

A DEATH AND A MARRIAGE

**An examination of the literature occasioned by the
death of Henry Prince of Wales and the marriage of
his sister Princess Elisabeth, 1612-13**

by

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Synopsis

This dissertation examines the occasional literature - elegies, sermons, marriage poems, masques, and pamphlets - composed on the death of Henry Prince of Wales in November 1612, and the marriage of his sister, Princess Elizabeth, to Frederick V, Elector Palatine, in the following February. An attempt has been made to note the themes, conventions and images commonly used in the literature, and the way in which individual writers and poets handle them has been discussed. In addition the relationship between the personalities of the Prince and Princess, in so far as they can be ascertained, and the view of them presented to the reader by the literature has been explored. The far reaching political and religious implications of the events, dwelt on at considerable length by a number of writers and poets, have also been discussed in so far as they are reflected in the prose and verse written for the occasions. The relevant social background of the contributors to the bodies of literature, together with that of their patrons and dedicatees has also been explored in an attempt to discover the relationship of writers and patrons to the events, and so offer a partial explanation for the remarkable outpouring of commemorative volumes. Finally the imaginative literature of the years 1612-15 has been examined in order to trace the influence of the events in a wider field.

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Abbreviations used in footnotes and references

- Birch. Birch, Thomas, The Life of Henry Prince of Wales, Eldest Son of James I (1760).
- C.S.P.D. Calendar of State Papers - Domestic, 1611-18.
- C.S.P.D.Addenda. Calendar of State Papers - Domestic. Addenda, 1580-1625.
- D.N.R. Dictionary of National Biography, edited by Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee (1885-1900).
- N.E.D. The Oxford English Dictionary ... a corrected re-issue ... of A New English Dictionary (1933).
- S.T.C. A.W. Pollard and G.R. Redgrave, A Short Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, & Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad 1475-1640 (1926).
- V.S.P. Calendar of State Papers - Venetian, 1610-13.

In order to avoid undue repetition of titles, quotations from the literature occasioned by the death and the marriage are referred to in general by the name of their author and the signature of the volume. Full titles and other details appear in the Bibliography (Parts 1 and 2). Biographical notes on the authors are given in Appendix 1. Shakespeare's King Henry VIII and Webster's The Duchess of Malfi and The White Devil are quoted from the New Arden and Revels texts. Otherwise quotations are taken from the first editions, and original spelling and punctuation have been retained, though long 's' has been silently modernised.

CHAPTER I.

A Death and a Marriage

The death of Henry Prince of Wales in November 1612, and the marriage in the following February of his sister, Princess Elizabeth, to the Elector of the Palatinate provoked a large body of occasional literature. Both events were celebrated in ballad and broadside. For the Prince's death volumes of poetic elegies were published by individuals, groups of acquaintances or friends in collaboration, and the universities of Oxford and Cambridge. Some of the contributors - Chapman, Heywood, and Donne, for example - were poets of talent and reputation; many, whose memory is enshrined only in the pages of *S.T.C.* were not. The poets' expression of an almost universal grief was augmented by the publication of a number of sermons preached on the Prince's death.

For the marriage the variety of literary forms was wider. The bride and groom were congratulated and praised in epithalamia and allegorical verses; entertained by the masques commissioned from Campion, Chapman, and Beaumont; and complimented and instructed in the significance of their new status in sermons. In addition the public's curiosity in the Palatine's country and interest in the marriage celebrations was satisfied by news-pamphlets.

In this thesis all the occasional literature has been examined. The main aims have been to establish how far it reflects the actual personality of Prince Henry and his sister, in so far as they can be ascertained, and to examine its embodiment of a public image or ideal of a Prince and Princess. It cannot be overemphasised that the

literature is public and occasional, so that writers and poets are working within conventions of form and diction which govern their literary response to the events. Such conventions will be outlined, and the manner in which individual poets and writers make use of them discussed.

The two events had inevitably a political and religious significance, and such concerns are closely linked with, and influence, the expressions of grief and joy. The Prince's death was regarded as an event of disastrous import for Britain and Protestant Europe, and as a striking exemplum of the transience of earthly life and the vanity of human endeavour. It stimulated most of the writers of sermons and elegies to contemplate the idea of death - a recurring theme in Jacobean literature. Their reactions vary in quality from an assembling of clichés and stock responses, to the expression of profound musings. As we shall see, the poets who within two months of the funeral were celebrating the marriage saw the union of Frederick and Elizabeth as a partial restoration of their dashed hopes. At a deeper level a few recognised the opposing values which the two events symbolised - the despair, decay, and grotesqueness of death over against the hope, regeneration, and harmony of marriage. The fundamental contrast is touched on not only in specific terms but also in metaphor and image. In considering these events the more perceptive poets and writers became involved in giving expression to two opposed yet equally valid views of life, and in the literature of the marriage especially the reader is often conscious of a deeper perspective than the political or orthodoxly religious, a perspective which is quietly but effectively

called to mind by the recollection of the Prince's death.

The flood of elegies and congratulatory poems was not only inspired by grief and joy. Many writers' and poets' compositions were written in an attempt to gain patronage or further a career, for the death of the Prince, especially, resulted in a minor crisis in the closely woven literary world. The relationship between the poets and writers and their patrons, and the relationship of both to the events will be explored by placing the writers within their social context and examining the dedications of the works, whilst the dramatic, poetic, and prose literature of the years immediately following the death and the marriage have been examined in an attempt to determine their influence on and reflection in them.

Before discussing the literature, however, it is necessary to give a brief account of the death and the marriage together with their religious and political background.

Prince Henry died of typhoid fever at a quarter to eight o'clock on the evening of 6 November after an illness which had lasted almost two weeks. He was eighteen years old. Sir Charles Cornwallis¹ records the mixture of fear, professional rivalry, and superstition which attended the efforts of the doctors to cure the Prince. The possible causes which were divined for his illness were many, including his bathing on a full stomach after supper, his forced ride from Richmond to Belvoir castle, and his playing of tennis in his shirt. The physicians, inhibited from any drastic action for fear that they might subsequently be accused of killing the Prince, did little until

all hope of saving his life was lost. The remedies they did apply were primitive, and likely to cause the patient more discomfort than relief. Towards the crisis of the illness Henry was frequently bled, and to ease the pain in his head 'his hair was shaven away, and pigeons and cupping glasses applied which he bore with admirable patience, as if he had been insensible to pain'. Numerous glisters were administered, and a 'cock cloven by the back applied to the soles of his feet; but in vain'.² A malign influence was remarked on the fifth day:

This evening there appeared a fatall signe about two houres or more within the night, bearing the colours and shew of a Rainbow which hung directly crosse and over St. Jameses House, it was first perceived about seven a clock at night, which I my selfe did see, which divers others looking thereupon with admiration untill past bedtime, being no more seene.³

Cornwallis says that the end of the rainbow was observed by Doctor Mayerne to hang over the room in which Henry died.⁴ On Thursday 5 November, no hope remaining of saving the Prince, he made his confession of faith. In desperation various cordials were administered, including one sent by Sir Walter Raleigh which, though it had some beneficial effects, was too late to prevent his death. Afterwards it was rumoured that Henry had been poisoned⁵, even King James being suspect, but to satisfy wagging tongues the body was opened, clearly showing that the disease came from the hand of God.

The King and Queen were deeply saddened by Henry's death.

Foscarini recorded King James's distress⁶:

The King is doing all he can to forget his grief but it is not sufficient; for many a time it will come over him suddenly and even in the midst of the most important discussions he will burst out with "Henry is dead, Henry is dead."

The Queen's grief, together with that of other notables, would seem to have lasted a number of years for Chamberlain records her reluctance to

witness Prince Charles's creation as Prince of Wales in 1616:

The Queene wold not be present at the creation, lest she should renew her griefe by the memorie of the last Prince who runs still so much in some mens mind, that on Tuesday I heard the bishop of Ely⁷ preaching at court upon the third verse of the 37th of Esay.... pray solemnly for Prince Henry without recalling himself.⁸

Princess Elizabeth was 'much afflicted with this losse', for Henry did extraordinarilie affect her, and during his sicknes inquired still after her, and the last wordes he spake in good sense (they say) were, Where is my deare sister?⁹

That Elizabeth had an equally strong affection for Henry is apparent from her attempt to visit him in disguise when he was kept privily, for fear the disease was contagious.

There only remained the winding up of Henry's household and the organisation of the funeral which, because of difficulties of communication, was not celebrated until a month after the Prince's death. For the members of Henry's household his death was a blow to their hopes of influence and power, and in breaking their staffs of office over the coffin after the funeral sermon they were also resigning their livelihoods. On the evening before the funeral an effigy of the Prince, the head supported by two cushions, and dressed in the robes Henry had worn at his creation as Prince of Wales, was bound to the coffin. On Monday 7 December the coffin was carried through the streets of London to Westminster Abbey. The vast funeral procession took four hours to assemble and pass along its route. Two thousand mourners dressed in black followed the hearse, chief amongst them being Prince Charles, and the Elector Palatine. Cornwallis, who was in the funeral procession, writes

As it [the funeral procession] passed along, the whole World, sensible and insensible things, and creatures seemed to mourne, and have compassion,

heaven and earth and all; There was to be seene an innumerable multitude of all sorts of ages and degrees of men, women and children, whose wonderful sorrow who is able to expresse? ¹⁰

The funeral sermon was preached by the Archbishop of Canterbury on the text Psalm LXXXII. 6, 7. ' I have said ye are gods, and ye are children of the most High. But ye shall die like as a man, and ye Princes shall fall like others'. Bancroft spoke for two hours dwelling on the exaltation of Princes and their likeness to gods, and showing how this death was proof of the inconstancy and transience of human greatness. He spoke of the Prince's piety in both his personal life and in the administration of his household, and concluded by offering his congregation the consolation that Henry died well. The coffin, effigies and herse ^a_h remained on view until the 19 December when the Prince's remains were placed in the vault of his grandmother, Mary Queen of Scots. Cornwallis's summing up of the event catches the feeling of the time, and echoes the sentiments of many of the poets and writers:

Thus (or very neere thus) lost wee the delight of mankind, the expectation of Nations, the strength of his Father, and the glory of his Mother, Religions second hope. ¹¹

Henry's death was a deep shock to the English people, for he was something of a princely ideal, courageous, noble and warlike, a new Henry V or Black Prince who might reverse the peaceful and often pro-Spanish policy of James I, and lead the English people towards an expansionist, anti-Catholic and anti-Spanish crusade in Europe. Also whilst he lived, England was assured of a stable dynastic succession, thus avoiding the difficulties which had attended the reign of Elizabeth until the accession of James. There had been great satisfaction that James had a son to succeed him as it was widely held that a woman was unsuitable to rule alone, for despite the precedent of Queen Elizabeth, the Marian excesses and the misfortunes

of Mary Queen of Scots were still fresh in the public memory. Though Henry was survived by a sister, Elizabeth, and a brother, Charles, the sense of security was shattered, for Charles was a frail child, and Elizabeth was already betrothed to Frederick. So great was the sense of loss and the fear for the succession that some advised that Elizabeth should remain in England after her marriage until Charles had grown stronger.

Henry's character supplied some justification for the extravagant hopes which were entertained for him. Sir Charles Cornwallis describes his physical appearance somewhat ideally:

He was of a comely tall middle stature, about five foot and eight inches high, of strong, streight well-made body (as if Nature in him had shewed all her cunning) with somewhat broad shoulders, and a small waste, of amiable Majesticke Countenance, his haire of an Aberne colour, long faced, and broad forehead, a piercing grave eye, with a terrible frown, courteous, loving and affable.¹²

His deepest interests lay in the arts and techniques of warfare, and his constant concern was to train himself for battle. Birch writes that he 'practised tilting, charging on horseback with pistol &c. He delighted to converse with men of skill and experience in war, both of his own country and foreigners, concerning every part of their profession.'¹³ The Prince was said to spend four or five hours each day in his armour. He ordered new pieces of ordnance to be made, becoming practised in their use, and sometimes walked fast and far to accustom himself to the rigours of campaign marching. Henry's skills were publicly demonstrated at the tournament of Twelfth Night 1610 when he issued a general challenge under the title of Moelaides, and maintained the barriers against all opponents 'giving and receiving thirty-two pushes of pike, and about three hundred and sixty strokes of swords.'¹⁴ Henry delighted equally

in ships, sea-faring, and navigation, an interest which brought him into contact with Raleigh who advised him on the construction of the ship, the Prince Royal, and later dedicated to him Observations concerning the Royal Navy and Sea Service. The Prince also encouraged and supported Phineas Pett, the King's master shipwright,¹⁵ and Captain Thomas Button whom he commissioned to seek out the North West passage. The martial

and adventurous facets of the Prince's character were in marked contrast to the timidity and cowardice of James I, of whom John Oglander writes:

He could not endure a soldier or to see men drilled, to hear of war was death to him, and how he tormented himself with fear of some sudden mischief may be proved by his great quilted doublets, pistol proof, as also his strange eyeing of strangers with continual fearful observation.¹⁶

Such qualities and the ambiguous foreign policies which James pursued, aimed at pacifying the rival factions of Europe, were disliked by many Englishmen who, recognising the more aggressive spirit of the Prince, warmed to him rather than the King.

Sir Francis Bacon confirms Henry's warlike interests and also notes other of his enthusiasms and personal qualities in a character sketch which avoids the idealisation found in Cornwallis:

Of praise and glory he was doubtless covetous; and was stirred with every show of good and every breath of honour which in a young man goes for virtues. For both arms and military men were in honour with him; nor was he himself without something of a warlike spirit; he was given also to a magnificence of works, though otherwise frugal enough of money; he was fond of antiquity and arts; and a favourer of learning though rather in the honour he paid it than the time he spent upon it. In his morals there was nothing more to be praised than that in every kind of duty he seemed to be well trained and conformable. He was a wonderfully obedient son to the King his father, very attentive also to the Queen, kind to his brother, but his sister he especially loved.¹⁷

Henry seems to have found pleasure in building, sculpture, painting, and music; though when he was asked which musical instrument he liked best he replied 'a trumpet, in the sound of which, and of the drums, and of small and great pieces of ordnance shot off near him, he took great

delight'.¹⁸ He may also have had a love of books, for in 1609 the King acquired for him Lord Lumley's library, which was reputed the finest library in England. The Prince was also notable as a patron of the arts and literature¹⁹ though his tastes would not seem to have been discriminating, being motivated by his historical and heroic interests rather than a literary bent. Nonetheless poets and writers such as Chapman, Sylvester, Peacham, and Sir John Hayward valued his support. His household was composed of a remarkable group of men. Christopher Hill²⁰ has shown that many of them - Sir Thomas Chaloner, Adam Newton, Sir Charles Cornwallis, Edward Wright, and Thomas Lydiat among others - had scientific interests and that in the Prince's entourage there were strong Puritan influences. Certainly his court had some resemblance to the Renaissance ideal of the academy in which all branches of learning and knowledge were brought together, though how far Henry was responsible for its growth is difficult to estimate. Men of similar interests and attitudes are generally drawn together, and doubtless the officials of the Prince's court would have a crucial influence on the selection of servants and nominees for patronage.

The Prince's religious views also won him popularity with the majority of English men. Cornwallis wrote:

Popery with all the adjuncts and adherents thereof, hee hated to the death, yet he would ~~per~~ use particular Papists very kindly shewing that hee hated not their persons, but their opinions.²¹

His anti-Catholic views were apparent in his attitude towards his sister's marriage to the Elector Palatine, a great champion of Protestantism, which he strongly supported against Catholic marriage proposals. In his personal manners and the organisation of his household Henry displayed an almost Puritan austerity. From the age of

fourteen he began to manifest a 'mature judgement' in everything, and became an attentive listener to the sermons of distinguished preachers. He strictly attended public worship and made certain that the members of his household did also, insisting that they regularly received the Anglican communion. The Prince, in contrast to James, had a strong dislike for flatters^{er} and for swearing, going so far as to order swearing boxes to be set up in his house, the money thus forfeited being given to the poor. The strength of his anti-Catholic views and the firmness of his Protestant faith encouraged the Puritan faction to look on him as a reformer, and they circulated such verses as:

Henry the 8. pulled down abbeys and cells,
But Henry the 9. shall pull down Bishops and bells.²²

The thoroughness which the Prince showed in the religious organisation of his household was also evident in the economic sphere. On receiving the rights and titles of the Prince of Wales in June 1610 Henry dispatched commissioners and surveyors to assess his lands and revenues. Birch tells us that though 'he loved plenty and magnificence in his house, he restrained them within the rules of frugality and moderation',²³ a remarkable contrast to James's court where extravagance and lack of financial acumen were frequent causes of strain on the economy. The Prince ordered strict accounts to be kept of the revenue and expenses, and seems to have lived within his means, Chamberlain noting that although he left debts of £900, the worth of his movables amounted to much more.²⁴

Thus the qualities which endeared Henry to the people - courage, martial prowess and bearing, an adventurous spirit, an unswerving devotion to Protestantism, and a certain openness of mind - were those

which were lacking in his father, and it is these characteristics which are most frequently dwelt upon in the poems and sermons.

The shattered hopes for the Prince's future, which are constantly recalled in the elegies, were to a considerable extent Henry's also. He was greatly concerned to gather information from European countries, and employed a number of agents to send him dispatches. Foscarini, the Venetian ambassador, noted that his designs were vast, and that he had intended to return with Princess Elizabeth to Germany to seek out a bride, and to fulfil his aspirations to lead the confederate Princes.²⁵ It seems likely that he was acquainted with, if not actively involved in, the secret designs of Henry IV of France; significantly Henry ordered all his correspondence to be destroyed shortly before his death. That he was generally regarded as an important factor on the European political scene is apparent from the reactions of the diplomatists at his death. The Spanish ambassador at the English Court became more confident and haughty, whilst the Huguenets were so cast down by their loss that it seemed evident that they counted on him greatly.

Foscarini wrote:

This death will certainly cause great changes in the course of the world. The foes of this kingdom are freed from grave apprehension, the friends deprived of a high hope.²⁶

The winter of 1612, a winter remarkable for the severity of its storms, gave way to an early spring, and the mood of the country lightened as the marriage of Princess Elizabeth and Prince Frederick approached. Sir Thomas Lake wrote to Carleton 'The black is wearing out and the marriage pomps preparing'.²⁷ Frederick had arrived in England on 16 October 1612 in order to complete the marriage negotiations, and woo his bride. Initially James had reservations about the Palsgrave

as his future son-in-law, though these were quickly swept aside and he soon accepted him as a son. The Queen, however, was less easily won over for she was disappointed that her daughter was not to marry a king, and had, in any case, hoped for a Catholic husband for Elizabeth. Queen Anne vented her spleen by nicknaming her daughter 'goody Palsgrave', and by constantly deriding Frederick. Her reception of the Palatine on his arrival at Court was distant, and she was conspicuously absent from the betrothal ceremony.²⁸ Frederick had been unfortunate in that many people had formed a low opinion of his character and status before his arrival, though their views were modified on a closer acquaintance. Master John Finett²⁹ wrote that

he hath most happily deceived good men's doubts and ill men's expectations, report of envy, malice, or weak judgement having painted him in so ill colours as the most here (especially our ladies and gentlewomen, who held themselves not a little interested in the handsome choice of her Grace's husband,) prepared themselves to see that with sorrow, which they now apprehend with much gladness. He is straight and well-shaped for his growing years. His complexion is brown, with a countenance pleasing, and promising both witt, courage, and judgment.

Frederick seems to have won an immediate and wide popularity, though despite Finett's praise he was at best intellectually average, and was in later years to show a foolhardy stubbornness and a rash courage which contributed to his inept, and finally disastrous, handling of the Palatinate's foreign policy.

The bride was a young woman of charm and beauty. Her high spirits and gaiety were to shock the austere Court at Heidelberg, and her independence of character led her to reply to the Queen's jibes that 'she would rather be the Palsgrave's wife than the greatest Papist Queen in Christendom'. She had received much of her education under the watchful eye of Lord Harington at Coombe Abbey in Warwickshire, and though she

never learned her husband's language she possessed a knowledge of Italian and a command of French superior to that of Prince Henry. Her relationship with Henry was extremely close, her letters to him revealing a strong affection³⁰. The story is told of her departure from the English Court for Coombe Abbey. She had already made a number of friends at the court and parting from them was difficult enough, but when she had to leave her brother 'she hung about his neck crying and repeating a hundred times, I cannot leave my Henry'³¹. That the affection was returned is apparent from the interest which the Prince showed in the marriage negotiations with Frederick, and his support for the match.

The successful marriage negotiations with England were a triumph for the Palatine ministers, the Duc de Bouillon, and Christian of Anhalt, uniting by marriage the premier Protestant power in Europe with the foremost Calvinist state in Germany, and so strengthening the defensive alliance concluded between the two countries in 1612. Since royal marriages were the rivets of 17th-century diplomacy, and the interests of family and dynasty were the motives of policy, it must have seemed to the Palatines that they had finally established an alliance of lasting worth to offset the influence of the Counter-Reformation. That the Elector and King James had markedly different interpretations of the European political situation and of their responsibilities to each other was not made apparent until later³². From 1556 until the catastrophe of 1618, Heidelberg, the Palatinate's capital, was the centre of militant Protestantism in Germany. Fierce Calvinists, the Electors and their people had attracted to their country Protestants from most of the Catholic states. Their hatred of Popery was extreme. Claus Peter

Glasen³³, describing their attitude to Catholicism, writes:

Calvin and the Calvinists regarded Catholicism not as another form of Christianity, but as one of the manifestations of Satan's gigantic power. The Catholics who opposed the advance of Protestantism were instruments of Satan. The Pope was Anti-christ, the apostle of the devil, the son of Satan.

They persisted in regarding the Treaty of Augsburg of 1555, which allowed, within certain limits, each prince to determine the religion of his state, as a compromise with the devil for which Germany was punished with recurrent famine and plague, invasion and economic collapse. Thus throughout the second half of the 16th century they directed their efforts to overthrowing the Treaty and establishing a strong Protestant alliance.

James I dreamed of imposing a universal peace upon Europe by championing the cause of Protestantism, and at the same time offering friendship to Spain, the strongest of the Catholic powers. To this end he made peace with the Spanish in 1604 and entered into protracted negotiations with them, and later with the Savoyans, to procure a match for Prince Henry. The negotiations were attended with enormous difficulties. The irksome crux of toleration for the English Catholics, which the Spanish insisted on as a pre-requisite to any agreement, proved to be an insuperable obstacle. Furthermore the English people did not take kindly to friendship with Spain and to Spanish influence at Court.

The marriage of Elizabeth and Frederick, who was the first secular Prince in Germany outside the Imperial family, was intended to strengthen James's influence in Germany and make him the foremost champion of Protestantism in Europe. This facet of the King's foreign policy won strong support from the people. Chamberlain wrote to Sir Ralph Winwood:³⁴

I need not tell you how much this match is to the contentment of all well affected people, and what joy they take in yt, as being a firme foundation for the stablishing of religion, which (upon what conceit I know not) was before suspected to be in brangle. But the Roman Catholikes maligne yt as much, and do what they can to disgrace yt as being the ruin of theyre hopes.

Before the wedding the authorities took strong precautions against treachery, for it was rumoured that the Papists, who had hoped to see Elizabeth marry the King of Spain, or the Prince of Savoy, planned to murder Frederick with pistols smuggled in from Spain³⁵.

The marriage ceremony was performed on Sunday 14 February without any untoward incident. As the royal chapel at Whitehall was somewhat small no-one below the rank of Baron was admitted. The marriage procession took a circuitous route, however, so that those who were excluded might see the sixteen year old bride and groom. Chamberlain remarked in a letter to Alice Carleton that 'the continued succession of new companies did so disallow me that I could not observe the tenth part of that I wisht'³⁶. The bride was accompanied to the altar by Prince Charles and the Earl of Northampton, both bachelors, and from the altar by the Duke of Lennox and the Earl of Nottingham, who were married. As was traditional for a virgin bride, Elizabeth wore her hair down. She was magnificently dressed:³⁷

The Princess was in gold and silver. Her hair was down; she wore a crown on her head studded with jewels and pearls; she had a necklace of diamonds round her neck. Eight daughters of Earls, dressed in gold and silver, held up on either side her train, which likewise was sewn with jewels of inestimable value.

The crown which she wore was worth a million crowns according to King James, whilst his own jewels were valued by Court gossip at £600,000, and those of the Queen at £400,000. Elizabeth and Frederick were married upon a scaffold stage which had been erected in the middle of the chapel. The ceremony was conducted by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Palatine

having mastered enough of the language to speak his part. The Bishop of Bath and Wells preached the sermon, which lasted two hours, on the marriage of Cana in Galilee. After receiving communion the newly married couple retired with their guests to the Great Chamber where they dined in state.

The weeks before and after the wedding were given over to celebration and festivity. Despite the shadow which Prince Henry's death had cast over the Court, the Elector was royally entertained. On the final day of December 1612 the King made him a member of the Order of the Garter, the installation being conducted privately in the King's chamber with the knights wearing their robes over their mourning. James, in common with many of the poets and writers, had come to look on Frederick as a successor to the place Prince Henry had occupied, for he placed the identical ribbon and star which the Prince of Wales had worn around the Elector's neck³⁸. It was this insignia which was to earn a thousand talers for the Wallen who picked it up amid the confusion at the Hradschin gates of Prague after the disaster of the Battle of the White Mountain³⁹ in November 1620. In addition to ceremonial occasions, hunting, running at the ring, and visits to the Universities, Frederick and Elizabeth were present at a number of plays. The Chamber Account for May 1613 records the payment to John Heminges of £93/6/8 for plays which had been presented before them. The plays were 'Filaster, The Knott of Feeles, Much Adoe aboute Nothings, The Mayeda Tragedy, The Merve Drvell of Edmonton, The Tempest, A Kince and no Kince, The Twins Tragedie, The Winters Tale, Sir John Falstaffe, The Moore of Venice, The Nobleman, Cesars Tragedye, and one other called Love Lies a bleedinge', the latter the sub-title of Filaster, a list which emphasises the

popularity of Shakespeare and Beaumont and Fletcher⁴⁰.

The most elaborate of the triumphs and devices which were staged in the week preceding the marriage were the firework display, and the mock naval battle on the river opposite Whitehall. The fireworks presented on the Thursday evening depicted Saint George's rescue of the Queen of the Amazons from a Necromancer, a tableau scene of huntsmen and hounds pursuing a hart, and a sea fight between Turks and Venetians. The battle between Saint George and the Enchanter's Dragon continued for a quarter of an hour or more 'the dragons being vanquished, seemed to rore like thunder, and withall burst in peeces and vanished'⁴¹. The naval battle on the following Saturday was less successful though elaborate preparations had been made. A large castle representing Algiers was constructed, 36 vessels, 500 watermen, and 1,000 musketeers were assembled at a cost, according to Chamberlain, of at least £5,000. Though the sea fight did take place it was so protracted that it was decided to postpone the storming of the fortress:

the king and indeed all the companie tooke so little delight to see no other activitie but the shooting and potting of gunnes that yt is quite geven over and the navie unriggered and the castle pulled down, the rather for that there were divers hurt in the former fight, (as one lost both his eyes, another both his handes, another one hand, with divers others maymed and hurt.)⁴²

The climax of the entertainments for the wedding celebrations was the trio of masques. They were arranged for the evening of the wedding day, and the two evenings following. On the wedding night the Lords and Ladies of the Court presented their compliments to the newly married couple in a masque which had been written by Thomas Campion, and designed by Inigo Jones. Jones surpassed himself in contriving a spectacle more elaborate than anything that had been previously seen, and equalling

the audacity of Campien's compliment in bringing the stars from their courses to do homage before the bride and bride-groom. The only names left to us of those involved in the performance are the Earls of Montgomery and Salisbury, Lord Hay, and Ann Dudley⁴³. Although Chamberlain reported that the masque was poorly presented it was well received generally, Fescarini recording that it was 'remarkable for the decoration of the theatre, for three changes of scene, for the dresses, and for the nine choruses of voices and instruments⁴⁴. On the Monday evening the gentlemen of the Middle Temple and Lincoln's Inn presented their entertainment which had been written by George Chapman. The scenery and costumes were once more designed by Inigo Jones. The performance was preceded by a procession of the masquers and their musicians through the streets of London.

It went from the Belles all up Fleet-street and the Strand, and made such a gallant and glorious shew that yt is highly commended. They had forty gentlemen of best choise out of both houses rode before them in theyre best array, upon the Kings horses: and the twelve maskers with theyre torch-bearers and pages rode likewise upon horses exceedingly well trapped and furnished: besides a dousen litle boyes, drest like babones that served for an antimaske.... and three open chariots drawne with foure horses a peece that caried theyre musicians, and other personages that had parts to speake: all which together with theyre trumpeters and other attendants were so well set out, that yt is generally held for the best shew that hath ben seen many a day.⁴⁵

The masquers' costumes and trappings were extremely rich and impressive, for Chapman's main theme was the arrival in England to assist in the nuptial celebrations of the Virginian Princes, who in the popular imagination were thought the possessors of astonishing wealth. On this occasion also Inigo Jones devised a magnificent spectacle -- a mine of gold in which the masquers were discovered, whilst behind this he contrived to present the setting sun.

The masquers of the Inner Temple and Gray's Inn were less fortunate

than their colleagues. They had elected to come from Winchester Place in Southwark by barge, an appropriate gesture since the theme of their entertainment was the Marriage of Thames and Rhine. Though the lights of their barges proved to be a spectacular success, the effect was spoiled by their landing as they miscalculated the tide so that the masquers had difficulty in disembarking. Further misfortune attended them when the Banqueting Hall was found to be so overcrowded that there was scarcely room enough for the performance to take place, and those who had been invited to the masque and had left the Hall to watch the arrival of the masquers were unable to find places. The final disappointment was that the King, already wearied by two late nights, had no heart to see another entertainment. Sir Francis Bacon entreated with James, telling him that by his action he would bury the masquers 'quicke'. The King replied that if he remained they must bury him 'quicke' for he could last no longer. Beaumont's masque was therefore postponed until the following Saturday when 'our Grayes Inne men and the Inner Templers were nothing discouraged for all the first dodge, but performed theyre parts exceedingly well, and with great applause and approbation both from the King and all the companie'.⁴⁶

After the ceremony and the festivities came the reckoning. The overall cost to King James was £53,294, yet he had only managed to raise £20,500 from the special taxes he was customarily allowed to levy on the marriage of his eldest daughter. Expense also fell heavily on Elizabeth's guardian, Lord Harington, who in procuring the Princess's trousseau had incurred debts of £3,500. He was later granted a license to mint brass farthings, which quickly became known as Haringtons, in order to recoup his expenditure, but this seems to have won him more

unpopularity than wealth⁴⁷.

The Palatine was anxious to return to Germany, though James was reluctant to lose a second child so soon after the death of the Prince of Wales. Some time was spent in visiting Cambridge University, attending tournaments, in which Frederick once more displayed his skill in running at the ring, and in visiting the Tower of London. One of James's political prisoners in the Tower, Lord Grey de Wilton, had fought at the battle of Nieuport with Frederick's relations, the Duke de Bouillon and the Princes of Nassau. Frederick was persuaded to appeal to the King for Grey's release, and the request revealed the King's darker nature, for it drew from him an angry refusal. Soon after the incident final preparations were put in hand for the departure of Frederick and Elizabeth to the Continent. The size and the composition of the party which was to accompany Elizabeth to Germany was much discussed. The Duke of Lennox, the Earl of Arundel, Viscount Lisle, and Lord Harington were appointed Commissioners to attend the Princess to Heidelberg, and though her official establishment was some 49 servants,⁴⁸ the household which finally set out comprised 97 persons. The journey to Margate, where Frederick and his bride were to embark for Flushing, was made in easy stages. On Saturday 10 April the members of the royal family set out from Whitehall for Greenwich, and on the following Tuesday they moved on to Rochester where Elizabeth took an emotional farewell of her mother and father. Of the members of the Royal family only Prince Charles remained to attend her to Margate, but he was recalled to London by the King before his sister sailed. On 21 April Elizabeth and her train went aboard the Prince Royal which had been chosen to carry her across the North Sea. Doubtless memories of

Prince Henry were aroused in her mind, for the ship which was to carry her towards a new country and an unknown people had been built under his auspices, was named after him, and was commanded by his servant, Phineas Pett. Adam Willarts's painting, The Elector Palatine leaving England with his Bride,⁴⁹ also shows beneath the bows of the Prince Royal, the Disdain, the miniature ship which Pett had built for Prince Henry in 1604. Owing to contrary winds however, the sailing had to be postponed, the party disembarking, and it was not until the morning of 26 April that the small armada stood away from the English coast.

Notes.

1. Sir Charles Cornwallis, The Short Life and much Lamented Death of that most magnanimous Prince, Henry Prince of Wales (1644), sigs. C3-E7.
2. Thomas Birch, The Life of Henry Prince of Wales, Eldest Son of King James I (1760), p. 349.
3. Cornwallis, sig. D2.
4. This phenomenon is remarked upon by two of the poets who celebrate Henry's death. Bishop Joseph Hall's poem 'Of the Rain-bowe, that was reported to be seene in the night, Ouer Sth James, before the Prince's death' was printed in Lachryvae Lachrymarum. The following is an extract:

No marvell RAIN BOWES shine by Night,
 When Sun yer Noone do lose their light.
 IRIS was wont to be, of old,
 Heav'ns Messenger to Earthly mold;
 And now Shee came to bring vs downe
 Sad Newes of HENRY'S better Crowne,
 And as the Easterne STAR did tell
 The Persian Sages, of that Cell
 Where SION'S King was borne and lay;
 And ouer that same House did stay:
 So did this Western BOWE descry
 Where HENRY, Prince of Men, should die:
 (sig. C-D2v)

Sir Arthur Gorges also mentions a rainbow as an omen of disaster in his The Olympian Tragedy:

To this the squire his speache dooth interpose,
 That over night the raynewow had yseene
 At which relation much dispute arose:
 For some the same as Onynous did weene
 (sig. 17r)

Gorges's editor, H. E. Sandison argues however that the poem was written before Henry's death and adapted for the occasion so that this reference cannot be to the rainbow which appeared at the time, see The Poems of Sir Arthur Gorges, edited by H. E. Sandison (Oxford, 1953), p. liv.

5. Arthur Wilson in his The History of Great Britain, being the Life and Reign of King James the First (1653), sig. 13v-4 writes: Strange Rumors are raised upon this sudden expiration of our Prince, the disease being so violent, that the combat with Nature in the strength of youth (being almost nineteen years of age) lasted not above five dayes. Some say he was poisoned with a bunch of Grapes, others attribute it to the venomous sent of a pair of Gloves, presented to him (the distemper lying for the most part in the head). They that knew neither of these, are stricken with fear and amazement, as if they had tasted, or felt, the effects of

these violences: Private whisperings, and suspitions, of some new designs a foot, breaching Prophetically terrors, That a black/Christmas would produce a bloody Lent.

This extract gives something of the atmosphere after the Prince's death though it is necessary to make allowances for Wilson's Puritan zeal to discredit monarchic government.

6. Calendar of State Papers - Venetian, 1610-1613 (1905), p. 472. Hereafter referred to as V.S.P.
7. Launcelot Andrewes.
8. The Letters of John Chamberlain, edited by Norman Egbert McClure, 2 vols (Philadelphia, 1939), II, 32.
9. Chamberlain, I, 390.
10. Cornwallis, sig. F5v.
11. Cornwallis, sig. F2.
12. Cornwallis, sig. G1.
13. Birch, p. 268.
14. Birch, p. 185.
15. Henry's encouragement for Pett included supporting him against charges of inefficiency of design, insufficiency of materials, and charge in the building of the Prince Royal which the shipwright tendered for at £6,000 and eventually cost £20,000. The inquiry was held in 1608 and Pett was acquitted on the charges. For Pett's relationship with Prince Henry and the Prince's interest in naval affairs see 'The Autobiography of Phineas Pett', edited by W. G. Perrin, Publications of the Navy Records Society, LI (1918).
16. Quoted by David Harris Willson, King James VI and I (1956), p. 274.
17. The Works of Francis Bacon, collected by J. Spedding, R. L. Ellis, and D. D. Heath, 7 vols. (1870-76), VI, 327-8.
18. Birch, p. 384.
19. See Elkin Calhoun Wilson, Prince Henry and English Literature (New York, 1946).
20. Christopher Hill, Intellectual Origins of the English Revolution (Oxford, 1965), pp. 213-19.
21. Cornwallis, sig. G3.
22. Sir John Harington, Nugae Antiquae, 2 vols (1804), II, 3.

23. Birch, p. 394.
24. Chamberlain, I, 391.
25. Y.S.P., p. 450.
26. Y.S.P., p. 448.
27. Calendar of State Papers - Domestic, 1611-18 (1858), p. 166.
28. See Carola Oman, Elizabeth of Bohemia (1938), p. 62 and p. 70.
29. See John Nichols, Progresses of James I, 4 vols (1828), II, 464.
30. See Mary Anne Everett Green, Elizabeth, Electress Palatine and Queen of Bohemia (1855, revised 1909), p. 15, and The Letters of Elizabeth Queen of Bohemia, compiled by L. M. Baker (1953), pp. 25-30.
31. See Robert S. Rait, Five Stuart Princesses (1902), p. 54.
32. See C. V. Wedgwood, The Thirty Years War (1938), pp. 51-53.
33. Claus Peter Classen, The Palstinate in European History 1559-1660 (Oxford, 1963), p. 7.
34. Chamberlain, I, 427.
35. Y.S.P., p. 491.
36. Chamberlain, I, 423.
37. Y.S.P., pp. 498-9.
38. M. A. Green, Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia, p. 44.
39. C. V. Wedgwood, The Thirty Years War, pp. 129-130.
40. E. K. Chambers, William Shakespeare, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1930), II, 343.
41. The Marriage of the two great Princes, Fredericke Count Palatine & the Lady Elizabeth (1613), sig. A3.
42. Chamberlain, I, 423.
43. E. K. Chambers, The Elizabethan Stage, 4 vols. (Oxford, 1923), III, 242.
44. Y.S.P., p. 532.
45. Chamberlain, I, 425.
46. Chamberlain, I, 431.
47. See C. Oman, Elizabeth of Bohemia, p. 93.

48. See M. A. Green, Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia, p. 61 for a list of Elizabeth's household.
49. Willarts's painting is in The National Maritime Museum, Greenwich.

CHAPTER 2.

The Literature occasioned by Prince Henry's death - A Survey

The body of literature written in celebration of Prince Henry's death, and published in the months following his funeral, reflects, in its size, not only a general concern and sadness, but also the high esteem in which the Prince was held by poets and writers. All those who set out to lament the Prince in sermon and poem, to praise his virtues, offer comfort to the mourners, or draw out some meaning from an apparently arbitrary loss, were contributing prose and verse to a public expression of grief. They were thus bounded by the conventions of decorum. Since they were mourning a Prince it was necessary to speak of him in appropriate terms. Furthermore they were writing in forms, the elegy and the funeral sermon, which had their own conventions of technique and language, so that both skilful writers and poetasters worked toward similar objectives, voiced similar sentiments, and adopted similar stylistic devices. Before considering the work occasioned by the Prince's death, therefore, it is necessary to examine briefly the conventions within which the writers were working.

The Elegies.

George Puttenham in The Arte of English Poesie wrote of poetical lamentations,

This was a very necessary devise of the Poet and a fine, besides the poetrie to play also the Phisitian, and not onley by applying a medicine to the ordinary sicknes of mankind, but by making the very greef it selfe (in part) cure of the disease.¹

Thus one of the principal objectives of the elegy writer was to alleviate grief 'making one delour to expell another, and in this case,

one short sorrowing the remedie of a long and greivous sorrow'.²

The notion that an elegy should so inflame the mourner's grief that it finds expression the more easily, and so is purged, is touched on by John Davies of Hereford in his elegy for Prince Henry. He handles the idea in terms of smelting iron.

Men must be wrought like Ir'ne; that's first made soft
 With fire, yer water cooles it; fires of Wit
 Must make them more then supple (sure, and oft)
 Y'er Teares can coole strong passions burning-fit.
 Than, if my Wit were great, as is the CAUSE
 Of this our sorrow, it should so enflame
 The World with passion as it ne're should pause
 To shoure forth streams of Teares to quench the same!
 (sig. C2)

The writer of an elegy would also wish to commemorate his subject insuring that future generations would not forget his name, his virtues or his exploits. This might be achieved either by composing a character sketch which extolled his accomplishments, and flattered his personality, or by presenting him against the back-cloth of the corrupt and evil world, and so establishing his worth and virtue by contrast to it. The technique of the character sketch is exemplified by Tourneur's elegy on the military commander Sir Francis Vere, which was written in 1609. Tourneur presents Vere as a wise and skilful soldier, and although it is an idealised study it seems to be founded upon a knowledge of his character and of the part he played in campaigns in the Low Countries³, for the reader is aware of an individual behind the ideal. The poet makes it plain that Vere's military skill, courage, and wisdom were based upon a serious and well ordered mind, and it is the virtue of self-mastery, the conscious control of the passions by reason, which is the chief object of his praise.

Nothing could disband
 The strength and order of his minds command.
 For neuer mind her nature better knew;
 (sig. Blv)

The descriptions of Vere's exploits at Ostend and Newport and of his insights into the management of soldiers are used to illustrate the workings of such a mind, so that the poem, composed, significantly, in a style of understatement and lacking oppressive eulogistic diction, has a moral tone and development.

The technique of placing the subject within the context of the evil world is adopted by a number of the writers who celebrate Prince Henry's death. In some of the poems the evil becomes palpable, and is identified with the Catholic Church or the Pope. The absolute is foreshortened to the political and the virtues most highly praised tend to be loyalty to the Protestant cause, a hatred of Papist practices and ambitions, and a desire to destroy Papal authority.

In general there would seem to be two styles which poets follow in writing elegies on the Prince; they are exemplified by the elegies of Spenser and of Donne. Spenser's elegies are characterised by the use of pastoral convention, the elements of which are easily imitated. The 'November' section of The Shepherdes Calender which is a lament on the death of 'Dido' contains devices used by many of the poets. The invocation to Melpomene, the presentation of Dido as the 'sonne of the world', the summoning of nymphs and shepherds to mourning, and the description of Nature's distress, exemplified in the following quotation, are common currency in the elegies on the Prince:

As me that dreerie death should strike so mortall stroke,
 That can vndoe Dame natures kindly course:
 The faded lockes fall from the loftie oke,
 The flouds do gaspe, for dryed is theyr sourse,

And flouds of teares flowe in theyr stead perforce.
 The mantled meadowes mourne,
 Theyr sondry colours tourne.
 O heauie herse,
 The heauens doe melt in teares without remorse.
 O careful verse.⁴

Domesticated animals refuse their food, the wild beasts wail, the nightingale sings its mourning song, and water nymphs bring cypress. Also characteristic is the expression of contemptus mundi sentiments, allied with the dramatic emotional reversal from grief to joy, which is stimulated by the realization that the subject has left this transient world for eternal happiness. Such stylistic mannerisms and devices, though not original to Spenser, were more readily accessible to the postasters in poems such as November, Astrophel, or Daphnaida, and tended to be imitated or adapted without the elaborate allegorical structure which lay behind them.

Whereas Spenser's elegies are highly wrought lanets for the dead, Donne's tend to analyse the emotions provoked by death, and developing from this, explore its significance and its impact upon life. The opening of the Elegy on the Lady Markham is typical of this approach:

Man is the World, and death th' Ocean,
 To which God gives the lower parts of man.
 This Sea inuirones all, and though as yet
 God hath set markes, and bounds, twixt us and it,
 Yet doth it rore, and gnaw, and still pretend,
 And breakes our bankes, when ere it takes a friend.⁵

In the First Anniversarie the death of Elizabeth Drury is only the starting point for a train of speculative thought in which the poet expresses his profound disquiet and anxieties as to man's purpose and place in the universe. The technique for examining the poet's complex response to death is the conceit rather than the pastoral lament in an allegorical setting, perhaps the most common conceit being the idea of the subject

as the world's soul. The effect here is not markedly different from the pastoral convention of Nature's lament, for the conceit also explores the decline in nature and social order consequent upon the subject's death, though explaining the phenomenon by a different mechanism. The language is that of the dialectic, colloquial and often dramatic, yet, when allied with an exaggerated conceit, capable of producing a poem in which ingenuity and obscurity are excessive. With the exception of these friends of John Donne who wrote elegies for the Prince, it would be misguided to suggest that there are two schools or styles of elegy writing to be recognised in the poems written on Prince Henry's death. It would be more correct to say that there were many influential poets who had written, or were writing, elegies after their own fashion from whom many others derived ideas and mannerisms. The same device may appear in the elegies of both Donne and Spenser, though the way in which it is handled varies considerably. In A Nocturnal upon St. Lucy's day for example, Donne uses the lament of Nature to objectify his grief:

The Sunne is spent, and now his flasks
 Send forth light squibs, no constant rayes;
 The worlds whole sap is sunke:
 The generall balme th' hydropticke earth hath drunke,
 Whither, as to the beds-feet, life has shrunke,
 Dead and enterr'd; 6

Furthermore many ideas, and patterns of thought and imagery, in the elegies belong to a tradition which stretches back to the 15th century or earlier, so that elements of various styles and images of different traditions may, as in the pieces by Scottish poets, be juxtaposed.

Two poems, Sorrows lenitive; upon the occasion of the death of John Lord Harrington by Abraham Jackson, and An Elegie and Epistle upon Sir William Sydney by Joshua Sylvester, elegies for men of talent and high rank, offer a parallel with those composed at Prince Henry's death.

Jackson's poem presents the standard elements of the elegy - the hyperbole of grief, the emphasis placed on the uncertainty and transience of life, and the regret for the omnipotence of death which leads to the sudden reversal of mood:

He was your Sonne: but now he is a Saint.
 He was your Brother: now an Angels Mate.
 He was your Comfort: now no cause to plaint,
 He was your deere, but now in better state.
 (sig. B 5)

The poet goes on to celebrate Lord Harrington's virtues—he was a 'choise Jewell from Gods treasury' (sig. B6)—and eventually to contemplate life from the contemptus mundi position:

This fickle life is but a swift runne race:
 A doubtfull-ending combat struggling still:
 Vpon the troubled Seas, a Sailers case:
 A Captives lot, fetter'd against his will:
 (sig. C2)

This view strengthens the consolation that death is a release, 'a grieffe-ending sweete Catastrophe', and it is on this note that Jackson draws the general moral at the conclusion of his elegy:

And you sad Ladies that are clad in blacke,
 Best suting with those weights, that Scorrow feeds,
 Think what this WORTHY hath, & what you lack,
 And you will find your owne case wants such weeds.
 For mortal you, in cares doe draw your breath,
 Immertall he, needes non to waile his death.
 (sig. C4v).

Similar consolations are offered to the mourners of Sir William Sydney, and both subjects are presented in ideal terms. Sydney is

The Flower of Youth, of Honour, Beautie, Blood,
 A Miracle, A Master-piece of Nature
 The fairest Mark, the rarest and the best
 Of Vertues Budds.
 (sig. H4f)

Harrington is praised as a 'model of perfection/Furnisht with rarest gifts of Natures store' (sig. B5v). Such exaggerated compliments and

images, together with arguments that the subject's death has been caused by the peoples' unworthiness, or as a punishment for sin are features of the elegies for the Prince. There, however, the claims made for virtue and honour are more exaggerated, whilst the nation's unworthiness is often particularly stated and analysed.

In the months following the Prince's death over forty poets and poetasters hastened into print in English to record their grief and establish Henry's fame. Their work was enormously varied in both length and quality. Whilst some poets composed elegies of polish and distinction, others could produce only a few lines of doggerel, and much of the verse cannot be said to have a literary value. In addition the Stationers' Company licensed six ballads, only one of which seems to have survived⁹. Many writers, more academically minded, composed their tributes to the Prince in the classical languages, Arabic, Chaldic, Italian, and French, both the English Universities publishing volumes of such verse¹⁰. The first such memorial volume published in England celebrated the death of Sir Philip Sidney in 1586. In the 17th century anthologies were frequently produced for royal marriages and deaths, thus giving the universities an opportunity to express their loyalty to the Crown, and on the deaths of various private individuals. At first poets limited themselves to Latin and Greek verse, but with the improvement of printing facilities, verses in Arabic, Coptic, Gaelic, Persian, and Anglo-Saxon were published. Though it seems that the quality of most of the verse was low - being mainly uninspired imitation - according to Leicester Bradner¹¹ an exception must be made in the case of the Prince Henry anthologies where he finds 'a feeling of sincerity'.

The printers took pains to match their pages to the dark sentiments

of the elegies. The title-page of Joshua Sylvester's Lachrymae Lachrymarum is printed in white lettering on a black slab, and each opening has a black slab with the Prince's arms in white opposite the verse, which is itself surrounded by a border of skeletons and funereal emblems. Similar devices are used in the volumes written by George Chapman, Christopher Brooke, and Richard Niccols. William Drummond's Epitaph for Prince Henry is enclosed within a crude woodcut of a sepulchre, whilst the title-page of John Taylor's Great Britains All in Blacke is placed within a black wood-cut border with the Prince of Wales' Feathers at the top and bottom, and the letters H. P. on massive pillars on each side. The verse of the title-page is a black page. Thus it is not only the poets who mourn but the very pages themselves, as Richard Brathwaite remarks in his elegy Upon the illustrate Prince Henrie in The Poets Willey:

poems in blacke
 Resemble the blacks we weare vpon our backe.
 (sig. A4r)

Spenser's influence is marked in the work of six of the poets. The anonymous composer of Great Britaines Mourning Garment adopts a good deal of his manner. The outcry against Saturn and the Fates, the mourning of nature, nymphs, and rivers, the use of allegorical and mythological figures, and the strong emphasis upon the endurance of the Prince's fame through verse, are woven into an ill-organised though partially successful cycle of sonnets. In contrast to the formality of the pastoral allegory, however, there are moments at which the poet's response to death is less controlled: in Sonnet XIX the poet's carefully nurtured sense of optimism is dramatically overcome by a renewed attack of grief and despair. William Browne in his Elegy is

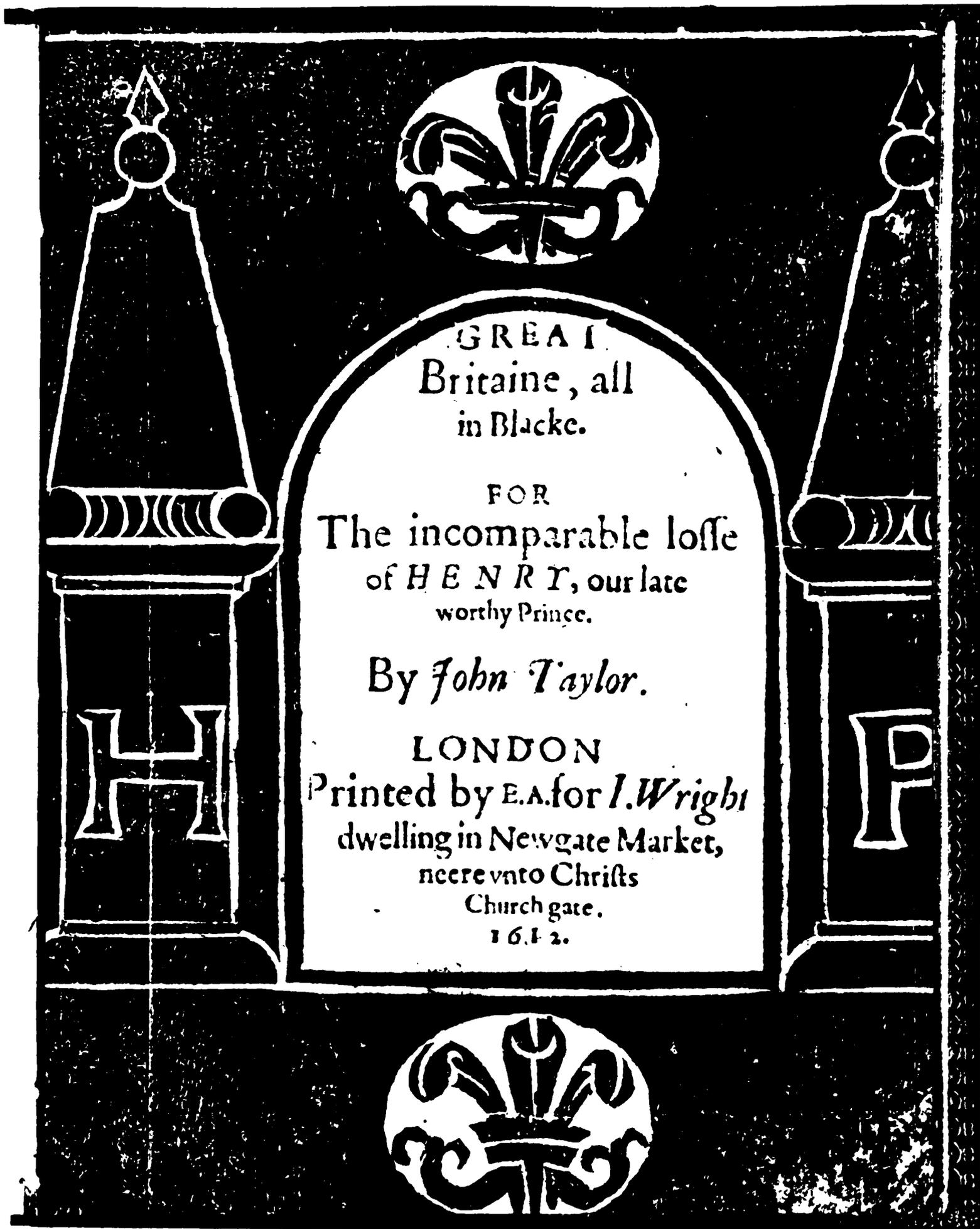


FIG. 1



Hal'd down from Heaven, from Justice awfull Seat,
 This heavy Judgement (which yet more doth threat).
 Wee Clergy, first, who too-too-oft have stood
 More for the Church-goods, then the Churches good:
 Wee Nobles next, whose Title, ever strong,
 Can hardly offer Right, or suffer Wrong:
 Wee Magistrates, who (mostly) weake of sight,
 Are rather faine to seele then see the Right:
 Wee Officers, whose Price of euery Place
 Keeps Vertue out, and bringeth Vice in grace:
 Wee Gentles then, whose rack, and sick, and sell,
 To wimme like Ses-Crabs, in a soure-wheeld's Shell:
 Wee Courtiers, next, who French-Italianate,
 Change (with the Moon) our Fashion, Faith, and Fate.
 Wee Lawyers then, who Feakizing Law,
 And deadding Conscience, like the Horle, leach drawe:
 Wee Cittizens, who seeming Pure and Paine,
 Beguile our Brother, make our God our GAYNE:
 Wee Country-men, who slander Heav'n and Earth
 As Authors of Our Artificiall Deaths:

1966

B 2



FIG. 2.

also heavily indebted to Spenser in his use of metaphor and allegorical and mythological devices, whilst the elaborate stanza form is probably derived from November¹². Giles Fletcher¹³ most closely captures the spirit of Spenser's verse, his blending of grief and anguish, figured in the lament of men and nature, together with a recognition of otherworldliness, carrying conviction because of the economy of metaphor and the control of his numbers. The most elaborate of the poems which follow the Spenserian style is the narrative poem of Sir Arthur Gorges The Olympian Catastrophe. It is written in the six-line stanza in which Spenser had lamented Sir Philip Sidney and is replete with mythological characters and heroic archaisms. Gorges's editor writes¹⁴ of the poem, which was not published and exists only in manuscript, that 'probably no celebration of the dead prince sounded more like an echo from the nineties than this tale of combat in the lists, within its framework of goddesses wrangling for priority as sponsors of the hero'. Certainly the poet shows no awareness of the fashionable style, analytical and reflective, which was adopted by Donne and his followers.

