friendship were informed by gender also takes the field into new territory. Analysis of both male and female friendships demonstrated the need for a nuanced reevaluation of established historiographical interpretations concerning these relationships. It was shown in the examination of male friendships, for example, that some men chose to deviate from the conventional ideals associated with the relationship during the period. These men perceived their male friends as trusted confidantes and considered male friendship a space where vulnerability was permissible. Within these bonds they felt comfortable sharing experiences of failed manhood and explicitly seeking emotional as well as practical support. It was argued that these friendships directly challenge prevailing notions of male friendship found in key scholarship. The scholarship asserts that male friendships were regarded as a means to cultivate ideal masculine traits like independence, and self-sufficiency, and were characterized by emotional detachment, competitive undertones, and a fear of intimacy.[6] It is emphasized that it was men who posed the greatest threats to other men's status and reputation, and that, in their quests for honorable manhood, therefore, men were

[6] E.g. Bray and Rey, 'The Body of the Friend', pp.81-3; Foyster, *Manhood*, pp.129-30; Shepard, *Meanings Of Manhood*, p.79.

involved in contests for dominance among themselves.[7] This thesis contended that, while these interpretations may be broadly reflective of early modern English society and male friendship, it is evident that men did not always conform to societal gender expectations within their friendships. It was also posited that these key interpretations suggest that the distinctly male experience of achieving and maintaining honorable manhood was one which early modern English men might have believed that only other men could genuinely understand and sympathize with. The very fears, therefore, which caused men to be competitive with and distrustful of one another may also have encouraged a sense of unity and connection among them. It was noted, however, that these letters formed a minority within the source base, suggesting that there were only a few friendships within a man's social network in which he felt safe openly expressing emotions and engaging in vulnerability.

Other male friendships within this source base demonstrated that, while manhood was nevertheless perceived as important to maintain, the regulation of intimacy and emotional expression in friendship was more complex than current scholarship indicates. It was argued that intimacy was viewed by seventeenth-century English men in two conflicting ways: as a sought-after element in friendships and simultaneously as something potentially threatening, requiring regulation. In friendships driven by utility, closeness could signal favor and attachment, ensuring security in relationships crucial to one's welfare. Nonetheless, it remained important for a friend to uphold an idealized image of manhood within their social sphere. Personal disclosures and emotional expression, therefore, were regarded as safe only within few and select friendships, though the evidence also suggests that early modern English men may have had differing views on which types of friends were suitable to confide in for sensitive personal matters and possibly had varying definitions of what constituted such sensitive information.

Some men, however, were not receptive to invitations to engage in intimacy and open emotional expression, and it was argued that this may have been informed by social rank as well as societal expectations of men. It may not have been considered appropriate for higher-ranked friends to engage in

[7] Foyster, *Manhood*, p.127.

vulnerability with their social inferiors. Some men may also simply not have been comfortable with male friendships which operated in ways outside the perceived parameters of early modern English manhood. The examples examined, however, indicate that even men who seemed uneasy with intimacy still sought to offer emotional support and convey acceptance to their friends. Such responses as reassuring a friend of their unscathed manhood and tactfully ignoring perceived inappropriate emotional expressions were suggested to have functioned both as tacit reminders of acceptable male behavior and as a means for male friends to extend emotional support without engaging in emotional vulnerability or intimacy, thus conforming to societal expectations of men. In friendships of this nature, men walked a fine line between emotional closeness and upholding their manhood.

Conversely, this thesis's exploration of female friendships demonstrated that emotional intimacy, fulfillment, and emotional support were often expected elements of the experience of this relationship. It was observed that in forming friendships women expressed feelings of joy, affection, and loyalty toward their new friend, even in instances of brief acquaintance. These expressions were posited to be emotional performances, however, the authentic intimacy evident within later stages of these relationships suggests that the women genuinely sought to foster these sentiments over time, using emotional performance as a tool to internalize these emotions within themselves. While it was emphasized that women often held different priorities within their friendships compared to men, it was also shown that women embraced and esteemed certain male-created ideals of friendship conduct, though they modified and adapted these ideals to suit their own friendship objectives. This brought into question Mendelson and Crawford's interpretation of early modern English female friendship as occupying a distinctly female subculture, separate from the prevailing male elite and popular cultures.[8] It was argued that to fully understand the complex nature of female friendship, it is imperative to acknowledge both the aspects which distinguished it from the presiding male-dominated cultures and the components which connected it to them.

[8] Crawford, 'Friendship and Love', p.48; Mendelson and Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England*, p.13.

