

## **Apostasy Reversed: Donne and Tobie Matthew**

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John Donne had a talent for friendship. It shines in his correspondence with his closest friends—the two Henry's, Wotton and Goodyer, George Garrard, Sir Robert Ker—as well as with the ladies he admired, Bridget White (Lady Kingsmill), Magdalen Herbert, and Lucy Harrington Russell (Countess of Bedford). Among the many friends with whom he associated or corresponded was an illustrious but rebellious son of an Anglican prelate, Tobie Matthew, whose conversion to Catholicism not only shocked and dismayed those who knew him but made him the most famous or notorious recusant in Jacobean and Caroline England. It complicated both his life and his relations with Donne, whose own shifting religious convictions contributed to the uneven course of their friendship. Donne, the questioning Catholic, after years of frustrated secular ambition, gradually discovered and cultivated his Call to ministry in the English Church, from which Matthew, in a shorter, more dramatic and highly emotional experience, departed. Thus the irony of 'apostasy' in reverse, although Dennis Flynn's preference for 'survivor' over John Carey's term 'apostate' is perhaps more appropriate, at least for Donne, since he survived the Elizabethan persecution with its threat of "death and disintegration" but suffered the psychological pain and irrational guilt of such survival—the self-accusation of "Why was I spared?"<sup>1</sup> Matthew survived the less rigorous Jacobean persecution but suffered the pain of coping with the refusal of his own (English) society to sanction the religious forms of his choice.

Exactly when they became acquainted is uncertain—perhaps in the mid-1590's at the Inns of Court rather than earlier at Oxford, since Tobie was five years younger than Donne. They may have been introduced by Wotton, secretary to the Earl of Essex, when Essex put on his "Device" on the Queen's Day (Nov. 17), 1595. Tobie, at age 18, acted the Squire's part, a major role in what Wotton was to call Essex's "darling piece of love, and self-love."<sup>2</sup> (It

is possible, however, that Donne heard from other Oxonians of Matthew's brilliance in oratory at Christ Church, where his father was Dean.)

What is certain is that they were drawn to each other by temperament and many shared interests and abilities, including linguistic and literary and a taste for the Latin world, especially Spanish literature.<sup>3</sup> Both were blessed with ardent, winsome, outgoing but sensitive personalities that attracted others and themselves to each other. Both were also endowed with talents for translating and with spiritual insights that moved them to compose devotional verse and prose. (Like Donne's uncle Jasper Heywood, Tobie not only excelled as a translator but became a Jesuit.) Francis Bacon figured in the lives of both: Matthew as his protégé and intimate friend, Donne, in time, as a grateful admirer. Then too, they agreed in considering Sir Robert Cecil detestable, probably for similar reasons, his harsh treatment of Catholics. Both were also to be editorially linked with Donne's son John, who for better and for worse edited his father's letters (1651) and later (1660) those Matthew preserved for his *Collection* to demonstrate the proficiency of the English in the art of letter-writing.

Matthew's career was marked by startling paradoxes and ironical reversals. Son and heir of Dr. Tobias Matthew, successively President of St. John's College, Oxford, Dean of Christ Church, Bishop of Durham, and Archbishop of York, he sacrificed wealth, reputation, security, and even liberty for allegiance to Rome and the Society of Jesus. He was thrice expelled from the nation he loved—by King James in 1608 and again in 1618 and by Puritan and other opponents in 1640—so that he was obliged to spend much of his adult life in exile on the Continent. Yet, by the same sovereign who twice banished him, for his conscientious objection to the required Oath of Allegiance, he was allowed to return and was knighted. Known as a literary stylist and for his taste and judgment in the visual arts, he was esteemed by a wide circle of prominent people, such as Dudley Carleton and Lucy Hay (Lady Carlisle); ridiculed by others motivated by envy or prejudice, such as John Chamberlain; and during the reign of Charles, feared and vilified by Protestant extremists.

This oft-times *persona non grata* steered a tortuous course between loyalty to king and country and devotion to his fellow Catholics in England. While so doing he won the respect of the powerful whom he assisted. These included, besides Bacon and Carleton, the meteoric royal favorite Villiers, Marquess of Buckingham; Sir Thomas Wentworth, Lord Strafford; and that most solid of 17th-century statesmen Edward Hyde, the future Lord Clarendon.