Henry Peacham and Richard Niccols also write in the Spenserian manner. Peacham in his Period of Mourning presents particular facets of Henry's personality, and of the experience of grief in six visions. In the second vision for example the poet imagines that he sees a palm tree straight and tall. It flourishes, and provides shade and protection for shepherds during times of rough weather. However, a serpent at the base of the tree is undermining it, and it is quickly cast down. In this way Peacham emblemises the Prince's death, and his function as protector of his people. Niccols also makes use of the vision technique, showing in the first part of The Three Sisters Teares

the luxury and vanity of London's society humbled by the death of the Prince. In the second part of the poem the scene changes to Westminster Abbey where three 'faire ladies', the sisters Angela, Albana, and Cambera - England, Scotland, and Wales - lament the death of their Prince. The poem, a pageant rather than an elegy, is strongly didactic in tone, and is pervaded with a sense of public guilt and anti-Roman Catholic sentiment.

The view of Henry's death as a moral exemplum is present in all the elegies, but in some it is strongly emphasised. Thomas Rogers in Gloucesters Myte uses the occasion as an excuse for a sermon in verse on the sinfulness of man, and the need for all to remember the judgement to come. For Rogers life is evil, short, and wretched, and mankind, constantly open to the subtle wiles of the devil, can find refuge only in Christ's message. Other poets are more mild in their didactic fervour, and direct their gaze to other themes. Robert Allyn in his Funeral Elegies cries out against Rome, once more calling for a general repentance, whilst William Basse¹⁵ sees in grief a help to discover grace through affliction. Christopher Brooke in A Funerall Elegie exhorts his reader to place his trust in God even though his ways may seem harsh and inexplicable as in the case of Henry's death.

John Davies of Hereford in The Muse's Teares offers seven poems of lament, two of which are addressed to King James and to Queen Anne. In the main piece, a long and discursive poem, the lessons are political and ethical rather than religious. Davies is interested in discussing the problems of just government, and he argues that these 'great minds' who rule should be slow to anger, and cautious in correction, that cruelty in government most often springs from cowardice, and that the privilege of power also implies responsibilities.

Both William Alexander and William Drummond emphasise the contemptus mundi theme. Drummond in his Tears for Moeliades, an elegy which Jonson commended¹⁶, exemplifies it in a vision, reminiscent of Chaucer's Treilous, which is intended to be both a moral pointer and a consolation. Prince Henry looks down from heaven upon the follies of mankind and earthly concerns are set in wider perspective. Alexander, on the other hand, is concerned to show man's position in the universe severely circumscribed by an unpredictable Fate, whose reasonless operation seems to deprive all earthly values of significance.

The witty argumentative style of which Donne was the master also has its exponents. Donne wrote his own elegy for Prince Henry, published in Lachrymae Lachrymarum, to match Sir Edward Herbert's in obscurity¹⁷. The poem, a discussion of the effect of Prince Henry's death on faith and reason, is certainly difficult, though the complexity of language and syntax is not matched by a similar complexity of thought. The elegies of Herbert and Henry King¹⁸ are close parallels to Donne's in that their theme is speculative and their structure dialectical. Sir Henry Geedyere also follows this pattern, the crux of his poem being the contradiction of expressing measureless grief in measured verse.

The algies written by Tourneur, Heywood, and Webster were published in one volume, evidence perhaps of their close relationship and friendship. Tourneur's poem is a meditation on death, the poet thinking aloud, as it were, about the significance of Henry's death for the individual and for society. Webster and Heywood speculate on the causes of the death and use the same parable to show that the pleasures of mortal life, in this case the joy derived from the Prince's person, are hollow. All three poets present a character sketch of Henry,

delineating his personality and interests with some accuracy, and making it the basis for their meditations rather than a witty conceit.

Chapman's Epicde also offers a character sketch of the Prince and a good deal of detail about his court, his patronage, and the final days of his illness. The first part of the poem is a lament for the decline of the world consequent upon Henry's death. The second part, a paraphrase of Politianus's elegy on the death of a young girl, is an account of the descent of the fever and the final days of the illness which is related by the Muse. Whereas the style of the first section is plain and unembellished, that of the second is elaborate in its classical imagery and its mythological figures. It would seem that Chapman did not consider his first section sufficiently weighty to commemorate the Prince and the second section is intended to remedy this. The most comprehensive character sketches are given by James Maxwell and Sir William Cornwallis¹⁹. In The Laudable Life and Deploable Death of our late peerlesse Prince Henry, a poem notable for conscious archaism and medieval images of death, Maxwell presents the Prince as a complete Renaissance man, skilled in the arts of war, and peace, a dutiful son, a loving brother, and a generous master.

The greater part of Prince Henries Obsequies by George Wither consists of a cycle of forty-five sonnets in which the poet touches on a number of themes which are common in the elegies. The most remarkable feature of the volume is A Supposed Inter-locution between the Ghost of Prince Henrie and Great Brittain. The first section is handled in the manner of an echo poem, but the echo quickly becomes transformed into the spirit of the Prince, offering highly moralistic advice on the proper government of the kingdom. The tone is strongly

anti-Catholic and it is clear that in Wither's view Prince Henry joined the Protestant pantheon immediately upon his death²⁰.

The elegy written by Joshua Sylvester, Prince Henry's first poet pensioner, is characterized by an element of puritan self-examination and a strong consciousness of personal guilt. Not content with this the poet embarks on social criticism, singling out for attack the various estates of society - the Clergy, the Nobility, and the members of the judiciary. The first of the mourning poems entered in The Stationers' Register was Great Britaines Greatest Woe by the Water-poet, John Taylor, a piece of small literary value except that Taylor manages to sum up common-places of the elegies.

In addition to the poets, three composers also lamented the Prince. Thomas Campion's Songs of Mourning set to music by John Coprario (Cooper) are the most substantial offering, consisting of seven songs addressed to members of the royal family, prefaced by an elegy. Mournful songs were also composed by Vautour, and by John Ward. The two ballads which have survived are The good shepherds sorrow, and An Epitaph of Y^e Second Alexander Prince Henry, that Glorious Davstar of Brytan's Consort, which survives only in manuscript²¹. Other chance survivals of the Prince's death are four epitaphs for him which were printed in Wits Recreations, a collection of diverting extracts published in 1640.

Although these poems were written in response to a single event, and may thus be loosely termed elegies, the variety of forms adopted by poets is large. The lament, the contemplative and analytical poem are appropriate to the occasion, but the death is also mourned in terms of the narrative poem, the sonnet cycle, and the vision technique, Perhaps

the most unusual and imaginative approach being Wither's use of the echo poem. The variety and vigour of the forms is matched by the number of political, moral, and religious issues which poets discuss and the fervour with which they present them. This is in contrast to the imagery and metaphors employed in the poems which, as we shall see, are frequently compounded of overworked clichés.

Sermons

In the second half of the sixteenth and the early years of the seventeenth century bitter religious controversy shaped the fears and political ambitions of nations; it was manifested in England in the extremes of the Marian persecution, the numerous religious plots, and the sanctions against Recusants. In the absence of newspapers one of the main vehicles for propaganda and public persuasion was the sermon in which polemic and philosophical debate was presented to the people. Through the sermons news could be disseminated, or, more important, government views and attitudes communicated. Thus in a very literal sense the Church was the established arm of Elizabethan and Jacobean government, as the laws enforcing church attendance not only assured an outward religious conformity, but also provided an authoritative platform for the edicts of the state.

The influence of sermon writers was vast, since it is likely that for each person who was familiar with the play-house and attended a theatrical performance, scores were present at sermons. There are a number of contemporary references to the popularity of sermons.

Chamberlain wrote to Sir Ralph Winwood in January 1610 of Launcelet

Andrewes: ²²

I hope we shall have his sermon upon the 4th to the Galatians 4th verse, preached on Christmas day last with great applauses: the King with much importunitie had the copie delivered him on Tuesday last before his going toward Roiston, and sayes he will lay yt still under his pillow.

Theodore Gill quotes a contemporary account which narrates how gentlemen and nobles so crowded in for a sermon at Lincoln's Inn that 'two or three were endangered and taken up dead for the time with the extreme press and thronging'.²³ People came to hear the sermons of Julines Herring from twenty towns and villages, flocking like doves. They came in the morning and stayed until the evening, many of them bringing sufficient food for the day²⁴. Many Puritan preachers were sharply aware, however, that plays were becoming more attractive than sermons to the general public, and in the eyes of some the players were seeking to usurp the function of the preacher. Evidence of this fear is not difficult to find. Robert Milles's strictures are typical:²⁵

The licentious Poet and Player together are grown to such impudencie, as with shameless Shemai, they teach Nobilitie, Knighthood, graue Matrons & civill citizens, and like Countrey dogs snatch at euerie passengers heeles. Yea, Playes are growne now adaiies into svch high request (Horresco referens) as that some profane persons affirme, they can learne as much both for example and edifying at a Play, as at a Sermon.

Despite such fears that the status of sermons was in decline a vast number continued to be printed, though from the number which survive it seems they were not read to pieces as were the play quartos. It is interesting to compare the number of sermons printed in a year with the number of plays published. In 1611 twenty volumes of sermons were published as against fifteen plays. In the following year thirty volumes of sermons were printed and only ten plays, and in 1613 no less than thirty-three volumes of sermons were published as against thirteen plays. Although companies were often reluctant to have their plays printed this comparison shows how firm the belief in the value of sermon

literature must have been, especially since some of the items were folio volumes of the 'Works' of such men as Andrewes, Hall, and Perkins which ran into a number of editions. Many sermons, no doubt, were put through the press in order to secure professional advancement. On the other hand it was necessary to establish a corpus of Protestant dogma which, standing in the place of the rejected Catholic theology, would provide a basis for a Protestant theology. In some respects the printed sermon fulfilled this need.

There is evidence that sermons were pirated in much the same manner as plays, and an acquaintance with sermon literature was established at an early age, for children were encouraged by their tutors and school-masters to memorise or take notes on sermons which might later be translated into Latin. In refounding the free Grammar School at Leicester in 1573, the Puritan Earl of Huntingdon was able to insure that the running of the school was in accord with his own practices. A Puritan school-master was appointed, and the pupils had to receive an extensive course in sermons. The senior boys had to re-write the preacher's discourse in Latin verse or prose, and on Sundays all the boys attended public worship at their own parish churches, and were made to take notes on the sermons delivered to them²⁶.

Preachers composed and delivered their sermons with the predilections and interests of their audience in mind. Sermons delivered at Court were notable for their witty style, and elaborate flights of learning, and pedantry in deference to King James's reputation for scholarship. Aubrey in his life of William Butler²⁷ recalls the story of a Cambridgeshire Minister who, hearing that the King was a scholar, studied so excessively before he preached before him that he was unable to sleep. To enable

him to rest his wife administered a dose of opium from which the parson would have died had not Dr. Butler been at hand. Writers of Court sermons tended to compliment and flatter members of the royal circle, especially King James who was often spoken of as Britain's Solomon, and frequently touched upon subjects relevant to the office of a ruler, again drawing on Old Testament parallels.

The sermons preached at Paul's Cross were less sophisticated, being directed at all estates. An interesting comparison can be drawn between Paul's Cross and the Elizabethan theatres:

If we look at the scene as a whole, it reminds us of the Elizabethan theatres: groundlings and notables, pit and galleries, and, in the midst the pulpit as a stage. Indeed it was a theatre: to borrow a title from the young Spencer "a Theatre, wherein be represented as wel the miseries and calamities that follow the voluptuous worldlings as also the great joyes and pleasures which the faithfull do enjoy." Sermons, proclamations, processions, and penances were all theatrical.²⁸

At Paul's Cross there must be illustration rather than appeal to authority, a close application of the text to everyday life in contrast to the tortuous relationships which were drawn by Court preachers.

Preachers for Paul's Cross were generally chosen by the Bishop of London, though on occasions they might be appointed by the Privy Council, a testament to the influence which the sermon writer might possess.

Many of the sermons delivered there by men such as Joseph Hall, Thomas Adams, and Charles Richardson, were coloured by an acute sense of the world's mutability, a feeling sharpened perhaps by the increased interest in and knowledge of the civilisations of the classical world and early British history:

As the grave of Pempey had not so much as an inscription, to distinguish the dust that covered his victorious body from ignoble slaves and cowards, or to shew, Here lyes Pempey: No more have those once glorious dayes, now any difference in our memory or esteeme. They lie promiscuously raked vp in the dust of time, without any monument set ouer them, to tell they once were: no Rubrick, or capitall letter

inserted, to distinguish them from the common heape of dayes piled vp in the Almanake.²⁹

Though the preachers believed that the world was in its dotage they did not cease to castigate the evils of their society. They constantly returned in their sermons to the sins of usurers, adulterers, vain women, gallants, atheists, and drunkards, and for many of them the incarnation of sin was the Roman Church. The most effective method of presenting vices of this nature to a mass audience of varied education and intelligence was the character sketch. One of the most vigorous exponents of this technique was Thomas Adams. In The Soules Sicknesse he skilfully describes an 'Hypocrite', conveying the intensity of caricature in words which were to be heard by a congregation, rather than read by the individual.

The Hypocrite is exceedingly rotten at core, like a Sodome apple, though an ignorant passenger may take him for sound. He lookes squint-ey'd ayming at two things at once; the satisfying his owne lusts, and that the world may not be aware of it He is on Sunday like the Hubricke or Sunday letter, zealously red; but all the weeke you may write his deeds in blacke. He fryes in words, freezeth in workes, speakes in elles, doth good by inches. He is a rotten tunder shining in the night, an igni fatum, looking like a fixed starre: a painted sepulcher, that conceales much rottenesse: a crude Glee-worme shining in the darke: a stinking dunghill couer'd ouer with snow.³⁰

Adams's language is bold and immediate. The rythms of the prose are strong, and the images, strikingly visual and derived from common experience, are thrust one upon another to achieve a style admirably suited to the Paul's Cross audience.

Sermon writing was a complex art. One of the influences upon the forms and practices followed was the element of rhetorical training which many of the preachers had received³¹. Learning was regarded as a fine preparative for the preacher; Richard Bernard wrote that generally all the pieces of knowledge a man may possess are as 'many

candles to give light to see into his text³². The minister ideally should also be a master of the art of Grammar, and have a knowledge of Greek, Hebrew, and Latin. Further essentials for the sermon writer were a Concordance to the Bible, from which he might draw appropriate texts, and an Allusion Book, in which he could find classical and Biblical parallels to a great variety of sentiments. Depending upon the writer's education and background he might draw his parallels from Patristic thought, or classical or medieval philosophy in addition to the Scriptures. A text appropriate to the congregation and the occasion having been chosen, the preacher frequently divided it into several parts, and afterwards proceeded to develop each in turn. John Donne, in a sermon preached at the funeral of Sir William Cockayne, summed up his introduction thus:³³

So have you seen the frame set up, the rooms divided: The two parts and the three branches of each; And to the furnishing of them, with meditations fit for the Occasion, we passe now.

Such a schematic construction though useful in giving direction and sense of form to the less able preachers, was taken to excessive lengths by some who divided their texts in grammatical terms, and placed upon each section such a vast weight of tenuous parallel and learned quotation from their allusion books that the coherence of the text was lost.

The theories and styles of preaching were complex. J. W. Blench³⁴ outlines three main styles in the Elizabethan period, the plain, the ornate, and the euphuistic, and sub-divides these into various categories, examining also the similar complexities of forms of construction. The plainer style was adopted by Puritan preachers who, believing that the Word of God needed no ornament or excessive allusions,

followed such tenets as these laid down by William Parkins in The Art of Preaching.

The Order and Swame of the sacred and onely methode of Preaching.³⁵

1. To read the Text distinctly out of the Canonically Scriptures.
2. To give the sense and vnderstanding of it being read, by the Scripture it selfe.
3. To collect a few and profitable points of doctrine out of the naturall sense.
4. To apply (if he haue the gift) the doctrines rightly collected to the life and maners of men, in a simple and plaine speech.

A feature of sermon writing of all styles was the egocentric view of English destiny inherited from the reign of Elizabeth with its carefully manufactured mythology and history setting the Queen's accession as the culmination of God's purpose³⁶. Thus in many sermons we find a prophetic identification of past and present, and a stretching after Biblical parallels to fit contemporary events. The English regarded themselves as God's elect Nation. Andrewes frequently reminded King James that God had chosen England above all other nations for His special favour. Thus the identifications of the English with the Israelites, London with Jerusalem, James with Solomon, or Prince Henry with Josias were not imaginative parallels but were part of the fabric of the preachers' religious outlook.

The funeral sermon was a form in its own right. No doubt the same set of texts was repeatedly drawn on, and the preachers' patterns of response were dictated by tradition. Three principal aims are apparent in the funeral sermon. The preacher would attempt to commemorate the life and virtues of the deceased, and perhaps present him as an example to others yet living. Secondly he would attempt to offer comfort to the mourners, and finally, developing from this, he would draw out the conclusions or lessons which the sad occasion might

exemplify. In this way the death frequently became an exemplum of the transience of life, the recognition of the inevitability of death leading to various expressions of the contemptus mundi theme. The following passage from one of Donne's funeral sermons is characteristic:³⁷

I need not call in new Philosophy, that denies a settlednesse, an acquiescence in the very body of the Earth, but makes the Earth to move in that place, where we thought the Sunne had moved..... Nay, nothing needs be done to either, by God, or Destiny; A Monarchy will ruine, as a hair will grow gray, of it selfe. In the Elements themselves, of which all sublunary things are composed, there is no acquiescence but a vicissitudinary transmutation into one another.

The sermons written in celebration of Prince Henry's death display these concerns with varying degrees of emphasis. Nine sermons survive by Daniel Price, one of the Prince's chaplains. Six of them were preached at Saint James's Court, one, Tears over Abner, being spoken before the body of the Prince. The remaining three were probably written for a University congregation. Price, making use of his Court

connections, gives in Prince Henry, his first Anniversary a detailed description of the Prince's character and interests from which he is able to draw exempla for the 'passionate whirlwinds' of the time. In the first sermon, his Lamentations, he speaks with some knowledge of the course of Henry's last days of illness, relieving the doctors of any blame, and dismissing rumours of poison. As one might expect of a Court preacher he offers advice to Prince Charles on whom Henry's responsibilities had sadly fallen, but his main concern is to commemorate his master. Joseph Hall on the other hand in A Farewell Sermon sets out to offer some comfort to the members of the Prince's household who were leaving St. James's for the last time. Hall emphasises that though the Prince's death is a great cause of grief, the world is, in any case, a vale of tears, and Prince Henry, dwelling in heaven's glory, is to be

envid. Comfort for their sense of loss can be found only in faith in God's grace.

The only Paul's Cross sermon which deals at any length with the Prince's death, London's Warning or Laodicea's Lukewarmness, was preached by Sampson Price, Daniel Price's brother. It is characteristically fierce in the denunciation of the sins and vices of the age which, Price asserts, have been responsible for the Prince's loss, - an explanation appearing frequently in the sermons. The death is something of an excuse for a spirited attack on sin - Price offers his congregation a vigorous character sketch of the atheist (sig. Clv) - and a religious polemic. The preacher can conceive of no reconciliation with the Church of Rome, and he is careful to reiterate the traditional charges against the Papists - the Gunpowder Plot and the Marian persecution. Sampson Price's style is plainer and more direct than that of Daniel Price or Joseph Hall: he has little time for the schematic construction, preferring vigorous language and straightforward parallel between the corruption of Laodicea and the City of London. Edward Chetwind's Votivae Lachrymae, though less extreme in its tone than Sampson Price's sermon, covers similar ground. There is a strong belief in the righteousness of Protestantism; the vices of the kingdom are sharply attacked, and a further calamity is predicted unless the people turn to repentance and prayer. The directness of the moral strictures, and the uncompromising tone, is no doubt due to the circumstances under which the sermon was preached, for Chetwind was the public preacher to the city of Bristol and it seems unlikely that he had the advantage of an educated and sophisticated congregation.

Notes

1. George Puttenham, The Arte of English Poesie, edited by G. D. Wilcocks and A. Walker (Cambridge, 1936), p. 47.
2. Puttenham, p. 47.
3. Allardyce Nicoll notes in his edition of Tourneur's works that a paragraph of the poem is a metrical paraphrase of part of Sir Roger Williams's A Briefe Discourse of Warre, which was published in 1590. Professor Nicoll also suggests that Tourneur may well have known Sir Francis Vere. See The Works of Cyril Tourneur, edited by Allardyce Nicoll (1929), pp. 21-2; pp. 32-37; and p. 321.
4. Edmund Spenser, The Minor Poems, edited by C. G. Osgood and H. G. Latsperch, 2 vols. (Baltimore, 1943-47, reprinted 1958), I, 108, ll. 123-132.
5. Donne's Poetical Works, edited by H. J. C. Grierson, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1912), I, 279, ll. 1-6.
6. Donne's Poetical Works, edited Grierson, I, 44, ll. 3-8.
7. Abraham Jackson, Sorrows lenitive; upon the occasion of the death of John, Lord Harrington (1614).
8. The Elegie and Epistle is published in Lachrymae Lachrymarum (1613).
9. The ballads entered in The Stationers' Register were:
 - A farwell to Frynse Henry or his funerall teares shed by his Country for his lyves deare losse &c. entered 5th Dec' 1612.
 - A Complaynt againste Death for takinge away the highe and hopeful Prince Henry of Great Brittainye with the manner of his funerall. entered 7th Dec' 1612.
 - Englandes sorowe for the deathe of the Most pierless Henry FFredericke ... entered 7th Dec' 1612.
 - the first and second parte of the lyfe and deathe of the late noble prince Henry. entered 11th Dec' 1612.
 - A lamentacon for Ye death of prince Henry. entered 17th Dec' 1612
 These ballads are now lost.
10. The works were:
 - Alexander Julius, In Henricvm Fridericvm Primogenitvm Jacobi...
 - Walliae Principem Lachrymae. 4to. Edinburgi, T. Finlason, 1612.
 - David Hume, Illvstrissimi Principis Henrici Iusta. 4to. G. Hall. 1613.
 - Francis Nethersole, Memoriae Sacrae Illustris Potentiss Principis Henrici Walliae Principis ... Laudatio Funebria. 4to. Cantabrigiae, ex officio. C. Legge, 1612.
 - Epicedia Cantabrigiense In obitum Henrici Illustrissimae Principis Walliae. 4to. Cantabrigiae, ex off. C. Legge, 1612.

Idyllia In Obitu Fulgentissimi Henrici Walliae Principis.

4to. Oxoniae, I. Barnesius, 1612.

Iusta Oxoniensium. 4to. imp. I. Bill, 1612.

Lycus Postumus sive erga defunctum illustrissimum Henricum Walliae Principem ... Magdalenensium Officioso Pietas.

4to. Oxoniae, I. Barnesius, 1612.

Lionel Sharpe, Oratio Fynebris In Honorem Henrici Excellentissimi Walliae Principis. 4to. Londini, G. Hall, 1612.

David Wedderburn, In Obitu Suae Spei Principis Henrici

Lessus. 4to. Edinburgi, A. Harts, 1613.

Patrick Gordon, Neptunus Britannicus Corydonis. 4to.

I. Budge, 1614.

11. For a brief discussion of the Latin works see Leicester Bradner, Musae Anglicanae (New York, 1940), p. 99, and E. C. Wilson, Prince Henry and English Literature, p. 145.
12. Ruth Wallerstein, Studies in Seventeenth Century Poetic (Wisconsin, 1950), p. 91.
13. Giles Fletcher's elegy appears in the Cambridge Anthology, Epicedium Cantabrigiense, sig. N4-01.
14. See The Poems of Sir Arthur Gorges, edited by H. E. Sandison (Oxford, 1953), p. liii.
15. Great Brittaines Synes-set Bewailed with a shower of teares (1613).
16. Ben Jonson's Conversations with William Drummond of Hawthornden in The Works of Ben Jonson edited by C. F. Cunningham, 3 vols. (1897), III, 474.
17. The Works of Ben Jonson, edited by Cunningham, III, 475.
18. Though King contributed Latin verses to Iusta Oxoniensium, An Elegy upon Prince Henryes Death was not published until 1656.
19. Sir William Cornwallis's poem appears in Lachrymae Lachrymarum sigs. E3-Flv.
20. Compare Vox Coeli or Neues from Heaven. Printed in Elisium (1624), in which Prince Henry appears with Henry VIII, Edward VI, Queen Elizabeth, Queen Anne, and Queen Mary to discuss the intended marriage between Prince Charles and the Spanish Infanta. Here also the tone is strongly anti-Catholic. Queen Mary is included in the group so that she may reveal the wickedness planned by the Catholics.
21. John Ward's Mourning Song for Prince Henry appears in his The First Set of English Madrigals (1613), sig. E3, and Vautor's song appears in The First Set: being songs of diuers ayres of 5 and 6 parts (1619). The ballad The good shepherds sorrow is printed in The Pepps Ballada.

edited by H. E. Rollins, 8 vols (1929-32), I, 32-38, and An Epitaph of Yt Second Alexander is printed in Ballads from Manuscripts, printed for the Ballad Society (1873) II, 291.

22. Chamberlain, I, 295.
23. The Sermons of John Donne, Selected and Introduced by Theodore Gill (New York, 1958), p. 5.
24. See William Haller, The Rise of Puritanism (New York, 1938, reprinted 1957), p. 62.
25. Robert Milles, Abrahams Sute for Sodome (1612), sig. Dlv.
26. See W. G. Hoskins, Provincial England (1963), pp. 101-2.
27. Aubrey's Brief Lives, edited by O. L. Dick (1949), p. 48.
28. Millar Maclure, The Paul's Cross Sermons 1534-1642 (Toronto, 1958), p.4.
29. Henry King, A Sermon preached at Paul's Crosse (1621), sigs. C2v-C3.
30. The Works of Thomas Adams being the Summe of his Sermons (1629), - The Soules Sicknesse, sig. Qq4v.
31. See W. Fraser Mitchell, English Pulpit Oratory from Andrewes to Tilletson (1932), pp. 42 ff.
32. Richard Bernard, The Faithful Shepheard (1607), sig. F2v.
33. The Sermons of John Donne, edited by E. M. Simpson and G. R. Potter, 10 vols. (California, 1954), VII, 259.
34. J. W. Blench, Preaching in England in the late 15th and 16th centuries (Oxford, 1964), pp. 168 ff.
35. William Perkins, The Works Containyng his learned expositions of sundrie choice places of Scripture with some little Tractates (Cambridge, 1609), The Arte of Prophecying sig. Vuu 5v.
36. For a discussion of the concept of the Elect Nation see William Haller, Exe's Book of Martyrs and the Elect Nation (1963) pp. 224 ff.
37. The Sermons of John Donne, edited by E. M. Simpson and G. R. Potter, VII, 271.

CHAPTER 3.

Images and Themes in the Elegies and Sermons



In the elegies and sermons upon the Prince's death poets and writers lamented Henry both as a Prince and as a Man. As Prince they described and mourned him in language appropriate to an heir to the throne and a future arbiter of the nation's destiny. As a man they eulogised and exaggerated those virtues which were indeed his, and composed flattering, though not always inaccurate, character sketches of him. Some of the writers and poets show an intense awareness of the discrepancy between their ideal of the Prince - a demi-god, and God's deputy on earth - and the reality of Henry's mortality which they were celebrating in commemorating his death.

Prince Henry presented as the Ideal Prince.

The images and allusions used to describe the Prince rather than the Man reveal little of Henry's personality or character. Rather do they delineate the ideal of a Prince in terms of his relationship to his subjects, his power and influence in national and international affairs, the splendour of his position, and so establish, in graphic terms, the magnitude of his loss. The metaphors and images of kingship were well used, and, part of a long tradition, no doubt sprang readily to mind. An epitaph for Edward III¹ in Westminster Abbey contains elements which are common in the elegies for Prince Henry - he is spoken of as the flower of princes past, and the pattern of princes future, he is celebrated as the glory of England, he is praised for his mild government, and his military skill is compared to that of the famous Maccabeus. Similarly the anonymous poet who laments² the death of Edward IV

responds to the event in the same terms of praise and sadness as those who mourn Henry:²

The well of knyghthode, withouten any pere,
 Of all erthely prynces thowe were the lode-starre!
 Be-holde & rede, herkyn well and hyre!
 In gestis, in romansis, in Cronicles nygh and ferre,
 Well known it is, per can no man deferre,
 Perelless he was, and was here yestirday,
 All men of Englund ar bounde for hym to pray.

ffy on this wordle! What may we wrecches say,
 Thate nowe haue lest the lanterne & the light?
 Oure kyng oure lorde - alas, and wele-a-way!
 In euery felde full redy for oure right;
 It was no nede to pray hym for to fight....

The king was the paragon of knighthood, the pattern of princes, and his people deprived of their protector are reduced to wretchedness.

Images of light and brightness

Many of the poets present Henry in terms of light or brightness, so emphasising the brilliance and splendour of princely rank. He is a sun, a planet, a star or a comet. The image of a prince as the sun sprang naturally to the minds of other men who were not poets. Birch³ quotes from a letter from the Earl of Dorset to Sir Thomas Edmondes written some days after ^{the} Prince's death. Dorset writes:

To tell you that our rising sun is set ere scarcely he had shone, and that with him all our glory lies buried; you know and do lament as well as we, and better than some do, and more truly; or else you are not a man, and sensible of this kingdom's loss.

Caroline Spurgeon⁴ has also shown how frequently Shakespeare clothes his monarchs and princes in images of light, especially in the History plays. The sun image is rich in its possible connotations for the sun as the most impressive of the heavenly bodies and the centre of the planetary system is the source of the world's warmth and comfort, and only by its light may men discern the colour and shape of their world. The correspondence of the attributes of the image to the function and

position of the ideal prince is obvious, though in general the poets do not explore the analogy⁵.

Sir Arthur Gorges, however, describes Henry's entrance to the lists, linking the functions of the sun with that of the Prince:

Then forth he comes, (like Phebus in the morne
New gazinge from the windowes of the east)
And as his beames doeth hills and dales adorne:
So doth this Prince the eyes of gazers feasts:
(sig. 19r)

In John Cozens's short poem in the Cambridge anthology (sig. 04) Scotland tells England that Henry was 'The glistering Sunne' that did 'guild thy state' thus enriching and illuminating the nation by his presence. John Davies of Hereford (sig. B1) and John Heywood placed Henry's brilliance above that of all others. Heywood writes:

Hee was as the Sunne
Amid the Planets, seeming so diuin'd,
That all about, and neere him he out-shin'd.
(sig. C1)

Other poets recognising the natural and constitutional pre-eminence of a father and King see Henry as a light of lesser magnitude than James. For Thomas Walkington the Prince is a

beaming of that sacred Sunne
Whose lustring day let it be neuer done.
(sig. 04)

Allyne and Wither also subscribe to this view. Allyne describes the Prince as the Moon to James's Sun (sig. A4v), and Wither, addressing Prince Charles, remarks

Thy Father both a Sunne and Phoenix is,
Prince Henry was a Sunne and Phoenix too
And if his Orbe had bene as high as his,
His beames had shone as bright's his Fathers doe.
(sig. B2)

Though the sun image is used by one poet in three it finds less favour with the sermon writers. Daniel Price refers to Henry in these

terms in three of his sermons⁶. In Spiritual Odours he laments

that the sunne, coming forth as a bridegrome, out of his chamber, and reioicing as a Gyant to runne his course, should set even before the Meridian and mid-day!

(sig. A1)

and in The First Anniversary he speaks of Henry as the 'sunne of his Highnesse life' (sig. Blv). The reference adds little weight to the sentiment the preacher is expressing, and to the modern reader the dubious pun seems unfeeling. Joseph Hall makes more imaginative use of the image in A Farewell Sermon delivered to the Prince's departing household:

We haue liued in the eye of a Prince, whose countenance was able to put life into any beholder: How oft hath that face shined vpon vs, and we haue found our heart warme with those comfortable beames?

(sig. Rr6v)

Price also alludes to Henry as a star, once more an image more popular with the poets. The Prince is a 'fixed star whose lustre is as full of beauty as glory' (Second Anniversary, sig. A24), and in Lamentations Henry is spoken of as

that happy New-Starre, new eye of Heauen, of whose station and influence while we argued, it went out againe.

(sig. D4)

The notion of the star's influence upon terrestrial affairs is taken up by Tourneur who seeks some consolation amidst the general grief which has overtaken the world:

Yet some of Joy too, mix'd with those of Greef;
That flew from apprehension of releefe.
I see HIS spirit turn'd into a starre;
Whose influence makes that HIS owne Virtues are
Succeeded iustlie;

(sig. C2).

The star image is so much a cliché⁷ that it is adopted by the anonymous writer of an epitaph in Wits Recreations (sig. Cc2v). However where

Tourneur is able to use the idea with some imagination to argue that the Prince's virtues retain their power despite his death, the epitaph develops the idea in a more homely manner:

Loe where he shineth yonder
 A fixed starre in heaven,
 Whose motions thence come under
 None of the Planets seven:
 If that the moon should tender,
 The Sunne her love and marry,
 They both could not engender,
 So bright a starre as Harry.
 (sig. Cc2-v)

William Drummond moves from the allusion to a star to a comet. The Prince, the 'bright Day-Starre of the West', a reference perhaps to his title of Prince of Wales, is also 'a Comet, blazing Terror to the East'. The image of the comet, more striking since it implies a sudden and unmatched brightness in the night sky which adumbrates events of great moment, is also taken up by Campion (sig. A2v), John Wilson (sig. Olv), and by Peacham who handles the idea most explicitly:

As when a Comet doth amaze,
 The world with it's prodigious blaze,
 While in some pitchie night, from North,
 Sword brandisht flames it shooteth forth,
 All gheasing what it might portend,
 Or where th'effect would fall i'th'end,
 So when this Youth in Armor shone,
 He was with terror look'd vpon.
 (sig. C4v)

Other poets write of Henry in terms of pure light, an image which is unspecific and conveys little other than the idea of splendour. For John Taylor (sig. B2v) he is the 'worlds admired Lampe', whilst Richard Niccols describes him as 'our second light' (sig. E3v), the first light being the King. Only the divine, Daniel Price, puts the image to more particular use remarking that in the Prince 'a glimmering light of the Golden times appeared' (1st Anniversary, sig. A2v).

Images of worth and rarity - gems, pearls etc.

The worth, rarity, and beauty of such a prince as Henry are conveyed by some poets through the images of precious stones, pearls, and treasure. The most common image is of Henry as a gem, Heywood, Peacham, Thomas Rogers, Maxwell and Webster describing him thus⁸.

Webster and Holland handle the idea with most skill. Webster sees the return of a past richness brought about by the death:

Time was when Churches in the land were thought
Rich Jewel-houses, and this Age hath bought
That time againe, thinke not I faine, go view
Henry the seventh's Chappell, and you'le find it true,
The dust of a rich Diamond's there inshrind
To buy which thence, would begger the West-Inde.
(sig. Clv)

Holland speculates that the earth has become as greedy as man in his search for riches:

Artthou yet Earth, for all thy Mines, so needy?
Or, by Our Greediness learntst thou be greedy?
We digge thy wombe for Geld (we are so cruell)
And digge it vp againe to hide our Iewel.
But This, which in thy Bosome now is hoorded
Is worth what euer vs thou hast affoorded.
(Lachrymae Lachrymarum, sig. D3).

The Prince is described by Thomas Rogers (sig. B2) as a 'pearle' and by Maxwell as

the rare Pearle, that we of late haue lost,
A peerlesse Pearle, the Load-stone of this Ile.
(sig. Clv)

Similarly William Alexander (sig. A3v) and Sir Arthur Gorges (sig. 3r) decry the loss of that 'treasure' and that 'deare Treasure'.

The Phoenix Image

In nine elegies Henry is referred to as a phoenix, the mythical bird of Arabia which was reborn from its own ashes. He is 'The Phenix of our age', - William Farmer (sig. Flv), and 'Faire Europes

Phoenix,⁸ - Maxwell, (sig. C3.) Uniqueness, miraculousness, self-sacrifice, immortality and dynastic continuity are the ideas implicit in this allusion⁹. Cornwallis emphasises that there was only one such creature:

For though the World contain
One only PHOENIX, and that One is slain,....
(sig. E4v)

Wither, however, argues that there may have been many Phoenixes, though only one may live on earth at one time, the rightful King. Addressing Charles he writes:

And now dost thou to be a Phoenix trye;
Well, so thou maist (no doubt) another day,
But then thy Father (Charles) or thou must die.
For 'twas decreed when first the world beganne,
Earth should haue but one Phoenix heauen one Sun.
(sig. B2)

The poet agrees that Henry too had been a Phoenix, but because of Nature's Law he had had to die. Whilst Christopher Brooke sees Henry's death as the self-sacrifice of the Phoenix, Maxwell and Allyn carry the process a little further to recognise the new Phoenix in Prince Charles:

So oft as I behend braue HENRIES brother,
He thinks I see a Phoenix from his Cinder.
(Maxwell, sig. C2).

Allyn uses the idea to compliment the dead Prince's courtesy; he addresses Charles:

Admired Phoenix, springing vp apace,
From th'ashes of another Phoenix bones,
Which (too too courteous) yielded thee his place,
Least earth were burden'd with two birds at once.
(sig. B3v)

Images of fruits and flowers

The promise and maturing stature of the Prince, his splendour and his strength are presented by many poets in terms of ripening fruits,

blossom, and fine flowers. The image is a traditional cliché for kings and princes. An anonymous poet prayed for the success of Henry VII's invasion of France in October 1492 in these terms:¹⁰

And save thys flowre wyche ys owre kyng,
Wyche ys callyd a bebyll thyng;
Thys Rosse, þis Rosse, þis Ryall rose,
The flowre off england & roys owr kyng.

Caroline Spurgeon has remarked on Shakespeare's use of the image in connection with the King and the royal family in his History plays¹¹, and the usage was so much a cliché that it occurs in letters written at the time. A Mr. Beaulieu, Secretary to Sir Thomas Edmondes, in a letter to the Resident at Brussels styled the Prince 'the flower of his house, the glory of his country, and the admiration of all strangers'¹². Maxwell shows a particular liking for such allusions, making use not only of the flower's appearance but also of its scent to convey the Prince's widespread fame and popularity. He eulogises him as

this flower, so fragrant, faire and sweet,
This Lilly-rose that filld all Albion
With his sweet sent.

(sig. H1)

and later,

The fairest flowre that er'e in Britaines Ile,
Did sprout or spring, or Summe did euer see,
Whose fragrant smell diffused many mile
Fill'd sea and Land from Wales to Virginie.

(sig. B2)

Basse (sig. B1), Chapman (sigs. C3v and E2), Niccols (sig. C3v) and Rogers (sig. B2) also describe Henry in such terms though in a less elaborate manner, whilst Holland (sig. D2v) uses the colours of the roses of Lancaster and York~~shire~~ to convey the change which death has wrought in the Prince's appearance:

The Rose of LANCASTER, that fairely burned
 In his fresh Cheeks, to that of YORK is turned....
 The Flower of All this Age is now deflowred;
 In Flower of all His Age him Death deuowred.

One more it is only Daniel Price among the divines who follows the poets' example. In the two sermons David his Oath of Allegiance, (sig. B4v) and The First Anniversary (sig. A2) he alludes to the Prince with Biblical overtones as 'the first floure of the figge tree', and in The Second Anniversary (sig. E4) he speaks of him as the 'fairest of Natures flowers'.

The poet of Great Britains Mourning Garment embodies the hopes and expectations which were entertained for Henry in the metaphor of a well grown plant:

A well growne Plant, adorn'd on euery side
 With beautious blossomes lifted vp on high,
 Ready when his due season shall require
 To yield the sweet fruite of his boasted flowers.
 (sig. B1)

Such hopes are presented in the more explicit terms of conquest by Stephen Haxby in the Cambridge anthology.

A plant of fairest hope that euer stood
 In Ida, or the Caledonian wood,
 Whose armes outstretched, might haue reach't as farr
 As is the Artick from th' Antartic starre;
 And Cyrus-like might haue his shadow spred
 From siluer Ganges to Sols watrie bed:
 (sig. Olv)

Other poets¹³ following the metaphor of the tree or plant reiterate the promise of early blossom. Gorges for example writes:

Alas say they, what would his fruite haue beene,
 Had he but liv'd to come to his ripe strength;
 Since in his flower was such perfections seene.
 (sig. 47r)

Though Chetwind recalls that 'we saw the blooming, and reioiced in the sweet sent of this goodly growing plant' (sig. B7) the use by

Daniel Price^{of} the plant metaphor is closely connected with Biblical authority. His favourite allusion is to the Cedar, the traditional biblical image of the chosen and in referring to the Prince in these terms he is echoing texts such as Zechariah XI.1 and 2, which laments¹ the destruction of Jerusalem:

1. Open thy doors, O Lebanon, that the fire may devour thy cedars.
2. Howl fir tree, for the cedar is fallen; because the mighty are spoiled.

and Psalm 92, 12.

12. The righteous shall flourish like the palm tree; he shall grow like a cedar in Lebanon.

Thus in Lamentations (sig. F4) Price speaks of the Prince as 'our Princely Cedar', and in Spiritual Odours (sig. C4) laments the stroke which has been given to 'the fairest Cedar of the forrest'. In Tears over Abner he reproduces the biblical phrases in calling for grief:

Howe ye poore fir trees, your shelter is downe, the Cedar is fallen and lieth here before yee.

(sig. O2)

Of the poets only Sylvester (sig. A3) adopts this biblical allusion, referring to the Prince 'my high Cedar'.

Biblical, Mythological and Historical Allusions

Biblical parallels are more specially drawn when Price idealises the Prince as 'Israel's Prince, the Joshua, Iosiah Maiesties first borne, Religions second',¹⁴ and 'our Iosias' and 'Ichabod, the glory of Israel',¹⁵. The burden of the sermon Tears over Abner is the identification of the Prince with Abner, the Israelite general who, though he had opposed David, was deeply mourned by the King after his murder. Price says of Henry that

hee was Abner, the light of Israel, & now this light extinguished, Abner is dead and departed, therefore Rent your clothes, put on sackcloth, and mourne before Abner, for Abner lieth dead before you.

(sig. M3)

Chetwind also follows the practice of identifying England and Israel. Henry was 'an English Iosiah, beginning in his tender yeeres to seeke after the God of his Fathers' (sig. B7v) and he was looked on as a Noah born to be a comfort for his people (sig. B6v). Through such allusions the preachers were able to convey the ideal prince in terms of piety, skill, and enthusiasm in warfare against God's enemies, and his promise of just and successful rule. They were also able to imply that as God's purpose was fulfilled through the generals and kings of the Old Testament, so in like manner England's King and family were always under God's hand. Of the poets only Sylvester made use of such allusions, remarking that

So, good IOSIAH (HENRY'S parallel)
Was soon bereft from Sinfull Israel.
(sig. B4)

In general the poets found the Bible a less profitable source of allusion and though John Davies likened Henry to Solomon in the management of his household (sig. A3), and Brathwaite allowed himself to pun, referring to Henry as 'Jacob's staffe' (sig. A4v), they found mythology, classical literature and history offered more attractive and appropriate allusions for suggesting a Prince's martial prowess, desire for conquest and power, and wisdom in government. As in the sermons, where Great Britain is identified with Israel and the prince with Abner or Josiah, so here London becomes Troy, and Henry, Hector or Ulysses¹⁶. Wither writes in his Obsequies:

May not I liken London now to Troy,
As she was that same day she lost her Hector?
When proud Achilles spoil'd her of her loy,
(And Triumph'd on her losses) being victor?
May not I liken Henrie to that Greeke,
That hauing a whole world vnto his share,
Entended other worlds to go and seek.
(sig. C3)

Gorges voices similar sentiments:

Now Troy her Prince, James wayles his Hector heire:
Anne moanes the prime branch of her owne selfe gon.
(sig. 48r.)

John Taylor speaks of Henry as 'this Isles Achilles and Uliesses'
(sig. A1), but Drummond places his status higher:

A Youth more braue, pale Troy with trembling Wallies
Did neuer see
(sig. K3.)

The prince is also compared with Alexander the Great by Gorges (sig. 20v)
Maxwell (sig. C3) and Christopher Brooke,

Not Alexander for th' Olympian Game,
Could shew more heartie thirst, and actiue Fire,
Then he would doe in his vnquensh't desire.
(sig. C1)

Turneur, however, makes the most ingenious use of the parallel,
prophesying that when in future an artist comes to paint Alexander's
likeness

his best
Imaginations will bee so possess't
With HIS Remembrance, that as Hee does liue,
He'll make that Worthie's picture like to HIM.
(sig. C1)

Thus Turneur manages to use a worn technique to compliment the Prince
by showing how men will be unconsciously affected by his memory.

Other poets find parallels in English history. Maxwell recalls
the popular Nine Henrys Motif¹⁷: the Prince possesses all the virtues
and skills of his illustrious namesakes:

Learn'd like the First; stout, toward, th' hope of hearts,
Like to the Fift once cheife of Chiuallrie:
Like to the Sixt deuoute, milde, innocent,
Like to the Seau'nth, wise, thriftie, prouident.
(sig. #lv)

Surprisingly, perhaps, the preacher, Daniel Price, takes up this theme
in Spiritual Odours, though he is not specific in noting the qualities

of the Prince's forebears:

the worthiness of all the eight created Princes of Wallis of the English blood, and of the eight Henries his Highnesses Royall Auncastors, had met in him as in the Confluence.

(sig. C4v)

Price in the same sermon also compares Henry to Prince Edgar and Prince Arthur. Richard Niccols on the other hand detected a sterner spirit in the Prince, for he recognises traits which recall the Black Prince:

The blacke Prince Edward, whose victorious Lance
Spaines bastard Henry did in battell quell
 And made blacke daies and bloody fields in Fraunce
 When French King John beneath his valor fell
 In Henry lin'd, for hee againe did rayse
 My plume forgot, which Edward crow'd with praise.
 (sig. Fl).

John Taylor not only links Henry with the Black Prince, but a little later states that he possessed the qualities of mythological gods:

Ioue, Mars: and sweet Adonis were combine
 In Henries forme, his force, and Royall minde.
 (sig. B3)

This opinion is also held by Scotland in Niccols's Three Sisters' Teares for in speaking to England she refers to Henry as 'your Mars who hath lost his light' (sig. D1), and by Gorges who speaks of him as 'our English Mars'.

The Criterion of Virtue.

The ideal prince was not only the pattern of chivalry, but also the criterion of virtue and manhood, and the fount of Honour. The majority of the poets celebrate Henry in these terms. He is spoken of as the 'King of Princes'¹⁸, the 'greatest of the Kingly Race'¹⁹, the 'Prince of men'²⁰, and the 'President of vertu'²¹. His death is the overthrow of Honour²², and Wither complains that the 'prop of

'Vertue and mankindees delight' has fled from the earth²³. Such praise quickly loses its meaning²⁴. In the general heightening of hyperbole, 'virtue' and 'honour' become purely literary terms and lose their relevance to Henry's true character. Once more Tourneur is able to frame his praise within a restraining context by speaking of the Prince's influence upon the writers of the future:

When a Divine, or Poet, sets downe right,
What other Princes should bee; Hee shall write
What THIS was. That's HIS Character, which beares
 My sorrow inward, to goe forth in teares.
 (sig. C2)

Some of the poets' praise is self-contradictory, Chapman's view of Henry as a 'mortal Deity' seems to invite recollection of the lesson of Bancroft's funeral sermon, and images such as Thomas Walkington's in which the Prince is described as 'faire Vertues golden casket' are grotesque. In such cases restraint has been sacrificed to ingenuity or enthusiasm, to the detriment of the poem. The preachers also indulge in the exaggeration of Henry's virtues. Price speaks of him as the most religious, gracious, holy, chaste, vertuous, valerous Prince of his growth, that euer the Christian world enioyed.
Lamentations (sig. F4v)

Hall's description of Henry, though no less ambitious in its praise, is more direct in its simplicity, for he calls him 'our sweet Master (that was compounded of all loveliness)'

Europe's Expectation - The World's Soul.

For many of the writers who celebrated his death the Prince's influence and promise were viewed in a European perspective rather than in solely national terms. In their poems such attitudes are exaggerated until such influence has world or universal import, and they are finally taken to their extreme when Henry is regarded as the soul or essence

of the world, the aine qua non of its existence. Thus though for William Browne he is 'Englands Honour, Europes Wender', and Wither can write:

It cannot sincke into imagination
That He, whose future glories we may see
To be at least all Europes expectation,
Should in the prime of age despoiled be;
(sig. B4v)

Heywood's exaggeration is more characteristic of the majority of writers:

In Hope of three kingdomes (nay the World) is dead.
(sig. A4v)

For Cornwallis the Prince is the 'Love and Beautie of the World' (sig. E4v), for Maxwell 'all the worlds wonder' (sig. C3), and for Christopher Brooke, 'the worlds delight' (sig. C2v). William Alexander laments:

Though generall be the lesse, one shalfe confounding cyte
The Kings chiefe joy, the kingdomes hope, & all the worlds delight.
(sig. A2)

Characteristically the divines²⁶ present Henry as the 'Ioy of the Christian World'²⁷, Sampson Price recalling the Prince in London's Warning as the

sweet Prince, of fresh and bleeding memory, Prince HENRY, the expectation of all the Christian world.
(sig. F3)

The progression is carried to its extreme by Donne and his two friends Sir Edward Herbert and Sir Henry Goodyere. Herbert presents Prince Henry as 'our World's Soule', and to whom

wee are
So re-nite, that in HIM wee repaire
All other our Affections ill bestow'd.
(sig. F2v)

Goodyere expands this conceit into the absurd idea that the world was

the Prince's head. Nature he says

made our World Then, when She made His Head:
 Our Sense, Our Verdure from His Brain was bred,
 And, as The great Distractions haue and must
 Deface, and bring to nothing, That of Dust;
 So, Our true World, This PRINCES Head and Brain;
 A wastefull Deluge did and Fire sustain.
 (sig. F3v)

Donne argues more obscurely that the Prince was the linch-pin in the harmonious relationship between faith and reason upon which the world's safety depended:

For, Reason, put t' her best Extension,
 Almost meetes Faith, and makes both Centres one:
 And nothing euer came so neer to This,
 As Contemplation of the PRINCE wee misse.
 For All that Faith could credit Mankinde could,
Reason still seconded, that This PRINCE would.
 (sig. E1)

Further Donne sees the Prince as the greatest attraction to his soul, and the adumbration in earthly terms of the absolute of God.