Mendelson and Crawford's argument was further challenged in this thesis's exploration of instrumental female friendship. It was demonstrated that, despite the historiographical emphasis on the sentimental nature of female ties, women sometimes partook in purely utilitarian friendships with one another similar to those observed among men. Such friendship was motivated by practical and material considerations and placed minimal or no significance on emotional intimacy, though women negotiated societal pressures that expected intimacy and affection in female bonds. As such, it was postulated that women did not just engage with and modify male friendship ideals to fit their needs but sometimes the priorities in female friendships aligned entirely with those of male friendships. Approaching female friendships as wholly detached from male influence, therefore, may mask the intricacies of early modern English women's experiences and relationships, suggesting a uniformity in their intentions and the nature of their friendships.

The investigation of utilitarian female friendship also underscored the limitations imposed by other key scholarship on understandings of the relationship. Bernard Capp's analysis of women's gossip networks and Amanda Herbert's study of early modern women's alliances were specifically highlighted in this discussion.[9] It was argued that the distinctions Capp makes between a woman's friends, neighbors, and acquaintances suggests that he perceives female ties as requiring a sentimental element to be considered friendships, though his concentration on gossips enables him to avoid delving deeper into the meaning of female friendship. Herbert, however, explicitly opts out of examining female relationships lacking a clear sentimental foundation as friendships, referring to bonds of a complex nature and bonds between women of unequal social rank as 'alliances' instead.[10] Herbert's intentional employment of the term 'alliance' to highlight the broad spectrum of women's connections and to avoid excessively strict categorizations, it was suggested, paradoxically restricts the definition of female friendship. It was pointed out that in discussions of the relationship more broadly historians acknowledge friendship as an inclusive term enveloping a spectrum of relationships of varying emotional importance, involving

[9] Capp, *When Gossips Meet*, p.52; Herbert, *Female Alliances*, p.16.
[10]Herbert, *Female Alliances*, pp.15-16.

individuals of differing social standing, sometimes selectively and thoughtfully chosen, and other times more a product of convenience or necessity.[11] In investigating female friendships, however, this flexible view often seems to yield to a narrower interpretation that emphasizes sentimental bonds as the key criterion for defining friendship. While the evidence suggests that women often did desire and form emotionally intimate relationships with one another, this thesis showed that women also engaged in friendships purely for reasons of practical and material gain. It was argued that, should scholars choose to avoid scrutinizing complex female relationships through the framework of friendship, favoring instead perceived safer concepts such as alliances or gossip networks, the nuances of the lived experience of early modern English female friendship may never be fully brought to light.

The application of an emotions lens to male and female friendship revealed further important subtleties as well as insights into how seventeenth-century English people perceived, experienced, and expressed emotions. It was shown, for example, that both early modern English men and women utilized emotional manipulation to navigate relationships, employing strategies informed by societal gender roles and understandings of male and female physiology. Men in this source base leveraged the fear of damaged reputation to exert control over their male friends, drawing on the perception that being viewed as a valuable, trustworthy friend was an important aspect of a man's good reputation. While it was posited in this thesis that performing friendship in a perceived honorable way could yield feelings of value, worth, and success for both men and women, it was shown that this held greater significance for men as the necessity of forming alliances with unfamiliar individuals to get along in life meant that a man's reputation as a friend greatly influenced his success in the public sphere. Seventeenth-century English men evidently recognized that being viewed as unworthy friend could arouse feelings of fear, shame, and inadequacy and, thus, the threat of this was an effective means of manipulation within male friendship.

In contrast, the attempts at manipulation explored in a female friendship suggest that women sought to evoke feelings of compassion, sympathy, pity, and guilt in one another as a method of

[11] Johnson, 'Friendship, Coercion, and Interest', p.47; Tadmor, *Family and Friends*, pp.272-3; Thomas, *The Ends of Life*, p.199.

persuasion. It was posited that this was informed by physiological understandings of women as natural nurturers less capable of tempering their emotions. Women may have been seen as more responsive to emotions such as sympathy and pity than men, who were expected to prioritize autonomy and emotional restraint. Women's honorable reputation, moreover, centered primarily on sexual chastity and there were, therefore, fewer avenues for significant harm, rendering fear less effective as a manipulation tactic.

The exploration of manipulation strategies in female friendship also had implications as to societal expectations regarding the management of men's emotions. Frances Cavendish's plea for Elizabeth Percy to alleviate her son and father-in-law's fears and distress by providing an answer as to the marriage proposal indicates an assumption that men's emotional pain should be acknowledged and comforted rather than merely regulated. As this thesis has illustrated that the expression and management of emotions within male friendship was more complex than has previously been recognized by scholars, it was argued that seventeenth-century English men's emotional experiences more broadly may have been more multi-faceted than current scholarship indicates. In certain instances it may have been deemed acceptable for men to express distress and vulnerability to female friends and for female friends to comfort them. Henry More's decision to discuss his perceived shameful experience of weeping in the company of male friends with Anne Conway was pointed to as further indicating this. It was suggested that More may have been seeking explicit emotional support from Anne which was not offered by male friends, who viewed ignoring the emotional outburst to be a compassionate response. Further study of male-female friendships may also, therefore, prove a fruitful avenue for exploration of attitudes towards seventeenth-century English men's emotions in the lived experience.