Matthew's biographer David Mathew was probably right in declaring that his "real talent was for diplomacy."<sup>4</sup>

He was so slight in stature that in 1623 Buckingham to the King referred to him as "littell prittie Tobie Matthew." Sometimes sickly, as he was when Carleton saw him in Venice in 1612, ("so broken with travail" that the Italian secretary at the embassy there called him *il vecchio*),<sup>5</sup> he nevertheless survived innumerable hardships and privations, including imprisonment, and lived to almost eighty!

It seems likely that he and Donne cemented their friendship between 1599, when Tobie was admitted to Gray's Inn, and 1601, when he entered Parliament as member for Newport, Cornwall. By 1603 not only were they corresponding but Tobie was visiting the Donnes at Pyrford. Their letters, (collected and printed in Matthew's *Collection* and convincingly authenticated by John P. Feil in 1962)<sup>6</sup> exchanged from 1603 to 1606 clearly show that their relationship was already warmly personal. Of eight extant letters from Tobie to Donne, four were written in 1603-4. Three by Donne in the same period indicate that Tobie has been entertained at Pyrford and is expected there again. For example, while acknowledging a long letter of November 1603 in which Tobie had sent him a detailed eye-witness account of Walter Raleigh's trial, arraignment, and sentencing at Winchester (as well as personal gossip),<sup>7</sup> Donne wrote,

I thank you likewise for renewing your promise, of coming to my poor house;<sup>8</sup>

The following month, January, 1603/4, when Matthew was out of town for Christmas, probably at Durham visiting his parents, Donne renewed his invitation, in two letters. In the second of these he wrote as follows:

I am glad to find, that you are now about the Equinoctiall of your return to Town; for I hold you to be a kind of Sun in my Hemisphear. As for me, I have had a good day and a bad; and therefore now, methinks, I should in order have again a good. But these things shall serve for a kind of entertainment, when we meet; and in the mean time, I have not forgotten, what you commanded so earnestly to my care when we parted last. And though, as I conceived, you gave me cause to be a little angry with you then, I shall account, that you have made me a full amends, when you let me see you here again.<sup>9</sup>

Though Donne does not specify the nature of Matthew's peremptory request, it probably had to do with his negotiations for purchasing Crown property at Oaking Park (Woking, or Oking, in Surrey, about twenty miles west of London).<sup>10</sup> The candor of Donne's acknowledging his pique is that of a close friend, but it may also be seen as foreshadowing the tension that would mark their relationship.

In subsequent letters of March and June, 1604,<sup>11</sup> Matthew expresses concern that Donne, by absenting himself from the Court, may be losing out on possible appointments; asks him to return to him the manuscript copy of Master Bacon's "Discourse of matters Ecclesiasticall" (i.e., "Certain Considerations Touching the Better Pacification and Edification of the Church of England"), that he left when he was at Pyrford; indulges in some witty banter about Donne's melancholy, which he tries to dispel by sending him a 'breezy account' (Feil, 304) of the Parliamentary proceedings in which Matthew was now taking part as member for St. Alban's. While mentioning several of their mutual M. P. friends, such as John Hoskyns, Sir Maurice Berkeley, and Sir William Cornwallis—together with Bacon, Edwin Sandys, Yelverton, and Richard Martin—in debate over the proposed union of Scotland and England, he adds:

And surely, saving that Sir George Moor is your father in law, and not in conscience, he speaks as ill as ever he did, saving that he speaks not so much.

Then he jibes at the strength of the Puritans in the House, and refers playfully to the birth of the Donnes' second child, John Jr., as follows:

The Duke of *Florence* hath sent a great Present to the King. . . . and the Dutchess to the Queen, great store of Sweet-meats for the next Christening. If your wife had been delivered a little sooner, you might here have been provided at an easie rate.

Such cordial intimacy continued right on into the Spring and Summer of 1606, when both men were abroad, Donne in France with Sir Walter Chute—and possibly also at Venice, where Wotton was ambassador—and Tobie in Italy. They had anticipated meeting but for reasons unknown did not. A letter from Donne was not received by Matthew until Donne was back in England. Mathew's reply, written about a month after his conversion, reflects his disappointment:

Sir,

Your train takes not fire. I received a young letter from you, dated as out of England, but I will not believe, but that you were as far as Venice, upon your way to Florence, when you wrote it: And that, after these heates, we shall have you here.<sup>12</sup>

(At that time Matthew was in the neighborhood of Florence trying to escape the heat. Besides alluding to Wotton, he refers to Bacon's marriage to "a pretty wench of sixteen"—i.e., Alice Barham, 10 May 1606—thereby enabling us to approximate the date of this letter; it was written about a month after his conversion.)