The composite ideal of a prince which emerges from the images and metaphors which are used to describe Prince Henry is of a man of perfect virtue, skilled in arms, as were the heroes of classical and medieval times. He stands at the centre of society, illuminating and giving significance to all its members and institutions. Such a man is of great worth and rarity, and embodying the welfare and hopes of his subjects may be regarded as a plant approaching maturity or blossom which promises a rich crop. Royalty, being a unique and mystical attribute, may be emblematised by the Phoenix, an image which also emphasises the vital continuity of the dynasty. Thus the prince is a magical or sacred person, whose personal destiny is inextricably bound up with and affects the welfare of his subjects, and indeed the whole world. This view is much the same in both poems and sermons though

the divines tend, predictably, to choose their exempla and their imagery from biblical rather than classical sources. Though the ingredients are traditional and there is no sense of an individual personality behind such an ideal, the composite image is appropriate in some respects to Prince Henry in a way which would not have been the case had the subject been King James. The images for the King which appear in the poems are less warlike and vigorous - he is seen as the sun, in terms of light, and as a tree as is the Prince, but he is also presented as a shepherd, a palm tree, as Solomon and Hezekiah. Thus though the poets present Henry as an idealised stereotype it was not the only ideal, and the conventions had some degree of flexibility.

Prince Henry presented as a Man

It is the poet's task not only to lament the death of his subject but also to record and recall for general praise his virtues and enthusiasms. It is in attempting to do this that those poets who celebrate the Prince's death reveal something of his personality and interests. Beneath the inevitable exaggeration of virtue and the eulogy of his character the reader can recognise a man rather than a symbol, an individual, who would seem to correspond to much of the surviving biographical evidence, in contrast to the idealised stereotype of the images and metaphors. Henry is inevitably spoken of as possessing all the virtues:²⁸

A thousand graces with him buried lie,
A thousand Triumphs, and a thousand loves,
With him the life of honor seems to die.

(Great Britains Mourning Garment, sig. B1v).

So perfect a man was he that William Basse (sig. A6v) warns fellow poets that they must not expect to be able to represent adequately his

virtue and his beauty. He is regarded as the model courtier²⁹ and prince as William Alexander's impression of him indicates:

How oft have I beheld (a world adairing it)
 His Martiall sports euen men amaze, his wordes bewitch their wit;
 Whose worth did in all mindes just admiration breeds
 When but a childe, more then a man (ah too soon type indeed)
 Still temperat, actiue wise, as borne to doe great things;
 He reallie shew what he was, a quint-essence of Kings.
 With stately lookes yet mylde, a Majestie humane.
 (sig. A2-v)

Though this character sketch is idealised it has some correspondence with the character of Henry given by Cornwallis. We may recognise the martial pursuits and the sobriety, and recall Cornwallis's description of the Prince's manner in which grace and terror were so blended that those who were near him responded to the commanding aspect in his eye and his features. For Heywood Henry's perfections are appropriately summed up in the image of an actor who has perfectly learned his part:

Was euer Actor, made by the Creator,
 That better seean'd, his part vnto his Age?
 'Mongst all compos'd of fire, aire, earth, and water,
 So granely yong, and so vmellowed sage:
 Whose Trunke the Tombe exacts, as of a detter,
 Subiect or Prince, none euer acted better.
 (sig. E1,)

However, the Prince is scarcely individualised for the reader in such passages of eulogistic description even though it is possible to point out similarities between the poems and the studies of Cornwallis, Birch, and Bacon. The general and ideal virtues which are to be expected in a Prince's character are the stock materials of the occasional writer, and an individual personality is presented through the poems only when writers turn to explicate Henry's particular virtues and interests. Maxwell, Chapman, and William Cornwallis, the son of Prince Henry's treasurer and biographer, exhibit a closer knowledge of his character and enthusiasms than other poets. Henry's Protestant

zeal and piety were well known as was his hatred of vice and flattery.

Maxwell recalls that his

piety, faith and religious feare;
His fame and name shall to the heuens raise:
It was his daily practise twice to pray,
And praise his God; this was his vse alway.
(sig. B2)

This observation, which is confirmed by the Prince's biographers³⁰, prompts Daniel Price to write:³¹

It is true, our blessed PRINCE had such Princely, holy, gracious, religious endowments, that wee would haue rather thought him sent from heauen to vs, then so soone to be called thither from vs.
Spiritual Odours (sig. B4v)

A similar correspondence between the poets' and the biographers' view is found in Henry's attitude towards flatterers. Birch³² narrates the story of a nobleman who wrote to the Prince on a matter of some urgency signing himself 'Yours before all the world'. A reply was drafted by Sir Charles Cornwallis who concluded the letter with some words of favour. Henry accepted the substance of the reply, but despite the haste, returned the letter to be re-written suppressing the final greeting, remarking that he to whom he wrote had dealt untruly and unfaithfully with him, and that 'his hand should never affirm what his heart did not think'. A number of poets point out the Prince's integrity and honesty³³. Webster notes that

These men that followed him were not by-friends:
Or letters prefer'd to him: he made choice
In action, not in complementall voice.
(sig. Blv-B24)

Such an attitude may also have statesmanlike implications as Christopher Brooke points out:

His virtuall Impressions could rebate
The venomous BANE of whoerish Flattery;

Which like a SYREN lurkes in surging state,
 To sing great PRINCES to their Infamy;
 (sig. C2)

Chapman, however, makes the most of the Prince's dislike of flatterers. In his French tragedies he presents flattery as one of the greatest dangers to the well and judiciously run state. As a writer assured of his own talents and yet dependent upon patronage and Henry's support, it is likely that his moral concern was accompanied by an awareness that his own livelihood depended upon the Prince's judgement and integrity. It is not surprising therefore that Chapman bitterly attacks sycophants, speaking of them as household thieves and traitors by law who rob kings of their honour. He likens them to nurses who so humour their charges that they become incapable of considered and reasonable actions. The poet continues:

How wise then was our Prince that hated these,
 And wold with nought but truth his humor please
 Nor would he give a place, but where hee saw
 One that could vse it; and become a Law
 Both to his fortunes, and his Princes Honour.
 (sig. C2.)

Henry was not only proof against flattery, he was also, according to poets and biographers, uncorrupted by crapulence and, more particularly, concupiscence³⁴. Maxwell presents the general view:

With wine or ~~Venus~~ neuer was defil'd,
 The Rosie body of this worthy wight,
 With lusts allurements was he ne're beguil'd;
 But pure and chaste remain'd both day and night.
 (sig. B4v).

and Cornwallis who returns to this theme in his poem recalls that

Hee knew Vice, but no Vice could e'er infuse
 Her Peison into His well ordered Minde;
 Religion there and Conscience were combin'd
 And made a strong and holy warr-like Fence
 Against base creaked Ends; and Lust of Sence.
 (sig. E4v.)

Gorges (sig. 4lv4) writes that Henry was not oppressed by wanton thoughts as are many men, but lived as though he were barricaded from Cupid's darts, and Tournour (sig. B3) writes that the Prince's pleasures were not those which decayed the body. Francis Bacon³⁵, with obvious approval, supports this view, for he says that

For love matters there was wonderfully little talk, considering his age: inso much that he passed that extremely slippery time of his early manhood, in so great a fortune, and in every health, without being particularly noted for any affairs of that kind.

Birch³⁶ also offers this view of the Prince, dismissing the allegations of Arthur Wilson³⁷ and Sir Simon D'Ewe's of an affair between Henry and Frances, Countess of Essex. Wilson's story however does fit in with the Prince's known dislike for Rochester and the streak of Puritanism in Henry's character. The story goes that Henry, at first attracted to Frances Essex, cooled towards her when her liaison with Rochester became known. The Countess, attending a ball at which the Prince was present, dropped her glove. It was taken up and presented to Henry 'by one that thought he did acceptable service', but the Prince refused to receive it, saying publicly that he would not have it since it was 'stretcht' by another, meaning the Viscount Rochester. It is hardly surprising that no mention of such a liaison between the Prince and the Countess should appear in the literature commemorating the death, for not only would such a relationship have been illicit, but the Countess of Essex was the central figure in the Overbury scandal which crowned the notorious divorce proceedings of 1613.

Closely allied with Henry's seemingly incorruptible nature and his hatred of vice was a desire to see justice inform the actions of both individuals and society. Birch³⁸ notes

He adhered strictly to justice on all occasions, and never suffered himself to determine rashly, or till after due examination of both parties. This love of justice shewed itself very early by favouring and rewarding those among his pages and other young gentlemen placed about him, who, by men of great judgement were thought to be of the best behaviour and most merit.

Christopher Brooke makes a similar point. The Prince's actions were governed by reason rather than passion, justice rather than anger:

by an vpright hand he sought to draw
Through all his actions, paralells and lines,
Measur'd by IVSTICE, and by REASON's Law:
No sence perturbs, no passion vndermines
His glerious state.

(sig. B3r)

Here the Platonic idea that the mind or reason rules the passions is presented, and in addition to its justification in ideal terms this relationship as Chapman points out is most successful in practice:

He knew, that Iustice simply vsd, was best,
Made princes most secure, most lou'd, most blest;
(sig. Cl.)

A number of poets testify to the Prince's political acumen. Donne speaks of him as a 'torpedo' who outwitted those princes who tried to discover his thoughts. John Davies praises his skill in affairs (sigs. A3 and B3), and Chapman sums up his wisdom:

Wisdome in yeeres, crown'd his ripe head in youth;
His heart wore all the folds of Policie,
Yet went as naked as Simplicitie.
Knew good and ill; but only good did loue;
In him the Serpent did embrace the Deue.
(sig. C2v)

As we have seen Henry had an interest in the European political situation and seems to have had a close relationship, albeit by correspondence, with Henry IV. No doubt his statecraft is exaggerated by the poets - his experience and knowledge must have been limited by his youth - but something of his ambition and political concern is reflected in the poem.

We see Henry most clearly when the poets recall his interests and

enthusiasms. He was particularly noted for his passion for the art of war, and many poets refer to this³⁹. Brooke (sig. B4v) says that Henry knew that warfare was the exercise of kings and the spur to fame and nobility, and therefore he made Bellona his goddess. Campion notes his skill in the field of honour (sig. A2r), and Maxwell writes that

to Soldiers and to Valiant Wights,
Large was his loue, and liberality;
It was his pride to passe whole daies and nights
Among such men, and in their company.
(sig. B4)

From the poems it is plain that the Prince was a youth of soldierly character. Niccols speaks of the manly sternness which was set upon his brow (sig. D3) and Drummond (sig. K2v) asks why Henry could not have died in a battle against the Turks. The reader is not surprised therefore to read Gorges's idealised and elaborate description of Henry in his armour:

For on his Iron Armour, (silver hatcht,
Shininge as though it dar'd the sunn beames)
Athwart his neck with golden buckle latcht
A Bawdrick hung casting foorth fiery gleames
Of pretious stones, wheareof in it was store,
And therein was his gold hilt faulchion bore.

A triple plume upon his head did wave,
Impalled with a gloriois Princelie crowne,
Which seem'd as if the winges of fame would brave,
And straine her trumpe with noates of high renowne.
His pircinge launce upon his thigh did rest,
St. George his crose enameld on his brest.
(sigs. 19v)

Though Gorges owes much to the Spenserian image of the knight this description may not be wholly fanciful, for Birch recounts Henry's skill in arms and his passion for riding great horses, together with his desire to train his body for campaign, a practice Cornwallis recalls (sig. E4).

Thus did Hee vse Tennis, Balloen, and Feilles,
 To make a well-breath'd Bodie fit for Toiles
 Thus manag'd Hee Pikes, Pistols, Horses, Armes
 To be prepared against his Country's harmes.
 (sig. R4)

Henry also attempted to improve his mind. As has been shown his range of interests was wide, although it seems he was uncritical and wayward in the enthusiasms he followed. Such interests did not escape the poets, and Maxwell's catalogue recalls that of Bacon in his character sketch of Henry:

To plant and build he had a great delight,
 Olde ruines his sole presence did repaire;
 Orchards and Gardens forthwith at his sight
 Began to sprout and spring and flourish faire
 Aske of faire Richmond standing by the Thames,
 If this be true; or yet of his S. James.
 (sig. B3v)

It is as a patron of writers and scholars that the Prince receives most praise and acclaim⁴⁰. There is a good deal of information about Henry's patronage, and he won the praise and admiration of such men as Isaac Casaubon, who had a high opinion of him. Thus Niccols (sig. D1) likens the Prince to those worthies of 'antique days' who laid aside their sceptres and crowns to take up the sacred 'bayes'. The England of 1612 presents a falling off from that ideal:

For few dee now the sacred Nine esteeme,
 That haue the gift of Mydas golden touch,
 Science diuine, a fruitlesse thing they deeme,
 And count the learned base for being such.
 O then let all that learned are lament
 His losse, whose life was learnings ornament.
 (sig. D1)

Gorges directs his narrative so that the goddesses Bellona and Minerva, the goddesses of War and of the Arts, quarrel as to which of them should take credit for Henry's virtues. Later Minerva laments the effect of his death on art:

For arts grew fainte when this sweet prince was dead,
That in his life tyme them with bountie fedd.
(sig. 36)

Heywood and Christopher Brooke (sigs. B3v-B4, see no conflict of interest,
for as Heywood points out the two activities were complementary:

No Oracles were weightier then his words,
Those that should counsell him hee could advise:
Art had in him her Mansions Princes swords
Should defend Art, and Art make Princes wise,
They had ioin'd league.
(sig. B4v)

Chapman praises the Prince for establishing a court in which virtue and
art are honoured. He speaks of it as a 'Spring Court', and laments
the passing of this 'Olympus', for on Henry's death the arts will
inevitably decline:

His house had well his surname from a Saint,
All things so sacred, did so liuely paint
Their pious figures in it: And as well
His other house, did in his Name fore-tell
What it should harbour; a rich world of parts
Benfire-like kindling, the still feasted Arts,
Which now on bridles bite, and puff Contempt
Spurres to Despaire, from all fit food exempt.
(sig. B4v)

References to Henry's wisdom⁴¹ as in Chapman's poem, Heywood's, or
John Tayler's panegyric:

Whose aged wisdom, and whose youthfull age
Was second vnto none, that's wise or sages
So old in sapience, so young so graue,
To be transfer'd vnto his timelesse graue.
(sig. B2)

represent an ideal view and cannot be fully substantiated. Though
Bacon found the Prince strong in understanding though slow in speech,
patient in listening, and capable of great concentration, praise of his
wisdom and sagacity was surely premature when it is recalled that Henry
was eighteen years old at the time of his death.

There is agreement however between poet and biographer about the

relationship between the Prince and his father. Though there may have been some lack of sympathy between them, and occasional friction due to Henry's criticisms of court life and his overeagerness to participate in public life, there can be no doubt of his obedience to King James.

This view is confirmed both by Bacon and by Birch:⁴²

The Prince was so exact in all the duties of filial piety, and bore so true a reverence and respect for the King his father, that though sometimes, out of his own inclination, or by the excitement of others, he moved his Majesty in some things relating to the public, or his own particular interests, or those of others; yet upon the least word, or look, or sign given him of his Majesty's disapprobation, he would instantly desist from pursuing the point.

This view is repeated by Cornwallis (sig. E3v) who recalls that Henry paid the obedience of both son and subject to his father, and by Maxwell who writes:

That from his Cradle to his mournfull end,
He neuer did his father once offend.
(sig. B2g)

Chapman writes that father and son were so closely connected that the misfortunes of one affected the other (sig. B3), and implies affection, as well as obedience on the Prince's part, when he describes Henry's last words to James (sigs. D4v-51). Though the passage is an idealised representation of the scene it agrees with the opinions of the Prince's biographers, showing a dutiful son aware of his father's wider responsibilities:

If your true Sonnes last words haue any right
In your most righteous Bosome, doe not fright
Your hearkning kingdoms to your carriage now;
All yours, in mee I here resigne to you,
My youth (I pray to God with my last powres)
Subtract from me may adde to you and yours.
(sig. E1)

That there is some correspondence between the biographical information, which itself cannot be accepted as completely reliable and accurate, and the distorting glass of the occasional literature is not surprising when Henry's popularity is recalled together with the way in which he reflected in his personality and interests the princely ideal of the age. The stock responses of occasional literature, which suit Henry, would perhaps have been inappropriate had Prince Charles been the subject for lament. None the less, although the correspondence between the Prince in the poems and the Prince of the biographers may in part be due to convention, a sense of Henry's character does come through the poems and thus offers some justification in human rather than symbolic terms for the professed intensity of grief.

The images and metaphors for the Prince's Death

The images which emblemise Henry's death spring naturally from those which are used to describe him. The predominant motif is a movement from light to darkness - the sun which promised so much has prematurely declined, the comet which shone so brightly has burnt itself out. This theme is reiterated by both the anonymous ballad writer, and the most skilled of the poets. From the ballad The Good Shepheard's Sorrow we may quote:

For now my some his date hath runne,
And from his Sphere doth goe
To endlesse bed of soulded lead,
and who can blame my wee?

And from Drummond's Teares on the Death of Moeliades:

So Phoebus mounting the Meridiāns Hight,
Chock'd by pale Phoebe, faints vnto our Sight
(sig. K2v)

The theme of eclipse is taken up by a number of poets⁴³, Robert Allyn, Henry King, Joshua Sylvester, Sir William Cornwallis, and John Davies,

Hee's gon; but going, left such light behinde
 As deth the Moone eclipse, the Sunne so blind
 With splendor, that the light they yeeld vs now,
 Is farre less good in deade, lesse great in show!
 (sig. C4)

Once again only Price among the divines responds to Prince Henry's death in such metaphorical terms:

When the sunne of his Highnesse life, was acending the meridian, his, and our Eclipse began, & before the noon-tide of nature, the night of death set vpon him.

First Anniversary, (Sig. Blv)

Peacham (sig. C4v) and Gorges, (sig. 40v) were appropriately perhaps, describe Henry as a meteor or a shooting star. The image is excessively elaborated in a sonnet from Great Britains Mourning Garment,

Even as the substance of a shooting star
 Grown great by Time, now ready with new light
 Throughout the world to spread his glory farre,
 And emulate the raies of Titan bright,
 Soone as the hoped fire hath given his powre,
 To shew his glory, and aloft to shine,
 Euen in a moment, in the selfe-same hower,
 His golden head does downe to earth encline;
 And those Illustrious beams which lately sent
 Such star-like brightnes do to darknes turne,
 And all his glorious hope so quickly spent,
 Leaves but a smoaky cloud his end to mourne.
 So did Prince HENRY in his glory fall
 And left vs nothing but his funerall.
 (sig. B2)

The cropping of a flower and the blasting of a plant by frost also emblemize the Prince's death. Sir Arthur Gorges speaks of Henry as 'this brave blossom (that death's frost hath quayld)' (sig. 50v), and Drummond reflects,

So falles by Northerne Blast a Virgine Rose.
 (sig. K2)

W. Farmer and Edward Gibson in their contributions to the Cambridge

and envious death which meant his fall,
 Hath him preferred much higher then before:
 So haue I seene a-downe-beate tennis ball,
 Higher rebound; and palmes opprest grow more.
 (sig. 02v)

The Complaint against Death and the Lament of Nature.

The formalized complaint against Death or Fate, and the conventional lament of Nature are features of a number of the poems. Both are means of emphasising the magnitude of the catastrophe. The formal outcry also offers release from the negative emotions of grief and despair into the positive emotions of hate and contempt so that the intensity of grief can be purged away. A seemingly meaningless act is given a cause - the perversity of Fate - and the mourner can thus find some consolation in reviling the agent. Furthermore the death of the Prince is placed before all other events as a cause for complaint, and the poet is given the opportunity to feign wonder at Death's audacity in committing such a deed. Wither follows this scheme and turns it to illustrate the affection in which the Prince was held, and to delineate Henry's worth in comparison with that of ordinary men

Oh cruell, and insatiable Death!
 Would none suffice, would none suffice but he:
 What pleasure was it more to stop his breath,
 Then for to cheeke, or kill, or ppyson me?
 My life for his, with thrice three million more,
 We would haue given as ransome to thee
 (sig. Clv)

An element here is the derogation or insulting of Death. Robert Allyn calls him

Blind, touchles, tasteles, deafe, and senceles snake, ...
 (sig. A3v)

and Wither later in his Obsequies accuses him of cowardice, and incidentally praises Henry:

How could the monster-death this mischief do?
 Surely the coward took thee in thy bed.
 For whil'st that thou werest arm'd ~~perch~~ within my list,
 He dar'd not meet thee like a Martialist.
 (sig. C3)

The poet of Great Brittan's Mourning Garment blames Saturn for contriving Henry's death, perhaps recalling the god's practice of devouring his own children, and addresses him,

Oh froward Saturne, and malevolent,
 That euery blooming glory dost enuie,
 And with thy frosts dost nip the buds yet pent
 In their greene bowers through thy vilde Iealousie,
 And hatefull malice to all liuing things.
 (sig. A3v)

By far the most vigorous attack is made by Gorges who, working in a style old-fashioned by the standards of 1612, identifies Henry's murderer as Destiny,

Envious malignant, foul-fac't destiny,
 Deserts-destructres, wrinkle-fronted hagge,
 Lethè-bred monster, that makest worth to die,
 Pluto's cheife handmayd, whose to choppes doe flagg
 Like quagg-myres, blear-eyed, haire-beknotted fury, ...
 (sig. 38r)

Though many of the poets refer to Death in slighting terms, few explore the potentialities of the device. Wither's use of it (sig. C3v) is ingenious in complimenting the memory of the dead Prince and in hinting at his martial prowess, but it remains cerebral in its effect. Gorges's grotesque description, on the other hand, with its strongly accented and alliterative language provokes a physical response which goes some way to relieving the pent-up emotion of grief which can find no other outlet.

The lament of Nature is a projection or externalising of inner feelings, for the grief and sadness of the elegist are transferred to the appearance of the countryside, the weather, the sky, and the sea,

so that Nature herself seems to mourn. Here once again a psychological response to death is translated into a poetic convention. The influence of Spenser lies heavily upon some of the lesser poets who use the device. Giles Fletcher and John Cozen, who contributed to the Cambridge Anthology, closely follow the sentiment and manner of the Lament section of 'November' of The Shepheardes Calender:

Regard the trees all hanging downe their toppes,
 In mournfull manner seeme to grieue and drop,
 Next view the heauens, the water-loaden skie,
 Casting downe water to the tearlesse eye.
 Each riuer flows and ouerdrown's the meeres,
 Haling vp wet to those that want soft teares.
 (John Cozen, sig. C₄v/P1)

Drummond, Niccols, Peacham, William Farmer, and the poet of Great Britains Mourning Garment each write similar passages⁴⁴.

The poets' descriptions of the excesses of storm and tempest after Henry's death are not mere literary convention and fancy, but have some basis in fact. The winter of 1612-13 was notable for high winds, heavy rains, and flooding which brought in their wake great loss of life and property. We learn as much from The Last terrible tempestuous windes and weather, a pamphlet entered in the Stationers' Register in January 1613⁴⁵.

it is sufficiently knowne to all estates & ages: What hurts, damages, and irrecoverable losses and hinderances men have sustained by tempestuous winds both on land and sea, whereon the land steeples, houses chimneys, trees, and rivers and diuers other things that were for the necessarie use of all sorts of people, hath beene utterlie subverted and throwne downe

(sig. A3)

Conditions were so bad in places that men and horses had to swim in the very roadway, and London was cut off from its sources of food supply. Webster may well therefore be reporting the truth when he writes:

What a darke night-peece of tempestious weather,
 Haue the inraged clouds summon'd together,
 As if our leftiest Pallaces should grow
 To ruine, since such Highnesse r'ell so low.
 And angry Neptune makes his Pallace groane,
 That the deafe Rockes may Ecco the Land's moane.
 (sig. Clv)

Only Joseph Hall, more used perhaps to drawing a moral from immediate circumstance, specifically links the Prince's death with the inclement weather. His verse has the ring of a sermon about it for he introduces his subject with rhetorical questions and drives home his views with analogy:

Fond Vulgar, canst thou thinke it strange to finde
 So watery Winter, and so wastefull Winde?
 What other face could Natures age become,
 In looking on Great HENRY'S Herse and Tome?
 The World's whole Frame, his Part in mourning beares:
 The Windes are Sighes: the Raine is Heavens Teares.
 (sig. D2)

Other poets exploit the coincidence of Henry's death with the coming of autumn and winter. Giles Fletcher writes in the Cambridge

Anthology:

See how the yeare with thee is stricken dead,
 And from her bosome all her flowers hath throwne,
 With thee the trees the hairees fling from their head,
 And all the Sheapheards are deadly bleune,
 (sig. N4v)

And the falling leaves and fruit are naturally linked with the Prince's fall:

But now tis Autumne, that spoiles eu'rything
 Vulgarly term'd the Fall oth' leafe with vs.
 And not amisse; for well may't be the Fall
 That brings down blossoms, Fruit, leaues, tree & all.
 Wither, Obsequies (sig. B2)

Henry King presents Nature in metaphysical rather than worldly terms. He feares that the death of the Prince may be too great a shock for her to withstand:

Keep station Nature, and rest Heaven sure
 On thy Supporter's shoulders, least past cure
 Thou dash't in ruine fall, by a grieffe's weight
 Will make thy bases shrink, and lay thy height
 Lowe as the Center.

(ll. 1-5)

The notion that Henry's death will lead to the world's dissolution is not uncommon, and is a parallel to the lament of Nature. This sentiment, the most ambitious compliment the writers could pay to the memory of the dead Prince is merely stated by some, though others justify it with complex argument. Chapman is content to describe the situation after the funeral:

Now, as inverted, like th' Antipodes,
 The world (in all things of desert to please)
 Is false on vs, with thee: thy ruines lie
 On our burst busomes.....

(sig. B3v)

Tournear, contemplating the event, remarks: 'T'is about my knowledge how we live/ To speake it.' For Donne, Herbert, and Goodyere the world's destruction is a logical progression of Henry's death since they speak of him as the 'world soule'. Thus Donne argues through his conceit to show that the world's harmony is broken because 'the only subject reason wrought upon' is dead and men are deprived of the one link between reason and faith. If men have been bewildered when a miracle or new discovery has seemed to threaten the accepted world order, how should they fare now? Men's lives are 'As but so many mandrakes on his grave' (sig. E1). Sir Edward Herbert argues, with some obscurity, towards a similar conclusion, attempting to reconcile the view that all men die in Henry's death with the obvious fact that society still functions normally.

Or, doe wee dye in HIM, only as wee
 May in the worlds burmanick Bodie, see
 An vniversally diffused Soule
 Move in the Parts which moves not in the Whole?
 So though wee dy'd with Him, wee doe appear
 To line and stirre awhile; as if Hee were
 Still quickning vs.

(sig. F2)

John Davies also considers that it is impossible to live on after the Prince's death. In contrast to the obscure scholasticism of Herbert, however, he justifies his view with the medieval analogy of the body and heart:

And, looke how when the Heart is sicke, the HEAD
 And all the Members, of griefe haue part,
 But neuer die vntill the HEART be dead.

(sig. B3v)

Wither uses the same argument to substantiate the opposite view. He says that he would surely be dead if he did not feel pain at Henry's death:

Needes must the paines, that doe disturb the head,
 Disease the body throughout euery part;
 And therefore might haue beene lopt as dead,
 If I had had no feeling of this smart.

(sig. H1)

Daniel Price, accepting the current belief that the world was in her dotage⁴⁶ and proof of this in the social behaviour of the time, considers the world more susceptible to the shock of Henry's death 'at which blow, the world staggered, & being old and nought it feared the date of its owne dissolution' (2nd Anniversary, sig. E4). In Lamentations he cries out

Oh, why is there not a generall thaw throughout all mankinde? Why in this debaased Ayre doe not all things expire, seeing Time lookes vpon vs with watry eyes, disheuld lockes, and heauie dismall lookes.

(sig. F4)

Others narrow the scope of their lament from a world to a national

concern. Chapman underlines the significance of Henry's death in this more limited perspective:

If euer aduerse influence enuid
 The glory of our Lands, or took a pride
 To trample on our height; or in the Eye
 Strooke all the pomp of Principalitie,
 Now it hath done so.

(sig. H1)

Anxiety for the future of the kingdom is expressed by Peacham (sig. E1v), Holland (Lachrymae, sig. D4) and Burton in his short poem in

Lachrymae Lachrymarum:

The Citie's Substance is the holy Seed:
 Which, reapt, her neere Destruction is decreed.
 The bold Star-gazers dare Precognosticate
 Disastrous Accidents to Towne and State
 And may not wee more certainly diuine,
 What Wracks the great Star-guider doth designe,
 When such a Sun falls from our Firmanent.

(sig. G3)

Daniel Price sees the death as an event which 'future generations shall lament and I fear out of the sides of their sorrow shall runne both water and blood.' (Spiritual Odours, sig. G1v) and Chetwind preaches in Votivae Lachrymae that this calamity is likely to presage God's further judgement on the people (sig. B3v). Moreover the country is described as a

Poore ILE, that with thy Tides dost howerly alter,
 Out washt with waues, in-washt with Teares, but salter.
 (Holland, sig. D2)

or a

desert Island, that art found
 Cast in the seas deepe bosome by mishap,
 As it with our salt teares thou all weart down'd,
 And hadst from heau'n drop't into sorrows lap;
 Desolate house!

(Giles Fletcher, Cambridge Anthology, sig. O1)

Thus here, in Great Britains Mourning Garment (sig. B2v), and

William Browne's Elegy (sig. EL), the writers present a picture of a country deprived of its raison d'etre and about to face catastrophe - an image which approximates closely with the view of the world noted previously. A number of poets elaborate this theme, showing how Henry's death has brought in its wake an undermining of virtue and the collapse of social order. Tournear remarks that wicked men rejoice, for since the 'President of Vertu' is dead, 'Vice hopes to get her courses licenced' (sig. EL). Wither echoes this sentiment:

I also greive, to see, how vices swarme,
 And Vertue as dispisd, grow out of date:
 How they recieve most hart, that doe least harme,
 And how poore honest Truth incurreth hate.
 But more, much more, I grieue that we do misse
 The ioy we lately had, and that he's gone,
 Whose liuing presence might haue helpt all this.
 (sig. B3v)

Whilst Daniel Price, in delineating the general falling off, provides a catalogue of contemporary sins:

Sinnes of the highest eleuation; and those sinnas now committed,
 which in times past durst not be named. Men like women, women like
 Dinels, common; to salute and stab, kisse and betray commons;
 cheating, whoring, drinking, swearing as common as breathing.
 (Lamentations, sig. D3)

The breakdown of social cohesion and the flouting of the moral code are more often regarded as the cause of Henry's death than its direct result. Here, however, the writers are using the approach to extend and fix the magnitude of the nation's loss as they do with the outcry against Death, the Lament of Nature, and the conceit of Henry as world-soul.

The Universality of Grief.

Though the poets and writers differ in the presentation of their sense of loss, many agree in remarking that such grief is universal.

All sections of society and the whole of the Christian world, with the exception of the Roman Church, are affected - Sylvester writes:

how should my saddest Verse lament,
 In deepest Sighes (in stead of sweetest Songs)
 This losse (alas!) which vnto All belongs:
 To All, alas! though chiefly to the Chief;
 His royal Parents, Principalls in grief:
 To All the Peers, to all Confederate,
 To All the CHURCH to all the CHRISTIAN State;
 To all the Godly now, and future, farr:
 To all the WORLD; except S.P.Q.R.
 To All together, and to Each-a-part
 That liues and loues Religion, Armes, or Arts
 To all abroad; but, to vs most of all
 That nearest stood to my High Cedars fall:
 (Lachrymas, sig. A3)

Wither in his Obsequies and The Interlocution between the Spirit of Prince Henry and Great Britain, Heywood, Campion, and Christopher Brooke compose similar passages⁴⁷ looking down the social scale from King to commoner and finding the marks of sorrow in every face. Cornwallis (sig. K3) speaks of grief as the work of 'a curious Painters hand' which confronts all eyes whichever way they turn, whilst Goodyere (sig. F3v) laments that sorrow so infects the world that each man finds the reflection of his grief in the faces of others:

For, as who doth ten thousand Glasses try,
 Receiues his owne Face back into his eye;
 So, if on twenty millions you light,
 Each Face reflects your owne Grief in your sight.
 (sig. F3v)

Such poetic exaggeration is echoed and extended into the future in Joseph Hall's A Farewell Sermon (sig. Rr4) 'All nations, all succession of times shall beare a part with vs in this lamentation'. Though such passages⁴⁸ are conventional in their hyperbole, and often impress the reader with their ingenuity, rather than their sincerity, telling observations are occasionally made. Wither describes the Court suddenly

diverted from Eliza's wedding preparations:

The Beauties of the Court are sullied or'e
 They seeme not cheerefull as they did before.
 The heauie Clergie in their Pulpits mourne,
 And thy Attendants look like men folorne.
 (Interlocution, sig. D4)

and in the Obsequies he notes of the mourners at the Funeral that 'Each amongst thousands seem'd as if alone' (sig. C4). Here the sense of shock and distress is conveyed by perceptive observation and restrained language. Similarly the extent of the nation's grief is presented more vividly by Price's simple description than by the rhetorical and hyperbolic style of Thomas Rogers,

Aske of the most ancient observer, and Register of times, whether either in mens memory, or in records of antiquity the like example/ hath appeared, as that which is obvious now in al parts of this City that almost the third man wee meete is a mourner.
 (Tears Shed over Abner, sigs. N1v-N2)

Who number can the sands vpon the shore?
 Or in the clearest night tell heauens starres?
 Such one may count, the many did deplore,
 And spread their colours, in those mournful wars.
Gloucester's Myte. (sig. B2v)

Other devices are called upon to depict the social reaction to the death. Drummond and the writer of the ballad, The Good Shepherd's Sorrow work in the pastoral convention - the shepherds have left their flocks, some have broken or hung up their pipes, whilst the temples which were formerly hung with 'Chaplets of a pleasing sent' are now dressed in cypress. William Browne uses allegory to describe the country's grief. The time of Henry's death was

When sighs as frequent were as various sights,
 When Hope lay bed-rid, and all pleasures dying,
 When Envy wept,
 And comfort slept,
 When Cruelty itself was almost crying;
 (sig. D3v)

The predominant approach however is that of ingenious hyperbole which

generally fails to carry any sense of sincere grief and often offends.

The Nature of Grief.

Similar exaggeration is evident in the poets' attempts to describe the intensity of their grief. William Alexander remarks that if grief would allow it he would weep tears of the heart which would breed, and fears lest, in contemplating the Prince's character, his breast should burst (sig. A2). The sorrow of Angela, Albana, and Cambera in Niccol's Three Sister's Tears moves even the marble of Henry's vault to bear a weeping moisture (sig. C2), whilst Brathwaite, expecting the earth to be inundated by tears, extends the image of his own weeping to grotesque proportions:

for without lesse charge
I could haue dreind a riuer full as large
Without ere pumping for'ts and with sluse
As artificiall: which could no way chuse,
(Such is the force of an obsequious pittie)
But conuey water to most parts o'th'city.
(sigs. A4-A4v)

Brathwaite's analogy, contrived and over extended, provokes humour rather than sympathy, and the passage is rendered bathetic by the final pity/city rhyme. Goodyere too is guilty of over contrivance, whilst Rogers, Browne, and Hall, working through hyperbole, compose passages lacking any spark of individual response to the death.

We find a more adequate representation of grief when the writers and poets analyse rather than exaggerate their sense of loss, for, though the lines of approach for such analysis are conventional, they are committed to a close description of a complex emotional state. There are three methods of analysis, the most common being to present grief as the effect of the mind's disharmony. Others describe their grief in terms of their loss of faculties, whilst William Basse and

Christopher Brooke work by analogy. Which ever method is followed grief is represented as an emotion of contrary forces and passions, in which despair is intensified by hope, or reason undermined by overpowering feeling. The mind's disharmony is variously explained in Platonic terms, through allegory, and in the current pseudo-scientific manner. The Platonic rationale is adopted by the more conservative poets, John Davies and Sir Arthur Gorges:

When grieffe with mutiny disturbs the hart
 And hath rebell'd against lifes settled state
 It scornes subjection to the soules best part
 And (to the death) Reasons command doth hate
 Whearein oft tymes this furye doth prevayle
 When Reasons Cynque-portes, and her cheifest peers
 (By sighing tempests) do grow weake, and fayle
 Beinge over-whelm'd with ore-grown seas of teares
 (The Olympian Catastrophe, sig. 2v)

A belief in the natural hierarchy of the faculties of the mind, which Reason must direct, is essentially Platonic, and Gorges is here describing the resulting chaos when this pattern is disrupted⁴⁹. The same process is analysed by Davies:

But yet (O Death!) GRIEF will not leane us so;
 It turnes againe; and Passion (which doth swel,
 Say Reason what it will) will with vs goe
 Vnto the Grave, which Heau'n is to this Hell!
 (The Muses' Teares, sig. B3)

The composer of Great Britains Mourning Garment and Christopher Brooke, on the other hand, interpret the symptoms of grief in pseudo-scientific terms. The anonymous poet (sig. Glv) speaks of sighs as 'the cooling ayre' which 'sustaines the fainting heart' which would otherwise smother in despair, and Brooke images grief in medical terms:

Let heate, and colde, moyst, dry, with all extremes
 Fight with Confusion in each troubled brest,
 Which Time to quiet neuer may digest.
 (sig. C4)

Wither presents the same contending forces, though he offers them in

the guise of emotions:

My minde assailed with a three-fold passion,
Hope, Feare, Dispaire, could vnto neither yeeld.
Feare wil'd me, for to vew the skies blacke colour,
Hope said; Vpon his hopefull vertues look;
Dispaire shew'd me an vniversall colour,
 Yet fruitles Doubt, my hearts possession tooke.
 (Obsequies, sig. C1)

The contention of strong forces also figures in the analogies of William Basse (sig. A2), and Christopher Brooke who addresses the mourning household of the Prince,

Me thinkes your Passion should strike Reason blinde
 With your imoderate woes; and tho in vaine
 Yee rage in Tearres, like Seas with boystrous winde,
 Yet with full sayles of grieffe you should be borne
 Till mast were split, sayles rent, and tackling torne.
 (sig. C3v)

Four writers confess that Henry's death has robbed the mourners of their faculties. Basse (sig. A5) speaks of himself as a changeling, robbed of his sex and turned woman by the tears which benumb his heart, and Gorges declares that he can no longer write:

My Muse did want her selfe, my sence was nume,
 My heart grew faint, my quicker power grew slow,
 Myne eyes weare dimme, my tongue was taken dumbe,
 My inke no longer from my penn would flowe,
 For inke, tongue, eyes, power, hart, sence, muse, apawld,
 Became thick dumbe dymie, slow, faint nume, and stald.
 (sig. 47v)

Thomas Rogers (sig. B2v) and Daniel Price voice similar thoughts, the latter lamenting that the death

exceeds invention to imagine it, and is able to cast a perpetual damp vpon the vnderstanding, that shal conceiue it: my hand, pen, heart, all my faculties sinke vnder this burdern.

(1st Anniversarie, sig. D3v)

Consolation.

In addition to giving expression to the general grief the poets and sermon writers also offer consolation to the mourners. Many argue

that Henry is not dead but lives on in Paradise or in the fame accorded to him in his lifetime, and the verse which the poets have composed to commemorate him. The first argument, the stock religious response, is presented by Joseph Hall in A Farewell Sermon:

This gracious master of ours, whose dissolution is ours, while he was here amongst vs, his princely crowne could not keepe his head from paine, his golden rod could not driue away his feuers; now is hee freed from all his aches, agues, stitches, convulsions cold sweats: now he triumphs in glory, amongst the Angels and Saints; now he walkes in white robes and attends on the glorious bridegroome of the Church.
(sig. Rr4v)

John Davies offers the same consolations

He di'de indeed; its true: nay false it is;
He did not die, that chang'd but lifes annoy
For life of comfort in eternal BLISSE
Yet, thus he di'de, that thus yet liues in joy!
(sig. C3v)

The feeling for paradox and the strong undertone of contemptus mundi sentiment are characteristic of many other poems⁵⁰. Brathwaite remarks,

For single death he gets a double change:
Of life and death: death to shut vp his eyes
Life to enthrone him in heauens paradise.
(sig. A3v)

There are slight variants of this argument. Gorges (sig. 2r), offering comfort to Queen Anne urges as a parallel for Henry's entrance into Heaven the arrival of a subject's child under her patronage at Court, and asks her if she would expect the mother to lament the loss. Peacham (sig. C3v) and Gorges in a later passage (sig. 49r) set Henry in a classical Elisium, stressing the advantages over this earthly existence. Wither, on the other hand, uses the argument to compliment the Prince's memory, referring to him in the Inter-locution as a Saint jealous of the glory of his Maker (sig. Fl2).

A number of poets are attracted to the notion that the Prince lives

on through his fame and more particularly in their verses. Chapman (sig. C3v) looks forward to future ages inspired by Henry's virtue, a sentiment echoed by Price in the 1st Anniversary:

Yet he is alive on earth in all good mens thoughts, in heaven in all Gods loyes.

(sig. A2)

Webster, claiming that men shall live by the Muses when their gilded monuments are fallen into dust, declares:

A Poets pen like a bright Scepter swaies,
And keeps in awe dead mens dispraise or praise.

(sig. C2)

Alexander, Brooke, Allyn and the composer of Great Britains Mourning Garment also assume this view of poetry. Alexander vows to record the wonders of the Prince's worth so that Fame may spread them through the world (sig. A3v), Brooke envisages it as the poet's function to consecrate the hero's name to immortal fame (sig. B3v), and Allyn argues that a man's virtue shall live on so long as art and fame survive (Blv). The anonymous poet of the Mourning Garment states this thesis most directly:⁵¹

Thou shalt not die Prince HENRY, if my songs
Hereafter tuned to a higher key
Can sound the honour that to thee belongs,
With sacred murmur of eternity:
(sig. C3)

Such optimism is heavily qualified, however, when the poets turn to describe the Prince's character, for many confess that the task is beyond their scope in an attempt to increase the reader's impression of his moral excellences:

What Heart, Tongue, Pen, thinkes, speakes, writes without scanting
His full propertion of immensie praise?
(Christopher Brooke, sig. C2v)

Much the same idea is expressed by Webster (sig. B2b), Heywood (sig. Cl),

King (ll 194^o), Taylor (sig. A3), George Gerrad (sig. Dlv), and

Burton⁵²

But, where should Hee haue found
 An Homer, or a Virgill, that might sound
 The worthy Praise of his heroicke Deeds,
 That can already bud from Vertues seeds?
 Nay: where's the Muse so rich, as can set forth
 The halfe of short-liv'd HENRY's long lyv'd Worth.
Lachrymae Lachrymarum (sig. G3v)

There is an interesting contrast here between the pretensions the poets maintained for their art, often voiced with rhetorical fervour, and the modesty and humility they assume when applying that art to description of the Prince. The techniques for commemorating Henry's person conflict in some degree with the methods adopted to enhance his stature. Further it may be argued, as Goodyere points out (Lachrymae, sig. F2v) that such permanent memorials as the poets wish to compose may exacerbate the bitterness of loss so preventing the healing which time brings. He urges that all records of the Prince, the elegies and even the tomb itself, should be destroyed, for so long as they remain men will be reminded of the misery of his loss.

More immediate solace is found in Prince Charles⁵³. He is the new hopeful plant, a flower as fresh and as rare as that which is dead, and a new Phoenix. Since he must take the place of his brother he is addressed in imagery previously assigned to Henry. Price writes:

Your Highnesse is now the Phoenix, the dawning, the morning, the day
starre, the sunshine, & light and life of the newly cleered firmament,
 (David, his Oath of Allegiance, sig.*2v)

The hopes which were entertained for Henry are now transferred to Charles:

And when mongst Saints thy Father takes his seat,
 God make thee then great Britaines Charles the Great.
 (Great Britaine all in Blacke, sig. A3v)

Wither (sig. Flv) looks upon the Prince as the Country's hope 'more

certain than our last', and Gorges prophesies a second Charlemayne, (sig. 5lv).

The approaching marriage of Elizabeth and the Palatine is also taken as cause for consolation, for the match may be fruitful and thus Henry's loss made up⁵⁴. Allyn looks forward to a time

Which after many yeares, and daies, be done
When fruitfull Rhine is cover'd with the sead,
That from thy royall breast may spring some one,
The living image of our Prince thats dead.

(sig. B3v)

And Wither, addressing Elizabeth, remarks that Frederick will be another brother to her and will help the King to another son, (Obsequies, sig. F3). That dynastic implications loomed large in the nation's reaction to Henry's death is evident from the prayers and expressions of hope that the House of Stuart shall not lack heirs. Chetwind in Votivae Lachrymae (sigs. Dlv-D2), and Daniel Price stress this fear:

Wherefore good Lord, looke downe from heauen, behold and visit/ vs,
locke vpon that Vine thy right hand hath planted; blesse the roots and
branches of the Royall remnant.... let neuer be wanting one of this race
to sit vpon the Brittish Throne, till the Sunne hath runne his last
race, and the world hath finished his last course.

(Lamentations, sigs. Glv-G2)

The degree of consolation which the readers of 1612-13 derived from the poems and sermons is uncertain, though it seems likely that the orthodox religious view that Henry was in heaven gave comfort to many. The rhetorical claims made for the immortality which Fame or verse might bestow on the Prince were perhaps less convincing, since such notions were remote from everyday experience, though Price's simple remark that Henry lives on in the thoughts of all good men carries a sense of conviction. Men must live in the world of affirs rather

than memories however, and the movement of many of the poems and sermons from contemplation of the dead Prince to thoughts of Prince Charles, and of the forthcoming marriage of the Princess Elizabeth leads the reader to turn naturally from the past to the future, and so points the way to a lasting resolution of grief.

He destroyed the groves and relics of idolatry throughout the land and strengthened the true religion. He was the last good king of Judah and was killed in battle. His funeral dirge was composed by Jeremiah. Thus the comparison with Prince Henry shows that Price saw a warrior strongly opposed to idolatry and a leader capable of leading his people in the paths of righteousness. Significantly the Roman Catholics are described as Canaanites and idolaters. Abner was a cousin of Saul and the commander of his army. Though he supported Saul's son as the King of Israel against the claims of David he later turned to David's faction and was favourably received there. He was a fine general and an honourable man though he was mistrusted by David's supporters who murdered him. His death caused the King great sorrow and indignation.

15. Lamentations sigs. B1 and D2.
16. See also Great Britains Mourning Garment sig. C2; Gorges sigs. 20r and 20v; Heywood sigs. B1 and C1; Maxwell sig. C3.
17. See E. K. Wilson, Prince Henry and English Literature (New York, 1946), pp. 46-7.
18. John Davies of Hereford, The Muse's Teares sig. D1.
19. Webster, sig. A4.
20. Campion, sig. A2.
21. Tournour, sig. B4.
22. Gorges, Poem No. 107 in The Poems of Sir Arthur Gorges, p. 130.
23. Wither, sig. C2v.
24. See also Cornwallis sig. E3; Heywood sig. E1v; John Taylor sig. A4; Thomas Walkington sig. O4 Epicedium Cantabrigiense; Mausoleum (No signatures) Epitaph Nos. 1, 3, and 8.
25. See also Burton sig. G3v Lachrymæ Lachrymarum; Chapman sig. E1v; Maxwell sig. C3; Mausoleum Epitaph No. 9; Peacham sig. D2v; John Taylor sig. B2v; Wither sig. D3v; Sylvester sig. A2.
26. Chetwind, Votivæ Lachrymæ, sig. * 2v; Price, Tearas Over Abner sig. F1, and 1st Anniversary sig. A3v.
27. Price, Lamentations, sig. B1.
28. See also Brathwaite sig. A3v; Christopher Brooke sig. C1v; Chapman sigs. B3v and B4v; Allyne sigs. B2 and B4; Great Britains Mourning Garment sig. C3; John Taylor sigs. A4v; Wither sig. A4v.
29. See also John Davies of Hereford sigs. A3v and A4v; Gorges sig.

- 19r; Maxwell sigs. B3/v;
30. Birch, p. 376.
31. See also Gorges sig. 37r; Wither sigs. E2-v.
32. Birch, pp. 382-3.
33. See also Heywood, sig. B4v; Webster sigs. C1/v.
34. See also Chapman sig. B4v; Webster sig. A4; Wither sigs. E2v-E3.
35. The Works of Francis Bacon, collected by J. Speeding, R. L. Ellis and H. D. Heath, 7 vols. (1870-76), VI, 327 ff.
36. Birch, pp. 402-404.
37. Arthur Wilson, The History of Great Britaine, being the Life and Reign of King James the First (1653), sig. B4v. Wilson would seem to have something of an axe to grind in that he takes pains to point out the vices of Court life under James I so offering a flattering comparison with the morally austere Commonwealth government. To this extent, as in the case of the tract by Sir A. W., his work is unreliable.
38. Birch, pp. 381-2.
39. See also Christopher Brooke sigs. B4v-C1; Gorges sigs. 6r, 10v, 32v, 33v; Heywood sigs. B1 and B4; Tournour sig. B4v.
40. See also Campion sig. A2v; Davies sig. A2v; Drummond sig. K3v; Gorges sig. 33v; Maxwell sig. B3v; Tournour sig. C1; Webster sig. C1.
41. See also Allyn sig. B2; Chapman sigs. C1-C2v; Heywood sig. B4v.
42. Birch, pp. 380-1.
43. See also Allyn sigs. B1 and B4; Cornwallis sig. E3; King ll.27; and Sylvester sig. A4.
44. See also Drummond sigs. K2v and K4; William Farmer sig. Fly Epicedium Cantabrigiense; Great Britains Mourning Garment sig. B2v; Nicolls sig. B4v; Peacham sig. B4.
45. See also The Wonders of this windie winter by terrible stormes and tempests. to the losse of liues and goods of many thousands of men women and children (1613), and The Windie Yeare. shewing many strange accidents that happened both on the land, and at sea. by reason of the winde and weather with a particular relation of that ~~at~~ that which happened at Great Chert in Kent. Also how a woman was found in the water, with a suckling child at her breast, with the nipple in its mouth, both drowned, with many other lamentable things worthy to be read, and remembered, (1613). Both pamphlets were entered in the Stationers' Register in the first month of 1613, The Wonders ... on 7th January and The Windie Yeare on 12 January.

46. The belief that the world was near to final dissolution is expressed by very many writers of the time. Sampson Price remarks in his sermon Laodicea's Lukewarmness that

Sinne is more powerfull, now, in the dotage of the world then it was in the nonage, so that there is need of Pulpit and Presse to repress it. (sig. A2v)

And later he laments:

I confesse wee live in the dotage of the world, wherein the harts of many are hardened from doing good. (sig. C3v)

The idea may be found in all forms of literature throughout the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries - from Spenser's The Cantos of Mutabilitie to Browne in Urn Burial. The discussion was intensified by the influence of scientific investigation into the nature of the universe upon traditional beliefs. With Galileo's discovery of the moons of Jupiter in 1610 it was clear that other heavenly bodies besides the earth could possess satellites, and his discovery of sun-spots in 1612 implied that corruption was a feature of the previously seeming unchanging heavens. The theory of decay affected every facet of life upon earth. Robert Burton writes that 'the philosophers of Coimbra, will refer this diversity to the influence of that empyrean heavens for some say the eccentricity of the sun is come nearer to the earth than in Ptolemy's time, the virtue therefore of all the vegetals is decayed, men grow less etc.' The Anatomy of Melancholy Part 2, Section 2. Men. 3 (Everyman Edn.) 3 vols, (1932, reprinted 1961) II, 47. The most frequently quoted expression of this belief is Donne's First Anniversary. For a discussion of the topic see George Williamson, 'Mutability, Decay, and Jacobean Melancholy', Seventeenth Century Contexts (1968).

47. See also Wither sigs. C4 and D4.

48. See also William Browne sig. D4v; Maxwell sig. C2; Sylvester sig. H3; Taylor sig. A4v; and Peacham sig. C4v.

49. Thomas Rogers however, describing the bodily reactions to grief, shows no such disharmony for all the senses are at one in mourning Henry's loss:

Heart tongue and eyes and every sense did ione,
In equall simpatie, of equall sorrow:
And with one stampe, their equall grief did coine
Each one of other, equally did borrow.
(sig. B3)

50. See also Brathwaite sig. A3v; Giles Fletcher sig. O1 Eneidum Cantabrigiense; Gorges sig. 39v; Wither sig. C3v; and also the following sermons, Daniel Price, Spiritual Odours sigs. B4v and G1v; The First Anniversary sig. D4; Chetwind, Votivae Lachrymae sig. B5v. A most tender and moving presentation of these ideas may be found in Roger Ascham's Letter to his Wife Margaret, concerning the

Death of her new-born Child, Nugae Antiquae, I, 84-90.