There was, however, one method of emotional manipulation which was observed in both male and female friendships: flattery. It was shown that there was an understanding among the seventeenth-century English men and women in this source base, reflecting notions in conduct literature, that flattery within friendship was insincere, distasteful, and potentially an indication of ulterior motives. Men's concerns were demonstrated to have revolved around the practical and material consequences of being

betrayed by a flattering friend, while apprehension in female friendship was linked to the desire for authentic emotional connection. Despite this apparent shared understanding, flattery was employed by members of this source base, though this was observed only in friendships which appear to have been firmly instrumental. It was argued that the men and women who utilized flattery perceived that, even if their compliments were evaluated as insincere, they could still achieve their desired impact by showcasing the power, importance, and superiority of the individual being flattered. In friendships devoid of emotional attachment, these emotional rewards could be considered more significant than the value of authenticity. The dispensing of flattery in female friendship suggests, in particular, that women, like men, sought feelings of dominance and significance and viewed friendship as a potential means by which to experience these feelings.

It was also demonstrated that seventeenth-century English men and women were concerned with regulating both their emotional expressions and their internal emotional experiences, though for distinct reasons. It was argued that women in this source base discerned how they should feel by observing the circumstances of the women within their social circle, evaluating whether their own situation was presently superior, inferior, or equal to that of their female friends. In situations where one's circumstances were considered more favorable than others', feelings of discontent or despair were expected to be suppressed, and feelings of contentment cultivated. If one's own situation was perceived as worse, however, the experience and expression of such emotions was viewed with greater sympathy. It was suggested that the practice of considering a friend's circumstances and then regulating one's emotional experiences and expressions accordingly was seen as an act of care in female friendship, demonstrating sensitivity, attentiveness, and concern.

Men in this source base, on the other hand, did not make explicit comparisons of theirs' and their friends' circumstances. Their worries around emotional experiences and expressions were in regard to their own sense of their manhood and others' perceptions of it. It was demonstrated that emotional expressions impacted perceptions of manhood, with men needing to be careful what they expressed and to

whom so as to appear as though they were in control of their feelings, and, thus, adhering to societal gender expectations. It was also shown, however, that even the private experience of an emotion, if felt intensely, triggered anxiety and shame in men, signaling to them that they were behaving effeminately and that their masculinity was in danger. If they were unable to restrain and temper their internal emotional experiences, furthermore, they risked an embarrassing unintentional emotional expression such as Henry More's outpouring of tears. The regulation of private feelings thus safeguarded both men's self-perception and how others perceived them, though, as was demonstrated throughout this thesis, there was more permissiveness for vulnerability and emotional expression in close male friendships than has previously been recognized.

Ultimately, this thesis contends that seventeenth-century English friendships of all kinds were imbued with emotion. The exploration of friendships revealed a rich tapestry of sentiments involved, from affection, fulfilment, safety, and a sense of value to feelings of fear, distrust, fury, and shame. Utilitarian friendships with little discernible emotional attachment between friends were demonstrated to have offered emotional security, evoking feelings of competence, significance, and security. Simultaneously, the potential loss or destabilization of these connections induced feelings of sadness, anxiety, vulnerability, and defectiveness. Female friendships, often characterized as affectionate and sentimental in historical scholarship, were revealed to have generated a much wider range of emotions. Apart from tenderness, these relationships also had the potential to offer feelings like power, security, pride, and personal worth, resembling aspects of male ties. Male friendships also were shown to have encompassed a spectrum of emotions. Sentiments such as shame, suspicion, worthiness, and discontent were observed, among others. Significantly, however, these relationships also aroused feelings of acceptance, solace, and safety within intimate connections, providing men with emotional support.

Historians have long recognized that friendship served vital practical functions and have increasingly come to recognize that it offered emotional returns as well, though this has, for the most part, been limited to pointing out the emotional satisfaction derived from companionate, sentimental

connections.[12] It is evident, however, that the emotional needs fulfilled by seventeenth-century English friendship extended well beyond the pursuit of gratifying sentimental bonds. Efforts to maintain harmony, the diverse motivations behind forging friendships, the use of an influential friend's display of anger to protect one's reputation, the deployment of flattery and other strategies to elicit specific emotional responses, and men's defiance of societal norms to access intimacy and emotional support, among other facets, all point to a nuanced understanding among seventeenth-century English people of the multifaceted emotional benefits inherent in friendships and the myriad emotions potentially involved within these relationships. The individuals within this thesis's source base exhibit an acute awareness that friendship played a pivotal role in their emotional wellbeing and actively, and often creatively, sought to use it to this end.

[12] E.g. Tadmor, *Family and Friends*; Thomas, *The Ends of Life.*

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