In that year his conversion had developed gradually.<sup>13</sup> It had been stimulated by contacts with English Catholics; by observation of religious worship at Fiesole; by voluntary sequestration at Siena and later at Florence (where he withdrew to concentrate on perfecting his Italian); by a near-drowning accident en route to Naples; by devotional reading; by friendly discussions in Rome with Fr. Robert Parsons and later with Cardinal Pinelli; by the awesome ancient crosses, altars, and sepulchres that he saw in the vaults and caves beneath the Eternal City; by study of the Fathers, in particular St. Augustine's *De Unitate Ecclesiae*, in the library of St. Mark's in Florence; by perplexed and anxious thinking and reflection ("I knew that falsehood might be infinite, but that truth could be but one."); and by suffering "desolation of mind" for days and weeks, followed by sweet visitations of the Spirit.

Having satisfied his theological and ecclesiastical doubts, he was assaulted by Satan. This "enemy of my soul, who never slept," laid before him vivid reminders of the impossibility of reforming his "disordered life" and of what he stood to lose by his conversion. But prayers to the Virgin, he says, gave him "incredible comfort." Then he sought the aid of the Jesuit Padre Lelio Ptolemei, whose sermons that Lent he had found edifying. Within ten days he made his life confession and was admitted to the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar.

Thereafter he was able to attribute all the difficulties that followed—with his parents, with his friends, and with the Crown—to God's extraordinary mercy to him.

In September 1607, he returned to England. At Canterbury Cathedral he knelt "in the very chair wherein St. Thomas of Canterbury sat," to offer an intercessory prayer and vow.

In London, after he had communicated his conversion secret to Cecil, through Bacon, he found himself a *cause celebre*. His action seemed “a grievous back-sliding on the part of a son of a great Church dignitary.”<sup>14</sup> While laying his cause before Archbishop Bancroft, who personally undertook his conversion, he was detained in safe custody at Lambeth Palace, though allowed with his keeper to visit Bacon.<sup>15</sup> Then because of Matthew’s scruples regarding the Oath, the frustrated Archbishop angrily but apologetically committed him to the Fleet.<sup>16</sup> There he was visited by notables bent on reconverting him. These included Thomas Morton and William Crashaw, father of the future poet Richard (neither of whom Matthew could abide); Sir Maurice Berkeley, described as a dear friend; Sir Edwin Sandys; Captain Edmund Whitelock; and Alberico Gentili, a professor of Civil Law at Oxford who had been warmly attached to Wotton.<sup>17</sup> He also conferred, as directed, with the learned Bishop Lancelot Andrewes. With a tinge of wry humor he described these futile, almost ludicrous, attempts to reclaim—to “deprogram”—him. Donne and two other kind friends, Henry Goodyer and the Middle Temple wit Richard Martin, also called on him, but to no avail.<sup>18</sup>

When all efforts to shake Matthew’s resolution proved fruitless, the King and Council, represented by Salisbury, who scolded the recusant, ordered his banishment. The next ten years he spent wandering from one European capital to another—virtually a man without a country.

Naturally Matthew’s conversion perplexed his old friends and cooled their affection. Even such a kindred spirit as Dudley Carleton became “somewhat estranged.” Though willing to meet Matthew on the neutral ground of art collections and to employ him in assisting friends in England to purchase pictures by Rubens and other painters on the Continent, Carleton was wary about helping him regain favor with the Crown.<sup>19</sup> And John Chamberlain, Carleton’s favorite correspondent, often jibed at Matthew’s “popish” leanings and activities as reported in London.<sup>20</sup>

During the early years of Matthew’s first exile, 1608-12, (the Mitcham years for Donne), their correspondence declined. In the winter of 1611/12, when Donne was in Amiens with Sir Robert and Lady Drury, Matthew wrote him from Paris, inquiring about his long silence. He acknowledged an old letter from Donne—perhaps of 1609—, excused his delay in responding on grounds of not knowing Donne’s whereabouts, but expressed his gladness “that you are come as near as A. [Amiens] for if you be but Iron, *Paris* I hope will quickly have enough of the Adamant, to draw you to it.”<sup>21</sup>

Donne's reply, a tactful but earnest reaffirmation of his regard, began, "Your long silence could never bring me to any doubt of having lost my Title to your friendship. . . . For Friendship hath so much Sovereignty, yes and of Religion too, that no prescription can be admitted against it." Then, more informally and wittily, he congratulated Tobie on his proficiency in tennis, which their mutual friend Henry Lord Clifford had reported during a recent visit to the Drury party in Amiens.<sup>22</sup>