51. See also Gybsen sig. 02; Farmer sig. P2; both in Epicedium Cantabrigiense.
52. See also Geodyere^{sig.} F3-F3v; Heywood sig. C1; Farmer sig. P2; Gybson sig. 02.
53. See also Allyne sig. A4v; Basse sig. B4v; Campion sigs. B1 and C2; Cornwallis sig. E4v; Maxwell sigs. C2-C2v; Taylor sig. B4; Wither sig. E2.
54. In fact Elizabeth had thirteen children, the first child born in 1614 being christened Frederick Henry. He was drowned in the Ijssel Sea off the coast of Haarlem on 17 January 1629. Elizabeth's great grand-son became George Ist of England.

CHAPTER IV

The Political and Religious Response
to the Death of Prince Henry

The death of the heir apparent inevitably provoked a political response which is reflected in the poems and the sermons written for the occasion. This response is influenced and moulded by the Prince's character and his vigorous interest in the contemporary political scene. In the seventeenth century politics and religion were inextricably bound together. Political or commercial ambition was frequently disguised beneath the cloak of religion, and the antagonism between Roman Catholics and Protestants polarised international political affairs much as that between the rival ideologies of Capitalism and Communism has done in the twentieth century. Thus writers and poets assessed the world after the Prince's death in a limited religious terminology and perspective, and from a position which was partisan, over-simplified, and a prey to violent emotion. At the same time they explored a more profound concern, the significance of life in the light of the death of a man so talented and virtuous.

The Prince's piety and religious fervour, which have already been touched on, led the divines to see in him a defender of the Protestant settlement in England at a time when the King was pursuing a generally unpopular pro-Spanish policy. Daniel Price speaks of Henry as one

Whose Religious soule, did so truly entertaine the Patronage and protection of religion, that as HEE hated Poperie with a perfect hate, so his loue vnto truth and learning, as it shined outwardly, so did it burne inwardly in his owne practice.

(1st Anniversary, sig. A3v)

Sampson Price also speaks of Henry in these terms in London's Warning

by Leodices's luke-warmness:

It was the defence of Religion, that made Dauid, Salomon, Iosias, Constantine, Edward the 6, Queene Elizabeth, and our late blessed Prince Henry so honoured, that their names amongst all true hearted Protestants, are like a precious oyntment, their remembrance is sweet as hony, and as Musicke, at a banquet of wine.

(sig. H2)

From such an identification of Henry as a champion of Protestantism spring the violent anti-Catholic sentiments so often expressed by poets and divines. Wither in his Obsequies records the Prince's piety and religious fervour, and continues:

And that made Romists for his fortunes sorry:
When therefore they shall heare of this ill hap,
These Mints of mischiefes will extremely glory,
And it may be 'twas by a Popish trap.

(sig. Dlv)

Such a champion was not only expected to defend the true religion at home, but also to lead a crusade against the followers of anti-Christ, and the centre of their power, Rome itself.¹ Wither presents these hopes in his Obsequies (sig. C4v) when he imagines that he saw Prince Henry's arms advanced above the Capitol of Rome. Robert Allyne writes of Henry as

One who in time had com'de t'have worne the crowne
Of Brittaine, and throwne downe the walles of Rome,
And layd them leuell with the lowest ground.

(sig. A4)

Other poets, sparing Rome, direct their religious enthusiasm against the Turk, the traditional enemy of the Christian Prince². In Lachrymas Lachrymarum (sig. G3) Burton notes that the people expected Henry to check the Saracen or Mehammedan, and tame the Barbarian and Indian. Holland in the same collection of elegies (sig. D3v) claims that the Prince would have hewn down the Turks like cattle, and Thomas Campion addresses himself to those who suffer under the power of the infidel:

Mourne all you soules opprest vnder the yeake
 Of Christian-hating Thrace: neuer appeared
 More likelyhood to haue that blacke league broke,
 For such a heauenly Prince might well be fear'd
 Of earthly fiends.

(To the World, sig. E2)

Not all writers see a religious crusader in Prince Henry. Chetwind in Votivae Lachrymae (sig. B7v) describes him in terms more appropriate to the peace-maker. He was to be 'Isaiah's Good King, reigning in justice, and ruling in judgement, as an hiding place from the winde, and as a refuge from the tempest'. Tourneur also emphasises this idea:

For all the old Men of the Kingdomes weepe,
 Since HE that promis'd by HIS strength to keepe
 Their children free from others violence;
 And by example from their owne offence;
 Is taken from' em.

(sig. B3)

And Donne, speaking of the Prince as a 'Torpedo', says how it was likely had he lived that a universal peace would have been secured.

Writers and poets respond to the Prince's death in a variety of ways. It is regarded by many as a loss to state and people in both a religious and political sense, and is used by some as an excuse for, and a pawn in a fierce anti-Catholic prepaganda campaign. The death is also presented as an exemplum of the transience of the flesh, even when it may be hedged about by the dignity of a Prince, and proof of the notion that God may punish the transgressions of a people by depriving them of their ruler. These ideas are most comprehensively expounded by Edward Chetwind in his sermon Votivae Lachrymae. Before examining each these in turn, therefore, I shall analyse this sermon and attempt to show how the ideas are linked together, and how the preacher develops his arguments. The text Chetwind chooses, Lamentations, V. 15-16, stresses the public importance of the death, and firmly links the loss

of the Prince with the sinfulness of society, - 'The ioy of our heart
 is gone: our dance is turned into mourning. /The crowne of our head
 is fallen: wee now vnto vs that we haue sinned'. Thus the sorrow of
 England is linked with the lament of Jeremiah for the death of Josiah.
 The aptness of the text is explained, for Chetwind argues that the fall
 of the Prince presaged God's further judgement upon the people who
 haue by sinning procured their own wee, and moued God to wrath and
 indignation against them: and therefore how can it be but that their
 ioy should bee quite gone, and insteede thereof bitter grief possesse
 their soules; yea therefore high time for them to exile and put/away
 their mirth and dauncings, and on the contrary betake themselves with
 speed to mourning and repentant praier, thereby to stay Gods anger,
 and so to keepe off from their heads all farther euil.

(sigs. B4-B4v)

The movement of the thought, from the recognition of sin and its
 consequences to repentance and prayer, is a pattern repeated by many
 of the writers. Chetwind goes on to emphasise the magnitude of the
 loss: though the King lives, the diadem is lost. He praises the
 Prince's virtues, comparing him to Edward VI in his religious carriage,
 his piety, his prudence and his care in ordering the court, and strongly
 commends his frugality in the management of his aff@airs.

Such praise leads naturally to the recollection of those hopes
 dashed by Henry's death. Chetwind had looked for a new Isaac or Noah
 who might have been a comfort to generations of Englishmen, and have
 delivered Israel from her enemies. The preacher soon returns however
 to his main theme. Biblical authorities, the chief one being Jeremiah,
 are cited in order to establish the notion that general sin brings shame
 and dishonour to a nation, and particular sins are identified and
 attacked. Chetwind fears that the people are guilty of ingratitude
 for their deliverance from the Spanish Armada of 1588, and the Powder

Treason of 1605. He deems this explanation inadequate however and launches into a strong attack on society's more obvious aberrations; gluttony, idleness, cruelty to, and oppression of the poor, rack rents, fines, evictions, usurers, and enclosure. The fulminations against drunkenness are written with a heavy irony:

Oh! if some part of those huge heathes, that have bene heaved vp as a supposed honour to our late renowned Prince, had been converted into humble and feruent prayers to God for his preservations we might possibly have had him now liuing amongst vs, and God surely lesse offended at vs.

(sig. C5v)

Having inveighed against the lukewarmness both in the profession and practice of religion, and identified the general sinfulness of the nation as the cause of the poor weather, the drought, and the recent storms at sea, Chetwind turns to the dangerous and subversive papists:

that accursed Iesuited generation, that account it meritorious to vndermine and blow vp Parliament houses, to murder and massacre sacred Princes, yea to kill young and old, neccents, as they reckon them, and innocents all together.

(sig. D6)

The themes and concerns expressed in this sermon appear in the work of many of the writers and poets who celebrate the death, though the purely political implications are often overshadowed by religious considerations and the poet's sense of shock. Though Allyn³ speaks of Henry as the 'three kingdomes hope' and John Davies of Hereford laments:

We thought our CROWNE so staid with many Prors
 (So long, and strong) that no cold Rif of feare
 (Howeuer strong) could once but shake our Hopes
 Which now this Blast doth reele, and backward beare!

(sig. B2v)

the general emphasis is placed upon the religious significance of the event together with forceful comment on the evils of the papists.

Wither is particularly bitter in his opposition to, and scorn for the Roman church, exaggerating the dangers yet prophesying ultimate victory

for Protestantism, and advising Prince Charles to have no truck with papists (Interlocution, sig. Q1). In this poem the Spirit of Britain remarks that Henry's death has given heart to the Catholics since the greatest obstacle to their ambitions has been removed; he continues:

But more Romes locusts doe begin to swarme,
 their courage now with stronger Hopes they arme,
 And taking hold of this thy Trans-mutation
 They plot again a damned Toleration.
 Yee Hell, to double this, our sorrowes weight,
 Is now contriving of old Eighty eight.⁴
 (sig. D4v)

Later Britain asks the Spirit of the Prince to reveal the Romists' plans, and Wither is able to prophesy:

Br. Then therefore tis that Rome beare vs such spights
 Is she not plotting now, to wrong our right. Sp. right.
Br. But from his mischiefes, and her hands impure,
 Cant'st thou our safe deliuerance assure? Sp. sure.
 (sig. E3)

In his Obsequies (sig. Dlv) Wither goes so far as to attribute the Prince's death to Roman Catholic designs. He tells of his vision in which he saw 'Romes damned fiends an antic dance begin', part of a ritual intended to harm in England, and resulting in Henry's death. Such fear of Catholic influence, and hatred of the notion of tolerance for their faith is also expressed by Daniel Price in Spiritual Odours. He warns his congregation that:

The Cananite is amongst vs, the blasphemous Traiterous Papist is neither exiled, nor suppressed, but hath more countenance and maintenance secretly, then good men openly, and more pleasure and content in prisons, then many holy men in their houses. This snake lyeth close in the City, this spider creepeth vp into the Court, and hath feeding in our Church, & heusing in our universities..... But for our salues, let our prayers be daily & howerey powred out, that the Lord adde not so heavy and grevous a misery vnto this present, so great an eclipse of his glory and our good to this present clowde of both, as that this his Church ever become an Egypt,..a Rome, a Babylon, a prostituted stews for all comers.

(sig. G2)

The Powder Plot of 1605 is recalled by a number of writers who rail against Catholicism. The conspirators' attempt to destroy King, Lords and Commons is generally regarded as an assault upon degree and order which, had it succeeded, would have resulted in anarchy and the overthrow of a system which many believed to be established by God. Some writers, who display an intense abhorrence of the conspiracy, see it as confirmation of their opinion that the Papists are the true Machiavels. Thus the gravity of the catastrophe is increased when Holland speaks of Henry's death as a blow equivalent to that which had almost succeeded in November 1605:

No Catesbie could do more, no Faux, no Percie
 (Of Hell the Fire-brands) nor haue shown lesse Mercy.
 (Lachrymae Lachrymarum, sig. B2v)

Burton (sig. G2v), Wither in his Obsequies (sig. Dlv), and Hall (sig. Dlv) each link the 5th November and Henry's death. Burton remarks that November 5 celebrations will forever be tempered by the memories of the following day:

Then to be
 Taken from vs, when Cause of Thankfull Glee
 We had for that Powder-deliverance!
 Now marr'd for euer with such heauy chance
 Fer, neuer shall return Fift of Nouember,
 But with remorse we must the Sixt remember.
 (Lachrymae Lachrymarum, sig. G2v)

Price makes use of this idea in a slightly different way for he offers the extravagant notion that God prevented Henry from dying on the 5 November so that the enemies of Protestantism would not be able to laugh the English people to scorn (1st Anniversary, sig. D1).

When writers turn to consider the causes of Henry's death their mood changes from aggressive anger to self reproach. Various explanations for the tragedy are offered. In the opinion of Sir Arthur Gorges

(sigs. 35-36), Peacham (sig. B2v), and Webster (sig. Cl) the Prince died because of an oversight of Nature:

This blacke night
Hath falne vpon's be Natures ouer-sight:
Or while the fatall sister sought to twine
His threed, and keep it euen, she drew it so fine,
It burst.

(Webster, sig. Cl)

More popular, and more ingenious, since it compliments the Prince's virtues, is the notion that the Prince was too good for this world, and so Heaven, envious of earth, carried him off⁵. Thomas May, whose poem appears in the Cambridge Anthology, presents this idea concisely:

Thy shining vertues made the earth adaire thee,
And rare perfections made the heauens desire thee:
Else could we not haue scene so sad an heure,
The hopes of England cropt in fairest floure.
(sig. 03)

Gorges presents the same notion in a more elaborate manner (sig. 53v), making Jove himself claim the Prince as his favourite, because his virtue exceeded the base pomp of the world.

The predominant response of both poet and divine, however, is to recognise a connection between Henry's death and the moral degradation of society. In the sermons in particular there is an over-riding sense of sin and guilt. Sampson Price in the Dedication to Laodicea's Lukewarmness remarks that 'Sinne is more powerfull, now, in the dettage of the world, then it was in the nonage, so that there is neede of Pulpit and Presse to repress it' (sig. A2v). It was a logical conclusion for a society of this persuasion to regard an event which provoked such grief as a punishment for sin, the more so since there were strong Biblical precedents for such an interpretation. The divines elaborate the idea at some length⁶, Daniel Price drawing a striking

parallel in lamentations between Christ's death and Henry's:

Not onley was Christ taken away for sinne, but in fiercenesse of Gods wrath, hee often giues the world such a shocke and stroke that it reels, and almost ouerwhelmes, with the dart of vengeance that strikes into the heart of a kingdome, by taking away/ the choise seruants of God, the chosen sheperds of the world.

(sigs. C3v-Ce)

Joseph Hall in A Farewell Sermon expresses a similar sentiments

They are our sinnes, which as in particular they haue rob'd vs of our Prince, changed our seasons, swept away thousands with varieties of deaths.

(sig. Rr5)

Here the poets have common ground with the clergy. Robert Allyne (sig. A4), William Basse (sig. Blv), Heywood (sig. B3), Peacham (sig. C4v) and Sylvester (sigs. B3 and C3) each identify the nation's general sin as the cause of God's punishment⁷. Wither places the Prince's death within a wider perspective, presenting it as the climax of a number of natural catastrophes, the significance of which has been ignored by the people. The poet adds to the credibility of this idea by revealing a world view in which each and every event may be interpreted as a portent:

A foule consuming Pestilence did waste,
 And lately spoil'd thee England, to thy terror;
 But now alas, a greater plague thou hast,
 Because in time thou could'st not see thy error.
 Hard Frosts thy fields and Gardens have delfowred,
 Hot Summers hath thy fruits Consumption bin;
 Fire, many places of thee hath deuoured,
 And all fore-warnings to repent thy sinne.
 Yet still thou didst defer't, and careles sleepe,
 Which heau'n perceiuing with black clouds did frown,
 And into flouds of very anger weepe,
 Yea the salt Sea, a part of thee did drown.
 She drown'd a part, (but oh that part was small)
 No teares more salt, haue ouer-whelm't vs all.

(Obsequies, sig. D2)

This approach has a good deal in common with the sermon writer's use of current events, in this case the severe weather of the winter and the

subsequent flooding, to illustrate a central theme, and make it relevant to the congregation's own experience. Moreover Henry's death is made to appear a greater calamity since it is contrasted with, and is the culmination of, a series of natural disasters.

A compelling awareness of social guilt and sin characterises Thomas Rogers's poem Gloucester's Myte. The poem, a verse sermon rather than an elegiac lament, reflects Rogers the Gloucestershire divine rather than Rogers the poet. Opening with a description of the country's sad discontent the poet quickly turns to present a strong statement of the contemptus mundi. Henry's death, which he sees as an exemplification of the illusory nature of earthly values, is then lamented in the conventional hyperbolic manner, before Rogers expounds his principal thesis, the frailty of life and, deriving from this, the foolishness of loving earthly objects. Having exhorted the reader ever to remember the coming judgement lest he should fall into sin, he presents a view of the world in which men are beasts, motivated only by appetite, who perpetrate the most shameful sins and indulge in corrupting vices. The life of man is described in almost Hobbesian terms, it is 'evil, short, and wretched'. The verse at this point has a vigour and strength which one associates with character writers such as Joseph Hall or Thomas Adams, and is enlivened by graphic and concrete illustrations

Thus with the Dogge, wee to the vomite turne,
 And with the Swine, into the filthy mire:
 We freeze in piety, in sinne we burne,
 The pampring of the lusts is our desire.
 These silly beasts excoel vs in their kind,
 They reason want, we haue, and yet more blind.

Why fix we then our thoughts on melting treasure?
 Why doe our hearts incline to earthly vanity?

Why build we on the Sands, & leaue to measure
 The sinking ebbes and fells of our mortality?
 Why doe we pleasure take in fading shewes?
 Which die and vanish as the summer dewes.
 (sig. Clv)

The rhetorical questioning is firmly in the sermon tradition as is the forceful and vivid language. A comparison may be made with Sampson Price's Leodicea's Lukewarmness:

When I looke into the fashions of the world, I see one maketh his Heaven of the drogge and rubbish of the Earth: another maketh his belly his God, another Toad-like swaleth with ambitions: another Narcissus-like is enamored on natures dowry, his beautie; or natures shame, his apparell.... All these and many other, are but bitter sweets, gliding shaddowes, gandy toyes: yea dung in respect of good things.
 (sig. Bl)

Rogers, too, identifies the people's sin as the cause of Henry's death (sigs. C2v and C4). He asserts that Christ's message has been ignored, and that only repentance can prevent a further disaster. Although this argument is vigorously presented the Prince's death remains a pretext for a general condemnation of sin and vice, and the ostensible occasion of the poem is reduced to a secondary importance as a further piece of evidence for Rogers's contention that the worldly life can offer no lasting comfort or certitude.

Henry's death is used as both a warning and an exemplum in two sermons: Joseph Hall's An Holy Panegyrick, and Sampson Price's Leodicea's Lukewarmness. Hall's sermon, delivered to celebrate the tenth year of James's reign, is a eulogy of the King. The preacher is sedulous in praising the King's anti-Catholic policies, his fostering of the true religion in commissioning the translation of the Bible, and his maintenance of peace. He stresses the argument that the good will of God depends upon the people's behaviour and relates it to his text, I Samuel XII. 14-15 - 'Therefore feare you the Lord, and serve him in truth with all

your hearts, and consider how great things he hath done for you. But if you dee wickedly, ye shall perish, both ye and your King.' Henry's death provides an admirable exemplum for this theory, offering palpable evidence that the sinful man is as wicked as the traitor in endangering the ruler's life:⁸

What could haue snatcht from our head that sweet Prince, of fresh & bleeding memory. (that might iustly haue challenged Othoes name, Mirabilia mundi) now in the prime of all the worlds expectation, but our traitorous wickednesses?.... O glorious Prince, they are our sins, that are guilty of thy death, & our losse. We haue done wickedly, thou perishedst.

(sig. Tt2v)

A suffocating sense of sin, vice, and corruption characterises Laodices's Lukewarmness. In striking language allied with imaginative character sketches Price attacks hypocrisy, Catholicism, toleration, and chiefly lukewarmness. Convinced that the world is near to judgement for which few are prepared, he states his aim to be 'a taxe of the whole world which is set on mischief'. The Prince's death is one of the consequences of the accumulation of sins

Many are content to frequent the publike Congregations vpon the Sabbath, but they will not priuately sanctifie in their families. Many will shew religion in the generall calling of a Christian, while they are in the Church, but in their particular duties they faile. These are the sinnes that goe vp vnto Heauen, and cry for vengeance, and threaten punishments. What could haue taken away that sweet Prince, of fresh and bleeding memory, Prince HENRY, (the expectation of all the Christian world, but our luke-warmnesse?

(sig. F3)

The sins which brought down punishment on society are specifically identified by other writers. Pride is seized on by Daniel Price in Lamentations (sig. E4v) and by John Davies in The Muse's Teares, who addresses the 'Celestial Spirits' who have robbed the nation of its Prince:

Our Pride (that makes vs beggers eu'ry way)
 Make yee mistrust our faith (too poore to pay).
 (sig. C4v)

Allied to the sin of Pride is the accusation that the people so idolized Henry, offering to him that respect and love which should have been God's, that God brought about his downfall. Hall in A Farewell

Sermon says:

It was one of our sinnes I feare, that wee made our Master, our God;
 I meane, that we made flesh our arme; and placed that confidence in him,
 for our earthly stay which we should have fixed in heauen: Our too much
 hope hath left vs comfortlesse.

(sig. Rr5)

The charge, a serious one when one considers the bitter attacks made upon the idolatrous Papists, also compliments Henry by suggesting that the Prince's character could have encouraged such high regard. Daniel Price sharpens this point of view in Lamentations (sig. Clv-C2). Musing whether God would destroy Henry because of His displeasure, he concludes that he would do so in order that the people might settle their hope upon its true object, God himself. This rationale is not confined to the divines, for Wither in Obsequies (sigs. D3v and E1v), and Christopher Brooke offer similar arguments. Brooke characteristically presents the argument in medical terms:

We are forlorne, and he too much desier'd:
 Our full-fed hopes were surfeitid, and bred
 A new disease; and he we so admir'd
 First tooke th' Infection, and bequeath'd his Breath,
 Then we were cause of his vntimely Death.
 (sig. C2v)

The lapses in moral behaviour, so strongly emphasised by Thomas Rogers, are seized upon by other writers as contributory factors in Henry's downfall. Wither in A Supposed Inter-locution (sig. E2v-E3) fulminates against wantonness and lust, fashion, transvestism, drunkenness, and adultery. Hall speaks of:

new oaths, new fashions of pride, new complements of drunkenesse, new deuices of filthinesse, new tricks of Machiuelisme: these are our nouelties which fetch downe from God new iudgements vpon vs.

(A Farewell Sermon, sig. Rr5v)

Price in Tears over Abner (sig. Nlv) remarks that the great sin of the land is excess, and for this the city is in mourning garments, whilst Sylvester assembles a catalogue of anti-social vices which have provoked God's censure:

(All Epicures, Witt-Ranters, Atheists,
Mach-Arestines, Mines, Tap-To-Bacchonists,⁹
Batts, Happies, Sirens, Centures, Bib-al-Nights,
Sice-sink-an Asses, Hags, Hermaphrodites)
 And Wee poore Nothings (fixed in no Spheare,
 Scorne of the Vulgar, Scandal of the Gowne
 Haue pull'd this waight of Wrath, This Vengeance downe:
 (Lachrymae Lachrymarum, sig. B3)

The general sin is enlarged by society's failure to root out and suppress the Papists. Price both in Lamentations (sig. D3v) and in Spiritual Odours (sig. G2) declares that the Cananite, the blasphemous Traiterous Papist, has infiltrated society at every level, in City, Court and University, and for these reasons Iosias was smitten. Burton (sig. G2v) similarly concludes that the Nation's refusal to extinguish those Hell-firebrands was repensible, as does Niccols in Three Sisters Tears:

Know that the chiefest cause why wretched we
 Haue lost in Israell our second light,
 Is their false, wicked, close commerce with those,
 That are their God, their King and countries foes.
 (sig. E3v)

Having recognised the canker of sin to be widespread and deepseated in society, and its appalling consequences, the divines vociferously call for repentance lest God be further provoked to punish his flock. The pointing of the moral and the exhortation to penance are conventional aspects of the sermon writer's art, yet the poets also on occasion urge their readers to turn from sin. Burton (sig. G2v), Robert Allyn (sig. El),

and Richard Niccols offer such advice:

Turne yet deare country, turne thee now at last,
 Be mou'd with this late sudden blow from heauen,
 And let these teares, still tell thee what is past,
 Least carelesse found, a greater blow be giuen.
 (sig. D3v)

Sylvester encourages the reader to embark on a course of self-examination to discover and purge his sins,

Let Each of vs make priuie Search within;
 And hauing found, bring forth the Traitor SINNE
 To Execution, with all Execration
 Henceforth renouncing such In Sin-uation
 Let Each of vs (as Each hath throwen a Dart,
 A Dart of Sinne, at HENRY's princely hart)
 Send vp in Sighes our Soules deuoutest breath,
 To Shield our IAMES, ANNE, CHARLES, ELIZABETH.
 (sig. B4)

If sin loomed large in the Jacobean's conception of the world, its reward, death, loomed even larger. Writers of the period were both fascinated and appalled by the fact of physical corruption, to which they responded with intense feeling. The traditional medieval view of death with its emphasis on the spectacle of human beauty gone to decay, and the dance of death in which all ages and conditions of men were dragged to their destruction retained currency during the 16th and early 17th centuries - Breugel's macabre painting 'The Triumph of Death' was painted as late as 1560. Huizinga, describing the strong sensual response to death of the 15th century poets, Chastellain, Villon and Olivier de la Marche, quotes passages which are very close in language and imagery to work of a century and a half later,¹⁰

Il n'a membre ne facture
 Qui ne sente sa pourreture.
 Avant que l'esperit soit hors,
 Le coeur qui veult crevier au corps
 Haulce et souliève la poitrine
 Qui se veult joindre à son eschine.
 -La face est tainte et apalie,

Et les yeux ^{treillis} en la teste.
 La parole luy est faillie,
 Car la langue au palais se lie.
 Chastellain, Le Pas de la Mort.

Despair and abhorrence of death were exacerbated in Jacobean society by the optimism of the scientific humanism espoused by such men as Bacon, who believed that mankind might regain paradise by judicious application of the scientific method¹¹. Whatever prizes science might offer, however great the individual's knowledge or power, the fact of death seemed to vitiate all the pretentious claims the advocates of progress might make. In the drama Marlowe presents the flight from humanism most clearly, progressing from an intoxication with human potential in Tamburlaine to despair and disillusion with life in Edward II - a movement from a King who regards Death as his tool to a King who seeks its embrace to escape the torments of life¹². A similar pattern is evident in Donne though in his later work his religious faith overcomes his despair. His early verse which explores the limits of sexual experience and glories in the pleasures of love gives way to the pessimistic Bianthanatos in 1608 and the Two Anniversaries of 1611-12. The final stage is reached in the later religious verse, and the sermons where Donne rejects worldly glories as transient and worthless. Here once more it is death and the body's corruption which the preacher offers as the ultimate proof of the foolishness of earthly vanity:

When Goliah had armed and fortified this body, And Iezabel had painted and perfumed this body, And Dives had pampered and larded this body, As God said to Ezekiel, when he brought him to the dry bones, Eili hominis, Sonne of Man, doest thou thinke these bones can live? They said in their hearts to all the world, Can these bodies die? And they are dead. Iezabels dust is not Ambar, nor Goliah's dust Terra sigillata, Medicinall; nor does the Serpent, whose meat they are both, finde any better relish in Dives dust, then in Lazarus.¹³

The peculiar sensual and imaginative response to death is best exemplified

in Donne's last sermon, Death's Duell. Musing on the idea that the body's corruption provides food for worms, he develops a conceit reminiscent of his poem The Flea, though markedly different in tone:

Miserable riddle, when the same worme must bee my mothe, and my sister, and my selfe. Miserable incest, when I must bee married to my mother and my sister, and bee both father and mother to my owne mother and sister, beget and beare that worme which is all that miserable perury; when my mouth shall be filled with dust, and the worme shall feed, and feed sweetely upon me, when the ambitious man shall have no satisfaction, if the poorest alive tread upon him, nor the poorest receive any contentment in being made equall to Princes, for they shall bee equall but in dust.¹⁴

Not only in sermons did the Elizabethans and Jacobeans remind themselves of the transience of life and the inevitability of death. Their predilection for the momento mori insured that the eternal perspective was ever before their eyes in every activity of daily life. In their churches the elaborate tombs were often embellished with representations of skeletons and skulls, and in the stews it was fashionable for prostitutes to wear death's head rings on their middle fingers¹⁵. The portrait of Queen Elizabeth, said to have been painted at her express desire after the execution of Essex, is a fine example of the momento mori in painting¹⁶. Elizabeth, pre-occupied and seemingly wearied of life, gazes out of the picture, her head resting on her right hand. Behind her and on the left of the picture Time, with scythe and hour-glass, neds whilst behind her chair Death, in the guise of a grotesque skeleton, looks over her shoulder, and holds up his hour-glass. Above the Queen's head the crown and sceptre are supported by Cherubins. Here majesty and power are presented circumscribed by death, and wearied by responsibility, the only consolation offered being the prayer book the Queen holds in her left hand.

Death was no stranger to the Jacobeans. Society had yet to devise

the elaborate machinery which we place between ourselves and the fact of mortality - the doctors, nurses, hospitals, the morticians, and latterly the grief therapists. A high infant mortality rate, public executions, primitive medical knowledge, which made many diseases fatal, and the plague made each individual aware of his ultimate fate¹⁷. In 1603 35,104 people died of plague in London, an estimated one sixth of the population¹⁸. Dekker in The Wonderfull Yeare (1603) describes a London which had taken on the aspect of a vast silent charnel-house, in which Legarue laie groning at euery mans doore, many no Diuces was within to send him a crum, (for all your Gold-finches were fled to the woods) nor a dogge left to lick vp his sores', (sig. D2). Sir William Waad, a clerk of the Privy Council described the conditions in a letter to Cecil,

Another very lamentable thing very common: Divers come out of the town and die under hedges in the fields, and in diuers places further off, whereof we have experience weekly here at Hampstead, and come in men's yards and outhouses if they be open, and die there.¹⁹

The inevitable must not only be accepted but meditated on and according to Jacobean religious practice, prepared for. Numerous writers set out manuals offering the reader a true and holy way to death, following a tradition originating in the late 14th century²⁰. The meditation on death became a brilliant imaginative exercise in the hands of Donne, Luis de Granada, Robert Parsons or Puente. Louis L. Martz²¹ speaks of their 'full awareness of vision: the eye of truth which cuts aside all cant, looking with grim satirical humour upon all the follies of the world, seeing the worst of life and death with the poise of a detached, judicious intellect'. Robert Parsons²² urges his reader to imagine the actual moment of his death:

Imagine then (my friend,) even thou I saye that thou were even at this present, stretched out upon a bed; wearied and worne with dolour and paine; thy carnal frindes about the weeping and howlinge and desiring thei goodes; the phisitions departed with their fees, as having gyven the over; and thou lyinge there alone mute and dumme in most pitiful agonie, expecting from moment to moment, the last stroke of death to be gyven unto the.

Here there is certainly humour and irony in the materialism of friends and physicians who, though close to death, fail to recognise its implications. The implied contemptus mundi view is made more explicit by Puente in Meditations upon the Mysteries of our Holie Faith,²³

Remember that thou art dust, humble thy selfe as dust, loue, serue, and obey thy Creator that tooke thee from the dust. And when I waxe proude with the giftes that I haue, I am to imagine, that they crie vnto mee repressing my vanitye, and saying vnto mee: Of what art thou proude dust and ashes?

Appropriately, John Donne exemplified this attitude when some eighteen days before his death he put on his shroud, and posed for the carver who was to make his monument.

A familiarity with death, and a traditional attitude to it which dwelt in large measure on the physical details of corruption, are part of the background against which poets and preachers sought to draw out a lesson from the Prince's death and apply it to their own or to their congregations' lives. Such a task raises deeper questions than the expression of anti-Catholic views, and necessitates a calmer tone of voice. Inquiries into profound and fundamental human mysteries do not necessarily produce profound or original responses, and in the poems and sermons the clichés of the contemptus mundi and Christian belief, which are not to be dismissed because they are clichés, are reiterated.

Many writers and poets, having recognised the power and omnipotence of death, turn to revalue the rewards and pleasure of life, and find them worthless. Peacham (sig. D1), Rogers (sig. B3v), and Wither (sig. Clv)

recall that rank and title are of little importance in the final account. Wither even here, however, cannot forge his hit at the Catholics:

Death with an equall spurne,
The lefty turret, and lowe Cottage beats:
And takes impartiall each one in his turn,
Yea though he bribes, prayes, promises, or threats.
Neither Man, brute, plant, sex, age nor degree
Preuailes against his dead-sure striking hand: ...
But oh! vnseen he strikes at unaware,
Disguised like a murdering Iesuite.
(sig. Clv)

Daniel Price also argues along these lines in The First Anniversary (sig. B3). When Death demands his due the mighty may not resist, the rich may not corrupt, and men, however wise, may not appease him. Nor may doctors offer any defence, as John Taylor points out:

Your simples are but simple, and your drugges
Are weake, when life and death for mastrie tugges:
Despite your Antidotes and stone of Bazar,
Death kills the Catife and the mighty Keisar.
(sig. B3)

Despair in the competence of physicians is expressed by Daniel Price who, in The Second Anniversary, describes Death attacking the Prince by stealth, expunging and undermining all defences. In Spiritual Odours (sig. F4) he stresses the complete surprise with which Death intervenes in men's affairs, breaking into the studies of the learned, interrupting the enterprises of the wise, and, appropriate to the occasion of the sermon, cropping the hopes of the fairest. So death reaps his harvest, striking men down without warning as William Alexander illustrates:

.... states which seem'd most calme, straight stormes in waues inuolue;
Who gathered were for greatest joy, with greatest grieffe disolue.../
That Goth who vanquish'd Rome, and thousands did destroy,
Euen when his bryde bent to embrace, died in his greatest joy.
(sig. A2v-A3)

Daniel Price proves to have a greater awareness of the various facets of death than other preachers. In the manner of the meditative writers he is able to concentrate a degree of imaginative power in a description of the precise moment of death,

When the aking head, panting hart, faulting tongue, shortning breath, beating veine, crazed minde, and crackt memory shall disturbe, and distract all your faculties.

(1st Anniversary, sig. D2-D2v)

He also looks on death in less horrifying terms, from a conventional Christian standpoint as a ferry or bridge to carry men to another place, or a 'groome that lights a Taper into another Room' (Spiritual Odours, sig. Glv). Moreover, having presented Henry's death as an exemplum of his congregation's mortality, he is quick to see and express the implications of his remarks:

Wherefore Noble and worthy Gentlemen, who were sad spectators of the blessed passage of his Princely soul, sequester all humane wisdom and policy, all Court vanitie or glory, looke vpon the Glasse of mortalitie; the more yee are intangled either in the delights, or affairs of this life, the more grevous death will bee to you.

(Second Anniversary, sig. F2)

Thus Henry's death provokes most writers to conclude that the rewards and pleasures which the world seems to offer are in fact illusory. Furthermore, since the Fall jeopardized the perfection of Man's sensibilities, fulfilment for the soul in a satisfactory relationship with God is denied to him on Earth. Gorges makes this point in offering consolation for the loss:

Tis all what Imperfection is, and nought
That any way can give the least content
Unto the Immortall Soules aspiring thought,
That from the breath of God was hither sent,
Therefore the best are soonest rent away
From out this daylesse night, to nightless day.

(sig. 42v)

Joseph Hall²⁴ speaks of life as 'these smokie cottages of our mortalitie'

where man may not achieve the 'full fruition of God', and John Davies (sig. A2v) explains that Henry died because his mind and will sought a perfection which could only be found in heaven. Thus death may be viewed in sympathetic terms as in Allyne's poem:

Death's the last line of mortall miserie,
 The end of wandring, and the door of rest,
 Where he that soonest comes, his lot is best.
 Then for a death so happy, to be sorie,
 Is nothing, but to envie at his glorie.
 (sig. B3)

The shortcomings of earthly existance are also implied when the poets write of Henry's joy on entering Heaven,

There in eternall happinesse to remane,
 But we in sorrow here, and ceaseless paine.
 (Great Brittain's Mourning Garment, sig. B2v)

Drummond (sigs. K4-K4v), Peacham (sig. D3), Goodyere (sig. F3), Webster (sig. B2v), and Heywood (sig. C3), lamenting the death remark that the loss is theirs and the Prince's eternal gain. Peacham (C2v) pictures Henry seated in heaven with his peers, though retaining the social distinctions of his earthly life, for his throne is raised a little above every one else. He has bidden farewell to 'these heapes of clay' for a heaven in which the sun never sets, and where ugly night never appears in her black mourning. He is freed from cares, cold climates, and hot desire, and dwells where Time itself is banished - an existence superior to worldly life, as Webster remarks:

He knew the place to which he was to go.
 Had larger titles, more triumphant wreathes,
 To inflate him with; and forth his soule he breaths
 Without a sigh; fixing his constant eie,
 Vpon his triumph, immortailty.
 (sig. B4)

Though only implicit here, the contemptus mundi theme is often overtly presented with some intensity²⁵. The poets ^{and writers} strongly lament the world's

mutability, the seeming lack of firmness of stability in life, a vicissitude emphasised by Henry's death:

What in the world shall make shewe to sence of stabilitie, what creature
is a fixed starre, if such a Prince must die.
(1st Anniversary, sig. A2).

Christopher Brooke speaks of the world as 'this round transitory', and

Richard Niccols stresses Man's tenuous hold on life:

In that selfe heure, in which the infant birth
Of ioy in humane hart 'is but begunne,
Vnloockt for chance may change such ioyfull mirth
To doleful mourning, ere the glasse be runne.
(sig. B4).

So sharp an awareness of the transience of experience and joy, a characteristic of many Jacobean writers which derives in part from an intense valuation of the moment, provokes in general a deep sadness in the celebrants of the death, rather than the stoic acceptance of fate of a Bosola or Flamineo. The human situation is presented by Maxwell (sig. B1), Rogers (sig. B4v), and Niccols (sig. A3) in the image of a flower which graces the garden but is soon plucked or withers²⁶. Here beauty and transience juxtaposed, is an image near the centre of the Jacobean's estimation of life. Peacham handles the idea to greater effect by contrasting man's personal morality and mutability with Nature's re-generative power:

If in a garden but a Mallow die,
The Daisie, Dill or Rose, it liues agen,
And sheeteth yearly from his bed on high,
But we endu'de with reason who are men.
Much fairer, stronger, if we once doe fall,
No more on earth our being haue at all.
(sig. C1)

And the idea that man nourishes 'the venomous disease that stops his breath' in his own breast, a notion used frequently by writers of ARE Moriendi literature, brings the writer of Great Britains Mourning Garment

(sig. B3) to the edge of despair. Campion, however, sees the vicissitudes of the human condition as offering some relief from grief;

Care must with pleasure mixe and peace with strife;
Thoughts with the dayes must change; as tapers waste,
So must our griefes; day breakes when night is past.
(sig. D1)

Such comfort is rare, for writers more often emphasise the harsher qualities of life. John Davies (sig. B2) speaks of it as a bondage from which Death alone can release us and as a sickness which is so mortal that all who live must die. The conventional vale-of-tears estimation of life is propounded by Joseph Hall in A Farewell Sermon. As all land which is low-lying tends to be marshy, so the base part of the world wherein we live is a vale of tears. He continues:

We begin our life with teares, and therefore our Lawyers define life by weeping; if a childe were heard cry, it is lawfull proofe of his linings and at our parting God findes teares in our eyes, which he shall wipe off. These men therefore are mistaken, that thinke to goe to heauen with dry eyes.

(sig. Rr3v)

Hall's world is one of sorrow and weariness. Where~~ver~~ one casts one's eyes there is toil and labour, pain and complaint, for 'sorrow and labour haue bene inseparable attendants vpon the life of man', and 'All things are full of labour, and labour is full of sorrow' (sig. Rr4). Thus it is that grief is inappropriate. Hall's view of the world is mild, however, compared with that of Thomas Rogers. He takes the contemptus mundi theme to its extreme, denigrating human virtues and pleasures, and looking on life with a self-indulgent pessimism,

If at some time a little Sun doth show,
Anon the rugged gusts, both it ore-blow.

Our smoothest walks, are but as Rocks of stone,
 Our softest rests as are the Bramble sprayes:
 Our best delights are chock'd with woofull mone
 And all our earthly hopes disturbing frayes.
 (sig. Blv),

Such observations reinforce the notion that the human situation is intrinsically sinful, and so lead Rogers to attempt to dissuade his reader from love of the world, and urge him to keep the coming judgement ever in mind, for should men forget it they would quickly become embroiled in sin. This argument is also voiced by Daniel Price in Spiritual Odours (sig. B3v):

the world is vices nurse, Natures stepmother, vertues murtherer, it is Thefts refuge, shoredomes Pander.

The only advice the preacher can offer in such circumstances is the customary contemplation of one's mortality:

let mortalitie be your meditation, you are but earth; your best cloaths, earth; wormes made them; your best fed bodies, earth; wormes must eat them.

(Lamentations, sig. F4)

Thus flesh is grass, wealth is base, pleasure is false, hope is vain, glory is short, and life 'dull and dungeon like'. The falseness of pleasure, and the vanity of ambition and pride, are enunciated by Gorges (sig. 49r), Heywood (sigs. B4 and C2), and Drummond:

O! what is humane Greatnesse, Valour, Wit?
 What fading Beautie, Riches, Honour, Praise?
 To what deth serue in golden Thrones to sit,
 Thrall Earths vaste Round, triumphall Arches raise?
 All is a Dreame, learne in this Princes Fall,
 In whom (saue Death) nought mortal was at all.
 (sig. Ll)

Heywood (sig. B4) and Webster (sig. B3) exemplify this point of view in a parable. Both poets make use of the same story. Earthly Pleasure was recalled to Heaven by the Gods, and her mantle was quickly usurped by Grief or Sorrow, and since that time men who have pursued Pleasure

have ever been disappointed. Webster's handling of the story is clumsy, for he does not make its relationship to Henry's death clear. It is not completely inapposite, however, as F. L. Lucas²⁷ argues, for Webster is offering both advice and stricture in implying that a lasting and complete experience of pleasure cannot be looked for in this world. Thus the anticipated joy in the Prince's future successes was misplaced, a sentiment which Webster shares with many of the writers who lament Henry's death. The train of argument is clearer in Heywood's poem. Grief finding Pleasure's garment steals it:

And in that ferged Roabe shee hath deluded
 The world with fading ioyes and transitory;
 For since shee first into that shape intruded
 There was on Earth no true essentially glory.
 All constancy from Mankind is excluded,
 Ioy hath no permanence: find me a story,
 That euer hath recorded Man so blest,
 But happied once, he hath been twice distrest.
 (sig. B4)

The sentiments here are familiar, a contemptus mundi view justified by allegory rather than religious and moral indignation. The Prince's death is therefore not only a tragedy to be lamented by poets and preachers, but also an event which provokes writers to re-examine the human predicament. Their response is not original, for Henry's death offers confirmation of an entrenched and austere belief that the world is a vale of tears. The poets' imagination and the preachers' skill is directed to presenting this view to reader and congregation in a manner which will heighten their awareness of the transience of life and the inexorability of God's vengeance. Thus it is that in a number of poems and sermons the loss of the Prince, the occasion of their composition, serves for a moral in a wider debate.

Notes.

1. See also Robert Allyn, sigs. A2v, and A3v-A4.
2. Turkish and other pagan enemies were also prominent in the shows which were arranged for Henry's baptism, and references to them also appear in elegies by Drummond, sig. K3, and Wither sig. D2v.
3. See also Nicolls, sig. D2; Sylvester, sig. C1; and Webster, sig. E1;
4. On January 7th 1613 Giov. Franc. Bondi wrote to Carleton of the rumours of a Spanish Armada which was said to be preparing. Some reports said that it was preparing to attack Virginia, some England and others Ireland. To Bondi the latter seemed the most probable since there had been a good deal of intelligence activity between Spain and Ireland. Thus Wither's fears have some foundation. See Calendar of State Papers - Domestic, 1611-18 (1858), p. 167.
5. See also Alexander sig. A2v; Brooke sig. C2v; John Davies sigs. E1 and B2v; Mausoleum Epitaphs Nos 6 and 12; Thomas Walkington sig. O3 Epicedium Cantabrigiense; Wither Obsequies, sig. C2v.
6. See also Daniel Price, Lamentations sigs. D2, D3, and E1; Second Anniversary, sig. Flv.
7. John Taylor also offers this explanation for Prince Henry's death, adding that God took him away from the earth so that he might avoid the coming punishment (sig. B3v).
8. Sylvester makes use of the same idea,
All, all are guilty, in a high degree,
Of This High-Treason and Conspiracie.
More brute than Brutus, stabbing more than CEASAR
With Two-hand SINNES of Profit and of Pleasure.
(sig. B3)
9. The term 'Mach-Aretines' is a reference to the followers of Machiavelli and Pietro Aretine. Machiavelli (1464-1527) was notorious for his political philosophy which was greatly distorted in the popular imagination to a policy of atheistic expediency. Pietro Aretine (1492-1556) was an Italian humanist whose private life was a public scandal in 16th century Venice. He supported many mistresses, and his life was so public in this respect that the women were known as Aretines. Sylvester is obviously referring here to those in Jacobean London who aped their behaviour. A 'mime' is a fool or buffoon, and 'Tap To Bacconists' are followers of Bacchus. 'Bib-al-Nights' are midnight tipplers. N.E.D. glosses 'sice sinq' as a throw with two dice turning up six and five, thus 'Sice-sink up Asses' probably alludes to fools who gamble.
10. Huizinga discusses the medieval attitude to death in Chapter XI of The Waning of the Middle Ages, and translates the passage from Ghastellain: 'There is not a limb nor a form, Which does not

small of putrefaction, Before the soule is outside, The heart which wants to burst in the body Raises and lifts the chest Which nearly touches the backbone. The face discoloured and pale, And the eyes veiled in the head. Speech fails him, For the tongue cleaves to the palate.' See J. Huizinga, The Waning of the Middle Ages (1924, reprinted 1952), p. 132.

11. For a discussion of Bacon's view of the potentialities of scientific investigation see Christopher Hill, Intellectual Origins of the English Revolution, p. 89. Hill quotes Bacon's view that 'man by the Fall fell at the same time from his state of innocency and from his dominion over created things. Both these losses can even in this life be partially repaired; the former by religion and faith, the latter by arts and sciences' - Bacon, The Works, edited by J. Spedding, IV, 21, 247-8.
12. M. M. Macbeed discusses Marlowe's plays from this point of view in Poetry and Humanism (1950), pp. 54-86.
13. Sermon preached at the funeral of Sir William Cokayne, The Sermons of John Donne, edited by G. R. Potter and E. M. Simpson, VII, 272.
14. Death's Duel, Sermons of John Donne, edited by E. M. Simpson and G. R. Potter, X, 238.
15. See Theodore Spencer, Death and Elizabethan Tragedy (New York, 1960), p. 51. In the first two chapters of his study Spencer reviews the development of literary attitudes towards death in medieval culture and in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.
16. The art of the period has many examples of momento mori, perhaps the most famous being Holbein's 'Dance of Death', and a series of pictures in what has been called Queen Elizabeth's Prayer Book; see Spencer p. 49.
17. It has been estimated that the life expectancy of the Shakespeare family was thirty-one years. If the critical first year was passed safely, however, life expectancy rose to forty-two years. Diseases which were often fatal included influenza, typhus, small-pox, and in the early Tudor period the mysterious 'sweat'. Illnesses were probably made more serious by the poor physical condition of the population, especially in times of poor harvest. See W. G. Hoskins, 'Epidemics in English History', The Listener (31 December, 1964), LXXII, No. 1866, 1044.
18. See F. P. Wilson, The Plague in Shakespeare's London (Oxford, 1927), p. 114.
19. Quoted by F. P. Wilson, pp. 94-5.
20. This traditional form has been examined by Sister Mary Catherine O'Connor in The Art of Dying Well - The Development of the Ars moriendi (New York, 1942). The number of works which deal with

dying in the Elizabethan and Jacobean period is large, ranging from the crude ballad such as A pretie song of the Judgement day when death shall fetch all awaie which was entered in the Stationers' Register, 15th November 1578, to the contemplations of Sir Thomas Browne in Religio Medici and Urn Burial. Ane fruitful & comfortable exhortation anent death published in Edinburgh by J.M. in 1597 offers advice which is fairly typical - 'let us lay as it were before our eyes, a dead carkeas putrified, and worm eaten, and of the foule smell and ugly sight of every ane of the members, let us learn to eschue the vices quhairof they are commonly instruments.' (sig. Blv).

21. Louis L. Martz, The Poetry of Meditation (New Haven, 1954,) p. 137.
22. Robert Parsons (or Persons), A Christian Directorie (Rouen, 1585), p. 437; this passage is quoted by Martz, p. 136. Though Parsons was a Roman Catholic his Directorie was much used by Protestants, and was in fact edited by Edmund Bury, and published for their use.
23. Luis de la Puente, Meditations upon the Mysteries of our Holie Faith, with the Practise of Mental Prayer touching the same, translated by John Heigham, 2 vols. (St. Omer, 1619), I, sig. 03v.
24. A Farewell Sermon, sig. Br4v.
25. See also Sylvester in Lachrymae Lachrymarum, sig. A4,
 O soudain Change! O sad Visissitude!
 O how the Heauens our Earthly Hopes delude!
 O! what is firme beneath the Firmament!
 O! what is constant heer that giues Content!
 What trust in Princes! O! what Help in Man,
 Whose dying Life is but in length a span!
26. See also William Basse, sig. El; Great Brittans Mourning Garment sig. A3.
27. The Complete Works of John Webster, edited by F. L. Lucas, 4 vols. (1927), IX, 289.

Chapter 5.The Literature occasioned by the marriage of Princess Elizabeth and Prince Frederick, A Survey.

Although a number of poets wrote pieces for both occasions, fewer poets and writers celebrated Princess Elizabeth's marriage than had lamented her brother's death. Ten volumes of poems in English were published, together with four sermons, three masques, and four news pamphlets. In addition broadsides and ballads were printed informing their purchasers of Prince Frederick's noble lineage, and expressing the general joy and sadness on the Princess's marriage and subsequent departure from England. The poet who sought to compliment the bride and groom found that there was a conventional poetic form available to him - the epithalamium. A number of poets adopt epithalamic diction and convention, though others, more interested in the religious and political aspects of the match, or concerned to describe the celebrations, accept them only partially, or combine them with other techniques. The masques and sermons too, were ^ocomposed within the broad conventions of their respective forms, and all writers who contributed to what was, in fact, the public celebration of a royal event wrote in terms which were appropriate to it. Thus the objectives and style adopted by poets as temperamentally and stylistically far apart as George Wither and John Donne were very similar. Before reviewing the individual works written for the marriage, therefore, the conventions of the forms are briefly outlined.

The Marriage Poems.

Poets celebrated the marriage of Princess Elizabeth and the Elector Palatine in verses which followed, in varying degrees, the form and manner

of traditional epithalamic poetry, and which frequently reflected the general political and religious response to the match.

George Puttenham in The Arte of English Poesie (1595)¹ described the primitive 'bedding ballad' as having three parts, each associated with a certain aspect of the consummation of the marriage. The first part was a song 'very loude and shrill, to the intent there might no noise be heard out of the bed-chamber by the shrieking & outcry of the young damosell feeling the first forces of her stiffe & rigorous young man'. The second song, presented in the middle of the night, was designed to refresh the faint and weary bodies and spirits, and the third was a morning song of greeting, 'a Psalme of new applausions',² In the epithalamia of later poets such sections are more elaborate and there are stanzas or songs upon the various activities of the wedding day. In Christopher Brooke's Epithalamium³ which appeared in the 1614 edition of Englands Helicon, there are sections for the Sun's Rising, Going to Church, Dinner, Afternoon, Music, Supper, Sun-set, and Going to Bed. Puttenham cites Catllus and the Dutch poet Joannes Secundus (1511-56) as the masters of the epithalamium. Though the indebtedness of many poets to Catullus is plain, the influence of Secundus upon English verse would seem to be slight; certainly most English epithalamic verse is more restrained than this passage from Secundus's Epithalamium:⁴

et os hiuclum
Iampridem patulo licenter ori
Committens animae libidinoso
Fragrantis cupidum beabit haustu.
Mox lusu quoque molliore ludens
Dicet blanditias suaviore,
Emittet digitos licentiores,
Finget nequitiam molliorem.
O noctem nimis et nimis beatam!

English poets tended to draw upon classical and contemporary French and Italian literature for their models, though the verse of the most accomplished of them was much more than a compendium of influences. The first formal epithalamium in English was written by Sir Philip Sidney and is the song which Dicus sings to celebrate the marriage of Lalus and Kala in the third book of The Arcadia printed in 1595. Sidney drew on Gil Polo's Diana Enamorada and probably on Catullus.⁵ Other poets who wrote epithalamia included Chapman in the fifth Sestiad of his completion of Marlowe's Hero and Leander, and Ben Jonson who composed marriage songs to conclude the masques Hymenaei and The Hue and Cry after Cupid.

Spenser's Epithalamion and Prothalamion, however, provided models in terms of form and mannerism for a number of the poets who celebrated the wedding of Princess Elizabeth. None of them reproduce the complex symmetrical structure of the Epithalamion: the opening invocation to the Muses, the Nymphs, the Hours and the Graces which is balanced by the concluding prayers to Juno and Cynthia; the rising sun which is matched by the evening star and a thousand torches flaming bright. Neither is the complex theory of number (which A.K. Heatt has shown to be a structural element of that poem)⁶ discernible in the poems on Elizabeth's marriage, though John Donne, and George Wither and Henry Peacham partially, follow the pattern of celebrating the various activities of the wedding day. As with the elegies for Prince Henry, the devices of allegory and the pastoral convention were most readily adopted. Invocations to the Muses,

the rejoicing of the nymphs of the rivers and rocks, the use of classical allusion, and such allegorical figures as the two swans of the Prothalamion frequently appear in the poems. Since the marriage was not only a social occasion but also an event of political and religious importance, many of the poems were written to point out the political significance of the match in addition to commemorating the wedding, and complimenting the newly married couple.

George Wither's Epithalamia reveals this blend of purposes. His first poem describes in allegorical terms the events which led to the marriage, and the celebrations. There is a marked anti-Catholic bias, however, since the poet represents the Papists as devils released from Hell in order to sow discord at a time of Protestant unity; but because the wedding is ordained by God, Romist ambitions can never be achieved. Such sentiments are carried over into the second epithalamium where Wither works closely in the Spenserian manner, calling upon the spirits, nymphs, and shepherds to assist in the bride's adornment, describing her journey to Church, and the marriage feast, and finally calling all revellers away, offering his blessing. There are a number of close parallels with Spenser's Epithalamion. Wither addresses Luna:

But thou, Luna, that dost lightly,
Haunt our downes and forrests nightly.
Thou that favor'st generation,
And art help to procreation:
See their yssue thou so cherish,
I may liue to see it flourish. (sig.C4v)

whilst Spenser had addressed Cynthia:⁷

And sith of wemens labours thou hast charge,
 And generation goodly dost enlarge,
 Encline thy will t'effect our wishfull vow,
 And the chaste womb informe with timely seed,
 That may our comfort breed: (ll.38)-7)

Linking the marriage with the folk tradition of St Valentine's day, the poet describes the birds and beasts following the example set by Frederick and Elizabeth in choosing their partners, and so celebrating the occasion that it becomes the joyful equivalent of the lament of Nature which was noted in the elegies for the Prince.⁸

John Donne also makes use of the St Valentine allusion in his Epithalamion. St Valentine whose custom it was to couple birds of all varieties has now brought together two Phoenixes. In this poem, which was not published until 1633, Donne is able to inject a mounting sense of excitement and urgency into the progression from the bride's rising to the consummation of the marriage with dramatic complaints about the fuss and delay which keeps the novitiates apart. The poet makes no attempt to allude to the religious or political significance of the marriage, the personal encounter of the bride and the groom is at the centre of his concern, and indeed he handles the sexual aspects more straightforwardly than any other of the poets.

Henry Peacham in his five Nuptial Hymnes⁹ also works in the Spenserian manner requesting Nature's assistance in the celebrations, calling upon the nymphs of the land and sea to adorn the bride, and having invoked Hymen's blessing, describing the bedding of the bride with the appropriate customs, the origins of which are conscientiously

footnoted. For the fourth Hymne Peacham adopts the allegorical narrative to describe the wedding, and compliment Elizabeth and Frederick. He relates how Venus herself journeyed to King James's Court to honour the nuptials, and instruct Elizabeth in the art of love.

Allegorical narrative is elaborately used by Joannes Maria de Franchis. His poem Of the most auspicious marriage betwixt Frederick Count Palatine and Elizabeth blends the devices of epithalamic style with a consuming political concern, and recalls the storied scheme of the narrative-mythological or politico-descriptive epithalamia of the mid-sixteenth century, a type exemplified by the Latin marriage song of Hadrianus Junius Hornamus which was written in celebration of the marriage of Philip of Spain and Queen Mary in 1554.¹⁰ De Franchis tells how Religion complained to Jove of the wrongs inflicted upon her by Dis (the Roman Church). The assembly of the gods, having considered the matter, decide that all may be resolved by the marriage of Frederick and Elizabeth leading to the union of England and Germany. These deliberations take up Book I of the poem, and in the two succeeding Books we follow the events until the difficulties are finally resolved. Frederick, afflicted by Cupid with love for Elizabeth, journeys to London, woos her, and wins her. In these adventures he is attended and assisted by various gods who also take part in the celebrations. Since the marriage is intended to frustrate the ambitions of the Catholic Church the poet loses no opportunity to attack the Papists. The poem is well organised, and a number of passages such as Frederick's initial feelings of love for Elizabeth, portrayed in a fine amour manner, are handled with a sense of drama.

Heywood's poems in A Marriage Triumphe have all the conventional trappings of the epithalamium; prayers to Hymen, the description of the marriage procession, and the eulogistic praise of the bride and groom. Also, as in many other poems, mythological figures are employed to compliment the couple - Apollo rises early to see the events of the marriage-day, and the recent storms are said to be expressions of Neptune's anger because he was unable to pay his respects to the Palatine on his journey across the North Sea. Chapman's Hymne to Hymen, printed with his Masque of the Middle Temple, was taken from two epithalamia by the fifteenth-century Italian poet Jovianus Pontanus, which he wrote for his daughters.¹¹ Chapman's Hymne, a free translation from these poems, is an invocation to the God of Marriage to come to the newly married couple so that they may consummate^m their union. The poet makes use of the conventional devices, and concludes with the customary prayer for silence and peace on the wedding night. The verse is characterised by a Latinate syntax, the use of extended Virgilian similes, and a controlled yet sensuous diction, and Chapman is able to instil an increasing tension into the movement of the poem which is only resolved by the arrival of the God.

In his Epithalamium Augustine Taylor adopts the dream allegory in order to demonstrate how love conquers the difficulties which Nature presents. The poem must be judged a failure because the correspondence between the allegory and the circumstances of Elizabeth's marriage is none too clear. Having woken from one dream the poet falls into a

slumber, and embarks upon another in which a stately swan (an image recalling the Prothalamion, and here presumably representing the Palatine), swims up the Thames. Here once again the presentation of the narrative leaves much to be desired, and we may perhaps adduce from Taylor's address to the reader that he recognised his failings:

And when thou finde my Poems barely drest,
Smile to thy selfe (and say) he did his best. (sig.C3)

Donne's friend, Sir Henry Goodyere, rejected the conventional devices of the epithalamium in his poem on the marriage,¹² and sought to compliment the Palatine and his bride, and describe the bringing of the bride to bed in the witty or 'metaphysical' style which is associated with Donne's Songs and Sonnets. Goodyere, striving for original^{it} and a reinterpretation of the marriage poem develops a cumbersome analogy between the sheets of paper on which he is writing his poem and the sheets of the marriage bed, and describes the bride and groom in terms which recall Donne's late poem, The Hymne to God my God, in my sickness. Frederick and Elizabeth are like

two half-spheres set .
On a flat table, on these sheets they lie;
But grow a body perfectly,
As half-spheres make a globe by being met.

The poems for the marriage by Anthony Nixon, Robert Allyn, James Maxwell, and William Fennor owe little to the conventional marriage poem; rather they are verse descriptions of the events or comments upon them. The recurring theme in Nixon's poem, Great Brittaines Generall Ioyes is unity, a concept he emphasises, important not only in political theory

but also in Natural Philosophy. Nixon stresses the political advantages of the match and even draws a moral from the passage which he attempts to work in conventional terms - the rejoicing of all creatures, mythological and natural, is taken as a token of unity. The last of the three poems of the volume is a full description of the dream convention of the Palatine's installation as a member of the Order of the Garter. The political implications of the marriage also entertain the attention of Robert Allyn in Teares of Ioy. The tone of much of the poem is anti-Catholic, and the poet voices extensive political ambitions which, as so often in these poems, are divorced from political reality. James Maxwell too indulges in warlike prophecies in A Monvment of Remembrance, though here they are directed against the Turks rather than the Papists, for the poet looks forward to the time when Prince Charles and the warlike sons of Elizabeth shall retake Constantinople. The poem is badly organised. The generally chronological description of events is smothered and obscured by digressions into esoteric knowledge and law, and by the complex pedigrees which the poet draws up. Two of the poems of William Fennor's Fennors Descriptions are devoted to the marriage of Princess Elizabeth. The first piece describes in some detail ^{the} Palgrave's dominions, and his place in the European political and religious situation. Once more the Elector's political powers are judiciously exaggerated, or purposely misunderstood, to allow a hint of encouragement for future ambition. The second poem is an allegorical narrative, similar to De Franchis's poem., in which Fennor tells how Elizabeth and Frederick were brought together by divine intervention.

John Taylor, the Water-poet, also recognises God's hand in the marriage. His commemorative volume Heavens Blessing, and Earths Ioy comprises both epithalamia and triumphal verses, together with a prose description of the pageant upon the water for which he had been responsible. Taylor's volume manifests most of the concerns which appear in the marriage poems, for he shows an awareness of the political and religious aspects of the match, and also writes a short allegorical poem in which almost all the Olympian Gods appear. Though the quality of his poetic skill is not high, Taylor was able to sum up the general attitude of the poets who contributed verses on the marriage, as he had been able to do in the case of the Prince's death.

Many poets celebrated the marriage with verses in classical and foreign languages.¹³ The University of Oxford published a commemorative volume containing 242 epithalamia varying in length from two lines to a hundred. Three of the poems were in Greek, one in Italian, and the rest in Latin. Among the writers who contributed to the Oxford anthology were William, Laud, later Archbishop of Canterbury, Robert Burton, the author of The Anatomy of Melancholy, and John Hampden. Individual volumes were offered by Jacobus Aretius, the Scottish poet Alexander Julius, and the Pastor of the French Protestant Church in London, Abraham Aurelius.

As on the occasion of the Prince's death the ballad writers were again stimulated to commemorate the nuptials, and to describe the spectacles and entertainments which accompanied them. Though seven ballads related to the wedding were entered in the Stationers' Register none seem to have survived.¹⁴

As with the poems written on the Prince's death the formal variety of the marriage poems is larger than might be expected. In addition to the conventional epithalamium, poets adopt the allegorical or mythological narrative, and some make use of the dream technique. Goodyere's poem is exceptional in that the poet attempts to celebrate the marriage without recourse to the conventional diction and imagery. Matching the variety of forms and techniques is the blending of interests in the poems, for poets are not only concerned to congratulate Elizabeth and her husband, they also attempt to present the political and religious significance of the match and describe the entertainments and ceremonies connected with it.

The Marriage Masques.

The three masques staged to celebrate the wedding were performed in the Banqueting House at Whitehall. Pride of place was given to Campion's The Lords Masque which was presented on the evening of the wedding at vast expense, Chamberlain recording that the King had provided £1,500 to cover the cost.¹⁵ The other masques, which were presented by the Inns of Court, were staged on the evenings of the following day, Monday, and the following Saturday.

The masques were the social climax of 'the most extraordinary festive occasion of the reign of King James',¹⁶ for above all the masque was a social function, an occasion to see and be seen, an entertainment for the Court and for foreign ambassadors, and frequently a highly elaborate

'choreographic compliment.'¹⁷ The Masque was a synthesis of various elements; music, spectacle, song, drama, symbol, and perhaps most important the dance.¹⁸ Originating in part in the custom of masked persons entering the banqueting hall and inviting guests to dance, a considerable part of the Jacobean Masque was taken up with the Revels during which the masquers danced with favoured members of the audience. This degree of intimacy between the masquers and the spectators marked off the form from the more formal Court pageant. Frequently the masques presented at Court, especially those written by Ben Jonson, were designed not only to please the eye and the ear, but also to instruct the mind; by tradition the poet had a duty to advise the King.¹⁹ Since masques were specifically designed for performance at Court, the librettist had an exceptional opportunity to present his philosophical or political views in allegorical or emblematic form before an influential audience.

The variety of the masque's functions is reflected in the complexity of the form, for though in the reading of the libretto the dialogue appears to be dominant, it was, despite the gravity of the moral and symbolic burden, one element among a number contributing to a complex synthesis of artistic forms. The librettist, the stage and costume designer, the composer, and the dancing master all worked in harmony to produce an object of value and delight. The primary aim of the librettist and his colleagues was to arrange the development and plot of the masque so that the discovery of the masquers should be the entertainment's climax in terms of the spectacle, the music, and the symbolism.

All masquer writers were striving to produce in the spectators a sense of wonder and awe at the climactic moment, though there were disagreements as to the methods of achieving this. Jonson believed that wonder depended on effective speech, grace in execution, and an overall harmony of the elements of the masque, rather than spectacle.²⁰ He was alone in this opinion however, for throughout the Jacobean period the masque became more elaborate and sophisticated in the pursuit of the spectacular. The form had links with the Pageant and the Barriers, and from these derived rich and costly costuming, processional techniques, and the convention of the formal dispute or contention - the latter exemplified in the dispute between Iris and Mercury in The Lords Masque, and the debate between Truth and Opinion in Jonson's Hymenaei. The richness of the costuming was emphasised by the extravagant lighting, and the stage designers utilised the play of light upon costume to heighten the spectacle. Chapman's masquers appear in their mine, triumphantly seated: their Torch-bearers attending before them. All the lights being so ordred, that though none were seen, yet had their lustre such vertue, that by it the least spangle or spark of the Maskers rich habites might with ease and cleerness be discerned as far off as the seate. (sig.a2)

The spectacular nature of masque presentations was further enhanced by the use of stage machinery. The greatest designer and builder of such devices was Inigo Jones, who, drawing heavily upon Italian stage practice, contrived juxtapositions, superimpositions, partial and complete transformations of scene, and transformations of individual masquers. With the librettist he was able to explore and exploit a large range of effects. The early Masque of Blackness has an

'artificial sea' which 'was seene to shoote forth, as if it flowed to the land, rased with waues, which seemed to moue, and in some places the billow to breake, as imitating that orderly disorder, which is common in nature'.²¹ In later years the stage machines became more elaborate until the architect began to challenge the writer as the dominant member of the partnership;²² this development was the crux of the quarrel between Inigo Jones and Ben Jonson.

The main masque was generally preceded by the anti-masque, the earliest example of which occurs in Jonson's Haddington Masque (1608) where the run-away Cupid is accompanied by twelve boys 'most antickly attyred'. The anti-masque - justified by Jonson in The Masque of Queens as a 'foyle or false Masque' to the Main - became increasingly popular, the audience, not content with one anti-masque, demanding two or more, with the result that the careful harmony which Jonson had advocated was in later masques destroyed. The anti-masque provided a grotesque contrast to the richness and magnificence of the Main, and was usually performed by professional actors more adept in the tortuous dances for such characters as Witches, Haggs, Mountebanks, Baccantes, Frantics or Baboons. The contrast was pointed not only in the costume of the anti-masquers but also in their movements and dancing, whilst the music which accompanied their dance was probably played by a strange combination of instruments, the disharmonies and discords of the music underlining their fantastic appearance.

The musicians too were professionals, for Court Masques usually drawn from the King's Music. The composers thus lacked no resources,

a wide range of orchestral effects being available from an extensive variety of instruments. A.J. Sabol mentions the viols - ~~treble~~, tenor, and viol de gamba; the lute and its related instruments; the woodwind - the hautboy, the flute, the recorder, the cornet; the brass instruments - the trumpet, and the sackbut~~s~~; and harps, bagpipes and tabors, all finding a place in the masque scores.²³ The score was closely linked with the spectacle: the 'loud music' customarily played at transformations and discoveries not only lent an air of mystery and wonder to the moment, but also masked the sound of the stage machinery, and distracted the audience's attention from any inadequacies in the staging. Such unity of stage business and music may be noted in the movement of the Stars in The Lords Masque where the Stars' movement was carefully synchronised with the song 'Advance your Chorall motions~~now~~.' The music for the marriage masques was of the highest standard to judge from the musicians involved: John Dowland, Robert Dowland, Robert Johnson, Philip Rosseter, and Thomas Lupo were employed to play and in some cases to compose the scores. The human voice was of equal importance in the masque form. One of the ~~mark~~ characteristics of The Lords Masque praised by the Venetian ambassador is Campion's lyric sense in the nine songs. The singers for Court Masques were drawn from the King's choristers, and their songs fulfilled various functions.²⁴ There were songs which allowed the masquers to rest between measures or depart with good grace.

A further element in the masque form was the allegorical or symbolic burden which the librettist might use both to instruct and compliment his spectators. The latter was most important, as Strato tells Lysippus

in the opening scene of Beaumont's The Maid's Tragedy:

Strat. Yes, they must commend their king, & speake in praise
of the assembly, blesse the Bride and Bridegroom in
person of some God, the'r tied to rules of flatterie.
(I,i,10-13)

In the Jacobean masque Jonson drew the symbols for his masques from the Italian iconographers De Ripa, Cartari, and Conti,²⁵ and other librettists from the general corpus of classical mythology. In this way the Jonsonian masque itself could become an elaborate emblem, a unity of dramatic, spectacular, and symbolic elements.²⁶ Though no other librettist approached Jonson's learning and organic use of classical allusion, all made use of classical figures and allusions to lend authority and universality to their libretti: Frederick and Elizabeth are praised and blessed by Sybilla in Latin; Mercury and Iris contend for the honour of celebrating their nuptials; whilst showing the concern of the classical deities for the well-being of members of the Court circle proved an apt way of complimenting them.

The masques for the wedding celebrations are distinguished from earlier entertainments most notably by the lavishness and splendour of their costume, setting, and stage devices. The Lords Masque was more sophisticated and complex than any previous masque, with three transformations, nine songs, and notable scenic devices - the use of cloud machines, the dancing of the Stars followed by their transformation, and the pillar which Sybilla so miraculously dragged forward. Champion, Chapman, and Beaumont for the first time introduce two anti-masques; Champion has Frantics and Torch-bearers, Chapman, Baboons and Torch-bearers,

and Beaumont a mixed first anti-masque of Naiades, Hyades, Cupids, and Statuas, and a Rural Company for the second. Beaumont's first anti-masque is divided into four entrances, an innovation for the masque, and the anti-masquers in each of the masques are individualized whereas previously they had only been generically described. Inigo Jones's designs for the Middle Temple Masque are as sophisticated as those of The Lords Masque. The discovery of the masquers and the transformation of the scene to a gold mine with the setting sun behind must have been particularly impressive, though the two basic masque devices of the Rock and the Temple were traditional, and had been used in many previous shows as Plutus is quick to remark. Beaumont's masque was not as progressive in its stagecraft. Professor Nicoll notes that this masque provides the last record of the double traverse.²⁷

Though the wedding masques lack the symbolic complexity of a Jonsonian masque, and yield little to the type of analysis followed by Gordon, Cunningham, or Furniss, they were all well received at court, only Chamberlain reporting adversely on The Lords Masque²⁸ that it was 'very long and tedious, and with many devises more like a play than a maske.' It seems to have impressed the Venetian Ambassador however, for he described it as very beautiful, and its devices as most ingenious.²⁹

The Marriage Sermons.

The form and content of the marriage sermon, like the funeral sermon, were largely dictated by traditional practice. The texts were no doubt well used, being drawn from the biblical concordance or the commonplace book. The preacher would have a number of aims in mind:

to commemorate and bless the marriage, to offer the newly married couple advice and counsel, and to outline the significance of marriage as an institution fulfilling God's purpose. In the case of a noble or royal marriage the dynastic, political, or religious implications of the match could hardly escape comment.

The sermons preached at the marriage of the Palatine and Princess Elizabeth show the former concerns in addition to a strong emphasis upon the religious and political significance of the match - that the daughter of the most powerful Protestant monarch in Europe should be joined in matrimony to the leader of German Calvinism was held by the preachers to be a manifestation of God's will and a severe rebuke to the machinations of the Roman Catholic powers.

The most sophisticated in manner and technique of the four sermons I have located is Vitis Palatina. A sermon appointed to be preached at Whitehall upon the Tuesday after the marriage by John King, Bishop of London, though it seems never to have been delivered.⁵⁰ Bishop King, preaching on the text of Psalm 128, verse 3: 'The wife shall be as a fruitful vine by the sides of thine house', carefully breaks up his text and describes the vine and its characteristics, scrupulously applying that description to a wife, and to the married state. He takes pains to defend the institution of marriage, declares that Elizabeth is Frederick's wife by God's ordination, and attacks the recusant community, and the territorial and diplomatic ambitions of the Papacy.

George webbe in his sermon The Bride Royall, which he preached on the wedding day at Steeple Ashton in Wiltshire, also fiercely attacks

the 'Babylonish Roman Strumpet'. Webbe in handling his text - the marriage of Solomon and the daughter of Pharaoh (Psalm 45, v. 13, 14, 15.) - uses the analytical method, slavishly following through each parallel and allusion.

Andrew Willet in A Treatise of Solomons Marriage uses the same text to great advantage, though Solomon's marriage is explicated in much the same way. As the marriage of David's son symbolises in earthly terms the relationship of Christ to his Church, so in the marriage of Elizabeth and Frederick the preacher hopes he may discern in finite terms those qualities of love and harmony which are infinite in the divine. Willet's style is more simple than Webbe's and he is able to resist the temptation to chase allusions.

The most interesting sermon⁵¹ is that of Abraham Scultetus, Frederick's chaplain. Delivered on the couple's return to Heidelberg it betrays an underlying anxiety which, as we shall see, is expressed in a number of the volumes published at the time of the wedding. Scultetus argues strongly that the apparent disunity of the Protestant Churches is in reality illusory, this statement doubtless being directed towards the young couple who had different religious backgrounds. The tone of the sermon is bitterly anti-Catholic, Popery is seen as the modern Babylon and the seven hundred years of Catholic rule in Christendom is likened to the seventy years the Jews spent in Babylon. Added to this sermon is a passage addressed to the 'Indifferent Reader' in which the writer justifies the Palatine's pedigree, and reports the reception accorded

the newly married Prince and Princess on their arrival at Heidelberg. The writer's aim is not only to provide information but also to persuade the reader of the Elector's wealth and power, and to this end his realm, possessions, and country houses are described. Underlying this, as we shall see, there is a sense of unease, a partial recognition that the equality of the match has been called in question. Taken in conjunction with Scultetus's arguments for Protestant solidarity this affords a view beneath the surface of congratulations and blessings, to a less assured response to events.

The Pamphlets.

The mock-sea-fights and the firework displays were the subject of the pamphlet The Marriage of the two great Princes. The anonymous writer says that he offers his piece 'to give satisfaction to certaine of my acquaintance in the country most willing to understand the triumphs'. His account, ~~derived~~ derived in part from hearsay, is inaccurate, for he describes with enthusiasm the attack upon, and capture of the Castle of Algiers, and the subsequent surrender of the prisoners to the King at Whitehall stairs, although the storming of the fortress was postponed.

Interest in the Palatine and his bride was maintained after they had left England for the continent. The Magnificent Princely and most Royal Entertainments describes their reception at Flushing together with their journey across Europe to Heidelberg. The writer is careful to record all the entertainments presented in honour of the couple as if to assure the reader that the burghers of Heidelberg were no less loyal,

and their wealth no less impressive than that of the citizens of London. Two pamphlets, A Faithfull Admonition of the Palsgraves Churches, and A full declaration of the faith and ceremonies professed in the dominions of the most illustrious Prince Fredericke, inform the English reader of the manner of worship and liturgy in the Palatinate. The author of A Full Declaration shows how the religious practice of the Elector and his countrymen is in accordance with the teaching of scripture, and the author of A Faithfull Admonition, supporting this view, urges the reformed churches of all sects to unite against the common adversary, the Papacy. Both pamphlets were translated from High Dutch by John Rolfe and were intended, as were the pedigrees of the Elector which were printed,³² to satisfy public curiosity about the small German state and its ruler.

Notes.

1. George Puttenham, The Arte of English Poesie, edited by G.D. Willcock and A. Walker (Cambridge, 1936), p. 51.
2. Puttenham, p. 52.
3. See Englands Helicon, edited by Hugh Macdonald (1949), pp. 219-25.
4. See The Love Poems of Joannes Secundus, edited and translated by F.A. Wright (1950), p. 252. F.A. Wright translates this passage p. 253:

Open your mouth and gently teach
 Her tongue to enter by the breach
 And fondle yours: she soon will learn
 And give you lessons in her turn,
 Mingling with yours her breath so sweet
 As lips with lips in union meet.

And now the virgin boulder grown
 Will make the tempters part her own,
 And reckless in voluptuous play
 Will let her fingers downwards stray
 Beneath the sheets, and round you twins.
 O night of bliss, O night divine.

5. See The Poems of Sir Philip Sidney, edited by William A. Ringler, Jr. (Oxford, 1962), pp. 91-4 and pp. 411-12.
6. See A.K. Heatt, Short Time's Endless Monument (New York, 1960).
7. Compare also the following passages in Spenser's Epithalamion and Wither's Epithalamion:
 Spenser ll.46-50:

And let them eeke bring store of other flowers
 To deck the bridale bowers.
 And let the ground whereas her foot shall tread,
 For feare the stones her tender foot should wrong
 Be strewed with fragrant flowers all along...

Wither sig. C1:

Come away, vpon my blessing,
 The bride-chamber, lies to dressing
 Str^ow the waies, with leaves of Roses;
 Some make garlands, some make posses:

Spenser ll. 194-99:

There Vertue raynes as queene in royal throne,
 And giueth lawes alone.
 The which the base affections doe obay,
 And yeeld theyr seruices vnto her will,
 Ne thought of thing vncomely euer may
 Thereto approach to tempt her mind to ill.

Wither sig. C2:

That's hir Vertue, which still tameth
 Loose desires, and bad thoughts blameth.
 For whilst others were vnruely,
 She obseru'd Diana truly:
 And hath by that meanes obteyned
 Guifts of her that none haue gained.

Spenser ll. 273-76:

Yet neuer day so long, but late would passe.
 Ring ye the bells, to make it weare away,
 And bonfiers make all day,
 And daunce about them, and about them sing.

Wither sig. C2v:

Young men all, for ioy go ring yee,
 And your merriest Carolls sing yee.
 Here's of Dam'zells many choices;
 Let them tune th-ir sweetest voices.

Spenser ll. 338-345:

Let no deluding dreames, nor dreadful sights
 Make sudden sad affrights;
 Ne let housefyres, nor lightnings helplesse harmes,
 Ne let the Pouke, nor other euill spirits,
 Ne let misch^uious witches with theyr charmes,
 Ne let hob Goblins, names whose sence we see not,
 Fray vs with things that be not.

Wither sig. D1:

Lastly; oh you Angells ward them;
 Set your sacred Spels to guard them:
 Chase away such feares or terrors,
 As not being, seeme through errors.
 Yea, let not a dreames molesting,
 Make them start, when they are resting.

8. See Chapter 3 pp. 80-87.
9. Peacham's Nuptial Hymnes are printed in The Period of Mourning sigs. E5v-H1.
10. See Robert H. Case, English Epithalamies (1896), pp. xxii-xxiii.
11. See The Poems of George Chapman, edited by Phyllis Brooks Bartlett, p. 474.
12. Goodyere's poem was not printed at the time of the wedding and seems not to have been published until 1896 by Case in his collection of epithalamia pp. 51-3. I have followed his text in quotation.

13. The works were:

Jacobus Aretius, Primvla veris sev panegyrica; ad excellentiss Principem Palatinum. 4to. G. Stansby imp. J. Budge, 1613. S.T.C. 736.

Abraham Aurelius, In nvptias...Frederici V. comitis Palatini ad Rhenvm &c. et... Elizabethae ... regis filiae, Epithalamium. 4to. Ap Gul Stansby, 1613. S.T.C. 960.

Meletemata, in honores nvptiales ... Frederici...et...Elizabethae. 4to. G. Stansby. imp. J. Budge. 1613. S.T.C. 11360.

Alexander Julius, Ob secvndvm ... eventvm conjuii...Frederici 5... et... Elizabethae filiae...regis. 4to Edinbvrgi, T. Finlason, 1614. S.T.C. 14853.

Epithalamia. sive lvsvs Palatini. 4to. Oxon. Josephus Barnesius, 1613. S.T.C. 19022.

14. See A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London; 1554-1640, edited by Edward Arber, 5 vols. (1875-1894), pp. 235b-240.

The ballads were:

Englandes Comfort or A ioyfull newe songe of the Ladye ELIZABETH and the Count Palatine which 2. princes were betroathed together in his maiesties Chappell at Whitehall vppon Saint Johns Day before his maiestie and diverse of the Nobilitie. entered in The Stationers' Register 14th Jan' 1613.

Triumphes or a description of the honourable and roiall celebracon of the pryncesse ELIZABETH and [the] prince Palatines nuptialles. entered 30th Jan' 1613.

great Brytaynes generall Joyes. Londons glorious triumphes &c. entered 14th Feb' 1613.

This piece bears the same title as Nixon's volume of poems with which it is entered.

Englandes Joye or the happie nuptialles of prynce FRIDERICK and the Lady ELIZABETH. entered 20th Feb' 1613.

The Honour of Englishmen Shewing the glorious tryumphs performed by the chiefe of the English Nobility at Tilt before the King and Queens Maiesties the Palsgraue and the Ladie ELIZABETH. entered 25th March 1613.
A farewell to Prynce palatine and his fayre bride the lady ELIZABETH being their passages through Kent. entered 16th April 1613.
Englandes sorowe for the Departure of the Prynce palatine and the Lady ELIZABETH. entered 28th May 1613.
the Roill pedygree of the Lady ELIZABETH. entered 28th May 1613.

15. Chamberlain, I. 404.
16. Ben Jonson, edited by C.H. Herford and Percy and Evelyn Simpson, 11 vols. (Oxford, 1925-52), II, 291.
17. E.K. Chambers, The Elizabethan Stage, 4 vols. (Oxford 1923), I, 195.
18. See Songs and Dances for the Stuart Masque, edited by A.J. Sabol (Providence, 1959) p. 1.
19. See W.J. Furniss, Ben Jonson's Masques (Item 2 in: Three Studies in the Renaissance... 1958).
20. For a discussion of Jonson's theories of the masque see Dolores Cunningham, 'The Jonsonian Masque as a Literary Form', E.L.H., A Journal of English Literary History, XXII (1955), 108-124.
21. Ben Jonson, edited by C.H. Herford and P. and Evelyn Simpson, VII, 170.
22. For a discussion of the stage techniques involved in presenting masques see Allardyce Nicoll, Stuart Masques and the Renaissance Stage (1957).
23. Sabol, p. 6.
24. Sabol, p. 7.
25. See Alan H. Gilbert, The Symbolic Persons in the Masques of Ben Jonson (Durham, N.C., 1948).
26. See D.J. Gordon, 'Ben Jonson's "Haddington Masque": The Story and the Fable', M.L.R., XLII (1947), pp. 180-87.
27. Stuart Masques and the Renaissance Stage, p. 45.
28. Chamberlain, I. 428.
29. C.S.P., Verstian, 1610-13, p. 499.
30. W. Fraser Mitchell, English Pulpit Oratory from Andrewes to Tillotson (1932), p. 15.

31. The Sermon Preached before the two high borne and illustrious Princes, Fredericke... and the Princesse Lady Elizabeth (1613).

32. Two pedigrees of Prince Frederick and Princess Elizabeth were published as Broad-sides: An English-Royall Pedegree^{Common} to the most Noble Princes/Lately Married Frederick and Elizabeth/Being both of them in one and the same degree of lineall descent from/Edward the Third.

The Imperiall and Princely/Pedegree of the two most Noble/and vertuous Princes lately married /Friderick and Elizabeth./Being both of them on their most noble Fathers side lineally descended, He in the ninth, She in the tenth degree, (which numbers/in them united make up King James his auspicious and luckie number of nineteene) from two most noble,/vertuous and worthy/Princes, Robert Prince Palatine and Emperour and Elizabeth princesse Palatine and Empresse.

See the Catalogue of Printed Broad-sides in the possession of The Society of Antiquaries of London, compiled by R. Lemon (1866), p. 42.

Pedigrees were also published in the volume of poems written by James Maxwell sigs. F1-F4v.

CHAPTER 6.

THEMES AND CONVENTIONS OF THE LITERATURE WRITTEN FOR THE MARRIAGE.

The themes and conventions of the literature written in celebration of Princess Elizabeth's marriage are in part a reversal of those noted in the funeral poems and sermons. Though bride and groom are complimented in imagery similar to that which poets employed to praise Prince Henry, the general tone of the marriage literature is naturally far removed from sadness and lamentation. As grief was replaced by joy so in poetic convention Nature turns from mourning to celebration, and the darkness of winter is replaced by the vigour of Spring.

The joy and optimism stimulated by the wedding are qualified, however, by recollection of the Prince's death. The marriage was solemnized scarcely two months after the funeral, for the Prince had died in the midst of the wedding preparations. These were at once postponed 'because it would be thought ^{absurd} that foreign ambassadors coming to condole the Prince's death should find us feasting and dancing'.¹ The contrast between expected joys and unlooked for grief did not escape some of those who lamented Henry.² He died, Daniel Price said,

when the earth partaked so much of the beauty of heaven, so many delights, so many pleasures, so many Triumphant, magnificent Tropheys, for the ioyning of those two royal Virgin rivers, Thames and Rhene, when the Gracious, vertuous Princesse, his highnesse sister was al glorious..... Then, when righteousnesse looked downe from heaven, and all the Christian world resulted with ioyfull acclamation, some fewe Curs of Antichrist excepted. (1st Anniversary, sig. C2v-C3)

John Cozen,³ through the person of England, lamented:

when

Ner's ioy'd I more then ^{when} the German Graue
 Came marching to mee with a Court so braue:
 Each Lord and Lady in a comly row:
 O rare delight to view so rare a show!
 Forthwith I grac'd them with the choicest state;
 When lee a message com's from enuious fate,
 And bids me tune my strings another way:
 Loue did before, now Lachrymae must play. (sig. Pl)

Here the expression of joy, though ousted by grief, modifies the reader's response to the Prince's death - the less is made the more tragic and poignant, and Fate the more wanton for choosing such a time. Yet at the same time the reference to the marriage places over against the fact of death the forces of hope and regeneration. Though in this case the main effect of such a juxtaposition is to sharpen the sense of grief, the opposition of values and states of mind noted in the consolations poets offer for the death has a positive result. The expected birth of children to the bride is contrasted with the death; present decay will give way to future growth; and sadness is relieved by hope. In this way the mingling of emotions places the occasion of elegy or sermon within the wider perspective of the unchanging pattern of human affairs, and so lessens the sharpness of grief. Throughout the marriage literature the poets' and writers' recollections of the dead Prince produce a similar effect. In the midst of the wedding joy and the excitement of the celebrations the deeper and darker note of mortality is struck, and the reader is reminded that the pleasures of marriage are equally subject to the transience of life. William Fenner recalls the Prince's death in his allegorical narration of the events leading up to the wedding:

The Court his company desires,
London the lously Prince adaires:
 Such ioy sprung forth on euery side,
 That all the Gods mass mirth enuide:
 Therefore they held a Parliament,
 How they might worke his discontent,
 Last they agree'd (O! dismall day)
 To take our chiefest hope away.
 Grim visag'd death presum'd to strike
 A Prince that neuer had his like. (sig. D2)

Allusions to Prince Henry are handled in a number of ways.

Delpheba (Elizabeth) the heroine of Augustine Taylor's dream fable, betrays a deep sorrow for a friend recently dead.⁴ The friend is of course Henry. Nixon, addressing the Palatine, notes that his welcome to England was a sad funeral, though now the mood is changed to joy by the nuptials.⁵ Later, once more through the medium of dream fable, Nixon (sig. C3v) contrives to link the past with the present in describing the Golden Book of the Order of the Garter in which Henry's name is prominently emblazoned. Though Maxwell (sig. Blv) says that Elizabeth's departure for Germany will cause as much grief and consternation as her brother's death, Peacham (sig. Elv), and Wither argue that the marriage has put mourning to flight:

The Citie, that I left in mourning clad,
 Drouping; as if it would haue still bin sad:
 I found deckt up; in robes so neat and trimme ...
 The Sorrowes of the Court I found well cleerd,
 Their wofull habits quite cast off. (sig.BIV-B2)

Heywood (sigs. B1-B2) treats Henry's death at greatest length, recalling at the opening of A Marriage Triumph his recent poem on that occasion, and urging his muse to cease her complaint. She seems reluctant however, for the Prince's virtues, the significance of his death, and its cause, the nation's sin, are reiterated. Though on the whole the

poets lack the skill to draw these strands of life and death together and suggest the complexity of their connotations and interaction - the opposition is frequently overstated in terms which are over simplified - the juxtaposition is similar in kind to that of Feste's 'O mistress mine'⁶ and his final song 'When that I was and a little tiny boy'⁷ placed immediately after the Duke's resolve that a 'solemn combination' shall be made of the lovers' souls. Chapman alone is able to suggest the measure of emotion potential in the juxtaposition. His allusion to Henry's death is brief, lyrical in form and restrained in style.

The couplet.

Singe, Singe a Rapture to all Nuptiall eares,
Bright Hymens torches, drunke vp Parcaes teares. (sig.E4)

opens and concludes A Hymn to Hymen, so framing a celebration of youthful love within the subdued but no less disturbing note of mortality. The brevity of the allusion, and the fact that the poet does not emphasise the opposition of values, allow past sadness and present joy to mingle freely and create their own effect.

The Prince's death is made the more bearable for some writers by the presence in England of Frederick who will make up the loss. This notion, touched upon more widely in the literature for the marriage than in the funeral works, no doubt as an added compliment to Frederick, is none the less qualified. Basse in Great Britaines sunne-set (sig. B4) consoled his readers with the thought that a 'second Sonne' shone in Henry's place and Fenner declares,⁸

For though he tooke our hope away,
 He left behinde a second stay,
 Whom heauens highest hand preserue
 For he all goodnesse doth deserue. (sig. D2v)

But the Elector is regarded as only a partial substitute by Allyne (sig. Blv), Peacham (sig. F2v), and George Webbe:

For whereas it pleased God of late (because wee were vnworthy of him) to take away from vs our hopefull Prince HENRY FREDERICK, our Soueraignes Eldest Sonne (whose memoriall is, and euer shall be blessed) our losse (which was vnspeakable) is heerein so much the lesse, in that wee haue not wholly lost him: for though HENRY bee gone, yet FREDERICK is left behinde. (The Bride Royal) (sig.F8v)

Fennor, writing at a later date than other poets, is able to find consolation not in the Palsgrave but in his new born son. He images the birth in terms of the phoenix myth (sig.D3) with the new Henry springing from the ashes of the old.

The Celebration of Nature.

After the turn of the year the great storms which had been closely linked with Henry's death abated and a more moderate weather pattern was established. Once more the poets were concerned to delineate a close connection between the forthcoming marriage and the change of weather. Here Nature's lament is reversed for she prematurely puts on her richness and assumes a pleasant aspect in celebration of the nuptials. The idea that there existed some sympathy between human affairs and natural phenomena was perhaps more than a mere literary convention to many of the poets since, as in the case of Henry's death, there appeared to be some evidence to support it.⁹ Stew¹⁰ tells us that there were great rains from late January until mid July which at least argues for a higher winter temperature than was normal, and one

wonders to what extent writers and their readers believed in such a connection. Though a number of poets present the weather change as the work of mythological deities, a society which generally accepted the notion that natural catastrophe and public misfortune were punishment for sin may have been susceptible to a half belief in such a correspondence. The movement of thought from decay and darkness to growth and light is reinforced by the change of the seasons, the decline of Winter's rigour and the approach of Spring once again fix the events within the fundamental patterns of life.

Heywood makes most use of this theme, combining seasonal and weather change with mythological fantasy:

Now the wet Winter of our teares are past,
 And see, the cheerfull Spring appears at last,
 Now we may calculate by the Welkins racke
Aeolus hath chaste the Clouds that were so blacke:
 And th'are beyond the Hiperboreans runne
 That haue so late eclipst Great Brittaines Sonne. (sig.B1)

and:

The Seasons haue prefer'd the youthfull Spring
 To be this high states solmanising:
 Who lest he should be wanting at that day
 Brings Februarie in attyred like May,
 And that's the cause, no strange preposterous thing,
 That we this yeare haue such a forward Spring. (sig.D3)

It is handled in similar terms by Maxwell (sig.B4v), De Franchis (sig.I1) and Peacham who, in The Period of Mourning (sig.G1v) presents the figure of 'Snow tressed January' with a wreath of green upon his brow reminiscent of Heywood's Winter.¹¹ Allyne (sig.B2v and B3), Fenner (sig.D2v), Augustine Taylor (sig.B2) and Nixon on the other hand are more direct, eschewing allegorical and mythological figures:

Now do the Birdes record new harmony,
 Now Trees and euey thing that Nature breeds;
 Doe whistle their consenting melody,
 And clad it selfe with fresh and pleasant weeds: (sig.A4)

Wither, (sig.A4v) having described the winter storms and their consequences graphically and at some length, presents a different interpretation of their cause. The thunder was Jove's summons to his legions to attend the nuptial celebrations. The winds were made by the Tritons of the ocean sounding their horns to warn each river and stream to assist Neptune in offering his congratulations, and the storms of rain and the floods were the retainers and precursors of the god. The unfortunate destruction of property and the loss of life by drowning was the work of Hell's minions, some in the guise of Papists, who, attempting to upset the marriage preparations, wrought their spite on earth, air, sea, and man. Wither does not inform us how the Papists managed to control the elements. The trouble makers are frustrated by Jove and everything returns to a new harmony,

Meanwhile I sawe the furious Winds were laid;
 The risings of the swelling Waters staid.
 The Winter, gan to change in euey thing;
 And seem'd to borrow mildnes of the Spring.
 The Violet and Primerose fresh did growe,
 And as in Aprill, trimd both Cops and rowe. (sig.B1v)

Imagery associated with Princess Elizabeth.

I turn now to the way in which writers and poets presented the Princess in their work. She had been described in the poems written for Prince Henry's death as a pearl or gem, a star, a rose, and an exemplum of virtue. To John Davies of Hereford she seemed 'the rar'st Ienne/ That e're was cas'd with flesh',¹² for Gorges she was

'the chaeftest Jewell of famous Rheyne',¹³ and the preacher Chetwind spoke of her as 'the choisest pearle in the Christian world by God himself prepared'.¹⁴ The Princess's virtues 'shine as doth a fixed starre',¹⁵ in her grief she was compared to Cynthia when 'she darts her silver beames/ Upon the browe of Neptune in the night',¹⁶ and she was hailed as one of 'Europes brightest beames'.¹⁷ Her beauty was suggested by Maxwell¹⁸ and Gorges¹⁹ by a comparison with the rose and Allyn offered her a double compliment for she was

Mirroure of Ladies, in whose life contend
Vertue, and beautie, which should grace the most.

(Funeral El@gies sig.B3v)

The pattern of allusion in the poems for the marriage is much the same. Elizabeth, partly because of her age and her minor role within the Court, a less dominant one than Prince Henry's, is an unrewarding subject for the poets and writers. Unlike her brother she made no impact upon the popular imagination, neither concerning herself with any notable pastimes nor betraying any strong traits of personality. Thus in the works written for the marriage we find a conventional and ideal image of a Princess, lacking the stamp of individuality. She is most frequently praised for the number of her virtues. She assumes in imagery the attributes of riches and is spoken of in terms of light. Her beauty and her virtue are favourably compared with those of mythological and classical figures and inevitably with those of her revered namesake Queen Elizabeth I. The role of the Stuart princess, it would seem, offered little scope for individual and positive expression. For Eliza there is no equivalent to Henry's multifarious interests or his passion for military exploits. The most important

qualities she should possess are a passive though inspirational virtue and a divine beauty. Wither, describing her entrance to the Church, emphasises her graces:

Now vnto Church she hies her,
Enuy bursts, if shee espies her.
 In her gestures as she paces,
 Are vnited all the Graces:
 Which who sees and hath his senses,
 Loues inspite of all defences. sig.Clv)

For de Franchis (sig.A1) she is the 'Faire Heauen of Graces, Heauen of content' and Anthony Nixon (sig.A4v) remarks that Eliza's breast is 'that same hill, / Where Vertue dwels', - an image which is not perhaps very appropriate.²⁰

Closely linked with the Princess's virtue is her unmatched beauty. Augustine Taylor defines the beauty through the medieval notion that one virtue perfectly practised encompasses all other virtues. The heroine of his dream allegory, Delpheba, whom I take to be Elizabeth, is sitting upon a rock:

In this faire creature seated thus alone,
 A thousand beauties were combin'd in one:...
 Crown'd with all graces, and to name in generall,
 One beauty matchlesse, and in that one seuerall. (sig.A4)

De Franchis (sig.Hlv) speaks of her as 'beauties mirror' and indeed in almost a Platonic sense her beauty is taken to be the outward sign of her virtue. Heywood praises her as one

Whose beauties are as farre beyond compare,
 As are her inward vertues of the mind,
 But in that height vnmatchably so rare
 We on the Earth her equall cannot finde. (sig.*2v)

and Peacham (sig.C3v) says that even if she had not been born a Princess her appearance and deportment would have marked her out as a

natural ruler.²¹ Webbe in his sermon The Bride Royall follows a similar pattern of thought, though there is an emphasis on Christian virtues,

The God of Nature hath in her bodie made her a mirroure of Natures Beautie, and in her soule a patterne of Graces pietie: So that albeit in her outward shape to the sight of men she be exceeding glerious, yet inwardly to the sight of her God, she is most glorious: so graciously all holy graces in her being so compact together, that it drawes the eyes and harts of al men to admiration, to see so much pietie in such comely beautie, s o great humilitie in such Maiestie. (sig.F5)

Such qualities, Allyn remarks, (sig.B2v), will amaze the world even to its remotest corners. Eliza is one 'whose virtues shall/ Adde newe renowne, to race, and place, and all' (sigB2).

The Princess is also praised in terms of riches. Maxwell (sig.D1) writes of her as 'the pearle and praise of Germany', a phrase echoed by Peacham,

All happinesse vnto the Princesse be,
The Pearle and Mirroure of Great Brittanie. (sig.G2)

Allyn prefers the image of the jewel or gem. Elizabeth is Britain's 'rarest gemme, t'enrich the Rhine' (sig.A4) and later he describes both bride and groom as jewels (sig.B1) and gems (sig.B1V). Only Webbe among the preachers takes up this image, speaking of her as the 'only Jewel of this Northerne Ile' (sig.F5v). Other poets are less specific. For Wither she is the 'matchles treasure, we esteeme of so' (sig.B3), and for Fenner 'this matchlesse prize' (sig.C4). Augustine Taylor goes further, linking the image with the idea of her beauty and virtue,

Eliza, England truly beastes of thee
To be the Treasurer of each Treasurie,
That euer grac't a woman, (s ig.C2)

In common with Prince Henry, Elizabeth is imaged as a star, a sun or a light. Wither addresses her as

Bright Northerne Star, and fair Mineruaes peere,
Sweet lady of this Day, Great Britans deere. (sig.A4)

and Maxwell speaks of her as the 'Norths bright Nymph' (sig.B1). Such imagery finds most favour with Allyne who sees the Princess as a sun and a lamp (sig.A4), and later (sig.B1v) as a light and star. At sig.B2v he embellishes and extends the image, implying that the Princess will have influence and power in Heidelberg:

Thy glory in the farthest North shall shine;
 And (as the Sunne, through vapors seene, at Morne,
 Appeares a larger body to the eye,
 Then when he mountes the high Meridian skie)
 Thy beames shall from beyond the Belgicke shore,
 Shine still as bright, and brighter then before. (sig.B2v)

The notion that the stars exert a strong influence upon the affairs of the world is used by Nixon (sig.A4v) to compliment the Princess, for her eyes are 'blessed stars' which shall induce peace and prevent wars. Heywood (sig.D4v) alludes to her as Cynthia and informs the sun that if she eclipses him he should not envy her, for were he to disappear behind a cloud he would not be missed. In general poets and writers fail to explore the potential of the images they adopt. They are content to accept the conventional usage, a course no doubt forced upon them in part by the Princess's limited interests and influence.

The same criticism may be levelled at those poets who compliment her by comparison with classical or mythological figures. The obvious comparison with Venus is made by de Franchis (sig.L1v) who remarks that Venus's perfume could never compare with Elisa's breath which scents and sweetens the air, and by Peacham who makes Cupid declare the Princess to be second to none.²²

For beauty, shape of body, every grace,
 That may in earthly Maiestie take place;
 That were not Venus daily seene of mee,
 I would haue sworne the Princesse had beene she. (sig.F4v)

Heywood's use of classical and mythological stories of love is more elaborate, for he goes to some lengths to state that many of them would have had different endings had Elizabeth been present.²³

Perseus would have left Andromeda to the mercies of the whale, and Paris would never have been tempted to seduce Helen, thus saving Troy.

Heywood continues:

Had great Ioue beheld this Queene,
When Europa first was seene,
O're the Seas he had not brought her,
Nor Aegnor left his daughter. (sig.B1)

Maxwell alone (sig.C1), having clumsily handled the idea that the Argosy constellation might return to Earth to take the Princess on her journey to the continent, finds an appropriate allusion. He speaks of her as the 'golden fleece of James', the implication being that Jason in the person of Frederick will shortly carry her off to Germany. The fleece emblem was to be used again-at a tournament held in honour of the marriage on the Palatine's return to Heidelberg. On that occasion Frederick in the guise of Jason, having issued a general challenge, arrived with his two assistants, Peleus and Telamon, in a ship with a golden fleece hanging from the rigging, which no doubt was an allusion to the bride. The image conveys something of the worth and value Elisa was felt to possess, compliments her by identifying her with a miraculous object, and is appropriate for the occasion of her journey to Germany. .

Recent historical comparisons are pointed by Heywood²⁴ and Webbe. The preacher argues that the nation owes its thanks to God because He has sent such a princess and has revived and renewed in her the name

and nature of Queen Elizabeth I (sig.F5v-F7). Heywood is more direct:

You eqall her, in vertues fame,
 From whom you receiu'd your name:
 England's once shining star
 Whose bright beames spread so far. (sig.E1v)

Conventionally Elizabeth's beauty is acclaimed in the image of a flower. She is the 'flower of second Troy'²⁵ and the 'Flower and Rose of Britany'.²⁶ Her lips excel roses²⁷ and her beauty surpasses that of other virgins as violets surpass the bramble briar, or the rose the lily.²⁸ Maxwell speaks of her as 'Albions Rosie Flowre' (sig.B1) and 'a gallant Flowre' (sig.B4). The ideal of beauty which poets attempt to represent in these terms draws from de Franchis (sig.A4) a more extravagant compliment: Elizabeth is the 'worlds great Hope, and greater Ornament'. Other poets praise her with miraculous allusions. Donne addresses her as 'a faire Phoenix Bride'. The image is also taken up by Allyn (sig.B2) who, looking towards the future, likens her to a phoenix which burns itself against the sun so that another may spring up. Fenner too speaks of her as

England's faire Phoenix, Europe's admiration,
 of matchless beauty, yet of vertue rare;
 Now in the East she lets her splendor shine
 all do confesse she is a light diuine. (sig.C3)

Rarely do the poets light upon allusions which are appropriate to the occasion rather than merely conventional. Though the marriage was held on 14 February, few develop the potential of the St. Valentine's Day motif. Donne makes extensive use of the day and its traditions and Peacham (sig.F3) refers to it, implying its significance rather than exploring it. Only Wither (sig.B4v) and Basse, however,

specifically address Elizabeth as Valentine:

Isis and Rhene are loyn'd in sacred vow;
And faire Eliza's Fredericke's Valentine. (sig.B4v)

Maxwell too clothes the Princess in a more specific and individual guise the appropriateness of which lies in place rather than time.

Elizabeth, the Tan-Isis Nymph (sig.D1v), is renamed when she arrives in Heidelberg by the 'Myrtle Nymph' of the city, who declares,

The Myrtle-bunch that I haue borne so long
With great applause Eliza's lap shall fill;
For to Tanisis Nymph it doth belong
Who now's the Nymph of this our Myrtle-hill:
Wherefore let Hills and Dales resound her fame,
Since all the Nymphes must her Myrtilla name. (sig.D3)

Here the myrtle allusion is doubly appropriate. As Maxwell points out in a footnote, the myrtle tree, the patroness of which was Venus, was the symbol of matrimonial love for the Egyptians and Greeks and was used by the Romans in ceremonies of atonement and marriage. Furthermore the name of the city may have been derived from the myrtle, as Goryat tells us in the Crudities.²⁹

Some deriue this word Heidelberg from Heydelber which doth signifie black-berries, such as doe grow vpon brambles, because in former times there were more of them growing about this City then in any other part of the country. Some from Heydelbeern, that is, myrtle trees, which doe yet grow plentifully vpon the hilles about the City. Of this opinion is that lerned Paulus Melissus, who calleth Heidelberg urbem myrtileti. (sig.Nu3)

Thus the pedantic Maxwell, in a fanciful episode, alludes to her recent marriage and parallels her change of status and situation with a change of name.

Imagery associated with Prince Frederick.