In April when Donne saw Matthew, with his fellow-convert and wanderer George Gage, in Paris, Tobie was trying—unsuccessfully—to collect the arrears in rent that Goodyer owed him,<sup>23</sup> so that he and Gage could leave for Italy. (Matthew had virtually abandoned hope of ever seeing England again.) But Donne, in writing on the 9th of that month, told Goodyer he had not offered their friend "this Pacquet" for posting his letter to England.<sup>24</sup>

Despite their protestations of friendship, Donne and Matthew were slipping into a strained relationship—a tension not so much theological or ecclesiastical as personal or psychological. For when Matthew was anxiously applying to English travelers who might help him gain permission to return home, Donne seemed as cautiously concerned for his own career as Carleton for his and avoided close association with the exile.<sup>25</sup>

During the remaining years of Tobie's banishment, 1613-17, when both men were preoccupied with their respective ordinations to the priesthood—Matthew in Rome,<sup>26</sup> Donne in London—and subsequent duties, their contacts again diminished. When Matthew's death was rumored, Donne also heard that Matthew had not loved him; but he seems to have discounted its truth. Instead, writing to Goodyer in August 1613, he praised their friend for his "witt, and applyableness" and as a gentleman whom "I ever loved well."<sup>27</sup> The following December he was advising Goodyer to make Matthew's money available to him.<sup>28</sup>

In France Tobie formed a friendship with young Villiers (Buckingham). Through his influence, and Bacon's, Matthew was finally, in May 1617, allowed to return home.

But this respite was to last only nineteen months. The King, motivated by two fixed principles, preserving the peace and maintaining his honor, was not about to coddle his recusants.<sup>29</sup> Thus at the end of November Matthew was issued a passport by the Council, signed—probably with reluctance—by many of his friends, including Bacon, Sir Thomas Edmondes, and Sir John Digby. He would return to England unconditionally but not until after spending three years in the Low Countries.

Early in 1619, probably in February or March, as part of a series announcing the embassy to Germany of their old friend James Hay, now Viscount Doncaster, Donne wrote Matthew a sympathetic message of respect for their separate paths:

That we differ in our wayes, I hope we pardon one another. Men go to *China*, both by the *Straights*, and by the *Cape*. I never misinterpreted your way; nor suffered it to be so, wherever I found it in discourse. For I was sure, you took not up your Religion upon trust, but payed ready money for it, and at a high rate. And this taste of mine towards you, makes me hope for, and claime the same disposition in you towards me.<sup>30</sup>

Then in May and June, when Doncaster, with Donne as chaplain and co-envoy, passed through the Spanish Netherlands en route to Germany, Matthew met them, courted Doncaster, and renewed his acquaintance with Donne. About four weeks later he wrote to them, offering his service and devotion and looking for their help, because negotiations for the Spanish match (to betroth Prince Charles to the Infanta), a project in which Matthew had been encouraged by Gondomar and Digby to think he could play a positive role, were moving at a sickly pace.<sup>31</sup>

Doncaster, however, had reservations, having heard from English agent Trumbull that Matthew had been a candidate for Prefect or Overseer of the Sodality of English Jesuits at Louvain; he told Matthew he did not approve. In reply, from Brussels, Tobie defended himself vigorously, declaring the sodality not political but entirely religious; he sent a copy of its rules, which he referred to the "ingenuity and prudence" of Doctor Donne. Further, he asserted, since the sodality was harmless, the Prefecture of it must be too; yet he was not Prefect—he had been named to the post, probably by the faculty, but he had refused it.<sup>32</sup> (Was he being truthful, or deceptive? Professor I.A. Shapiro told me, in 1981, that it was an outright lie.)

From Cologne, about August 16/26, Donne sent Matthew, who had gone to Namurs and then to Spâ, a gracious acceptance of his professions, saying, in part:

... when I have been told, that you have not been so carefull of me abroad, I have not been easie in beleevving it; ... If it could be possible that any occasion of doing you a reall service, might be presented to



me, you should see that that Tree which was rooted in love, and alwaies bore leaves, readie to shadow and defend from others malice, would bear fruit also. . . . That which I add, I am farre from applying to you, but it is true, That we are fallen into so slack and negligent times, that I have been sometimes glad to hear, that some of my friends have differed from me in Religion. It is some degree of an union to be united in a serious meditation of God, and to make any Religion the rule of our actions. Our sweet and blessed Savior bring us by his way, to his end! And be you pleased to be assured, that no man desires to renew, or continue, or encrease a friendship with you more than [I.]<sup>33</sup>