Frederick seems to have been generally welcomed both as a handsome and intelligent Prince and as the nephew of the famous soldier Maurice,

Prince of Orange. His popularity was quickly established with the people and the Court,

Whom all our populous vnited Nation
 Attended long, with ioyfull expectation,
 Whom th' empire of great Brittaine wisht to see,
 And th' Emperour to receiue with Maiesty.
 Whom the Peeres ardently craue to behold,
 And the glad Nobles in their armes t'infold,
 Whom London with applause wisht to embrace,
 (The Chamber of the King, and best lov'd place)
 Whom at his landing from the troublous maine,
 The people stand on shore to entertaine. A Marriage Triumphe
 (sig. C3-v)

In general however he has a smaller place in the poems and sermons than his bride. In the few references to him in the works on the death of the Prince the dominant note is one of subdued welcome and writers are concerned to impress upon him his good fortune in winning such a partner as the daughter of James I. John Taylor in Great Britaine all in Blaeke makes this point with some firmness,

Most mighty, all beloued louely Lord,
 Warrs patterne, and a patrone vnto Scollers:
 Great Brittaine doth a Iewell thee afford,
 More rich in price then all the Germane Dollers,
 Liue euer happy with thy ioyfull Gez
 In Earth, and in the new Ierusalem. (sig.A41)

The same note is repeated by Allyn in his funeral elegy where the tone is often restrained and at times ambiguous. Allyn addressing the Palatine writes,

But at thy coming came those dire defects,
 That dim'd the greatest light that grac'd our day,
 And thou to breed a second sadde eclipse,
 Would lead the second of those two away. (sig.B4)

Similar sentiments are expressed in the poems written for the wedding.

Nixon in his dream description of Frederick's investiture with the

Order of the Garter spends much time praising Prince Henry and only grudgingly compliments the Palatine, at the same time taking the opportunity to offer some rather sour advice. Of the Order of the Garter he writes,

long may bee
 Weare it as a note of true Nobillity,
 And vertues ornament. Young Frederick
 Thou high & mighty Prince, & Prince Elector,
 Mounted on fortunes wheele by vertues ayne,
 Become thy badge as it becometh thee,
 That Europe's eies thy worthynes may see. (sig.C4-C4v)

The range of allusion and the number of guises with which the poets compliment the Palatine are more limited than those employed to compliment the Princess. It would seem that the poets knew little or nothing of the sixteen-year-old German Prince's personal life and interests, and so were forced back upon the conventional eulogy of those ideal qualities which it was believed a Prince ought to possess, together with the dynastic and historical information about Frederick currently available. Only Heywood and de Franchis offer extended praise, and only the latter would seem to have more than a bookish acquaintance with the Palatinate and its circumstances - a fact which tends to confirm the impression that de Franchis was either Dutch or German, though I have been able to find no record of him. The poets' outline of Frederick's graces and virtues lacks conviction. Wither weakly rhymes,

Venus his perfection findeth,
 And no more Adonis mindeth;
 Much of him my Hart diuineth;
 On whose brow all Vertue shineth. (sig.C2)

And Allyne (sig.B2), having spoken of his outward grace and inward

gifts, his rare body and mind, quickly escapes into reminding him that not all his merits shall make up his happiness in being joined in marriage to one 'whose vertues shall/ Adde new renowne to race and place and all'.³⁰ Fennor too writes of his lovely visage and comely stature, his majesty, justice, and pity (sig.Clv) whilst Augustine Taylor, grasping at straws, attempts to show these virtues in action:

O worthy Frederike it was lordly done,
That thou thyself in person hither come.
It shewes thy mind is Noble, and indeed,
Sprung from the airie where true Eagles breed. (sig.C1)

The Palatine's reputation is enhanced by reference to his titled and offices and to his ancestors. John Taylor (sig.C4v), and Fennor (sig.B3v) address him with his titles as 'high and mighty Fredericke the fifth', 'Bavares great Duke' or 'Young Prince of Pals'. Peacham goes further when he makes Cupid tell his mother of the Prince's capture:

Young Fredericke, borne of Imperiall Ligne,
Descended from that braue Rolando slaine,
And worlds great Worthy, valiant Charle-Maigne
This hopefull Impe is stricken with our Bowe,
Wee haue his Armes, and three fold Shield to show. (sig.F3v-F4)

After an analysis of the coat of arms and lineage the poet provides a lengthy footnote on the people involved in his pedigree,³¹ and later he remarks that Frederick is

Yet trembled at from farthest Caspian Sea,
And Sythian Tunis, to the Danubie. (sig.F4v)

Heywood handles the Palatine in much the same way as the Princess, comparing him with classical and mythological heroes, a technique largely neglected by other poets with the exception of de Franchis (sig.L2)

and Peacham (sig.F2), who compares him with Africanus. In A Marriage Triumphe the range of classical allusion is wide:

He a Prince is, grauely young,
Catoes head, and Tullies tongue,
Nereus shape, Vlisses brains;
 Had he with these Nestors rains. (sig.E1)

Heywood sees him as Tython on the day he married Aurora (sig.B2), he is mistaken for Venus or her son, and he has the 'Lustre' of Adonis's cheek and the beauty of Hippolytus (sig.B3). His beauty calls to mind Ciparissus for whom Apolle left his throne, he is a seventeenth century Orpheus,

A youth so louely, that euen beasts of Chase
 Staid by the way, to gaze him in the face.
 The wildest birds, his beauty to espye
 Sit round about him, and before him flye,
 And with their chirping tunes beare him along,
 As if to greet him with a Nuptiall song. (sig.G4v)

The poets I have so far considered write little which is uniquely appropriate to Prince Frederick's personality and situation - only Wither makes use of a Valentine allusion (sig.B2v) calling Frederick Elizabeth's best friend and Valentine - and nothing which enables the reader to recognise the Prince as an individual. De Franchis however has a wider range of allusion and shows some knowledge of the Palatine's background. He remarks conventionally that the Prince surpasses all as the sun surpasses the moon and addresses him as

Thou flower of youth, Sonne of the Gods aboue,
 The heauens delight and earths felicity. (sig.L2)

He assigns to him the attributes of Jove, Apollo, and Mars and praises him for his wisdom and courage, his manly mind, his virtue and his valour,

When he bestrides and makes his bounding steed,
To run, career or stop his headlong speed. (sig.D3v)

Reference also is made however to his ancestry (sig.D3v) - the greatest of Frederick's forebears was Charles the Great - his devotion to Protestantism (sig.H3), an important consideration which I shall examine later, and his place within the European political scene:

His people feare, Embassadors admire,
All think his fortune far less than his merit,
Though that be rich and good, his worth is better,
His crown and honours great his mind is greater. (sig.D4)

The acknowledgement here of the limited role which the Palatinate had so far played in German politics and the sense of frustrated ambition argue for a closer acquaintance with the Palatine's country on the part of the poet than is usual in the rest of the work for the marriage. This impression is strengthened when Frederick's virtue is praised with specific exemplification:

He fauours wits yeelds Vertues their due meeds,
Encourageth good scholars with reward:
Th' vnlearn'd may learne of him how to proceed,
For wiser bookes and sayings he doth regard:
Searching all causes and their consequence,
How nature imitates our providence. (sig.D4)

The compliments which the poets offer to the bride and groom jointly are drawn from the stock of images and allusions which I have already examined. Donne speaks of Frederick and Elisabeth as the sun and the moon:

Here lyes a shee Sunne, and a hee Monne here,
She gives the best light to his Spheare,
Or each is both and all. (ll.85-7)

Heywood too uses the image of heavenly bodies:

To exceed all comparison, some swear
Two such bright Comets, neuer grac't that Sphere. (sig.B4v)

He reinforces this argument (sig.Clv) by stating that Sea and Earth and Heaven can find no parallel to their virtue. Allyne (sig.B1) sees them as two jewels that shall be joined in one, and Campion (sig.D3v) in The Lords Masque, and Beaumont in the Masque of Grays Inn and the Inner Temple speak of them in terms of the divine and the miraculous :

On blessed youthes for Love doth pause
Laying aside his grauer lawes
For this deuice;
And at the wedding such a pair,
Each daunce is taken for a praier,
Each song a sacrifice. (sig.D2)

Heywood (sig.C1) confesses his inability to think of a satisfactory title for them because they seem divine, whilst Donne describes them as phoenixes brought together by Saint Valentine. Chapman's identification in his masque of Elizabeth and Frederick with twins of Hippocrates is perhaps the most appropriate of the joint allusions. So close was their harmony and sympathy that as Lyly³² mentions they 'were born together, laughed together, wept together, and died together'. Such a close personal harmony as Chapman describes is a fitting compliment to the bride and groom and as one might expect of him it is not without its didactic aspect:

And all waies ioin'd in such a constant troth
That one like cause had like effect in both,
So may these Nuptiall Twynnes their whole liues' store
Spend in such euen parts, neuer grieuing more,
Then may the more set off their ieyes diuine,
As after clouds, the Sunne, doth clearest shine. (sig.E1)

Extending the twins image, Chapman also refers to Frederick and Eliza as Love and Beauty whose union reveals them to be exactly complementary -

once again an appropriate compliment,

Both so lou'd they did contend
Which the other should transcend,
Doing either, grace, and kindness;
Loue from Beauty did remove
Lightness, call'd her stain in loue,
Beawtie took from Loue his blindness. (sig.Elv)

In these well modulated lines the poet outlines the ideal relationship between two lovers, emphasising their desire to outbid each other in consideration and kindness.

The splendour and importance of the nuptials are suggested by some poets through reference and comparison with classical,³³ historical and biblical examples. The pedantic Maxwell unearths the story of Princess Gonilda,³⁴ the daughter of King Canute, adding in a footnote that the pomp of the occasion drained the royal treasury:

Let not the glory of Gonilda's day
So much extel'd in English History,
When as she did from England take her way
To her Spouse Henry into Germany:
Let not her day Elizae's day surpasse,
Sith she's as good as e're Gonilda was. (sig.B4)

The biblical equivalent here is the marriage of Solomon which George Webbe offers as a direct comparison with the present occasion.

The Churches marriage with Christ her Lord is resembled (as wee haue heard) to the marriage of a Kings Daughter with a King. Ecce Symbolum, Beholde the shadow of it in this / dayes Royall Bridal..... For was Salomans Bride Filia Regis, the Daughter of a King? So is this daes gracious Bride, Filia Regis, a Kings Daughter..... This our Kings Daughter is all glerious within. (sigs.F4-F4v)

Through such allusion and comparison the occasion is given the status of a biblical or classical event and the bride and groom attain celebrity and authority to a corresponding degree.

The universal importance of the match is further emphasised when poets and masque writers show the gods participating in the nuptial

celebrations. In Beaumont's *Masque Mercury* admonishes Iris for wishing to keep the organisation of the celebrations completely in Juno's hands:

Hath not each god a part in these high loyes
 And shall not he the King of gods presume
 Without proud Iunee's licence? let her know,
 That when enamor'd Ioue first gaue her power
 To link soft hearts in vndisselued bonds,
 He then foresaw, and to himselfe reseru'd
 The honor of this Mariage. (sig.B4v)

Thus the wedding is a splendid exception. It is without precedent, for Jove himself wishes to participate in the celebrations. De Franchis, Peacham, and Fenner in their poems, and Campion and Beaumont in their masques, each tell how the gods played an active part either in arranging the wedding or celebrating it. De Franchis's poem depends for its plot entirely upon the gods' intervention since the poet sees the marriage as a divine solution to a political and religious problem. Peacham tells how Venus came to the English court to attend the nuptials bringing with her gifts for the bride and an early spring, and Fenner describes how Cupid engenders in Prince Frederick a love for Elizabeth. He goes on to tell how the Palatine came to England to woo his bride. So great was the joy at his arrival, however, that the gods became jealous of men, and in consequence deprived England of Prince Henry. Fenner adds that had there been no funeral the island might have destroyed itself in joy, and had there been no marriage it might have been destroyed in grief.

Campion and Beaumont, unable to equal so vast an interpretation of events in terms of the masque form, present their entertainments as the celebrations offered by the gods. In The Lords Masque Orpheus and Prometheus commemorate the nuptials at Jove's request. It is through Jove's intervention that Entheus, Poetic Fury, is released from the power of Mania, and the transformations of the star masquers and the

statuas are taken as evidence of his approval of the match. It is Prometheus who introduces the transformations and brings down the stars from their spheres in homage to the young bride and groom, and it is Sybilla who is brought forward by the poet to prophesy the successful outcome of the match. Beaumont's masque shows how Iris, sent by Juno, and Mercury, sent by Jove, contend for the honour of presenting the marriage entertainment and delivering the divine congratulations. Mercury demonstrates his powers by calling his anti-masque of Niades, Hyades, Cupids, and Statuas representing Water, Air, Fire and Earth, and Iris replies by bringing in her anti-masque of rustics. The two gods cease their strife and Mercury reveals that at Jove's command the Olympic Games shall be revived:

Then know that from the mouth of Love himselfe,
 Whose words haue wings, and need not to be borne,
 I tooke a message, and I bare it through,
 A thousand yeelding clouds, and neuer stai'd
 Till his high will was done: the Olympian games
 Which long haue slept, at these wish'd Nuptials,
 He pleas'd to haue renew'd, and all his Knights
 Are gathered hither.

(sig.C4v)

The Knights and the Priests of Jupiter dance the main masque and their costume and dancing provide much of the spectacle of the entertainment.

Chapman does not make use of the gods of classical mythology but brings the Goddess Honour and her entourage to James's Court to grace the marriage. Through her influence the Phoebades, the rich and pagan inhabitants of Virginia, are brought across the Atlantic to offer their congratulations and as an added compliment to King James they are converted to Christianity. Eumonia, Honour's Priest, addresses the Virginians,



Fig. 3.

Virginian Princes, ye must now renounce
 Your superstitious worship of these Sunnes,
 Subject to cloudy darknings and descents;
 And of your sweet deuotions, turne the euent
 To this our Britan Phœbus, whose bright skie
 (Enlighten'd with a Christian piety)
 Is neuer subject to black Errors night. (sig.D4v)

The notion that the marriage should be arranged by the gods or should engage their attention and concern is both a striking compliment and a pleasing device since it provides the masque writer and his designer with an opportunity ^{6.} of present rich and elaborate costumes and sets and allows the poets to people their work with mythological and classical figures. Nixon (sig.B3) urges Clio,³⁵ the Muse of History, to proclaim the wedding day with trumpet and pen. Maxwell (sig.C2v) tells how Neptune, Tethis his Queen, and Aeolus combine to calm the seas and give Elisa safe passage to Germany. On her arrival there she is greeted by Cybele who has prepared a garland of gems and flowers for her (sig.C3v), and by the Three Graces (sig.C4v). Wither and Heywood present a more sanguine view of the Sea God. In Wither's poem he is responsible, albeit without malice, for the storms of the winter, and Heywood shows his anger when he discovers that Frederick has crossed the North Sea without his knowledge, thus preventing him from offering the Palatine gifts:

Griuing so puissant and so great a Lord
 Should passe his waterie Kingdomes, and not tast
 Part of his bountie, vp he starts in hast,
 Mounts on his Sea-horse, and his Trydent takes,
 Which all enrag'd, about his Crest he shakes.
 No maruell, we so many wracks to heare
 Since Neptune hath of late beene so austere; (sigs.D1v-D2)

All is not ill temper however for Heywood later remarks (sig.D3) that

the members of Jove's Court have dressed in their richest and most splendid apparel in honour of the nuptials. Wither and John Taylor show how the Gods assist in the celebrations. In his Epithalamia Wither states that the masque is presented under the guidance of Phoebe and Pallas whilst the sea-fight and the barriers are under Mars's direction. John Taylor notes that the Gods with their rare inventions have refined man's devices and entertainments and continues:

Yea all the Gods downe to the earth are fled,
 And mongst our ioyes their pleasures enterlaces.
 Immortals joynes with mortals in their mirth,
 And makes the Court their Paradise on earth.

Maiestick Ioue hath left his spangled Throane
 To dance Lenoltoes at this Bridal feast. (sig.Dlv)

Thus the marriage joys encompass even the highest areas of existence and James's Court becomes the focal point of the universe.

A parallel technique is used by Maxwell in describing the Princess's arrival at Heidelberg. He shows some knowledge of the city, for he notes how Eliza looks upon Abraham's hill. The allusion here is strong enough to launch the poet into a religious fantasy. It seems to him that the songs of angels break forth to welcome her and

Abrah'm and Sarah there do seeme to meet,
 Joynt hand in hand as marryed folkes befits
Fred'ricke and his Elizabeth to greet,
 And then a while both downe beside them sits,
 Talking of duties betweene man and wife,
 Now they should shun all iealousie and strife. (sig.E4v)

The picture of Abraham and Sarah holding hands, together with the homely advice which they offer the bride suggests the quieter domestic aspects of marriage. This is both touching and refreshing since marriage is generally handled in terms of dynastic implications or ideal and divinely

ordained unions. Here for a moment we recognise a human rather than a purely symbolic or allegorical situation.

A further aspect of marriage, the argument about the relative merits of chastity and love, is touched on by William Fennor. In his Descriptions we find Diana and Venus contending for Elizabeth's person. The propositions offered are the basic ones and they are presented without frills:

Dyan speakes, Virgins hearken to my voyce
 Keepe your selves single if you would liue free,
Venus sayes sports in bed cause maides reioyce. (sig.C3)

Fortunately the poet manages to resolve the disagreement, at the same time complimenting the Princess. The judgment is left to Hymen (sig.C3v) who implies that there is no cause for alarm since

For chaste virginitie mates hast thou none,
 and being wed like thee shall scarce be one. (sig.C3v)

Though Fennor treats the opposition of these flippantly it was a serious issue to the divines and, as we shall see in a succeeding chapter, they felt strongly that marriage was a natural and just institution. Chapman argues eloquently that chastity is unnatural and wasteful, sharpening and particularising the sense of unfulfilled promise through imagery of crops and plants:

And as the tender Hyacinth, that growes
 Where Phoebus most his golden beames bestowes,
 Is propt with care;
 So, of a Virgine, high, and richly kept,
 The grace and sweetnes full growne must be reap't,
 Or, forth her spirits fly, in empty Ayre;
 The sooner fading; the more sweete and faire. (sig.F1)

Augustine Taylor also touches upon this subject. He supports marriage and argues that virginity is a betrayal of Nature's gifts:

heavens direction
 Smil'd at thy birth and meant to make a mother,
 That when thou dies thou may beque such another. (sig.C2v)

He buttresses this with classical precept and heavy humour:

I heard it said, the first time Nestor smil'd
 Was when he saw a woman great with child;
 And being asked why he smil'd (and blest her)
 Said he, the next age will remember Nestor. (sig.C3v)

This is of course the stock argument for immortality - Elizabeth will live in posterity through her children, the fruits of the marriage.

Peacham applies the same ideas and attitudes more generally, remarking that marriage is the basis of life and society:

Wedlocke, were it not for thee,
 Wee could nor Childe or Parent see;
 Armes Countries to defend,
 Or Shepherds hilly Heards to tend.
I@ Hymen Hymeneus. (sig.F1)

The forms in which the poets choose to express their delight, hope, and congratulations tend to reflect the primary concerns and responses they have to the marriage. As I have noted Allyn, Maxwell, and Fenner, and Nixon in part, offer a general account, with allegorical embellishments, of the background to the marriage and the nuptial celebrations. They write in a narrative form which allows room for digressions on genealogy and topography as well as the opportunity to turn the classical and historical compliment. De Franchis's poem is basically a chronological allegorical narrative though it is informed by other techniques and conventions such as the fine amour concept of courtship. Here the poet describes Frederick's experience of love,

His passion every day doth more encrease,
 The more it wanteth satisfaction;
 No studie, sport, or time can it appease,

So small his comfort, such was his distraction:
 His cheeks grew pale, his limbs did throughly languish,
 His life was lethsome with continuall anguish. (sig.F4)

In all the poems the trappings of allegory and the epithalamic convention are evident, often fulfilling decorative functions.

Augustine Taylor and Nixon adopt the dream technique. Taylor shows some interest in the juxtaposition of love and grief and externalises their conflict in the dream situation and the figures who inhabit it. The poet, finding his art burdensome, falls asleep and dreams that he is sitting on the cliffs of Dover in blustery and misty weather. He sees a nymph, Delpheba, sitting on a rock which juts from the sea and a stranger, Turbinus, gazing upon her from the shore. Phoebus, pitying the youth, provides a bridge of glass that he may cross to her. The elements, however, combine to prevent this and wind, storm and mist seem likely to keep them apart. Though at first he fears that he may die out of Delpheba's sight, Turbinus at last manages to cross to her where she accepts him as her servant. The nymph, in mourning for a friend recently dead (Henry), is now able to look forward to nuptials rather than funerals. It is significant that the force of the storm, the grief and sorrow after Henry's death, is conquered by love, thus suggesting a consolation for death and a hope for the future. Taylor is careful however to qualify any optimistic view of earthly life:

If she lament for his sake, wise men saith,
 Shee shewes th'imbecillity of her faith.
 And by that weakenesse it appeares to me
 Shee thinkes her selfe in better case then he;
 She ought not t'weepe that he hath run so fast,
 But at her slow pace that must go at last. (sig.B3v)

The general correspondence of Taylor's narrative to the occasion is obvious but its application in particulars is confusing. Furthermore

he writes in verse which is turgid and laboured, as here where he attempts to express Torbinus's anxiety and distress on losing sight of Delpheba:

A hurrying mist comes sudden, stealing in,
 Nor he, nor she, saw neither she nor him:
 In this strange temper passionately distracted
 Torbinus now a sowe part sadly acted;
 And all his griefes sprung, as it seem'd to me,
 From the sicke confines of perplexitie.
 A thicke-lin'd mist continu'd 'twene them two,
 (Loue wrapt in wrinkles knowes no worke to do.) (sig.B1)

Through his use of the dream convention Nixon is able to give authority and status to his description of Frederiek's investiture with the Order of the Garter. Falling asleep near Windsor, the poet dreams that a great concourse of knights, princes, and men-at-arms assembles at the Castle in order to solemnize the installation of the newly created knights. The company is commanded by the founder of the Order, Edward III, and through him Nixon offers the Palatine advice. The sense of occasion is further heightened by the presence of many famous members of the Order and the fact that the company is led by the Herald of Eternity. The poet, interested in the tradition of the Order, has a sense of antiquity for he briefly tells the story of its inception and attempts through the conscious use of archaisms in spelling to suggest the flavour of a previous age as in the description of the herald.

The same renowne, precursor of the traine,
 Did sound (for who ringes lowder then renowne)
 He mounted was vppon a flying horse,
 And cloath'd in Phawcons feathers to the ground.
 By his Escutchion you might easly gesse,
 He was the Hearhault of eternity. (sig.C1v)

The dream convention has an obvious advantage for Nixon since it allows him to handle a topical event with some freedom and places it within a greater perspective of time. The opening lines lead the reader into a world of dream and set the tone for the rest of the poem.

About the time when vesper, in the west,
 Can set the evening watch, and silent night
 Sent sleepe and slumber to possesse the world,
 Vnder the starry Canapy of Heauen,
 I laid me downe, laden with many cares,
 Fast by a streame where Tame and Isis meet.
 Euen at that time, all in a fragrant Meade:
 In sight of that faire Castle that or' elookes
 The ferrest one way, and the fertil val,
 Watred with that renowned Riuer Thames
 Olde Windsor Castle did I take my rest.
 When Cynthia, companion of the night,
 Piercing mine eis-lids, as I lay along,
 Awakt me through. (sig.C1)

Wither, Donne, Peacham, Heywood, and Chapman in varying degrees follow the epithalamic convention which provides a formula in which tension and excitement are increased as the chronological description of the wedding day unfolds. Donne³⁶ early in his poem presents the bride's awakening and dressing:

Up, up, faire Bride, and call,
 Thy starres, from out their severall boxes, take
 The Rubies, Pearles, and Diamonds forth, and make
 Thy selfe a constellation of them All. (ll.33-36)

Peacham³⁷ closes by calling away the Muse lest they disturb the Princess and the Palatine:

But Muse of mine we but molest
 I doubt, with ruder song their rest,
 The Dores are shut, and lights about
 Extinct, then time thy flame were out.
To Hymen Hymenaeus. (sig.F2v)

Within such a framework the marriage procession,³⁸ the feast,³⁹ and the entertainments⁴⁰ which traditionally follow may be touched on together

with the invocation to Luna or Hymen,⁴¹ the request for Nature's assistance in the celebrations⁴² and the formal descriptions of the Bride and groom.⁴³ Peacham mentions other customs connected with marriage: the use of torches (sig.Fl_v), the carrying of the bride across the threshold (sig.Fl_v) and the scattering of the nuts which, on Scaliger's authority, he says is a token of the renunciation of the delights of childhood (sig.F2_v). De Franchis also takes up this idea though he offers a different explanation,

The Bridegroom now hath cast his nuts about,
As casting thoughts away in nonage weaker,
The bride-oake's brook and hurld the prease throughout,
In signe of future Plenty to the breaker. (sig.L2)

Aspects of the epithalamic style such as references to Hymen and invocations to nymphs and shepherds to celebrate the nuptials appear in much of the rest of the poetry for the marriage, with a decorative rather than a structural function. Indeed so wide is the currency of these trappings that Webbe in his sermon The Bride Royall mixes secular and divine allusion,⁴⁴

yet may our hearts weare inward Hymenean Garlands of spirituall ioyes,
and strew the Bridall flowers of zealous praies, for their good
to successe. (sig.B2_v)

The masques too are informed by the convention for they present a similar development - an increasing excitement as the entertainment draws to a close and the moment when the bride and groom should retire approaches. Beaumont follows the convention of Nature's participation in the celebrations in bringing the representatives of earth, air, fire, and water to dance the first anti-masque, and Campion in his second

song writes

Long since hath lovely Flora throwne
Her Flowers and Garlande here,
Rich Ceres all her wealth hath showne,
Prowde of her dainty chear. (sig.C3v)

Also in this masque Io Hymen is sung to the bride and Entheus calls upon Prometheus to stand in Hymen's place as master of ceremonies.

All three masques end with a final song in which the masquers call for quietness and peace so that the bride and groom may successfully consummate the marriage. Chapman is most effective here since he attempts to match the sound with the sense of the passage. Through alliteration and carefully marshalled plosives he is able to suggest the weight of the evening air and the utter stillness which is called for:

Now, sleepe, binde fast, the flood of Ayre,
Strike all things dumb and deafe,
And, to disturbbe our Nuptial paire,
Let stir no Aspen leafe.
Send flocks of golden Dreames
That all true ioyes prestage,
Bring, in thy oyle streames,
The milke and hony Age. (sig.E2v)

A motif which runs through much of the poetry is the close identification of the Princess and the Palatine with the principal rivers of their respective countries, the Thames and the Rhine. Thus Wither in his Epithalamia writes:

Of late (quoth she) there is by powers Diuine;
A match concluded, twixt Great Thame and Rhine.
Two famous Rivers, equall both to Nile: (sig.A4v)

Other poets, though they may not make so exact an identification, use the rivers in much the same way. Maxwell (sig.C2v), offering

the young Princess some comfort on leaving her native land, remarks that though she was dear to the Thames she will be yet more dear to the Rhine. Peacham (sig.E4v), Augustine Taylor (sig.C2), and Campion link the two rivers and de Franchis calls on the

Nymphes, faire daughters of high thundring Ioue,
Who gouerne Thames and Rhine, woody, waues or fountaines. (sig.B1)

to celebrate the nuptials. Allyn also attempts to make use of this image but his handling of it is protracted and clumsy. Father Ocean having consented that the two rivers should be acquainted, a league of love is solemnized between them, the pledges being the 'rarest jewels' that did adorn them - the Princess and the Palatine.

The linkage of the two rivers, a straightforward and graphic emblem of the marital alliance, also has a sexual significance since the marriage of two rivers parallels the idea of the mixing of bloods in coition. Beaumont emphasises this aspect of the image when he makes Iris say,

I onely come
To celebrate the long wisht Nuptials,
Heere in Olympia, which are now perform'd,
Betwixt two goodly Riuers which haue mixt
Their gentle-rising waues, and are to grow
Into a thousand streams, great as themselves. (sig.B4)

Later this usage is made more explicit when Mercury calls upon the nymphs of the rivers to

Performe that office to this happie paire,
Which in these plaines you to Alpheus did,
When passing hence through many seas vnmixt
He gained the fauour of his Arethuse. 45 (sig.C1)

Here 'unmixed' implies that Alpheus remained chaste.

Sexual union and the experience of love are delineated and explored through a number of images and conceits. One of the prime requisites for successful coition was the presence of heat and fire. There was strong authority for this. Professor D.J. Gordon in an analysis of Jonson's Haddington Masque quotes Conti on the subject.⁴⁶

Since natural procreation cannot take place among mankind without the presence of heat, for this reason torches - which were thought to be in charge of Vulcan - were kindled at marriages.

Thus the large number of torch bearers in the masque fulfils a symbolic role in addition to performing a theatrical function. Fire is one of the chief motifs of The Lords Masque. Campion employs Prometheus, the God of Fire, and arranges that his house should be discovered:

Vpon their new transformation, the whole Sceane being Cloudes dispersed, and there appeared an Element of artificiall fires, with seuerall circles of lights, in continuall motion, representing the house of Prometheus.
(sig.G4)

In addition the costumes of the Star masquers follow the same motif. They ^{are} were dressed in cloth of silver with flame like embroidery, and on their heads they wear flames made of gold plate from which rises a feather of silk representing a cloud of smoke. Chapman also makes much of torch-bearers and Beaumont in his anti-masque presents four Cupids who are dressed in 'flame coloured taffeta close to their bodies like naked boys'. The standard dress for Cupid was

Almost naked wanton blind
All his bodie is a fire
All his breath is flame entire.⁴⁷

Donne's handling of coition in terms of fire emphasises its all-consuming nature and its light. He addresses the bride and groom:

Come forth, come forth, and as one glorious flame
Meeting Another, growes the same,
So meet thy Fredericke, and so
To an inseperable union growe. (ll. 43/46)



Fig. 4.



Fig. 5.

The relationship between love and heat is also stressed by Chapman in A Hymn to Hymen:

Hymen is come, and all his heate abounds;
Shut all Dores; Nane but Hymens lights aduance. (sig.Fl v)

De Franchis uses the motif in a conventional manner to delineate the psychological state of Elizabeth and Frederick. Speaking of Elizabeth's first awakening to love (sig.H2) he notes how she first felt a spark which gradually increased until it became a flame. Frederick's first sight of his bride is handled in a similar way, the motif being made the more credible by the fact that the Princess blushes,

No sooner looks he on this beautious dame
But by reflection feeles a heate more cruell.
Hers do the like, whose cheekes, with ruby die,
Bewray her heart, his spies she by his'eie (sig.H4 v)

Few of the poets imaginatively explore the experience of love. In general they are content to accept the traditional emblems and images without attempting to extend their range of feeling. Though the reader may be struck by the ingenuity with which writers handle a conventional idea rarely is there freshness or excitement. Peacham, recalling Catullus,⁴⁸ presents the union of the bride and groom in terms of the vine and the elm:

As virgin Vine her Elme doth wed,
His Oake the Iuie ouer-spread:
So chaste desires thou ioynt in one,
That disvnited were vndone. (sig.F2)

This image, which stresses the dependence of one partner upon the other, is of course appropriate but it offers only stock comment. Maxwell's emblem for marriage, the palm tree, is more unusual and to the modern

reader is perhaps curious. The poet says that Heaven and Earth rejoice to see two such as Eliza and Frederick joined in marriage and hope that each will support the other in times of hardship. Absence, however, far from making the heart grow fonder, often undermines and eventually destroys the relationship,

A signe whereof wise Nature doth vs shew
 In the Palme-trees, which being set asunder
 From mutuall sight, no fruit is seene to grow
 Of either kinde, but faint as if some thunder
 Had blasted both, they pine and droope as dead,
 And haue no heart once to hold vp their head. (sig.C4)

This emblem, which has classical authority and was popularised in the early years of the seventeenth century by (among others) the French poet Du Bartas,⁴⁹ suggests the close sympathy which should exist between a man and his wife. The biblical equivalent, much used by John King, derives from Psalm 128 Verse 3: 'Thy wife shall be as a fruitfull vine by the sides of thine house'.

King shows himself more interested in the roles of husband and wife than in their personal relationship and to this end he explores and develops the analogy of the vine at great length:

Surly, a vine is a noble plant, and an excellent embleme of a wife. First there is nothing more flexible and tractable: you may bew it which way you will. So is it the wisdom of a woman to conforme hir selfe to the rules of her husband. Secondly, nothing more tender and sensible of a wrong: if you cut it, it will weepe and bleede it selfe to death. Thirdly, it yeeldeth as faire a shadow and arbour of leaues as any tree, that there may be refrigerium, a refreshing to the wearied husband Fourthly, the smell of the vine in the time of her flourishing driveth away serpants & venemous creatures: and the cogitation of a mans own wife, seasoned with the feare of God, is super fedas and a barre to all the temptations of Satan. The worst you can deeme of it, is that it is fragile lignum, a fragile kind of plant.
 (sigs. C2-v)

At sig.E1, King relates his text to the occasion and identifies the

Princess with the image. In her new status she is not only a vine upon a frame or upon the wall of her husband's house, she is also Vitis Palatina, 'a vine ordained by God to grow by the sides of an illustrious Palatine.' The preacher also takes pains to demonstrate how a tree is a type not only of a man and woman but of marriage itself. Plants, he argues, are divided by naturalists into male and female gender and have their own characteristics, insomuch that if the leaves of the male & female be joined together, ... you can hardly put them asunder. Yea, if the winde doe but carrie the sent of the male to the female ... the fruit thereof will sooner ripen. (sig.C1v)

Here King is drawing upon the same lore as Maxwell in order to ^{is}emphaze the unity of man and wife within the marriage bond.

The same theme is expressed by Augustine Taylor, who makes Torbinus say to Delphoba

I'le weare what thou wears, what thou loues Ile keep
 I'le laugh when thou smiles, when thou sighes Ile weep.
 What most shall grieue thee, it shal most torment me,
 What best shal please thee, that shal best content me. (sig.B2)

and by Chapman in A Hymn to Hymen who says of Frederick and Elizabeth,

These two, One Twynn are; and their mutuall blisse,
 Not in thy beames, but in thy Bosomeis.
 Nor can their hands fast, their harts joyes make sweet;
 Their harts, in brests are, and their Brests must meete. (sig.F1)

Anthony Nixon (sigs. A3-A3v) delivers a panegyric upon unity invoking the Muses to demonstrate the 'profits, praise and dignitie' of the 'Divine-bred Nuptial unitie'. He buttresses his position with examples from natural philosophy and political theory, showing that disunity in nature or the state leads to disaster and misery,

But when there is a farring strife together
 Which shall be great, which beare Supremacie:
 The little world of Man is quite vndone;
 Nor can the Minde (being King thereof) indure,
 Where such insulting humours ouer-runne,
 To liue within a Kingdome so vnsecure. (sig.A3v)

This topic provides one of the main themes of Nixon's poem in that he sees the stability and peace of the marriage being translated into the political and religious fields where his main concerns lie.

The union of husband and wife both sexually and spiritually, which is stressed in the marriage service finds no profound expression in these poems. Perhaps the ceremony was deemed a sufficient emphasis upon this aspect of the match and the fact that the occasion was a public one and the chief actors were a princess and a German Prince may have proved inhibiting. Only three poets, Donne, Chapman, and Wither voice the common love conceit that in coition two, are made one. Wither and Donne handle the idea briefly. Donne describes the bride and groom as phoenixes and in their union, when two are two no more, Nature's law is once more restored (ll. 99-102). Wither in his second epigram on marriage remarks,

God was the first that Marriage did ordaine,
By making One, two; and two, One againe. (sig.D2v)

Chapman however reveals a greater awareness of the seeming paradox and a sympathy for the married pair exploring the variety of their sex:

Sweete Hymen; Hymen, Rightiest of Gods,
 Attoning of all-taming blood the odds;
 Two into One, contracting; One to Two
 Dilating; which no other God can dee.
 Mak'st sure, with change, and lett'st the married try,
 Of Man and woman, the Variety. (sig.E4)

In both his masque and A Hymn to Hymen Chapman suggests the sensuality of the occasion. He does not work through the individual device or conceit but in terms of the totality of the poem. The tone depends upon the cumulative effect of precise handling of language and metre. In the poem a pervasive pastoral imagery recalls the ideas of growth and fruition and the human situation is juxtaposed and compared with the richness of Nature.

Then as a glad Graft, in the spring sunne shines,
 That all the helps, of Earth, & Heauen combines
 In Her sweet growth
 So, in the Bridegroomes sweet embrace; the Bride,
 All varied Ioles tasts, in their naked pride:
 To which the richest weedes: are weedes, to flowres. (sig.E4v)

Though he remains completely within the epithalamic form, Chapman is able to give each word its full value. He alone is able to infuse into the conventional formula a freshness and a vigour:

Come Hymen then; com close these Nuptial howres
 With all yeares comforts. Come; each virgin keeps
 Her odorous kisses for thee; Goulden sleepes,
 Will, in their humors, nauer steepe an eie,⁵⁰
 Till thou inuit'st them with thy Harmony. (sig.E4v)

Donne, on the other hand, although he works within the formal structure of the epithalamion, finds its conventional language unsuitable for his purpose. He wishes to explore beyond the bed curtains, and to analyse as well as describe. Thus the groom's arrival suggests the mounting excitement of the genuine sexual encounter:

He comes, and passes through Spheare after Spheare,
 First her sheetes, then her Armes, then any where. (ll. 81-2)

The bride and groom shall become inseparably united,

Since separation
Falls not on such things as are infinite,
Nor things which are but one, can disunite,
You 'are twice inseparable, great, and one. (ll. 47-50)

The experience of love transgresses the boundaries of time and space and produces the union not only of bodies but also of souls - an idea which Donne explores in the Songs and Sonnets but which is only briefly touched on here. The giving and receiving of bride and groom in the consummation of their marriage are presented in commercial imagery in verse which has a markedly different rhythmic pattern from the decorous lines of Chapman's poem:

They unto one another nothing owe,
And yet they doe, but are
So just and rich in that coyne which they pay,
That neither would, nor needs forebear; nor stay;
Neither desires to be spar'd, nor to spare,
They quickly pay their debt, and then
Take no acquittances, but pay again;
They pay, they give, they lend, and so let fall
No such occasion to be liberall. (ll. 88-96)

Only Goodyere attempts to present coition in terms which approach the frankness of Donne's Epithalamion. He too uses the imagery of commerce, and of exploration, though ingenuity rather than imagination or a dramatic sense characterises his poem. Addressing the Palatine Goodyere writes:

Thou art the Destinies' great instrument,
For this important business sent;
Enter into possession of your mine.
Here you may fitly feign
These sheets to be a sea,
And you an argosy,
And she an island, whose discovery Spain
(Which seldom used to miss) hath sought in vain. ⁵¹

The imagery of coinage is also used. The marriage bed is 'perfection's mint' where the plant gold and the stamp contrive to produce a coin which will bear a sovereign's likeness. Thus Goodyere expresses the common hope that the marriage will be fruitful in a conceit which though ingenious is emotionally arid and far removed from the excitement and charm of Donne's poem with its references to the 'Lirique Larke' and 'household Bird, with the red stomacher' or Chapman's 'Hymne' with its finely controlled tone and emotive refrain:

Sing, Sing a Rapture to all Nuptiall eares,
Bright Hymens torches, drvnke vp Parcages teares. (sig.E4)

Notes - Themes and Conventions of the Marriage Literature.

1. Chamberlain, I, 391.
2. See also William Basse sig.B4, John Davies sigs. C2v-C3, Thomas Rogers sig.B2, John Webster sig.B2v, George Wither, Obsequies, sig.
3. John Cosen's poem Scotia alliquitur Angliam is printed in Epicedium Cantabrigiense sig.04v-F1.
4. See Epithalamium sig.B2v.
5. Great Brittaines Generall Ioyes sig. A4v-5.
6. Twelfth Night, II, iii.
7. Twelfth Night, V, i.
8. See also de Franohis sig.L3v.
9. William Browne of Tavistock in his Elegy on Prince Henry recalls that at the death of Essex the Thames was so struck with wonder that it was in danger of overflowing.
10. See The Works of John Webster, edited by F.L. Lucas, 4 vols (1927), III, 289.
11. Old Winter clad in high furies, showers of raine
 Appearing in his eyes, who still doth goe
 In a rug gowne ashied with flakes of snow,
 Shivering with cold, at whose long dangling beard
 Hung Isickles, with hearie frosts made hard. (sig.D3)
12. The Muse's Teares, sig.C3.
13. The Olympian Catastrophe sig. 2v.
14. Votivae Laohrymae sig.*4.
15. John Taylor, Greate Britaine All in Blaoke, sig.A3v.
16. Gorges, The Olympian Catastrophe, sig. 48v.
17. Maxwell, Laudable Life and Deplorable Death, sig. *2.
18. Maxwell, sig. B3.
19. Gorges, sig. 50.

20. See also de Franchis, sig. G1. The notion that virtue dwelt upon a hill which is difficult to ascend is presented in the final song of Jonson's masque Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue and is not in itself in appropriate; it is Nixon's application of the idea which is unfortunate.
21. See also Fenner, sig. G3.
22. See also Peacham, sig. Flv, and de Franchis, sig. G8.
23. Heywood makes use of a number of classical stories and characters including Heeuba and Priam, Danae, Achilles, Thetis, Polixena, and Juno, Venus and Minerva,

Had Iunno, Venus, or Minerua, when
They stroue for maistry, seene this Lady, then
As vanquisht, they had left to her the Ball,
Which from his starry throne great Ioue let fall. (sig.B3)

Heywood's technique here is similar to that of the artist who painted the picture of Elizabeth I in which she is shown confounding Juno, Minerva, and Venus. Roy Strong notes that it is 'the earliest exercise in courtly allegory found in Queen Elizabeth's portraits. Its theme is the revised Judgement of Paris, a motif used as a device for Tudor flattery from as early as 1503 and one which recurs again and again in the paeans on Elizabeth.' See Roy C. Strong, Portraits of Queen Elizabeth (Oxford, 1963), p.79. The painting is at Hampton Court.

24. The Princess is closely linked with Elizabeth I by two writers: J. Maxwell in Queene Elizabeth's looking-glasse of grace and glory, and William Leigh in Queene Elizabeth paraleld in her princely vertues. In three sermons. Both of these books were dedicated to the Princess. Leigh wrote:

Shee a Kings daughter, so are you: shee a maiden Queene: you a Virgin Prince: her name is yours ... her countenance yours, like pietie towards God, like pittie towards man: onely the difference stands in this, that the faire flower of her youth is fallen; yours flourisheth like a Rose of Saran, and a Lilly of the Valley.
(sig. A6v)

The books are:

Leigh, William, Queene Elizabeth, paraleld in her princely vertues. In three sermons. 89 F.C(reed) f.A. Johnson, 1612. Ent. 13 de. 1611.
S.T.C. 15426.

Maxwell, James, Queene Elizabeths looking-glasse of grace and glory.
80. E. Allde f.E. White, 1612. S.T.C. 17705.

25. Nixon, Great Brittaines Generall Ioyes, sig. A4.

26. Maxwell, sig. D1, and also Fenner, sig. C3, who describes Elizabeth as 'Germanies lovely rose'.
27. Peacham, sig. C2v.
28. de Franchis, sig. Flv.
29. Thomas Coryate, Coryats Crudities, hastily gobbled up in five months travels. (1611), sig. Nv3.
30. See also Augustine Taylor who addresses Frederick. Noting that he had travelled to England to win his bride he says:
- If all that trauel'd might enioy like store,
The lame would run, that scarce could go before. (sig. C1)
31. Note the popularity of the pedigrees of both the Palatine and Elizabeth. See Chapter 5, p. 151, note 32.
32. See The Works of John Lyly, edited by R.W. Bond, 3 vols. (Oxford 1902), Euphues and his England - II, 77.
33. Heywood, sig. B2 wrote:
- For now me thinkes I youthfull Tython see,
The day Aurora, that he married thee.
34. Maxwell cites William of Malmesbury and Matthew of Westminster as his authorities. Gonolda was the daughter of Canute and her journey to her port of departure was attended with great pomp as was Elizabeth's.
35. See also Nixon, sigs. A3 and B2v.
36. See also Peacham, sig. Fl, and Wither, Epithalamia, sig. C1.
37. See also Wither, Epithalamia, sig. C4-v, and Chapman, sig. Flv.
38. See Donne, ll. 61, Heywood sigs. C2v-C3v, Wither, sig. Clv.
39. See Donne, ll. 65, Wither sig. C2v.
40. See Donne, ll. 67, Wither, sig. C2v-C3.
41. See Peacham, sig. Flv, Heywood, sig. C2v-C3v, Chapman, sig. E4v, Wither, sig. C4v.
42. See Peacham, sig. Fl, Wither, sig. C3-v.

43. Heywood, sigs. B2 and B3, Wither, sigs. Clv-C2, and C2.
44. Heywood also writes on the custom of strewing flowers before the bride:
- And as they walke the Virgins strow ^{the} and way
 With Costmars, and sweete Angelica.
 With Spyknard, Margerom and Camomile
Tine, Buglosse, Lauender, and Pimpernell,
 And euery flower that smell or sight, can please. (sig. B47)
45. Alpheus is the largest river of the Peloponesus rising in south Arcadia, near Aseq, and flowing past Olympia into the Ionian Sea. Its waters were fabled to pass unmixed through the sea and rise again in the fountain of Arethusa and Syracuse.
46. 'Ben Jonson's "Haddington Masque": The Story and the Fable', M.L.R., XLII (1947), pp.180-87.
47. Ben Jonson, The Haddington Masque, - Ben Jonson, edited by C.H. Herford and P. and Evelyn Simpson, VII, 252, ll. 88 and 102-3.
48. See The Poems of *Quintus Valerius* Catullus, translated by F.W. Cornish, The Loeb Edition (1914, revised 1962), LXII, 83-9 No.6.
 As the unwedded vine which grows up in the bare field never raises itself aloft, never brings forth a mellow grape, but bending its tender form with downward weight, even now touches the root with topmost shoot; no farmers, no oxen tend it: but if it chance to be joined in marriage to the elm, many farmers, many oxen tend it: so a maiden, whilst she remains untouched, so long is she aging untended; but when in ripe season she is matched in equal wedlock, she is more dear to her husband and less distasteful to her father.
49. This piece of lore has classical authority - Philostratus was apparently the first to describe the love of palm trees, and Pliny the Elder originated the tradition of plants' loyalty and fidelity. Robert E. Hallowell has discussed this tradition in 'The Mating Palm Trees in Du Bartas' "Seconde Sepmaine", Renaissance News, XVII (1964), pp.89-95.
50. 'steepe' - stare with passion, be brilliant.
51. 'Whose discovery Spain', etc. There had been speculation in the second half of 1611 of a possible marriage between Elizabeth and Philip III of Spain although no formal proposal was made. See Carola Oman, Elizabeth of Bohemia, pp.49-50.

CHAPTER 7.

The Political and Religious Implications of the Marriage

If we are to believe the writers, the enthusiasm and joy with which the gods received the news of the marriage of Elizabeth and Frederick was equalled by the delight of the people. The general excitement transcended all barriers of class, environment and age. Nixon writes that¹

In honour of this wedding day behold,
How young and old, and high and low reioyce.
England hath put a face of gladnesse on;
And Court and Countrie carroll both their prayse,
And in their honour, tune a thousand Laves. (sig.B3v)

And from the pamphlet The Marriage of Two great Princes we learn that the ioyes hereof were declared in manie places, as well as Citie as Courte, for the Bells of London rung generally in every Church and in every street Bonfires blazed abundantly, there was neither cost nor paines spared by his Highnes subjects, that any way might giue signes of ioy.

(sig.B4)

De Franchis (sig.K4) describes a similar scene. All towns, temples, and streets reioyce and every window is 'strewed, deekt, trim'd, with flowers and rushes green'.² The wedding is the more welcome since it heralds the beginning of a new age

The Palatine with Britaine ioin'd shall bring
Earths golden daies againe, Times blessed spring. (De Franchis sig.E4v)

The poet re-iterates this notion at sig. L2 and it is taken up by Nixon (sigs. B1-B2) and by Chapman who writes in his masque,

Now may the blessing of the golden age,
Swimme in these Nuptials, euen to holy wage. (sig.E2)

Moreover it was widely held by poets and preachers that the match had been designed in heaven and thus, carrying the divine imprimatur, should be received with joy and thanksgiving. Webbe writes in The Bride Royall³ that the wedding day,

'is the day which the Lord hath made, we have great cause to reioyce and to be glad in it' (sig. F6v).

King (sig.E1) speaks of Elizabeth as a 'vine ordained by God to grow vp by the sides of an illustrious Palatine'. Scultetus also asserts that God has arranged the match (sig.Dlv) and recognises divine approval in the successful conclusion to the wooing:

It was thy goodness, that our Lord and Prince Electors Highnesse went well and sound from hense into England three quarters of a yeare agoe.

It was thy goodnesse, that his Highnesse purpose and designe came there vnto a happie end. (sig.D8v)

This idea also finds currency in some of the poems. Nixon sees the marriage as a 'Diuine Coniunction' (sig.A4). Such 'Nuptiall vnitie' (sig.A3) 'is diuinely bred and likely to bring forth great benefit to the community:

Oh Nuptiall vnitez produc't from Heauen,
To propogate blessings in this Lande. (sig.B1)

Wither (sig.B4v) writes that this match between Thames and Rhine is diuinely inspired and later, (sig.33-v) in sermonising vein, urges the bride and groom to consider from time to time God's goodness and benevolence:

Since he hath daign'd such honors, for to do you
And showne himselfe, so fauourable to you.
Since he hath changd your sorrowes, and your sadnes
Into such great, and vnexpected gladnes. (sig.B3)

De Franchis's poetic allegory depends upon God's intervention for its plot motivation and he remarks that

It was not flesh and bloud but heauens high breath
Ordain'd a bed-mate for Elizabeth. (sig. Dlv)

At sig. E2 he explains that God assigned Frederick to wed Elizabeth in order that earthly peace and true happiness might be established among men.

The hopes and expectations stimulated by the wedding were not vague but concrete and particular. The new golden age was not an ideal dream but seemed a real possibility. Mankind could achieve a perfect happiness in the new Jerusalem, but first 'Popery' must be overthrown, the power of the Catholic nations must be curbed and the influence of the Jesuits and the recusant community destroyed. This marriage seemed of crucial importance for the successful achievement of this ambition. George Webbe is able to write of it:

This day is Peace ratified, Religion established, the Church beautified,
the Commonwealth strengthened, the hearts of good Subjects cheared,
the friendship of confederate Nations confirmed, Britanie and Germanie
combined. (sigs. F8v-G1)

Willet too welcomes the marriage (sig. H4); not because there will be any great increase in the general wealth nor because the King will augment his power, but in the hope that through the combination of religions the gospel may be more vigorously propagated.

Thus unity of faith, and deriving from it, a common policy in European diplomacy, the increased influence of the combined military strength of the two countries, and the seemingly irrevocable commitment of England to the anti-Catholic party after a period of flirtation with

Spain, were judged to be the advantages accruing from the marriage.

Nixon explains these political aspects:⁴

For if before the Palsgraues force did stand
 Strong, both when Spaine, and Rome was bent thereto:
 If then it checkt them, hauing but one hand.
 Now ioyned with ours, what power hath it to doe?....
 By it great Brittaine and the Palsgraues Land,
 Shall checke the Popish pride with fierce Alarme,
 And make it in much trepidation stand,
 When both their colours shall ioyne arme in arme. (sig.A4-A4v)

And Campion through Sibylla speaks in similar terms:

Additur Germaniae
 Robur Britannicum: ecquid esse par potest?
 Vtramque iunget vna mens gentem, fides,
 Deique Cultus vnus & simplex amor.
 Idem erit vtrique hostis, sodalis idem, idem
 Votum periclitantium, atque eadem manus.
 Fauebit illis Pax, fauebit bellica
 Fortuna, semper aderit Adiutor Deus. (sig.D3)

Willet also emphasised the idea of union. In typical sermon manner (sig.Alv) he sees the marriage as a representation of the two tallies or pieces of wood which Ezekiel put together to signify that Israel and Judea should one day be united. In his preface (sig.*3v) he explains that the marriage shows the 'sunshine of the Gospel' and insures through God's grace that the true religion will be fostered. This theme is touched on by the writer of A Full Declaration of the Faith And Ceremonies professed in the dominions of Fredericke 5.

Elector Palatine, who praises God and the 'religous care' of King James

In matching his only daughter, a princesse peerlesse, with a Prince of that soundnesse in religion as the Prince Elector is: thereby discovering his singular loue to the truth, and his vpright heart to God. (sig.B1)

The King is further commended for allowing religious scruples to have precedence over possible political gains, for negotiations had previously been held with a view to a Savoyan match but the religious question had proved an unsurmountable obstacle. Thus an alliance which might have won James much prestige and influence had been replaced, to the relief of most Englishmen, by the Palatine match.

Excessive confidence and delight in the marriage is paralleled by an over-estimation of Frederick's importance in the government of the Holy Roman Empire. Though he was indeed the first secular prince of Germany and a member of the Electoral College responsible for choosing the Emperor, the real power lay with the Austrian Hapsburgs (who possessed vast resources of men and money), and with the French and the waxing Swedish monarchy on the periphery of the Empire. Though the Palatine met with initial success at the outbreak of the Thirty Years War he was unable to prevent the capture of Heidelberg by Tilly in 1622 and the Protestant faction in Germany found it necessary to rely on French and Swedish assistance for the rest of the war. The guarantee of English support in European conflict thought to be implicit in the marriage proved to be illusory when James refused to be involved.