### *Conclusions*

So . . . two strong personalities, drawn to each other in a remarkable relationship, a friendship strained and disrupted by circumstances influencing their personal decisions. Two men motivated by a combination of self-interest and profound faith, following divergent but sometimes intersecting paths, and both triumphing in their differing ministries. If they wavered in their attitude toward each other, as Bacon and Matthew never did,<sup>34</sup> Donne, at least, charitably celebrated their unity with broad and sympathetic understanding in ways that Matthew, in his defensive position, could not do. Yet, it must be remembered, to Matthew's credit, that despite his craftiness and unsavory reputation in Caroline England as "intriguing courtier," Sir Tobie, priest and Jesuit, was devoted to the cause and welfare of his fellow-Catholics in England and abroad, and that he lived out the two decades of his final exile in productive piety, creating a substantial body of devotional works of a high order and sweetly providing pastoral care.<sup>35</sup>

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### Notes

<sup>1</sup> Professor Flynn's perceptions have been based on his reading of Bruno Bettelheim's "Trauma and Reintegration," in *Surviving and Other Essays* (N.Y.: Vantage Books, 1979); by Donne's autobiographical statements in *Pseudo-Martyr* (e.g., "I have beene ever kept awake in a meditation of Martyrdome, . . ."); and by 11. 89-90 of *A Litanie* ("Oh, to some / Not to be Martyrs, is a Martyrdome.")

<sup>2</sup> *Reliquiae Wottonianae* (1651) 21, Cited by E.K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan*

*Stage*, III (Oxford: 1923.; 1967), 212-3. Though James Spedding declared, in his *Letters & Life of Bacon* (VIII, 374 ff.) that "Bacon had a principal hand" in writing this entertainment, in which the speeches turned on Essex's love for Queen Elizabeth, Wotton intimated that the Earl himself was adept at composing "things of delight at Court."

<sup>3</sup> David Mathew, *Sir Tobie Mathew* (London: Max Parrish, 1950), 50, 58, 65.

<sup>4</sup> D. Mathew, 65.

<sup>5</sup> Carleton to Chamberlain, S.P. 99/10, fols. 190-1, in *Dudley Carleton to John Chamberlain 1603-1624 Jacobean Letters*, ed. Maurice Lee, Jr. (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers Univ. Press), 132.

<sup>6</sup> *Sir Tobie Mathew and His Collection of Letters*, University of Chicago, unpublished doctoral dissertation, Aug. 1962. (This major contribution to Donne studies is long-overdue for publication.)

<sup>7</sup> *A Collection of Letters Made by Sr. Tobie Mathews K<sup>t</sup>*. (London, 1660), 279 ff.—subsequently referred to as *T.M. Coll.*

<sup>8</sup> *T.M. Coll.*, 74-75.

<sup>9</sup> *T.M. Coll.*, 75-76.

<sup>10</sup> In his letter to Donne of Nov. 1603 (*T. M. Coll.*, 279) Matthew asked him to try to dissuade Sir Francis Wolley from pursuing his interest in the property.

<sup>11</sup> *T.M. Coll.*, 288, 290.

<sup>12</sup> *T.M. Coll.*, 273 (second letter on that page).

<sup>13</sup> Undoubtedly the best account of Matthew's 1606 conversion experience is his own, a moving spiritual autobiography initially written in Louvain and Paris in 1611, at the urging of Mary Gage, sister of his fellow-convert George Gage. In 1640 Matthew expanded it and gave it a Title: *A True Historicall Relation of the Conversion of Tobie Matthews to the Holie Catholic Fayth; with the Antecedents and Consequents Thereof* (hereafter referred to as *Conversion*). The MS. was in possession of the Catholic family of Mathew in Co. Tipperary for over a century, until lent to the Rev. Alban Butler, the hagiographer, who printed extracts in his *Life of Sir Tobie Matthews*, 1795. After Butler's death the MS. disappeared; when it was rediscovered and purchased by the Rev. Dr. W. C. Neligan of Cork, it was, through a mistake, sent to London to be sold but was recovered by Dr. Neligan, who published extracts from it in 1856. Eventually it was acquired by Prof. Edward Dowden, who on the recommendation of C. Kegan Paul allowed its publication by A.H. Matthew (London: Burns & Oates, Ltd., 1904). Unfortunately the spelling was modernized by Dowden.