Frederick's position, over-simplified by a number of the poets, is made to seem more dominant than it was. Allynne urges him to pursue political ambitions far beyond his individual power:

Great Cesar-maker, thou whose powerfull vote,
 Can raise a subject to the Imperiall hight;
 Thou canst make Emperours, and hast thou not
 In creating an Emperesse equall might?

Express it then vpon thy better halfe,
 And in aduancing her, raise v^o thy selfe,
 That both together gracing Ceasars chaire,
 Thy sonne may be Arch-sewer to his sire. (sig.B2)

Maxwell too (sig. E2) looks forward to the time when Elizabeth may be styled Empress, and Heywood expresses (sig.B2) the hope that the descendants of Frederick and Elizabeth may become rulers of the Holy Roman Empire. Heywood (sig.C4) also tells how Frederick is the saviour of Belgium and the United Provinces from the oppression of the Spaniards. Here once again the position is over-simplified, for though Frederick had assisted the Dutch in their struggles they owed their freedom more to the leadership of the House of Orange than to the Palatinate's intervention. In the hindsight of history Heywood's claim is sharply ironic when one recalls that the Palgrave relied heavily on Dutch support in the Thirty Years War. Fennor, though he describes Frederick as one 'whose yea or nay sets up or puts down Caesar' (sig.B3), delineates the political scene with some accuracy:

These are the seuen pillars of the Land,
 on which great Europe Empire standeth fast
Pals, Brandenburgh, and Saxony in one hand,
 Vnite their strength which makes their powers last:
 The Popish Prelates at these Princes frowne,
 yet these three Protestants vphold the Crowne. (sig.B4)

The hope entertained by Allyne and Maxwell that Elizabeth will one day become Empress of Germany is indicative of a feeling that although something was lacking in the political status of the Palatine, the match was satisfactory from the religious point of view. That the only daughter of the monarch of one of the foremost European powers

should not assume the title of Queen on her marriage was a disappointment to many people. Thus beneath the surface of joy, celebration and eulogy of Frederick's character there is a note of disquiet. This is most apparent in the assurances which Scultetus (or his translator)⁵ and the author of the pamphlets on Frederick's churches offer their reading public - that the Palatinate is a kingdom worthy of a Princess of England and that the differences of religious complexion are of little account. The author of the address to the 'Indifferent Reader' printed after Scultetus's sermon shows himself aware of the damaging rumours about the Palatinate which circulated after the return of the English commissioners. He writes,

Considering, indifferent Reader, how sinisterly some of ~~the~~ ignorance, and others of malice, conesaue of the state & dignity of the High and Mightie Prince Elector Palatine, Duke of Bauaria &c. of his Country, of his receauing his most honoured Ladie the Princesse Elizabeth, and entertainement of my Lords, the Commissioners, and accordingly ~~makexxxxxxxtaxxt~~ make report thereof ... I could not, in my dutie, knowing the place ... but add this short & plaine yet true narration thereof. (sig. E3-v)

He goes to some lengths to describe Elizabeth's reception and the various shows performed in her honour. At Franendal she was shown a representation of the throne in which Solomon was seated when he received the Queen of Sheba 'which had therein a hundred lampes lighted' (sig. E7v). Such concern with size and number is a characteristic of the status seeker. We learn that Elizabeth was met at Heidelberg by three regiments of foot, 2,000 in each regiment (sig. F1) and that

besides this 6000 trained footmen who staid there all the
solemnitie, and were fed by the Prince, abroad in the fields:
there were euery meale (during the aboade of the Commissioners
and the German Princes there) aboue 500. Tables furnished,
and about 6000. persons, guests, and seruants, fed at them.
Wherefore let enuy, malice, and ignorance, cease euer henceforth
to carp at that they cannot paralel. (sig. F6v)

Description of and information about the Palatine and his
kingdom no doubt satisfied a genuine public interest. It seems
likely that many people wanted to know something of the country to
which their Princess was journeying. But in passages such as this
there is often an excessive eagerness to defend the Palatinate and
a tendency so to over-state the case for the country's riches that
one begins to suspect that the writer has indeed a sense of inferiority.
An acute sensitivity to possible criticism is apparent when he feels
it necessary to excuse the shortcomings of Eliza's reception.
Thus it was^a/necessary inconvenience that she was welcomed to the
Palatinate by her husband at the small village of Gavelsheni as the
larger towns in the area were infected with plague (sig. E6), and he
hastens to explain (sig. E6v) that many of those who accompanied the
Princess to Germany returned to assure her father of her safe arrival
before they had seen the more impressive sights of Heidelberg.

De Franchis too recognises a disparity between Britain and the
small German state when he makes Frederick, who has just fallen in
love with Elizabeth's portrait, consider what course he should adopt:

Suppose my country lesse my people fewer
Then his: my portion should not be disdaind:
Mine auncestors haue beene great kings (I am sure)
Kings haue their daughters, they kings daughters gaine,

Why should I not then write, writing is dull,
Why goe not and speak my mind at full? (sig.G1)

Here an awareness of political and geographical inferiority is used to win the reader's sympathy for the Palsgrave, for despite these disadvantages and what would seem to be a natural modesty he resolves to go to England and woo the Princess. The poet is more successful than the preacher in winning support for Frederick since it is easier to warm to a personality than to a geographical analysis, and it is a personality, diffident and self-conscious, however fictitiously based, which De Franchis suggests through touches such as this. Allyn, who also gives some account of the Palatinate, clearly wishes to reassure his reader that Elizabeth will quickly settle down in her new kingdom, for

The fields, no lesse delightfull there, then here;
The plaines, irraguat with another Thames,
A riuer, no lesse delicate, and cleere,
Deriuing, from the steepie Alpes, his streames. (sig.A4v)

A river, he continues, which has many Londons on its banks - and here one is aware that the poet is not only attempting to raise the status of the Palatinate but is also trying to allay the natural apprehension of a sixteen year old girl who is leaving her country, parents, and friends for a strange land.

The acclaim which greeted the Protestant unity symbolised in the match also received some qualification. In the two pamphlets A Faithfull Admonition of the Palsgrave's Churches and A Full Declaration the author attempts to assure the reader that the differences of belief

and practice between the Anglican Church, and the Calvinist practices, which Frederick observed, are superficial, for they are

not many in number, nor of anie great moment, that is, such as concerne the wals and windowes of our faith, but not the foundation.⁶ (A Faithfvll Admonition, sig.A4)

It would seem that with regard to their religion also the Germans had been the victims of false report, ignorance, and suspicion. The pamphlets are an attempt to counter this. One of the aims of A Fvll Declaration is to stop the mouths of the rigid Lutherans who 'cease not maliciously to lay vnto their (the Calvinists) charges strange and blasphemous doctrines, which they neuer thought or taught' (sig.A4v). The writer concludes with the hope that the 'Christian Reader'

hath obserued so much out of the same, that wee are not so wicked people as we are proclaimed to be abroad: but that we are such people who desire to serue God truly according to his holy word. (sig.Cc1)

Both pamphlets are in fact apologies for the Calvinist point of view. In the ten chapters of A Fvll Declaration the author sets out to show that the faith as practised by Frederick's ministers does not contravene biblical authority, is not 'detestable' and is in accord with the precepts of Luther himself with the exception of the teaching on Communion. Much the same ground is covered in A Faithfvll Admonition. Allied to this defence of Calvinism is a plea for unity amongst the Protestant communities for dissention within the Reformed churches between warring factions, which ranged from Anabaptists to Aryans, is taken by the Catholics as proof of the Protestants' apostacy.

The Catholics further argue that their unity marks out the only true church (Admonition sig. A2-v). There are also more practical considerations,

And indeede the power of the Protestant Princes and States, is also not sufficient to counteruaile the Popedomes, if they seuer themselves into two or three sides, and the one part shall helpe to rippe the other. (Admonition, sig.E3)

The call for unity is re-iterated by Scultetus (sig.B2) and in A Full Declaration (sigs. A4v, B1v, B2, Cc2) and at sigs.F4v-G1 where the writer offers advice on how it may be accomplished,

But this is the way, to hold peace and vnity in the Churches of God, that one beare with the infirmities and errours of another (which ouerthrow not the foundation of saluation) and condemme them not for them. (sigs.F4v-G1)

It is impossible to say to what extent, if any, Englishmen in general were concerned about the Calvinistic organisation of the Palatinate church, and I have found no evidence to suggest that it was an issue other than in these pamphlets and Scultetus's sermon. It is significant I think that all of these are translations from German and were therefore written in a different milieu.

The thorough and detailed argument of the pamphlets is more fitting for the serious theological debate than for the satisfaction of curious Englishmen and it seems likely that they were written within the context of German religious controversies between Lutherans and Calvinists, and were translated and published at the time of the wedding because of their sudden topicality.

A feature of these translations is their vigorous anti-Catholicism. Thomas Beard in his preface to A Faithfull Admonition states the first purpose of his pamphlet to be the discovery of the malice of the Roman Catholics (sig.A4). In A Short Abstract (sig.F1 ff.) which concludes the tract, the author, urging the cause of unity, argues that the Papists are as great a threat to the Lutherans as to the Calvinists and declares that the Jesuits in organising their 'bloodthirsty plots' are the instruments of Satan. In A Full Declaration the Jesuits are spoken of as 'our rancord adversaries' their plots are again condemned (sig.Cclv) and 'Popedome' is shown to be idolatrous (sig.E4). Scultetus writes in the same vein. The Jews seventy years captivity in Babylon is recalled and compared to the seven hundred years in which the Catholic Church controlled Christendom..

But farre greater miserie did our forefathers endure in poperie, when many honest and welaffected hearts were forced to bee kept & pressed downe vnder the Popes tyrannie, and to behold (against their wils) shamefull and horrible idolatrie. (sig.C3)

Significantly the works of the English divines and poets betray no awareness of the bitter theological dispute between Calvinist and Lutheran. There are, however, frequent attacks on Roman Catholics. The uneasy and rumour-ridden atmosphere which engendered such anti-Catholic hatred and fear is described by John King in Vitis Palatina. Speaking of the marriage he says:

Our eies haue seene it done, though the eies of many others haue maligned the doing...All the parts of our Land (almost of Christendome) haue beene full of rumours; the hearts of all the faithfull in the Land full of horror and mistrust; I am sure the hearts of the Jesuites

are full of malice, the heads of the Iesuites full of deuise,
 the hands of the Iesuites full of practise, the bookes of the
 Iesuites full of principles and bloody perswasions: yea the
 tongue and actions of the Iesuites not voide of predictions and
 prognostications. (sig. D4v)

Thus the Jesuits are the true Machiavels, unscrupulous, cynical and
 secretive. The Catholic church is 'the beast of beasts, the wilde
 boare of the forrest' (sig. E2v) which refuses to recognise the laws
 of God and man and seeks unbounded sovereignty and dominion over all
 the princes and nations of the earth. King does not miss the
 opportunity of warning the distinguished congregation for which the
 sermon was written of the dangers of

Priests... and their proselytes, legions of recusants within this
 Kingdome, neglect them not. They digge at the verie roote of
 soueraintie and regitie, the allegiance of your subiects: they
 rob you of the hearts of your people. The more Proselytes to Rome,
 the more aliants from England. The gaine of the Pope is the lesse
 of the King. (sig. E3)

Yet though the world in which the marriage is contracted seems so
 insecure, the preacher declares that it is founded upon the rock of
 true faith which will make it immune to 'the sandes of the doctrines
 of men and quagmires and bogges of Romish superstition' (sig. E1v).

Webbe, in strong and rhetorical language, exposes these 'superstitions'.

The outward pomp and the ceremony of the 'Babylonish Roman Strumpet'
 are merely Circean 'dregs' which have seduced and bewitched her

followers. The true Church of Christ, like the bride on this occasion,

is all glorious within. Papists however make great use of

Their glorious Copes, Shrines, Miters, Crosses, Banners; Their
 garrish Processions, Pardons, Beads, Candles, Crismes, Their Eare-
 pleasing Organs, Bells, Quiers, Descants; Their Eye cosening

Exorcismes, Vnctions, Censing, Sprinckling, Miracles; Their Linsie-woolsie coat of Seculars, Iesuits, Friars, Monks, Nunnes, Capuchins, Anchorites; Their Comicall and Mimick actions, and the whole rabble of their Pontificall Solemnities, wherein the glorie of their Church doth wholly consist; what are they (being separated from this inward glorie), but at the best a painted out-side of an ill-favoured Strumpet? mere toys to mock an Ape, subjects of scorn rather then of admiration? (sig. Dzv-D3)

Elizabeth it would seem has not been seduced by this church which adulterates Christ's sacraments, exiles His discipline and persecutes His saints, for according to Webbe she professes a hatred of 'Popery' and a sincere love of the true Gospel (sig. F6v). It was her desire that she might be joined in marriage with a Prince of the same faith and now, he continues, 'she hath her wish; no sonne of Antiohrist; no vassal to the Pope hath the first frutes of her Marriage bedde (sig. F7). It would be difficult to substantiate Webbe's claim for the Princess's militant anti-Catholic disposition and it is most likely that the preacher is projecting his own prejudices on to her personality. It is perhaps significant that no other writer attributes such specific anti-Catholic views to her, whereas many writers stress Prince Henry's acknowledged dislike of 'Popery'. Had there been the slightest evidence for Eliza's anti-Catholicism it would, I feel, have been seized on by other poets or preachers.

The criticism of the Roman Church which we find in the poetry is generally directed at the Catholics plitical activities rather than their forms of worship or the elaborateness of their ceremonies. John Taylor and Nixon stress the evil reputation which they had for treason, intrigue and violence. Taylor (sig. D4) addresses them as

the sons of Judas and Achitophel whose 'damned delights' are treason, blood and death. Nixon, who argues consistently throughout Great Brittaines Generall Ioyes for amity and unity within the Commonwealth, betrays something of the abhorrence with which many men looked upon any attempt to overthrow the established order. The wedding has brought such joy and harmony to the nation that 'Envy' had fled overseas.

Among those graceless fugitiues, that thirst
 For nothing more, then dangerous change of times,
 And alteration of a settled State. (sig.B4)

The poet is perhaps referring here to those Catholics who, following
 in the footsteps of Fathers Parsons and Gerard, fled to France and
 Rome, later to return as priests or agents. With the Gunpowder Plot
 no doubt in mind he dubs them unnatural in seeking to destroy the
 natural and God ordained hierarchy of the state, an act in Jacobean terms
 as heinous as, and analogous to, patricide. They are a rabble

Whose base reuolt (infamous through the world)
 Makes them foule Architectes of vilde practices
 That end in their dishonour and their death,
 Those bloody stratagemes and trayterous traynes,
 That shall be cruelly layde vnto their liues. (sig.B4)

They are further castigated (sig.B4v) for that dislike of and opposition
 to the match which is noted by John Chamberlain. Nixon remarks
 that the celebrations for the marriage are liked by all but the enemies
 of truth, the enemies of those who serve the living Lord (sig.B4v).

George Wither in addition to attacking those 'Romish shavelings'
 who as instruments of hell began to plot which way they might thwart

the marriage, also criticises the doctrine of the Roman Church.

In the sixth of the seven Epigrams Concerning Marriage which conclude the Epithamia he alleges that the Papists' ruling that priests should be celibate is an outright hypocrisy and a means of satisfying promiscuous desire:

Long did I wonder, and I wondred much,
Romes Church should from her clergie take that due
Thought I why should she that contentment grutch?
what, doth shee all with continence endue?
Noe; but why then are they debar'd that state?
Is shee become a foe vnto her owne?
Doth she the members of her bodie hate,
Or is it from some/other cause unshowne?
Oh yes; they find a woman's lips so daintie;
They tie themselves from one; cause thei'l haue twenty.
(sig.D3v)

Criticism of the Catholic view of marriage is handled with greater subtlety and effect by King in Vitis Palatina. He takes great pains to defend marriage as a noble and enobling institution, and draws authority from Saint Augustine.⁹

Onley I say with Saint Augustine, Bonum nuptiarum semper est bonum, The good of marriage from the beginning of the world euer was and to the end shal be good And albeit foelicior coelibatus, single life may bee more happy in some respects; yet matrimonium tutius, marriage is more safe. Or to speak in the highest straine, in virginitate culmen, virginity may haue the top of honour, in Connubio not Crimen, there is no fault in matrimony. (sig.B2)

He argues that marriage is the sine qua non for the full development of the individual and the harmonious functioning of society; since woman was made by God as a companion for man it follows that a man without a wife is not fully a man (sig.A4). Later (sig.B1) he remarks, in terms that remind one of Freudian theory, that all other relationships, such as master servant, father son, and king and subject, derive from

the marital relationship. From this it is plain that King would accept no concept of equality between husband and wife - the wife plays the subject's or servant's role - for the latter must be both society and fellowship, and propriety without co-partnership.

She must belong to the husband alone (sig.Blv) and be

as a glasse that reflecteth and returneth vpon a man his owne image, that is, quasi alter ipse, ipse coram se, an other selfe, himselfe, before himselfe. Or the next of all others, and at hand to minister vnto him whatsoever is wanting. (sig.B5v)

Though the wife's position is a subservient one the husband has responsibilities towards her, for since she was created from Adam's rib she must walk by his side, her cheek to his, and he must remember that since the rib was taken from under his arm he must protect and defend her. Marriage is also presented as the completion of a cycle in that when a man and woman are joined together he takes back the rib to his bosom. In this way, and in delineating the role of a wife - the tortoise and snail are the most appropriate 'hieroglyphicks' (Sig.Dlv) for a housewife as they bear their house upon their back and the home is her proper dominion - King places marriage within a framework of principles having authority in biblical texts and the Fathers.

Thus is marriage given an important place in the scheme of things.

Recalling perhaps the Catholic tenet that marriages populate the earth whereas virginity populates heaven, King writes

'No marriage, no men; no marriage, no saints'. (sig.B1)

God's act in prese^{nt}ing man with a companion and helpmate in so far as the Roman Catholics were concerned was to

Cast this pearle before swine, let Maniches, and Marcionites, and Encratites, and Antichrists, those that preferre the doctrines of men, the doctrines of Diuels, before the sacred ordinance of GOD, judge of it; and they will tread it under their feet, & burthen it with whole wagons & cartloades of reproches. (sig.Blv+82)

Of all the poets De Franchis launches the most bitter attack upon the Roman Church. He reveals himself as an implacable enemy of Papist ambition and practice and though formally writing a marriage hymn he loses no opportunity to vilify the Church with abuse. He castigates (sigs.B3-C4) the Papists' temporal and secular ambitions, their rituals, their methods of coercion both of monarchs and subjects, and such anti-social acts as the Gunpowder Plot. The Roman Church is of the Devil's Party where

meager Cou^etise is generall
The standard bearer superstition:
Chief-gunner Pride, casts many a wildfire ball,
Error their parueyor wanders vp and downe,
To get them food while weake Hypocrisie,
Sits watching all their tents with heedfull eye.
(sig.B4)

Values are dramatically reversed. Idolatry is taken for devotion, haughty pride is mistaken for zeal, rash error is softened to religious credulity, and hypocrisy becomes the handmaid of the law so that every vice assumes the appearance of virtue. Spiritual power is misused for the advancement of secular ambition, for should kings or vassals deny the Pope tribute or refuse obedience in issues which seem doubtful they are at once cursed and damned down to deepest hell. The Pope is addressed with greater titles than Jove himself and so is encouraged to give and take earthly crowns and even claim sovereignty over the dead (sig.B4v). The poet is also offended by the ritualistic element

in Catholic worship. The priest making the offering

Applauds his owne conceit, when like a player,
 He crosseth, kisseth, stands, goes, turns, and shifts
 Mocking our powers with timeless, senseless prayer.
 (sig.C1)

The Papists are accused of idolatry. They keep and revere gilded lead, sticks, diadems, clothes and bones. (sig.C1). They have wooden images, statues of clay, metal and stone which hallowed with incense are become their gods (sig.E3). De Franchis goes on to wonder if the 'true religion' could be so blind to think that gods should dwell in vain idols. Most disturbing of all however, is the fact that the world has become so corrupted by their actions that everything is now tainted:

All Elements & their compounds broke their course,
 Both euils of guilt and paine were much augmented;
 The golden turn'd an iron age or worse,
 Mens bodies were (the cause unknown) tormented;
 The spring began to fade from plants and flowers,
 East, West, North, South, did rage on Thetis bowers.
 (sig.D2)

Final disaster may only be avoided by the implementation of Themis's prophecy which looks forward to the time when Elizabeth of England and Frederick of the Palatinate by their union will secure the downfall of Popedom (sig.D3).

It is natural for the poet or divine writing in celebration of a marriage to cast his mind forward to the flowering of the union through children. King (sig.C4) reminds his congregation that a man who has no children is accounted as unbuilt or dead, and that the fruit of the womb, children, is the end of marriage (sig.C3v).

That the children of this marriage will also have a political importance is hinted at by Willet:

God make this vertuous Princesse a Sarah, which is, Princesse
 that she may be the mother of nations and Kings, as the Lord
 promised to Sarah, Gen. 17.16. The Lord make her like Rebecca,
 that her ground may be fat and fruitfull, to grow into thousand
thousands, and that her seed may possesse the gate of her enemies.
 (sig.H4V)

Wither is more direct:

We hope, that this will the vniting proue
 Of Countries, and of nations by your loue.
 And that from out your blessed lognes shall come;
 Another terror to the Whore of Rome!
 And such a stout Achilles as shall make,
 Her tottering Walls, and weake foundations shake. (sig.B5)

Similar hopes are expressed by Allyne (sig.A4), Heywood (sig.E2),
 and Fennor (sig.C2v) who predicts that Eliza's children will be
 'friends to the Gospell, foes to the Diuell and Pope'. Peacham's
 expectations are less clear for he sees Eliza's son as a ruler who
 will give Europe a stable and universal code of law and keep
 'encroaching Hell' in check. Encroaching hell may perhaps be
 Popedom though when the poet makes Venus utter the final blessing
 it seems more likely that he has the Turk or Mohammedan in mind:

A thousand kisses bind your harts together,
 Your arms be weary with embracing either
 And let me liue to see betweene you twaine
 A Cesar borne as Great as Charlemaine. (sig.G3)

John Taylor and Maxwell both identify the Turk as the primary
 enemy for the ideal Christian Prince. Taylor (sig.D1), recalling
 the noble lineage of both Prince and Princess, looks toward that time
 when their union will bring about that 'sacred worke', the expulsion
 of the faithless Turk from Christian lands. Maxwell once again
 refrains from criticism of Catholicism, and citing a prophecy consideys
 Eliza's sons

Whose worth one day, shall make vs Britins song,
 When they with CHARLES vnanimely combin'd ¹⁰
 (As is foretold) in spite of Turkish might,
 Shall once regaine great Constantine his right. (sig.B2)

Most of the writers take the opportunity of offering their blessings to the couple. Allyne (sig.B2), Heywood (sigs.2v and C2) and Augustine Taylor (sig.C2v) pray that the match will be fruitful. Chapman in his masque combines praise of King James with this statement:

O may our Sun not set before,¹¹
 he sees his endless seed arise:
 And deck his tripe crowned shore,
 with springs of humane Deities. (sig.D3v)

Wither (sig.C4v-D1), Nixon (sig.A4), Taylor (sig.D3) and Maxwell go further in praying that they may have a life of happiness free from sorrow and distress and after death find a place among the saints.

Maxwell sums up these hopes:

Liue Princely-paire in health and honour still,
 Liue Princely-paire in concord, peace, and loue,
 Liue Princely-paire to grace your Abraham's hill,
 Till yee exchang't with Abraham's hill above. (sig.E4v)

As one might expect by far the most elaborate blessings come from the divines. King (sig.E2), pursuing the central theme of his sermon, develops the metaphor of the bride as a vine and a plant. In language derived from the Psalms, he prays that Eliza may take root amongst an honourable people, that she may be set up a Cedar in Lebanon, as a cypress on the mountains of Hermon, as a palm tree in Cades, and as a rose tree in Jericho. Scultetus (sig.E1), Webbe (sigs.A5-v and Glv-2v), and Willet (sigs. Alv and H4v) similarly draw upon the Bible in expressing their desire that God will endow Frederick and Elizabeth with

the wisdom and riches of Solomon or the dignity of Deborah, and bless them as He blessed Abraham and Sarah. Addressing Frederick, Webbe asks that God may

multiply vpon you the zeale of Dauid; the wisdome of Salomon; the courage of Joshua;...the riches of Hezekiah; the strength of Benaiah; and the long life of Methusalah. (sig.A5)

Turning to Eliza he writes,¹²

the King of heauen make your Royall person like Sarah a Mother of many Kings; like Rebecka a Mother of thousands of millions, whose seeds may possess the gates of their enemies: like Rahel and Leah which two did build vp the house of Israel; The God of Peace encrease more and more in your sacred soule the deuotion of Hannah,... the wisdome of Abigail, the charitie of Hester, the magnanimitie of Iudith and the dignitie of Deborah. (sig.A5v)

Though such blessings are merely conventional (and) formulae, in the hindsight of history they assume a certain poignancy, for Frederick showed an excessive zeal and lack of wisdom in accepting the crown of Bohemia and Elizabeth was to display great dignity in her long exile in Holland after her husband's death.

Notes.

1. See also Nixon sig. B4.
2. See also Peacham sig. E4v.
3. See also George Webbe, The Bridge Royall sig. B2.
4. See also Nixon sigs. B1-v and B5-v.
5. Scultetus's sermon runs sigs. B1-E2 and is followed by an article addressed To the Indifferent Reader (sigs. E3-F7) which gives information about the Palatinate and describes the Princess's reception there. The author tells us (sig. E3v) that he felt constrained to give this account of Frederick's country since he knew something of its condition and situation. The writer can hardly be Scultetus and is most likely the translator of the sermon, James Medius.
6. See also A Fvll Declaration sig. Blv.
7. Robert Parsons (1546-1610) left Oxford in 1575 and was received into the Society of Jesus in that year in Rome. It was probably Parsons who originated the idea of sending Jesuits into England. He seems to have been one of the arch-intriguers of the Counter-Reformation for though he came to England with Campion in 1580 he remained scarcely a year. The rest of his life he spent in France, Italy, and Spain attempting to organize the reconversion of England to Catholicism. After the failure of the Armada he spent much of his time inciting Philip II to renew his attack, and his intrigues played some part in alienating English Catholics against Continental interference. He certainly believed that the community, acting as a whole, had the right to depose a tyrannical and especially an infidel ruler and he was the real power behind many of the plots against Queen Elizabeth I. Froude's view^{was} that he was 'a politician in priest's disguise'. John Gerard (1564-1637) was educated at Oxford and later at Douai and Rheims. He was ordained priest and entered the Society of Jesus in 1588 and at once returned to England on missionary work. The Government made every effort to take him but he was not apprehended until 1594. In 1597 after terrible torture he escaped from prison and continued to minister to Catholics until 1606 when he left for Belgium. He spent the rest of his life in the Low Countries and Italy. Gerard's autobiography, written originally in Latin, has been translated by Philip Caraman; see P. Caraman, John Gerard (1951). It should^{be} remembered that in the last years of Elizabeth's reign there was general apprehension at the number of Catholic exiles in the Low Countries receiving pensions and encouragement from Spain, and the situation was not greatly altered at King James's accession.

8. Chamberlain, I, 427.

9. The attempt to prove marriage an institution as pleasing to God and fulfilling to the individual as virginity is a frequent concern of Protestant divines. Some of the points made by John King are also made by Jeremy Taylor in his sermon The Marriage Ring but with a tenderness which betrays perhaps actual experience. Taylor regards marriage and its complications as 'proper exercises and trials of those graces for which the single life can never be crowned. Here is the proper sense of Piety and Patience, of the duty of Parents and the charity of Relatives; here Kindness is spread abroad, and Love is united and made firm as a centre: Marriage is the nursery of Heaven; the Virgin sends her prayers to God, but she carries but one Soul to him; but the state of marriage fills up the number of the Elect, and hath in it the labour of Love, and the delicacies of Friendship, the blessing of Society, and the union of Hands and Hearts; it hath in it less of beauty, but more of safety, than the single life; it hath more care, but less danger... it lies under more burdens but is supported by all the strengths of love and charity, and those burdens are delightful. Marriage is the mother of the world.' Jeremy Taylor, The Marriage Ring (a reprint from his EMILYTOE pub. 1673, 1906), p.7.

10. 'Charles' here refers to Prince Charles, Elizabeth's brother and later Charles I.

11. The 'Sun' is of course James I.

12. See also A Fvll Declaration sig. A2v where the author praises James, and views contemporary events in biblical terms.

CHAPTER 8.

Patronage and the individual authors.

This chapter will try to show how far, if at all, the individual poets and writers together with their patrons were connected with the events which the literature celebrates, and to what extent the Prince's death and Elizabeth's marriage affected their hopes for patronage and preferment. To do this the relevant social background of individual¹ writers will be examined together with that of their dedicatees. In some cases the motives which lie behind the composition of an elegy or marriage poem or of a dedication will be revealed, and overall it may be possible to recognise a coherent pattern of writers and of dedications.

The world in which the occasional writers lived and worked would seem to have been a close and intimate one, for one quickly becomes aware of the common background and experience from which the majority of them came. However diverse their origins, the grammar school, the universities of Oxford or Cambridge, and perhaps the Inns of Court were the stepping stones to hoped-for preferment, and men like Joshua Sylvester who were denied such advantages lament the fact. Despite so academic a training many had wider and more practical experience, and most, concerned with furthering their careers, would have been interested in political affairs. Lionell Sharpe, Sir Arthur Gorges, John

Donne, Richard Niccols, and John Taylor had taken part in expeditions to Cadiz or the Azores, and Tourneur and probably Chapman had participated in campaigns in the Netherlands. It is perhaps not surprising that given so small a society many of the writers were acquainted with one another or at least knew each other's work. Webster, Tourneur, and Heywood published their elegies together and no doubt were acquainted with Chapman, and with Beaumont. William Fennor and John Taylor engaged in a battle of pamphlets. The minor poet Christopher Brooke was John Donne's 'chamber fellow' at Lincoln's Inn, was witness to Donne's marriage in 1601, and was committed to prison with him in consequence. Brooke was a close friend of William Browne, and acquainted with John Davies of Hereford, Drayton, and Ben Jonson. Browne knew the poet George Wither, and Drayton corresponded with William Drummond; and so one can go on. It is possible in this way to link most of the writers who celebrated the death and^{the} marriage. Related to this close-knit community is the fact that almost all the literary activity occasioned by the events is centred on the court and on London, the universities, and the Church, areas of Jacobean society which were inextricably bound together. Except for a sermon from Bristol, a poem from Gloucester, or a dedication to a provincial knight, the rest of England would scarcely seem to show concern at the death of the heir apparent or the marriage of his sister (though Scottish writers evidence their continued interest in the fortunes of the

Stuarts).

The need to obtain a patron also united many of the writers and poets, for the patronage system, inadequate and unjust as it was, provided the only means by which many men were enabled to pursue their art. The picture of the patron which John Buxton presents in his study of Sir Philip Sidney² is the exception rather than the rule. Sidney's interest in purely literary activities, his concern to bring together men of like interest before a sympathetic audience, and his desire to encourage the creation of a national literature to rival that of France or Italy represent an ideal. Most writers and poets hoped for a reward for their often unsolicited services, and were perhaps well satisfied with a fee of two or three pounds. Many, however, had wider ambition, seeking through their dedications to secure the favour of their chosen patron so that he might help them to a post at court, in the church, or in an important household. Eleanor Rosenberg³ in her study of Leicester as a patron of literature has shown the importance of such economic considerations, for as the state became centralized patronage became policy, and scholars and learned men were supported for the services which they alone could perform for the Commonwealth. A great nobleman would have hundreds, and perhaps thousands, of posts and sinecures in his giving, and would therefore attract the dedications of many writers who had composed works whose subject or religious bias corresponded to his own interests and

attitudes. Thus the dedications of the elegies and marriage poems, together with an awareness of the social position of the individual writer, may offer a clue to the reasons why so many men took up their pens on the death of Prince Henry.

The Literature composed in Celebration of Prince Henry's Death.

A number of the volumes published in celebration of the Prince's death were presented to the public ^{without} dedication. The anthology Epicedium Cantabrigiense, prepared by Cambridge University, and the Latin address⁴ on Henry's death, delivered before the Vice-Chancellor by Francis Nethersole the public orator to the University, may have been felt to be a sufficient memorial without a dedicatory epistle. Similar reasoning may lie behind Alexander Julius's failure to dedicate his elegy.

It is however surprising that Lionell Sharpe should choose not to dedicate his funeral oration and so miss an opportunity to seek favour. His desire to ingratiate himself with authority was demonstrated by his laudatory sermon on Solomon and Sheba preached at Cambridge on King James's accession, and by the letter of congratulation which he wrote to Prince Henry on the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot. His solicitude and his strong anti-Catholic views may have helped to gain him the post of chaplain to Prince Henry in 1605. The Prince's death must have been a blow to Sharpe's career and it might be expected that he, like so many others, would have offered his oration to Prince Charles. It is, however, prefaced with Latin poems by Sharpe's

brothers praising the author and lamenting the death. That the Prince's death did undermine Sharpe's hopes is plain from the events of subsequent years. In 1614 he was accused for a second time of attempting to arouse feeling against the Scots at Court - he had previously been accused of this in 1606 but, perhaps with Prince Henry's protection, it seems that he escaped censure on that occasion. This time he was less fortunate, for he was imprisoned for a time, and despite delivering a number of obsequious sermons he failed to regain favour.

Sir William Alexander and his friend William Drummond of Hawthornden also did not dedicate their elegies. However, though Alexander's poem lacks a formal dedication it seems that he was consciously addressing his work to the King, for he appends to his elegy a short poem of comfort addressed 'To his Majestie':

The worlds affection now this tragick tryall proves,
 Heauen heape mishaps vpon his head, whom it not
 highly moues.
 But though the weight be great, which makes each
 hart to bow,
 That men when mad, rage not so much as reason doth
 allow:
 And that (thryse Royall Syre) since that it first
 was knowne,
 All by imagining youre grieffe haue doubled so their
 owne.
 Yet since to many due, waste not on one your cares,
 As all your subjects waile your state, haue pitie
 Sir on theirs.
 Least that this grieffe though great, a greater doe
 out-goe,
 If from your sonne turn'd to your selfe, you seeke,
 not end our wo. (sig. A4)

Alexander's career was no doubt affected by the Prince's death,

for in Scotland he had been one of Henry's tutors, and shortly after his accession to the English throne the King appointed him one of the gentlemen extraordinary of Prince Henry's Privy Chamber. It seems likely that the King was presented with a copy of the elegy, for James had previously debated with Alexander on the techniques of poetry and was later to seek his assistance in translating the psalms.⁵ It would seem that the King was well pleased with the piece, for Alexander was appointed to the same position in Prince Charles's household, and in 1614 he was nominated Master of Requests. William Drummond's case was somewhat different, for though his family had been closely connected with the Scottish court - his father had been a gentleman usher to the King, and an uncle had been the secretary to the Queen - he held and seems to have desired no court post.⁶ The death of his father in 1610 had made him master of Hawthornden and provided him with independent means which may explain the fact that he did not dedicate his poem. The elegy on Prince Henry, which won special commendation from Ben Jonson,⁷ would therefore seem to be inspired solely by a genuine desire to commemorate the Prince.

The members of the Prince's household, who had lost their livelihood and hopes of preferment on his death, no doubt would have envied Drummond's good fortune,⁸ for we may recognise in a number of the volumes produced by them an eagerness to repair their lost hopes. In dedicating his volume to Prince Henry's

household Christopher Brooke recognised their plight, for the dedication is an attempt to comfort rather than seek reward. Brooke was probably connected with Henry's court through his many literary acquaintances and certainly through his brother who was chaplain to the Prince.

Also among Prince Henry's household were the divines Joseph Hall and Daniel Price. Hall, whose Meditations and preaching were much admired by the Prince, had declined his offer of the post of principal domestic chaplain, with its advantages of permanent residence at Court, in order to remain in the service of Lord Denny. He had however become a chaplain-in-ordinary to the Prince, and it was he who preached the Farewell Sermon to the household on the day of its dissolution. This sermon remained unpublished until 1624 when it was printed without dedication in The Complete Works of Joseph Hall. It is evident that Hall, happy in his patron and content at Waltham Abbey, where he was to remain for twenty-two years, was under no pressure to publish and dedicate his work. Daniel Price presents a striking contrast, for in publishing nine sermons on Prince Henry's death in the space of three years he reveals the economic concerns which lay behind much of the literature and occasional writing of the period.

Price early made a reputation for himself as a remarkable preacher especially against 'popery'. His anti-Catholic fervour may have recommended him to Prince Henry or his advisers, for he became one of the Prince's chaplains in 1608. In 1610 he dedicated his Defence of Truth to the Prince and, perhaps with

his patron's help, he seems to have prospered, acquiring livings in Sussex, Old Windsor, and in Cornwall. It is impossible to say to what extent his advancement depended upon Henry's support, but the number of sermons published by Price after the Prince's death and especially the manner in which they were dedicated would lead one to suspect that he was either very insecure after the loss of his patron, or very ambitious.⁹ Six of the sermons are dedicated to Prince Charles who is envisaged, as in ^hmay of the elegies, as a replacement for Henry. Charles is 'the joy of our sorrows' (Lamentations sig. Alv), and the 'beauty of the court and the blessing of this country' (Spiritual Odours sig. *2). In his dedication to David his Oath of Allegiance the idea is expanded and made more specific:

Your Hignesse is now the Phoenix, the dawning, ^{the morning,} the day starre, the sunshine, & light and life of the newly cleared firmament, O then grace her, who will bring you to further glory RELIGION. Bee her Patrone, that shee weep not, bee her Champion that she bleed not. Let no Popish Philistin come neere to the chaire, much lesse, the sare of your greatness, to disgrace truth or wrong faith. (sig. *2v)

It would seem that Price's concern for the faith is not entirely objective, and that in urging Charles to patronize and support religion he is coming as close as a writer can in a dedicatory epistle to asking for preferment. This interpretation of his motives is confirmed by his dedication to Lady Carey of the sermon Sorrow for the Sinnes of the Time. Price says that he offers his sermon to her because of her sorrow at the Prince's death, and because of her former service to Prince Charles. He concludes

with the customary fulsome praise of her virtues. The important point here, and probably the reason for Price's choice of Lady Carey as dedicatee, is her former service to Prince Charles. Early in King James's reign Lady Carey had obtained a position in the Queen's household and soon afterwards she took charge of Prince Charles. Not until 1611 was Charles's establishment expanded, on which occasion Lord Carey, repairing his damaged fortunes, was able to procure the Mastership of the Robes in the face of strong rivalry from Sir James Fallarton. Thus in offering the sermon to Lady Carey Price was making an intelligent choice, for she, and to a lesser extent her husband, no doubt had influence with the Prince and his advisers and so were well placed to recommend Price's talents. Price's ambitions were fulfilled for subsequently he was appointed a chaplain to Prince Charles.

Price's two remaining sermons which celebrate the Prince's death, Teares Shed over Abner, and Prince Henry his first Anniversary were respectively dedicated to Sir David Murray, and to William Cotton Bishop of Exeter. Murray, a learned man and something of a poet, was a gentleman of the bed-chamber to Prince Henry, and afterwards was appointed gentleman of the robes. He was a confidant and particular favourite of the Prince, and shared with Price strong anti-Catholic views¹⁰ - he was strongly averse to proposals to match Henry with a Catholic bride - and it is probable that Murray and Price knew one another.

It seems that Price retained some connection with his old

college for the dedication of The First Anniversary to the Bishop of Exeter is dated at Exeter College 7 December 1613, the first anniversary of the Prince's funeral. He makes clear his connection with the college and expresses his gratitude to the Bishop, who was the visitor, for the care and concern he had shown for it. Price says that he has offered his sermon to him because he truly honoured Prince Henry who, had he lived, would have rewarded him. In mentioning the rewards which the Bishop might have received for service and loyalty Price seems to suggest his own worthiness for preferment. Perhaps Price was seeking an academic post, though Cotton was notorious for the preferments which he bestowed on his own family. In any event it seems likely that Price was insuring against disappointment in his court ambitions.

Such manoeuvres for preferment find their antithesis in George Chapman's plain and straightforward dedication of his Epicede. It is addressed 'To my affectionate, and true friend, Mr. Henry Jones':

The most vnvaluabable and dismaifull loss of my most deare and Heroicall Patrone, Prince HENRY, hath so stricken all my spirits to the earth, that I will neuer more dare, to looke vp to any greatnesse; but resolving the little rest of my poore life to obscuritie, and the shadow of his death; prepare euer hereafter, for the light of heauen. So absolute, constant, and noble, your loue hath beene to mee; that if I should not as effectually, by all my best expressions, acknowledge it; I could neither satisfie mine owne affection nor deserue yours. ... There may fauours passe betwixt poore friends, which euen the richest, and greatest may enuy. And GOD that yet neuer let me liue, I know will neuer let me die an empaire to any friend. ... Your extraordinary and noble loue and sorrow, borne to

our most sweet PRINCE, entitles you worthily to this
 Dedication: which (with my generall Loue, vnfainedly
 protested to your whole Name and Family) I conclude you as
 desertfull of, at my hands, as our Noblest Earles; and so
 euer remaine

Your most true poore Friend,
 Geo: Chapman (sigs.A2-v)

The restrained language and gravity of tone in the dedication are perhaps indicative of a genuine sadness. Chapman, in sharing his grief with the dedicatee, reveals a relationship based on a friendship between equals. The dedication is far removed from that of the customary manufactured relationship garnished with sycophantic and exaggerated praise for the dedicatee. Further evidence of the poet's sincere emotion is his choice of a personal friend as dedicatee rather than seeking out a noble patron for his elegy.

Prince Henry's death was indeed a bitter blow to Chapman, for as Phyllis Brookes Bartlett¹¹ has remarked his biography might well be entitled 'A Poet in search of a Patron'. The Prince had provided Chapman with the minor post of sewer-in-ordinary in his household from about 1604, and more important had encouraged him in his translation of Homer. Chapman's connections at court resulted not only in support for his translations and the writing of occasional pieces, but also seem to have influenced his writing for the stage. Norma Dobie Solve¹² has argued that Chapman's setting of five of his six tragedies in the French court may have been due to his relationship with the Prince, since Henry's interest in French history and all things French is well known. The Prince

greatly admired the French King Henry IV, and when he was assassinated in 1610 he is said to have remarked that he had lost his second father. Miss Solve speculates that the Prince's interest in France may account for Chapman's presence in his household, and it may be that in dramatising French history, and exhibiting the justice and statesmanship of Henry IV in the Byron plays, Chapman was responding to his master's prejudices. One may also see the discussions on kingship, the philosophical statement, and the moral concern of the tragedies as part of the playwright's design to educate his audience and perhaps the Prince. It seems likely that Chapman saw his relationship with the Prince as an opportunity to influence through his didacticism the faults of government, and perhaps he saw in Henry an apt pupil since it is possible to see a partial correspondence between the ideal man whom Chapman presents in Clermont D'Anbois, and the character sketch of Prince Henry presented in the Epicede.¹³

Henry's death robbed Chapman of this opportunity. He lost a powerful friend and patron, his post at court, and the financial security which seemed to be secured in Henry's promise of a pension and a £300 grant on the completion of his translation. The loss seems to have thrown him into poverty. He sued that the moneys promised him should be paid, writing letters to the King, to the Earl of Northampton who was the Lord Privy Seal, and to the Lords of the Privy Council. The petition to the Earl of Northampton¹⁴ contrasts sharply with the tone and bearing adopted by Chapman in

his dedication:

The humble Peticon of George Chapman: Beseeching yo^e good lo^p to vouchsafe the reading of the annext petition, and to take notice of my enforced suite therein contained; The ground thereof being a due debt (the promise of a Prince vouched on his deathbed) growing from a serious and valuable cause (two yeares studious writinge impos'd by his highness upon a poore man, whose Pen is his Plough, and the sole meanes of his maintenance) that yo^e Lo^p, being a most competant Judge of my paines in this kinde; may please out of your noble inclination to learning, to countenance my constrained motion, made for no money; but only for some poore Coppiehold of the Princes land, of 40^l Rent, if any such I can find. Nor needes yo^e Lo^p doubt giving President to any, no one being able, of this nature, to allege the like service; none but myself having done Homer.

Chapman's efforts were in vain. The Prince's promises were never fulfilled, and within a year he had found another patron in Robert Carr, though his fortunes here were not to run smoothly. Chapman's most bitter comment on the treatment he received, which is found in the Memorial Verses to Prince Henry in his Whole Works of Homer (1616), underlines the limitations of a patronage system which had failed to recognise and support so remarkable a talent:

What lasts; thrives lest; yet; welth of soule is
poore;

And so tis kept: Not thy thrise sacred will
Sign'd with thy Death; moves any to fulfill
Thy Just bequests to me: Thow, dead. then; J
Live deade, for giuing thee Eternitie:

Ad Fanam

To all Tymes future, This Tymes Marck extend;
Homer, no Patrone founde; Nor Chapman friends: (Sig.*1)

Another member of the Prince's household also had good personal reason to lament the Prince's death in verse. The minor poet Joshua Sylvester had been appointed a groom of the chamber by the Prince who had also given him a small pension of £20 per year.

Such recognition was probably of special importance to Sylvester for his background was modest, and lacking the advantages of a university education he had been unable to win the preferment he desired. His appointment as a servant to the Prince in 1606 set the seal of approval on his work. Henry seems to have held him in high regard, probably because of his translations of Du Bartas, so that the poet's outcry in the ninth Epistle of Du Bartas: His Weekes and Workes (1633), despite the over dramatic tone conceals a genuine grief:

My gracious Prince, O how his Name doth pierce
 My grieved Soule, and sables all my verse ...
 But hee is dead, alas, and with him dy'd
 My present helpe and future hope beside,
 So that with Job I murmure not but mourne,
 Naked I came, and naked I returne. (sig. Kkk 2V, p.646)

The fact that Sylvester did not dedicate his elegy Lachrymae Lachrymarum is unlikely to be due to oversight, since great care was taken to produce a volume appropriate in its design to the melancholy task of mourning the Prince - like Chapman it may be that Sylvester's main concern was the commemoration of his master rather than the flattery of a potential patron.

Lachrymae Lachrymarum went into three editions by 1613. The third edition was considerably enlarged, with poems on the Prince's death by a number of writers. Added to it was an elegiac-epistle by Sylvester on the death of Sir William Sydney. It is possible that most of the additional poems celebrating the death - those by G[eorge] G[errard], Sir P.O., Mr. Holland, John Donne, Sir

William Cornwallis, Sir Edward Herbert, Sir Henry Goodyere, and Henry Burton - were published without their composers' consent for the address 'To the several Authors of these surrepted Elegies' (sig. G-D3v) begs their toleration and forgiveness for printing them without permission. The address however may be merely a method of saving face for gentlemen whose reputation might have been endangered had it been known that they sought publication. The poets seem to be drawn from a small aristocratic and intellectual group - certainly Donne knew Herbert, Gerrard, Goodyere, and Cornwallis, and they may have been acquainted with each other - and it is likely that they circulated their poems in manuscript amongst themselves. This together with the fact that the elegies are undedicated, suggests that it is unlikely that they were written in hope of preferment. Certainly Sir Edward Herbert and Sir Henry Goodyere could have had no such idea, for Herbert's family was noted for its generosity to writers and artists, and Goodyere was famous for his hospitality to literary men. It is well known however that Donne was seeking preferment at this time, and in writing his elegy he may have hoped to draw attention to his loyalty and skill in addition to participating in friendly rivalry with Herbert.

There were connections between Prince Henry's court and this group of poets. Sir Edward Herbert was received in court circles with a good deal of popularity on his return from the siege of Juliers in 1610, and considering Henry's interests in warfare it

seems likely that he was acquainted with Herbert. Cornwallis's father, Sir Charles Cornwallis, was Prince Henry's treasurer, and later his biographer, so that the poet was doubtless well acquainted with the court and its members. It is probable also that the Henry Burton who contributed to Lachrymae was the Henry Burton who was Prince Henry's clerk of the closet. After the Prince's death Burton, like so many of Henry's servants, took up an equivalent post in Prince Charles's household. If poet and official are one and the same individual it is possible that the elegy played some part in his advancement. Certainly the views expressed in the poem and its guilt-ridden didacticism would not be out of character with the extreme religious views of the court official who took orders in 1618 and later became a noted Independent. Finally Joseph Hall's verses on the Prince's death were also published in Lachrymae, so linking the volume more closely with that group of men most closely connected with the Prince.

Two other poets who had been in the Prince's service contributed to the funeral literature, Sir Arthur Gorges, and John Davies of Hereford. Gorges's poem, The Olympian Catastrophe, though dedicated to Prince Henry's memory, is prefaced by two sonnets addressed to the Queen and Princess Elizabeth.¹⁵ Gorges's career was closely linked with the fortunes of his cousin, Sir Walter Raleigh. As Raleigh had fallen in 1603 so Gorges, briefly arrested in connection with the Bye plot, had seen his hopes of preferment dashed. The one hope of his later years lay in

Prince Henry, whose admiration for Raleigh and bent towards
 in
 those practical affairs/which Gorges was interested offered
 some prospect of advancement. He had written for Henry a short
 description of the Azores expedition, and a treatise on the
 economy and strength of Great Britain. In 1611, perhaps with
 the Prince's help, he was appointed a gentleman of the Privy
 Chamber. The Prince's death therefore was a severe blow to
 him, and the sonnets to the Queen and Princess may be seen as an
 almost desperate attempt to win for the poet the support of those
 members of the royal family who were more favourable to Raleigh
 and his party. Dedication to the King in view of Gorges's
 connections was of course impossible.

John Davies, though he does not formally dedicate his The
 Muses Teares, offers his piece to the King through a poem entitled
Consolations for and to the King appended to the main poem. The
 consolations which Davies offers seem designed to flatter the King's
 prejudices, for they rest in large part on the theory of Divine
 Right, and the poet reminds James of his duties under that theory.
 Davies was famous as a writing master and the dedication of his
 works show that he had taught pupils from the noblest families of
 the nation. He had also been a tutor to Prince Henry, yet he
 complained of the difficulty of making a comfortable living and
 it is likely that through The Muses Teares he was seeking that
 reward and recognition which he judged to have escaped him. It
 is not known whether he was successful.

For a number of the writers who held no court post or had little contact with such circles Prince Henry's death provided an opportunity to demonstrate their loyalty and perhaps present their work to a more important patron than would normally be the case. Though most of them claimed that they were concerned to perpetuate Henry's memory, few had the confidence or the idealism to dedicate their work to his eternal memory as the three volumes of poems from Oxford University had been dedicated. Not surprisingly the most popular dedicatees were the members of the royal family. Dedications to the younger members, Prince Charles, Princess Elizabeth, and the Elector Palatine predominate. James Maxwell, one of the many Scots who followed James VI into England to seek their fortune, offered his elegy to Prince Charles and Princess Elizabeth, though he seems to have gained no lasting benefit for in the following year he dedicated his A Monument of Remembrance, written in celebration of the marriage of Elizabeth, to the Howard family. The Scottish historian and Latin poet David Hume dedicated his memorial tribute to Henry, Illustrissimi Principis Henrici Iusta, to Prince Charles, and Thomas Campion dedicated his Songs of Mourning to Frederick V, the Palatine, and individual poems to the King and Queen and their children. Though these writers seem to have gained little or nothing for their pains, Edward Chetwind appears to have been more fortunate. His sermon Votivae Lachrymae. A Vow of Teares was preached at Bristol on the day of Henry's funeral, 7 December 1612, and is

part of the scant evidence which suggests the influence of the event outside London. The sermon is dedicated to Prince Charles, Princess Elizabeth, and the Palatine, Chetwind explaining that they are the most appropriate recipients of the dedication for though the loss of Henry is a great blow, comfort may yet be found in the fact that they survive. Chetwind's career had been limited to ~~the~~ posts as lecturer or public preacher to Abingdon Corporation in 1606, and from 1607 to Bristol Corporation. In 1613 however he was appointed a chaplain to Queen Anne and it seems likely that his advancement from a provincial post to a court position was in part due to the publication of Votivae Lachrymae.

It is notable that though a number of writers address poems of consolation and condolence to the King only one work is actually dedicated to him, Monumentum consecretum Honori & memoriae ... by Domenic Baudius. Baudius, who was Professor of Rhetoric and History at the University of Leyden, had presented a volume of poems to James when he had visited England in 1607, and in June 1612 he had sent a copy of his Gnomae iambicae together with a laudatory letter in Latin to Prince Henry. As Baudius was well received in 1607 the dedication is understandable. The lack of such dedications from English writers is however something of a puzzle.