<sup>14</sup> Edward P. Statham, *A Jacobean Letter Writer, the Life and Times of John Chamberlain* (London: Kegan Paul, n.d.), 6.

<sup>15</sup> Carleton to Chamberlain, Aug. 27, 1607, S.P. 14/28, No. 37, in Lee, 97-98. See also Spedding's *Bacon*, especially XI, 8.

<sup>16</sup> *Conversion*, 83.

<sup>17</sup> *D.N.B.*, XXI, 966.

<sup>18</sup>*Conversion*, 84, 86.

<sup>19</sup>D. Mathew, 52-54.

<sup>20</sup>*Letters of John Chamberlain*, ed. Norman E. McClure (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1939), I, 255; II, 382, 419, 603. In fairness to Chamberlain, it must be acknowledged that because of the Matthew-Carleton friendship he spoke to Sir Ralph Winwood on Matthew's behalf, 11 Oct. 1617 (Spedding, XIII, 215). But in 1608 (5 Sept.) Wotton in Venice wrote to Salisbury complaining about Matthew as a corrupting influence on English gentlemen "drawn" to Florence "by the beauty and security of the place, and purity of the language." (*S.P. Ven.*, hol. extract, quoted by L.P. Smith, *Life and Letters of Sir Henry Wotton* (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1907, 1966), I, 434-5.

<sup>21</sup>*T.M. Coll.*, 278.

<sup>22</sup>*T.M. Coll.*, 64.

<sup>23</sup>Feil, 75. The land Goodyer was holding (and had the option but not the means to purchase) was £900, the rent £120—*ibid.*, 80.

<sup>24</sup>*Letters to Severall Persons of Honour*, 1651, p. 133, (hereafter designated 1651).

<sup>25</sup>R.C. Bald, *John Donne, A Life* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1970), 256.

<sup>26</sup>By Cardinal Bellarmine, 20 May 1614.

<sup>27</sup>Roger Barrett Collection, formerly Anderdon MS.

<sup>28</sup>1651, pp. 195-6.

<sup>29</sup>Feil, 130, citing S.R. Gardiner.

<sup>30</sup>*T.M. Coll.*, 69.

<sup>31</sup>Feil, 142.

<sup>32</sup>Feil, 143.

<sup>33</sup>*T.M. Coll.*, 337.

<sup>34</sup>The constancy of their personal friendship often lighted the gloom of Matthew's life during his banishment. Not only did Bacon comfort him during and after his imprisonment, but he interceded for him, procured leave for him to return from exile, sheltered him in his own house, and mollified the heart of his father (Arnold Harris Mathew & Annette Calthrop, *The Life of Sir Tobie Matthew, Bacon's Alter Ego*, (London: Elkins Mathews, 1907, p. 100, citing Wm. Hepworth Dixon, *Personal History of Lord Bacon*, 1861, p. 144). Matthew, in turn, provided consolations and satisfactions—intellectual and psychological—that no one else could supply. During the crisis of Bacon's impeachment (1621) Matthew sent him a letter that Bacon likened to "old gold" (*T.M. Coll.*, 69; Spedding, XIII, 286). He also valued his disciple's critical judgment and habitually showed or sent him his writing—e.g., in 1609, portions of *Instauratio Magna*. In 1617 and 1618, while living in London and with his master at Gorhambury, Matthew translated Bacon's *Essays* into Italian and began his best-known work, a translation of St. Augustine's *Confessions*. In 1623 his translation of *The Flaming Hart, or The Life of the Glorious S. Teresa* was published.

Towards the end of his life Bacon wrote a new version of his Essay "Of Friendship"—at Matthew's request (Spedding XI, 11). Because of its insight and poetical feeling, this noble discourse fittingly commemorates the "comfort of friendship" by which, in their "profound and shared misfortune" (D. Mathew, 34), they helped to sustain each other.

In the give-and-take relationship of Donne and Matthew, however, Donne appears to have been more the giver and Matthew more the taker. At first Matthew was in a more fortunate position, but as they moved in opposite directions in churchmanship, their roles were reversed and their interests diverged in ways that Matthew found difficult to accept. "Donne, on the other hand, was less affected by the change," so that by 1619, his "unfailingly dignified stance" and his magnanimity toward Matthew and George Gage made their relationship easier (Feil, 311).

<sup>35</sup> See R. P. Sorlien, "Sir Tobie Matthew and the Saint-like Soul," *Essex Recusant*, Vol. 23 (1981), pp. 19-28.