Four poets, John Taylor, Patrick Gordon, Robert Allyn, and the anonymous poet of Great Brittaines Mourning Garment dedicate

their work to members of Prince Henry's household. Taylor, the Water poet, offers Great Britaine all in Blacke to the Master of the Prince's Horse, Sir Robert Douglas. Douglas, who had formerly been a Page-in-Honour to the Prince, subsequently became a Gentleman of the Bed-chamber to Prince Charles. It is doubtful if Taylor could have expected a large reward for the dedication though he offers the usual reasons for his choice of dedicatee:

I know his losse thy manly heart did pearce,
 And mongst thy woes, this woe exceeds the worst:
 I know thou rather had'st (death's laueline fierce)
 To saue his life, thy loyall heart had burst.
(sig. Alv)

Neptunus Britannicus Corydonis by Patrick Gordon and Great Britains Mourning Garment are both dedicated to Sir David Murray, Prince Henry's Gentleman of the Robes, and the dedicatee of Price's Teares Shed over Abner. Murray shares the dedication of The Mourning Garment with the other members of the household, and the reasons given for the choice of dedicatees are similar to those offered by Taylor. The poet, in making a distinction between those mourners who are remote from the events and those who are intimately concerned in them, shows some awareness of the consequences of the Prince's death for the members of his staff:

But on you chiefly, for your secret woe
 The heaviest burthen of our sorrow beares;
 We but as strangers on the shore lament
 A common shipwracke, but you that did owe
 Your seruice to that golden vessel (rent)
 What wonder if your griefes doe ouer-flow?
(sig. A2)

Allyne's Funeral Elegies were dedicated to Sir Thomas Erskine¹⁶ who had been a Gentleman of Prince Henry's Privy Chamber. Again the intensity of the dedicatee's sense of grief is remarked on as the reason for the dedication. Allyne may have entertained wider hopes, however, for he appends to his elegy poems addressed to the King, the Queen, Prince Charles, Princess Elizabeth, and the Palatine. The poems are consolatory, offering the familiar arguments of the elegies, and they flatter their subjects. When in the following year Allyne dedicated his Tears of Joy, a poem celebrating Elizabeth's marriage, he offered it to Sir Thomas Erskene, Viscount Fenton, a minor favourite of the King who had been appointed Captain of the Yeomen of the Guard in succession to Raleigh. It seems likely that the two dedicatees were related, for when Fenton died in 1639 he was succeeded by his grandson Thomas.

The remaining poets and their dedicatees have no direct relationship with the Prince and his household. The poets offer their volumes to their customary patrons, seek reward for their dedications from new dedicatees, or address the poems to friends. Richard Niccols dedicated his Three Sisters Tears to Honora Hay, the wife of James Hay one of ^{his} chief patrons. William Basse offers his elegy, without flattery or explanation, to Sir Richard Wenman in whose service he lived, and Heywood offers his piece to his patron the Earl of Worcester.¹⁷

One of the more obscure reasons advanced by a writer for his

choice of dedicatee is given by Thomas Rogers in the dedication of Gloucesters Myte to Sir Richard Tracie.¹⁸ Rogers recalls that it was Tracie who first brought news of Elizabeth's death and King James's accession to Tewkesbury and Gloucester, and that this caused him both to hate and love the knight as the bearer of bad and good tidings. This recollection is the seed which finally bears fruit in the dedication of the poem and since it is a nine year old memory it would seem a slight and manufactured pretence. John Ward is more convincing in offering his The First Set of English Madrigals, which contains a Mourning Song in memory of Prince Henry, to Sir Henry Fanshawe whom he speaks of as 'a louer of MVSICKE' and 'a competent Iudge of that Noble facultie'. Ward seeks Fanshawe's approval and patronage because his reputation as a judge of music will protect and confirm the value of the composer's work.

Both Wither and Webster are ambitious in their patrons. Wither dedicates his Obsequies to Robert Lord Sidney of Penshurst, Viscount Lisle, the younger brother of Sir Philip Sidney. In offering his elegies to a member of a family notable for its patronage Wither was submitting his work to a highly critical audience. At the time of Henry's death Robert Sidney's son and heir, Sir William Sidney, had also died and Wither says that his choice of patron was occasioned by this unhappy event, for

Whilst we a Father lost, you lost a Sonne,
Whose hapelesse want had more apparant beene,
But darkened by the Other 'twas vnseene,
Which well perceiuing, loth indeed was I,

The Memory of one so deare should die:
 And thereupon I the occasion tooke
 For to present your Honor with this Booke,
 (Vnfained, and true mournfull Elegies,
 And for our HENRIE, my last Obsequies)
 That he, which did your Sonnes late death obscure,
 Might be the Meane to make his fame endure.
 (sig. A2)

The poet offers the dedicatee the familiar consolations of his remaining children, and the thought that his son has gained immortality, before bringing his mind back to Henry's death.

Webster offers his elegy to Sir Robert Carr, Viscount Rochester, in a dedicatory epistle written in the usual hyperbolic language and flattering tone.

I could not have thought this worthy your view, but that it aims at the preservation of His fame; then which, I know not any thing (but the sacred lives of both their Majesties, and their sweete Issue) that can be dearer unto you. . . . Neither do I (my Noble Lord) present you with this night peece, to make his death-bed still floate, in those compassionate rivers of your eyes: you have already, (with much lead upon your Heart) sounded both the sorrow Royal, and your Owne.
 (sig. A3-v)

Carr as the King's favourite (though he was to fall from favour within two years) was the most illustrious of Webster's dedicatees. His status in large measure explains the deference of the dedication, for the rules of decorum dictated the tone and manner of an address to a noble-man, and decorum was likely to be judged more important than an impertinent sincerity. However, the dedication is placed within a more realistic context when Prince Henry's antagonism towards Rochester is recalled, an antagonism which was probly^{ab} returned. Thus the carefully chosen image, the moulded phrase, and the elaborate compliment are here

betrayed as having small relevance to actuality.

The opposite is true of Tourneur's dedication. In a sober and straightforward dedicatory epistle far removed from flattery Tourneur offers his elegy to a Mr. George Carie. Carie seems to be an ordinary citizen unidentifiable among the many Caries, Careys, and Carews. It is plain however that he enjoyed Tourneur's affection and respect. Addressing Carie he remarks that he had no intention to publish his elegy, but

Impertunity hath (since) drawne it from me. But my first intent in Dedication is not altered. It cannot; vnlesse I could change myselfe.

The relationship between poet and dedicatee, conveyed in part by the restrained prose style, seems genuine and the reader is thus more inclined to accept the claims made for the dedicatee's respect and love for the Prince.

Henry Peacham's Period of Mourning stands between the literature for the death and that for the marriage in that it contains poems on each event, a fact which the poet dwells on in his dedication to Sir John Swinnerton and two aldermen of the City. Peacham writes that he has offered his volume to them in view of their loyalty to the King, their natural goodness, and their favour to learning and excellency. The volume illustrates a number of Peacham's talents, his skill in poetic composition, translation, drawing, and engraving. In offering it to three influential members of the City of London Corporation he was, perhaps, seeking another outlet for his many accomplishments - he was also interested in heraldry, music, and mathematics. Since

Swinnerton was the current Lord Mayor, and Sir Thomas Middleton, another of the dedicatees, followed him in that office in October 1613, Peacham may have hoped for a hand in the organization of such functions as Civic Pageants. If such hopes existed they were not to be fulfilled for the years 1613-14 see Peacham travelling on the Continent where he met a number of influential people and may have enjoyed the hospitality of Princess Elizabeth.¹⁹

It is tempting to view all dedications as evidence of a desire on the part of the writer to win reward or preferment, and by extension to regard the composition of occasional literature as a predominantly economic activity. One may be fairly certain that Daniel Price was seeking preferment through publication, and that the majority of writers hoped for some reward. However the motives which led poets and writers to celebrate the death of Prince Henry and the marriage of Elizabeth were probably mixed. Though divines may not have been averse to using the publication of their sermons as a means for drawing attention to their worth, they no doubt regarded their preaching as a duty. For the poets, especially those who had been connected with Prince Henry, the desire to secure reward was perhaps accompanied by a genuine sense of grief, whilst many poets may have been influenced by the fashion for writing elegies or marriage poems, and the wish to gain a personal prestige by contributing to a body of literature commemorating so important an occasion.

The Literature composed in celebration of the Marriage.

The importance of considerations of reward and preferment in choosing a dedicatee would seem to be challenged by the dedications²⁰ in the literature composed for the marriage. Appropriately almost half the volumes are offered to Princess Elizabeth or Prince Frederick or both, yet since they were shortly to leave England they could hardly have offered a writer any substantial prospect of preferment, though it is possible that a writer may have looked beyond the immediate person of the dedicatee for reward. Two of the four sermons are offered to the bride and groom and a third to Elizabeth. Andrew Willet, a chaplain-in-ordinary to Prince Henry, and a frequent preacher at Court, where he was much admired by the King, offered his Treatise on Solomon's Marriage to Frederick and Elizabeth, and George Webbe, vicar of Steeple-Aston in Oxfordshire, dedicated The Bride Royall to them. In each case the dedication follows the normal pattern of compliment and blessing, though Willet is concerned to stress that the role of the divine in marriage celebrations is no less important than that of the herald, the poet, or the noble. The sermon preached at Heidelberg by Abraham Scultetus, and published some little time after Elizabeth had arrived in the Palatinate, was simply offered to the 'service and never dying memorie of the right high and illustrious Princesse, Lady Elizabeth', presumably by the translator Ia(James) Medlus, one of the King's chaplains.

The exception to this pattern is the sermon Vitis Palatina by John King Bishop of London. The sermon was not printed until 1614 when it was published in celebration of the birth of Elizabeth's first child, so that a dedication to the Princess, who was by this time established in Heidelberg, would have been wasted, or so it must have appeared to King. Accordingly he offers his work to Prince Charles, denying that in publishing he has been motivated by ambition or desire for self-advertisement. He explains his choice of text and concludes the dedication by giving his blessing to the hope for future offspring, together with the establishment of the Stuart house, not only through Elizabeth but also through Charles. Only in this dedication is there a feeling that the sermon-writer is concerned with the prospects for preferment or reward, a feeling partially aroused by its seemingly unwarranted denial.

Elizabeth and Frederick, singly or together, receive half the dedications of the marriage poems. Where Jacobus Aretius's volume of poems is dedicated to Frederick alone, Abraham Aurelius, the pastor of the French Protestant Church in London, offers his verses to both bride and groom. In view of his French Protestant background and the fact that he studied in Leyden and the Low Countries, his dedication is perhaps offered with a keener insight into the political implications of the marriage and with a greater enthusiasm for it than that of the average English writer.

De Franchis's poem Of the most Auspicatious Marriage has

dedications from both the composer and the translator - it was first written in Latin. In the dedication to Elizabeth the translator, Samuel Hutton, is concerned to defend himself against the possible charge of pirating another's work. De Franchis's dedication, however, is addressed to Prince Charles. He reminds his dedicatee of the many contributions by poets and writers to the celebrations for the marriage, and with customary modesty declares his own skill inferior to theirs. He tells how his poem came to be published. The first of its three parts was read by Tobie Matthews the Archbishop of York, who in due course presented the poem to the King. This emboldened de Franchis to submit the remaining parts to 'wise censure' and subsequently the poem was published by friends. The poet offers his work to Prince Charles because, he says, he has learned from Dr. Matthews, whom he seems to claim as a friend, that the Prince is a patron of scholars. Here we have a glimpse of the indirect and probably erratic way in which a writer might hope to procure recognition for his work, since Matthews's presentation of the poem to the King is likely to have been a chance event.

Heywood also offers his A Marriage Triumph to the Princess, and praises her with the usual extravagant compliments, blesses the marriage, and concludes by expressing hopes for future prosperity. It is possible that Heywood may have had some connection with Elizabeth since he was one of the Queen's servants, and was no doubt involved to some extent in court affairs. In

contrast however to the number of writers of funeral literature who were in some way connected with Prince Henry, only one of the poets who wrote in celebration of the marriage, George Wither, could claim any connection with the Princess. The dedication of his Epithalamia to Frederick and Elizabeth is straightforward, concluding with wishes for their health, joy, honour, and felicity. In his address to the Christian Readers however, Wither turns to the reception his Abuses Stript and Whipt had been accorded by the censors in 1611, a topic which engaged much of his attention at this time,²¹ and he suggests that these epithalamia may correct the impression given by the Abuses that he is over-cynical. Wither's link with Elizabeth stems from the difficulties which befell him when he first attempted to publish these satires, for in subsequent poems he praises her for the support and help she afforded him. In his A Satyre dedicated to his most excellent Maiestie (1614) he writes that she

Daign'd in her great-good nature to incline
Her gentle ear to such a cause as mine;
And which is more vouchsaf't her word to cleare
Me from all dangers. (sig. Fl)

In his dedication to her of The Psalms of David translated into Lyric Verse (1632) he writes:

For, I do hereby most humbly, & thankfully acknowledge that, when my over-forward Muse first fluttered out of her neast, Shee obtained the preservation of her endangered Libertie by your gracious favour: and perhaps, escaped also, thereby, that Pinioninge, which would have marred her flieng forth, for ever after. (sig. A2v)

Though it is difficult to assess the reliability of Wither's story,

since Elisabeth only reached her fifteenth birthday in August 1611 and was still living under the care of the Haringtons at Kew, it seems likely that the poet was indebted to some degree; certainly he was proud enough of the episode to recall it twenty years later.

Of the remaining poems written for the marriage two were not published at the time of the wedding and were not dedicated, whilst the remainder were offered to dedicatees ranging from obscure citizens to a noted aristocratic patron. The epithalamia written by Donne and Goodyere were probably circulated in manuscript - Donne's poem was not published until 1633 and Goodyere's until 1896²² - and it is possible that they were written in friendly rivalry as the funeral elegies had been, though Gosse states that Donne had received a commission for his marriage poem.²³ Connections between Donne's circle and the Princess are unlikely, partly because she had not, as had Prince Henry, a large household of servants and officials. Donne was to meet her however and perhaps establish a close relationship when in 1619 he accompanied the mission of James Hay Viscount Doncaster to Heidelberg. On that occasion Donne preached a sermon before the Palatine Court on the text 'For now is our salvation nearer than we believed,' a text concealing a bitter irony in the light of subsequent events. Donne's next communication with the Princess was in less happy circumstances, for at the time when the Palatinate had been overrun and she had been forced into exile he sent her a copy of a sermon

which he had preached before her father. The gift earned him a gracious reply.²⁴

Of the four remaining poets only William Fennor revealed high ambition in his choice of dedicatee. John Taylor, the Water-poet, offered his contribution to the marriage celebrations, Heauens Blessing and Earthe Ioy, to Sir James Muray a minor courtier who appears from time to time in the State Papers receiving certificates of money, waiting on ambassadors, or delivering letters.²⁵ Nixon dedicates Great Brittaines Generall Ioyes not to a courtier but to a country gentleman, William Redman of Great Shelford in Cambridgeshire who was probably the son of William Redman Bishop of Norwich who had died in 1602.²⁶ And Augustine Taylor dedicates his Epithalamion to Sir Thomas Gerrard of Brinne,²⁷ one of the justices of the County of Lancaster. These are minor patrons from whom a poet could hope for only a small reward, William Fennor however offered his Fennor's Descriptions to William Earl of Pembroke, a noted patron whom Aubrey describes as 'the greatest Maecenas to learned Men of any Peer of his time: or since'.²⁸ In offering his work to a patron who had encouraged Massinger and Chapman, was a friend of Donne and possibly Shakespeare, Fennor was seeking the approval and protection of a man of considerable literary taste and experience. The response of the man who was to be the joint dedicatee of Shakespeare's first folio to Fennor's doggerel is an interesting speculation.

Of the masques commissioned for the wedding celebrations Campion's was undedicated. It was published with Lord Knowle's Entertainment at Cawsome, and it is the entertainment which is given prominence on the title-page. Furthermore the want of a dedication may be due to the fact that the masque was probably commissioned by a number of lords and ladies, some of whom were involved in the performance as participants, so that the choice of one as dedicatee would have seemed invidious. Chapman and Beaumont appropriately offer their work to the men who organized their entertainments. Chapman's masque is dedicated to Sir Edward Phelps,²⁹ the Master of the Rolls - it was from his house that the procession began - and the epistle dedicatory implies that he was responsible for commissioning Chapman to write the masque. Since Phelps had been Prince Henry's Chancellor it is likely that he was acquainted with Chapman and his work, so that it seems probable that this connection may have procured the poet the commission. Beaumont dedicates his Masque of the Inner Temple and Graye's Inn jointly to Sir Francis Bacon and the gentlemen of the two Inns of Court. Bacon as the 'chief contriver' played a large part in presenting the entertainment and it was he who unsuccessfully pleaded with the King not to postpone the performance from Tuesday evening until the following Saturday. Beaumont refers to these difficulties:

for that whereof the successe was then doubtfull, is more happily performed and graciously accepted. And that which you were then to thinke of in straites of time, you may now

peruse at leysure. And you Sir Francis Bacon especially, as you did then by your countenance, and loving affection advance it, so let your good word grace it, and defend it, which is able to adde value to the greatest, and least matters.
(sig. Bl)

Beaumont was connected with the Inns of Court, he had been admitted to the Inner Temple in 1600, and Bacon, who was Solicitor General at the time of the wedding and was shortly to be advanced to Attorney General, was a bencher of Gray's Inn. Thus their concern for the entertainment may have been tinged with partisan emotion, though it is possible that Bacon's concern had deeper motives since the masque may have been as important a means of securing favour and recognition for him as it was for Beaumont.

There remain the two propaganda pamphlets, A Faithfull Admonition of the Palsgrave's Churches and A Full Declaration of the Faith and Ceremonies professed in the dominions of Fredericke, Elector Palatine. The translator of these pamphlets, John Rolte, dedicated them to men noted for their opposition to the illegal taxes and edicts which King James attempted to force on the country. A Faithfull Admonition is dedicated to Oliver Lord St. John Baron of Bletsoe who was outspoken in his opposition to the raising of money by benevolences, and A Full Declaration is offered to Sir Edward Coke the celebrated defender of English Common Law. The dedication to Coke is the more interesting since the translator explains the reasons for his choice of dedicatee. The pamphlet ~~is~~^{is} offered to Coke for if he accepts it others may be more inclined to read it:

And therefore as I serued in the former (pamphlet) to the Table of the Right Honourable Oliver Lord S. John, as a dish

of Rhenish Grapes, that so others might the more willingly taste thereof, so by your Honours good acceptance also of this tree into your Orchard, it may spread it selfe the further in the vine yard which God hath planted in this Iseland.
 (sig. A3)

Thus the author seeks the assistance of the dedicatee's reputation and authority to add lustre and respectability to his work.

Although the two groups of writers - those who celebrate the death and those who celebrate the marriage - are similar in that they are drawn from a broad social range, the pattern of writers within the groups, and of their dedicatees would seem to be different. The poets and writers who bewail the Prince's death tend to form a coherent body. It is possible to find connections between most of them and the Prince, and to recognise in a number of their dedications a genuine response to the occasion or an intelligible policy for securing recognition or reward. The key to these connections lies in the Prince's court, and linked with it his function and status as a patron. As has been shown, a number of those who wrote pieces on his death, and some of the dedicatees, were servants to the Prince, others had served him, and it was his court which provided the social and economic environment within which they lived and worked. Thus there had existed a measure of personal contact and loyalty between the Prince and many of those who lamented him. The enlargement of Henry's household in 1610 both confirmed his status, and focused attention on his personality, and from this time he was established

as a political figure of some importance, a rival to the King in some respects, and the hope of many for preferment. His court became a magnet for men of ambition, especially those with literary and scientific interests, so that his death and its consequent dissolution significantly reduced the number of opportunities for those men who sought preferment. Thus divines such as Daniel Price, and poets such as Chapman and Sylvester, were forced to seek other patrons, whilst those like Gorges, who saw Henry as a political and religious force, saw their hopes dashed. The literature occasioned by Henry's death reflects in some degree the personal disappointment of the men who were close to the Prince, and so small and intimate was literary society that those who had no personal connection with Henry or his court no doubt still felt his death to be a considerable loss.

Princess Elizabeth lacked almost all the Prince's advantages. Since she had no court circle she was unable to offer artists patronage. Without an established household and because of her age - she was only sixteen at the time of her marriage - she lacked the means to set herself up as a person of influence in public life. Above all her sex precluded her from participating to any large degree in affairs of political and religious importance, and she had not, as had Prince Henry, the prospect of one day being the ruler. Her influence was therefore sharply limited and few if any writers had the opportunity of her acquaintance. Thus we hear of no-one - with the exception of Wither and Peacham - expressing their

indebtedness to her, and in consequence her marriage and departure to the Palatinate would seem to have caused no crisis in the patronage system or disappointment to individual hopes of preferment. No doubt because she was unknown to the writers and poets who celebrated her marriage the personal response found in some of the dedications to the elegies is missing, and perhaps because no writers lost positions on her departure there is little evidence in the dedications of any pressure on them to secure preferment.

Notes

1. Biographical details of the poets and writers who contributed to the literature in celebration of the death and the marriage are given in Appendix 1.
2. John Buxton, Sir Philip Sidney and the English Renaissance (1954).
3. Eleanor Rosenberg, Leicester Patron of Letters (New York, 1955).
4. Memoriae Sacrae Illustris Potentiss Principiss Henrici Walliae Principis (1612).
5. See David Harris Willson, King James VI & I (1956), pp. 67-8.
6. Mausoleum or the Choicest Flowres of the Epitaphs written on the Death of the never too much lamented Prince Henrie, which contains poems or fragments of poems by Drummond, George Wither, Robert Allene, George Chapman, and William Rowley, is also undedicated.
7. See Ben Jonson's Conversations with William Drummond of Hawthornden, The Works of Ben Jonson, edited by Francis Cunningham, 3 vols. (1897), III, 474.
8. One may contrast Drummond's independence with the situation of David Wedderburn who dedicated his In Obitu ^{Summae} ~~Spei~~ Principis Henrici to George Keith, fifth Earl Marischal who founded Marischal College, Aberdeen. Wedderburn was a master at Aberdeen Grammar School and in 1614 he was appointed Professor at Marischal College. It is possible that these Latin elegies to the memory of the Prince played some part in securing the appointment.
9. The dedicatees of Daniel Price's sermons are as follows;
 - Lamentations for the death of the late illustrious Prince Henry (2 sermons), Prince Charles and an epistle to the officers of the late Prince.
 - Spiritual Odours to the Memory of Prince Henry (2 sermons), Prince Charles.
 - Sorrow for the Sinnes of the Time, Lady Carey.
 - Tears Shed over Abner, Sir David Murray.
 - David his Oath of Allegiance, Prince Charles.
 - Prince Henry his First Anniversary, The Bishop of Exeter.
 All the above sermons were published in 1613.
Prince Henry his Second Anniversary (1614), Prince Charles.
 Sampson Price, Daniel's younger brother, also published a sermon which dealt with the death of the Prince, London's

Warning by Laodicea's Lukewarmness. It was preached at Paul's Cross and is dedicated to John King Bishop of London.

10. See Birch, p. 321.
11. The Poems of George Chapman, edited by Phyllis Brooks-Bartlett (New York, 1941), Introduction, p. 7.
12. Norma Dobie Solve, Stuart Politics in Chapman's Tragedy of Chabot (Michigan, 1928), pp. 5-21.
13. See Appendix 2.
14. Quoted by Bertram Dobel, 'Newly Discovered Documents of the Elizabethan and Jacobean Periods', The Athenaeum, I (1901), 433.
15. The sonnets are intended to console the Queen and Princess in their loss. George tells the Queen that grief may be overcome if reason is allowed to dictate to the passions. She should look on the death of the Prince as a subject should look on the loss of a son to the Queen's court. George also recommends reason to Elizabeth as the surest power to overcome grief.
16. According to Franklin B. Williams no other work is dedicated to Sir Thomas Erskene. See Franklin B. Williams, Jr., An Index of Dedications and Commendatory Verses (1962) p. 63.
17. Heywood's connection with Worcester was a long one, for he had been a member of Worcester's company in 1602 before it was transferred to the Queen's patronage, and in subsequent years Heywood dedicated to him a number of works including Trois Britannica (1609), and An Apology for Actors (1612). On Queen Anne's death Heywood seems to have returned to Worcester's service - as he remarks in his dedication of TUNAIKEION or nine bookes of various history, concerning women, (1624), once again offered to Worcester:

I was (my Lord) your creature, and (amongst other of your servants) you bestowed me vpon the excellent Princesse Q. Anne (to whose memorie I have celebrated in these Papers the seale of a subject and a servant) but by her lamented death your Gift (my Lord) is returned againe into your hands, being stil yours, either to keepe vnto your selfe, or to conferre where your noble disposition shall best please. (sig. A3v)

18. The dedicatee, Sir Richard Tracy, may have been a member of the Tracy family of Toddington in the County of Gloucester. Sir John Tracy of Toddington was knighted on 23 July 1603, as was a Richard Tracy of Gloucester, in the Royal Garden at Whitehall. Sir John Tracy became Sheriff of Gloucester in 1609. It is possible therefore that Sir Richard was Sir John's younger brother and thus a well known figure in Gloucester. S.T.C. identified the poet, Thomas Rogers, with the

divine who was rector of Horningsheath or Horringer in Suffolk, and who died there in 1616. The Horningsheath Rogers became chaplain to Bancroft, was an opponent of Bound in the Sabbatarian controversy, and the author of a number of popular treatises and a translation of The Imitation of Christ. It seems, however, improbable that the poet of Gloucester and the rector of Horningsheath are one, for the dedication of the elegy fixes the poet firmly within the local Gloucestershire scene over a period of nine years. The dedication suggests a local preacher offering his work to a member of an important local family rather than the rector of a parish on the far side of the country, whose acquaintances, colleagues, and potential dedicatees had included an Archbishop of Canterbury, seeking out a minor provincial knight as dedicatee.

For references to the Tracy family see William Shaw, The Knights of England, 2 vols. (1906), II, 115 and 123, and The Complete Peerage of the United Kingdom, edited by G.E.C., 8 vols. (1887-98), VIII, 419.

19. In the dedication of Prince Henrie Revived (1615) to Elizabeth, Peacham speaks of his debt to her. 'But as Fauour is woont to make offenders bolde, so truely I confesse your Fauours haue drawne mee into this, and your Bountie hauing watered some flowers, hath brought vp I feare mee weedes' (sig. A2v). He goes on to say how his poem was written in the Low Countries and the place at which he is writing his dedication would appear to be Utrecht. Since the poet declares his debt to the Princess it seems likely that he received reward from her, or was entertained by her on his Continental travels.
20. As in the literature written for the Prince's death a number of volumes published in celebration of the wedding were not dedicated. For the news pamphlets The Marriage of the two great Princes and The Magnificent Princely and most Royal Entertainments dedications would have been inappropriate and the compilers of the anthology of epithalamia published by Oxford University perhaps believed a dedication unnecessary. Alexander Julius's contribution was also undedicated.
21. See Chapter 9, The Death and the Marriage in the Literature of the Years 1612-15, pp. 324-6. Abuses Stript and Whipt was published in 1614, for which offence Wither was sent to the Marshalsea.
22. See English Epithalamias, edited by Robert H. Case (1896), pp. 51-3.
23. See Edmund Gosse, The Life and Letters of John Donne, 2 vols. (1899), II, 12.

24. See Carola Oman, Elizabeth of Bohemia (1938), pp. 168 and 275.
25. See C.S.P.D. 1603-10, pp. 402, 474, and 638.
C.S.P.D. 1611-18, p. 22.
C.S.P.D. Addenda 1580-1625 (1872), p. 474.
26. The article in D.N.B. by Augustus Jessopp refers to Bishop William Redman as the only son of John Redman of Great Shelford, Cambridgeshire. Bishop Redman's son, William, was admitted to Trinity College Cambridge c. 1596, graduated B.A. 1598-99 and was said to be living in 1613. See J. and J.A. Venn, Alumni Cantabrigienses, part 1 (to 1751), 4 vols. (Cambridge, 1922-27), III, 436.
27. Possibly the Sir Thomas Gerrard entered in Venn, ii, 207. He received the degree of M.A. in 1612 (on the King's visit). Knighted in 1603 and created Baronet in 1611, he was probably the son of Sir Thomas Gerard of Bryn, Lancs. He was M.P. for Lancaster in 1614, for Liverpool 1597-8, and for Wigan in 1620-21. He died in February 1620 and was buried in St. Margaret's Westminster.
28. Aubrey's Brief Lives, edited by Oliver Lawson Dick (1949), p. 145.
29. Sir Edward Phelips (1560-1614) held the posts of Speaker of the House of Commons and Master of the Rolls. He was made King's Sergeant in May 1603 and knighted. He was another of Prince Henry's servants who was strongly anti-Catholic, and had been one of those appointed to examine the Gunpowder plotters of 1605. A connection of some kind existed between Chapman and Phelips since the poet in his Epiciede specifically praises his devotion to Prince Henry:

Nor let me here forget on farre, and neare;
 And in his lifes loue, Passing deepe and deare;
 That doth his sacred Memorie adore,
 Virtues true favior his graue Chancellor,
 Whose worth in all workes should a Place enioie,
 Where his fit Fame her Trumpet shall jmploie
 Whose Cares, and Prayers, were euer vsde to ease
 His feu'rous Warre, & send him healthfull peace.
 (sig. D4)

A marginal note identifies the Chancellor, 'S. Ed: Phillips Master of the Rols and the Princes Chancelor, a chiefe sorrower for him.'

CHAPTER 9.

The Death and the Marriage in the Literature of the Years 1612-15.

It would perhaps have been surprising if events which immediately provoked so large a body of occasional literature, stimulated acrimonious religious feeling, and brought to the streets of London lavish pageantry had failed to find their reflection in the dramatic, poetic, and prose literature of subsequent years. The poet and playwright in the seventeenth century were more closely concerned with public events and persons than is general today. Many of the works commissioned from them were intended to celebrate public and semi-public occasions, and frequently patronage derived from families and individuals who played an important part in the government of the nation. Literary society was, therefore, closely acquainted with the world of affairs, and poets and dramatists were near to the centres of power even though they had little influence on the manner in which that power was used. It seems likely that Henry's death and Elizabeth's marriage would thus have been significant events in the experience of many writers. Yet the influence of a royal death or marriage, however important it may seem in political terms and however great the public interest it arouses, has, except in rare cases, only a small part to play in the creation of a play or poem, and will generally leave only the barest traces perhaps to be recognised as allusions. Such events, though significant in a journalistic sense, rarely if ever totally mould or inform a work of art. It is rather the broader preoccupations -

which are often difficult for a contemporary to estimate - which impel a writer to explore certain themes and ideas. However it is possible that writers may have responded to the events in ways in which they were only half conscious, for a national loss such as the Prince's death may release or stimulate dormant emotions and ideas which at first may seem only tenuously connected with it.

Reflections of the Death and Marriage in Dramatic Literature.

In attempting to determine the reflections of the death and the marriage in the drama of subsequent years the nature of the events presents a problem. Death and marriage and their concomitant emotions, grief and love, are basic experiences which no literature can ignore. They are clichés of life and literature. Moreover they are linked in many plays of the period in terms of imagery and metaphor so that it is difficult to discriminate between themes and ideas which may have been inspired by the death and the marriage and those which were explored because of fashion. Throughout these years tragi-comedy was becoming increasingly fashionable, developing and exaggerating the tragic potential hinted at in earlier comic plots until often a sadness pervades the play which is dispelled only by an unexpected event. Tragi-comedy was not a new type of play but rather the exploitation of a wider range of emotion than was previously usual within a single production. The movement from happiness to sadness and danger, and thence to renewed joy can be recognised in many plays which are not normally categorised as tragi-comedies - the last plays of Shakespeare for example - and though a number of plays may have this broad formula in common their individual tone may vary from

the callousness and bitterness of The Devil's Law Case to the nobility of the world inhabited by fishermen which Phineas Fletcher unsuccessfully attempts to present in Sicelides. The correspondence of such a pattern of moods to the events of 1612-13 is obvious, yet in most plays it is purely coincidental.

It is not difficult on the other hand to recognise the influence on contemporary literature of the infamous Overbury affair, the King's rule through favourites, and the divorce proceedings between Essex and Frances Howard which led to her marriage with Carr. The courts of the stage Kings abound with flatterers and sycophants, and the dramatists warn, either in the way in which their plots develop, or through the dialogue of their stage nominees, that such a state of affairs ends in disaster. Lust in high places and poisonings are also frequent topics. Of course they had been handled by playwrights working before 1612-13; but in these later plays there is a greater concern with political implications. The writers are more interested in the political set-up than in the people involved in it. They tend to write thesis plays.

For the purposes of this discussion we may divide the possible influences of the death and the marriage upon contemporary literature into three categories - changes and correspondences of mood with the works written in celebration of the events; touchstones such as parallels in plot, situation, and theme; and direct allusion!

It is difficult to delineate the overall mood of the drama of three years in anything but impressionistic terms, and impossible to link that impression with a particular set of events. Christopher Hill has argued

that the Prince's death marks a turning point between the 'glorious Elizabethan age and the age of melancholy and despair which followed'. Hill writes, 'The gloom which followed the death of Prince Henry in 1612 seems exaggerated, important as he had been in many spheres of intellectual life: but men sensed that an epoch had ended.^{1 2} According to his view the popular theatre went into decline, much of the best literature was anti-court, and the poets and playwrights drew on the traditions of Spenser, Jonson, Donne, and Shakespeare. He quotes Miss Rastvig's³ view that the first appearance of the 'Stoic theme of the happiness of country life' can be dated very precisely between 1612 and 1613. National disgrace and ill-judged policy, he continues, accompanied this trend. The Overbury trial, the lack of vigour in foreign policy, and the increasing tension between James and the Commons, find a contrast in the conduct of affairs under Queen Elizabeth I. If Hill is right the plays of 1612-15 should in some degree reflect this shift of feeling so that the problem arises of differentiating between a general sense of gloom and cynicism, and depression resulting particularly from the loss of the heir apparent or the departure of Princess Elizabeth to the Continent. It seems that the response most likely to have been provoked by the death may have been close to the mood of the period.

Hill's claims are not born out in the main as far as the drama is concerned. What he identifies as a decline of optimism in literature due to a general sense of melancholy and despair may be only the result of the lack of a Shakespeare or a Spenser of the 1620s - he may be measuring a lowering of literary talent. A comparison of the years

1605-1607 with 1612-15 using Harbage's classification of plays reveals no discernible trend towards the writing of tragedies. There is however an upsurge of enthusiasm for the history play in 1612-13 which seems to indicate an increased sense of patriotism and national self-confidence. In these years three history plays were written and many of the old ones were re-issued, including Marlowe's Edward II, Shakespeare's Richard III and Henry IV Pts I and 2, Heywood's Edward IV Pts I and 2 and If You Know Not Me You Know No-body, and two plays in which the reign of Henry VIII is treated - Thomas Lord Cromwell, and Rowley's When You See Me You Know Me. It seems likely that this revival of the history play was connected with Elizabeth's marriage which, as we have seen, stimulated nationalistic sentiment and sent writers' thoughts back to the nation's past glories.

A closer examination of the years' drama confirms the impression that there is little in the broad concerns of the dramatists and the general mood of their plays which may be interpreted as a reflection of the death or the marriage. Fletcher, who is responsible for, or has a hand in, almost a third of the extant plays of these years, sets the tone. Comedy is polished, depending partially on word play but mainly on the sophisticated mechanics of plot, mistaken identity, and variations of the battle of the sexes. Character tends to be written down in favour of plot, though Fletcher's female characters often have an appealing vivacity. There is no awareness that life is more than an elaborate game of gulling, outwitting and finally establishing one's

sexual and financial security. Middleton's two plays, No Wit No Help Like a Woman's and The Witch, though they handle his usual themes of the unforeseen consequences of evil and selfish manipulation, treat them lightly and the dénouements draw away from the tragic possibilities. Jonson examines a more serious world in Bartholomew Fair, and in two comedies, If it be not good the Devil is in it and Match Me in London, Dekker touches on a problem which seems to be a primary concern of the dramatists, the difficulties of subjects ruled by a lustful and irresponsible King. Dramatic discussion of the duties of a King and the likely consequences of his failure to recognise them has precedent as far back as Skelton's Magnificence, but the emphasis in plays such as Valentinian and The Faithful Friends is placed on the predicament of the subject in the light of the ruler's supposed divine authority. In Valentinian Fletcher contrives a plot to bring about a clash of loyalties. A husband's honour and his faithfulness to his wife are set against his loyalty to the state and especially the Emperor. Though Fletcher is careful to show that the ruler cannot be overthrown without the destruction of the murderers and subsequent chaos in the state, attitudes in the play are varied to the notion that the ruler's authority is final and absolute and that obedience is the only course in moments of crisis. Valentinian is shown to be seduced by flatterers and ignorant of the proper manner of governing. His pretensions to absolute power and immortality are shown to be ludicrous. Also Lucina, the object of his lustful advances, is presented sympathetically in her refusal to acquiesce. In contrast

the absolute obedience of Aecius, who falls on his sword because the Emperor wishes his death, is presented in a adverse light. His naive belief that

Our honest actions, and the light that breakes
Like morning from our service, chaste and blushing,
Is that, that pulls a Prince backe; then he sees,
And not till then truly repents his errors,
When subjects Crystall scales are glasses to him. (I,iii)

has to be placed against his bounding to death by Valentinian's flatterers, and it is surely no accident that immediately after this speech the Emperor enters to enquire how the seduction of Lavinia is proceeding. The belief in the divinity of the ruler is drastically demolished at Valentinian's death when he is told by his poisoner

The Gods have set thy last houre, Valentinian,
Thou art but man, a bad man too, a beast,
And like a sensuall bloody thing thou diest. (V,ii)

and the dramatist presents to the audience the tyrant's death agencies.

Valentinian is the most explicit attempt to examine this problem within the years 1613-15. It is implicit in a number of plays however, which depict the vices and corruption of court life. Stephen's Cynthia's Revenge and Fletcher's The Honest Man's Fortune, Thierry and Theodoret, and Cupid's Revenge each reveal a ruling class given up to greed and debauchery. Debourne in The Poor Man's Comfort paints much the same picture though he finally finds honesty and justice in the decency of a simple countryman.

Complementary to the interest in the ruler is a desire to show the faults and celebrate the virtues of the citizen class. Here one

of the main motifs is social climbing in terms of the citizenry marrying into the aristocracy or the apprentice wooing and winning the master's daughter. The number of plays which deal with citizen life is small when compared with the tragedies or comedies and there are two which are of interest in that they were produced by apprentices and presumably written with the citizen audience in mind. Robert Tailor's The Hogge Hath Lost Its Pearle and Wentworth Smith's The Hector of Germany (discussed in detail below) have a marked political flavour. The former though seeming to conform with the conventional citizen comedy formula - attacks on usurers, social climbing, and ~~an~~ assertion of citizens' honesty and loyalty - brought a deal of trouble upon the producers' heads for there seem to be intended parallels between Hogge and the Lord Mayor, Sir John Swinerton, and between Hogge's pearl, his daughter Jessica, and Robert Cecil who had died in 1612. So offensive was the play judged that it was raided in performance by the sheriffs, who carried off some six or seven apprentices to finish the last act in the Bridewell.

Whilst pointing out the contemporary relevance of some of the dramatic material it is as well to remember that some playwrights do not concern themselves with social comment or analysis. In the earlier years of the period it is likely that Heywood completed his series of plays based upon classical legends. Written for Boys' Companies and therefore probably performed indoors, the plays are classical 'spectaculars', the scenes often elaborately presented with ascents and descents, ^{and} centaurs and mythical creatures represented upon the stage.

It is also possible that the work of Thomas Goffe was written in the years 1613-15. In Orestes he too draws on classical material but uses it in exactly the opposite manner to Heywood. The scenes are static, the bombast inflexible and tiring on the ear, and there is a great deal culled from Marlowe and Shakespeare in phrase and metre if not in dramatic effect. Orestes and The Raging Turk are highly reminiscent of Tamburlaine and it is startling to recall that they were written a quarter of a century after Marlowe's play and that they seem to have been respectable dramatic entertainment for the academic audience of Cambridge.

The grave tone and inevitable fate of Goffe's tragedies find their antithesis in the romances and tragi-comedies written for a wider audience. Pseudo-histories, and chronicles such as The Valiant Welshman, The Birth of Merlin, and The Lovesick King provide, primarily, excitement but also a love story, a comic sub-plot, and (as in The Birth of Merlin) some display of magical effects.

The death of Prince Henry and the marriage of Elizabeth therefore seem to have had little influence on the drama's general mood or on the main preoccupations of the dramatists. Only in the blending of sadness and joy in the tragi-comedy may we note a parallel with the mood of 1613. The literature written for the marriage often has its sense of the happiness of the occasion tempered and made more poignant by recollections of the death. It cannot be argued that the dramatists were influenced in writing tragi-comedy by the death and the marriage, because they were working along these lines before 1612. Here once again it may be that

the events parallel the literary practices of the time. As we shall see, however, the correspondence may still be useful in detecting reflections of events though it is necessary to pay close attention to the context of scenes and passages where this is suspected.

The second method of detecting reflections of the death and the marriage is through the use of touchstones, that is parallels of theme, situation, images, conceits, and patterns of response between the plays and the works written for the events. In considering the death it is clear that the imagery which poets and writers use to compliment the Prince - star, planet, flower, gem, phoenix etc. - are too general to be of use. They occur in the drama in praise and description of almost all monarchs, princes, or great men. Reference to 'Europe's expectation' or 'World's joy' or 'World's soul' may be more useful. As I have said, the topic of death stands very near the centre of poetic consciousness in this period and so the ideas which surround the Prince's death in the occasional verse and prose - especially sentiments of contemptus mundi - are likely to appear in the drama without any recollection of it. Though the discussion of the power of death and the complaint against its power, together with the general lament at the world's decline in behaviour and public morality are common enough themes, one might reasonably expect that the lament of nature, the change in the weather from storm to calm, and from winter to spring, all of which occur in the occasional literature, would be used by or at least influence the dramatists' writing at the time. This is not the case however, for it

is the broader implications of the death, the political and religious significance, which can be traced most readily. In fact little reflection of the death can be positively identified in the drama, mainly for reasons suggested.

The marriage finds more obvious reflection in contemporary literature, though here again not in terms of the 'image-guises' of Elizabeth and Frederick - sun, star, gem, mythological figures etc. The dramatic presentation of marriage with the customary trappings of Cupid, Hymen, and Juno meets with similar objections to the themes of contemptus mundi - so much is conventional that there is little possibility of discriminating between the general interest in the topic and any particular influence. It may be possible, however, to recognise a link between Eliza's wedding and the dramatic presentation of marriage ceremonies, processions and particularly marriage celebrations and entertainments. The discussion of the marriage relationship, the argument vis-à-vis chastity and virginity as against marriage, and the significance of children which were noted in some of the occasional literature, whilst they find a place in the drama are generally factors in the confrontation between husband and wife as in Fletcher's The Woman's Prize (III,ii), a sequel to Shakespeare's The Taming of the Shrew, or the predicament of the religious virgin as in the case of Emilia in The Two Noble Kinsmen. In both these plays the context of the passages seems to preclude any relationship with the marriage of Elizabeth and in attempting to detect reflections it is necessary to pay particular attention to the context. A speech from Goffe's Orestes

at a superficial glance might appear to fit exactly the mood of January -
February 1613:

Nay but good Father let passe elegies,
You draw fresh tears now from your daughters eies,
Who shed enough before at's funerall,
Let's talke who are to live, not who are dead;
And thinke what progeny shall spring from vs
May beare your Image stampe vpon the face,
This we must talke of now, not what griefs past
But of the ioy to come. (sig. D4)

These lines are spoken by Aegystheus, Clytemnestra's lover, who at this point in the play is about to be crowned King after the murder of Agamemnon. Goffe has assured that the whole occasion has been permeated by a sense of doom, and of course the notion of fine stock springing from so gross a deed is grotesque. The speech has an exact function within the scene in that Aegystheus is attempting to damp down interest in the old king and divert attention to the future. Furthermore Goffe is strongly indebted to Hamlet throughout the play and the death of the king followed by the hasty marriage of the widow and the coronation derives from this source and the original Orestes rather than from contemporary events. Thus the mood of fated doom, the unsympathetic way in which the married couple are presented and the fact that there is authority in both the source and the play which most influenced the writer seems to preclude any reflection of the Princess's marriage or the mood of the time.

More useful are the unique characteristics of the marriage, the German and Palatinate connections. References to Germany, Heidelberg, electors, or the linking of Thames and Rhine are very likely to be

recollections of the wedding. Similarly passages which are specifically critical of the Roman Church, show Protestantism triumphing, or display ambition and religious belief closely linked in Catholic/Protestant conflict may well be reflecting the highly charged political atmosphere which existed in the first months of 1613.

Direct allusions to Henry and Elizabeth are few and rarely mention more than the fact of death or marriage. There may be allusions, in certain plays, however, to the entertainments which were presented at the wedding celebrations. These will be dealt with when the plays in which they occur are discussed. On the whole allusions are less important than the other categories, though they are useful for dating.

I shall discuss only those plays which seem to me to offer interesting parallels and possible reflections of the events. I do not intend to catalogue all the deaths and marriages which occur in the drama or to justify my neglect of individual cases which seem to have no bearing on the discussion. It must be stressed that in some cases all that can be done is to place the speech, scene or episode over against the facts of the death and the marriage and the predominant responses of the time in so far as they can be gauged. One may note the correspondence or appropriateness of sentiment and situation where it would be speculative to assert direct connection. The problem is further complicated by the indeterminate dating of nine of the plays, for in some cases Harbage's limits for them cover some years before 1612-13, and parallels which in themselves are not strong enough evidence to

settle a dating would be acceptable as reflections if the play were known to have been written at the time of the events.

Antony Brewer's The Love-sick King is an example of this problem. The limits which Harbage offers for this play are 1608-17 and Chambers sets the date as early as 1607, yet Alured's magnanimous treatment of the conquered Canutus with the sentiment that,

The sea that binds us in one Continent,
Doth teach us to imbrace two hearts in one,
To strengthen both 'gainst all invasion (IV, i).

would have a topical significance if it could be shown that the play was written after 1612. The league established between Great Britain and the Palatinate with the marriage of Elizabeth and Frederick was popular and hopes for its success are expressed by a number of poets and writers. Alured's speech has its function within the play of course but it is also the advice of a wise and famous King and to this extent may stand outside the confines of the play.

John Stephen's closet drama, Cynthia's Revenge or Meander's Extasie, opens on the funeral of a King at which the usual contemptus mundi sentiments are expressed:

Sterne death no pittie takes on hallowed age,
Vpon the sucking babe, whose harmlesse twinne,
Tenderly hangs about the nurses necke,
Neuer did old mens holy teares obtaine,
Neuer did death from Innotents refraine. (I, i).

This is followed by a short discussion of the danger of over-indulged grief which begets 'a weak distraction of the brain'. Later in the play the King's sister is married to the Duke Pheadippe who reminds her that her father was a King and yet she shall be only a Duchess:

And shall the Chronicles of age report
Lucilla was no Queene!

{ II,ii).

Sharp comment was made, not least by Queen Anne, on the fact that Elizabeth in marrying the Elector would not succeed to the title of Queen. Both these parallels are slight - the contemptus mundi theme is commonplace - and both have a legitimate function within the plot, ^{but} ~~and~~ as the play was published in 1613 there is a possibility that they are reflections of Elizabeth's marriage.

We are on stronger ground with Fletcher's Bonduca, though the dating presents a problem. Harbage gives the play limits of 1611-14 and places it in the 1613 list. From the actors' lists of the King's Men Chambers ⁵ notes that Ecclestone and Ostler, actors in the production, could only have been together between 1609-11 and 1613-14, and he argues that the play must be placed within these dates. Oliphant ⁶ disputes the later date, remarking that Chambers's assumption that Ecclestone re-joined the King's Men in 1613 is 'entirely gratuitous'. The play does have parallels with the events of 1612. In the final scene the British general, Caratach, and Hengo, the heir to the British throne, are surrounded by the Romans, and are short of food. Judas, a Roman soldier, has set out food to lure the Britons from their hiding place. The plan is a success for when Hengo comes from hiding Judas shoots him. The Prince dies and is lamented by Caratach in terms which come as a surprise because of the elevated sentiment:

Farewell the hopes of Britain,
 thou Royall graft, Farewell for ever - Time and Death,
 ye have done your worst. Fortune now see, now proudly,
 pluck off thy veil, and view thy triumph: Look,
 look what thou hast brought this land to. Oh fair flower,
 how lovely yet thy ruines show, how sweetly
 even death embraces thee! The peace of heaven,
 the fellowship of all great souls be with thee. (V,iii).

Hengo is an attractive character. Fletcher shows his courage in driving off Judas in an early scene, and reveals his ambition, and his interest in warfare, yet he remains an incomplete figure seen in only a few scenes so that the praise and the likely results of his death seem incommensurate with his character. The parallel with Prince Henry is obvious - an heir to the throne dying at an early age with promise unfulfilled, a youth interested in warfare and with ambition whose death will profoundly affect the well-being of the country. The idea of the Prince as the hope of Britain, the railing against Fortune, and the eulogy of his beauty even in death can be paralleled in the funeral elegies, though in each case they derive from the elegiac tradition. The two other elegiac speeches of the play spoken over the body of the Roman general Penius by Regulus, and Caratach are more appropriate tributes, for the praise derives from our experience of the general within the play either through his actions, or more important through the reports of his enemies and friends. The sentiments nevertheless are also the familiar ones of the funeral elegies:

Thou hallowed relique, thou rich diamond
 cut with thine own dust; thou for whose wide fame
 the world appears too narrow, mans all thoughts,
 had they all tongues, too silent; thus I bow
 to thy most honour'd ashes;.....
 Fare well all glorious Wars, now thou art gone,
 and honest Arms adieu: all noble Battels,
 maintain'd in thirst of honour, not off blood,
 fare well for ever.

(V, i).

There may be some reflection of the Prince's death in this play and it may account for the discrepancy between the Hengo of the play and the Hengo of the lament. On the other hand much of the play is unsatisfactory - for example Penius in refusing to bring his troops to battle acts out of character with Caratach's description of him, - and it may be that Fletcher had inadequately realised and developed the character of the Prince. It is impossible to be certain either way without a precise dating of the play though if 1615 were accepted the parallels would seem stronger than mere coincidence.

It seems likely that John Webster was writing the third act of The Duchess of Malfi at the time of the Prince's death. J. R. Brown⁷ in his edition has pointed out that Webster draws on the same books - Donne's Second Anniversary, Chapman's Pennitential Psalms, and Matthieu's Henry 1V which became available at this time - in both the play and his elegy on the Prince, Monumental Coluan. F. L. Lucas has also remarked on eight verbal parallels between the play and the poem, though I feel that one cannot rely too heavily on these since some are slight and others are commonplace sentiments or compliments. Furthermore Webster frequently uses the same images, ideas, and patterns of thought in different works so that one needs to be cautious in suggesting a proximity of date and a common influence. The echoes of the elegy in the third act would seem to amount to four parallel passages. The two which are of most interest are contained in Bosola's description of Antonio's character, as here there may be an echo of Henry;

he was an excellent
 Courtier, and most faithful, a soldier that thought it
 As beastly to know his own value too little
 As devilish to acknowledge it too much:
 Both his virtue and form deserv'd far better fortune.
 His discourse rather delighted to judge itself, than show itself.
 His breast was fill'd with all perfection,
 And yet it seem'd a private whisp'ring-room,
 It made so little noise of 't. (III,ii, 250-8)

In A Monumental Column the Prince is spoken of as one whose 'forme,
 and vertue, both deserv'd his fortune' and one 'Who had his breast
 instated with the choise/Of vertues, though they made no ambitious noise'.
 J. R. Brown has noted that 'both yo^r vertue, and yo^r forme did deserve
 yo^r fortune', which is taken from the dedication to Prince Henry in
The Masque of Queens, is the genesis of both parallels and as Webster
 draws on the Masque in The White Devil it may be that the correspondence
 is due to the eclectic workings of the playwright's mind rather than to
 a recollection of the Prince. The description would be partially
 appropriate to Henry, recalling his martial prowess, his honesty, and his
 taciturnity. The description is certainly an ideal one and it must be
 allowed that Bosola may be speaking ironically or offering exaggerated
 compliments to test the Duchess's reactions, so that a considered ideal
 rather than an echo may lie behind the description.

Though the editors have looked to France for the topical significance
 of Antonio's account of the reformed French court it could be argued
 that Webster had Prince Henry's court in mind, a court which contrasted
 with King James's in its probity and lack of extravagance. Antonio tells
 how the King

quits first his royal palace
 Of flatt'ring sycophants, of dissolute
 And infamous persons - which he sweetly terms
 His Master's masterpiece, the work of heaven -
 Consid'ring duly, that a Prince's court
 Is like a common fountain, whence should flow
 Pure silver drops in general.

(I,i, 7-13)

and Webster writes of Henry in A Monumental Column,

Those men that followed him were not by-friends:
 Or letters prefer'd to him: he made choice
 In action, not in complimentall voice.

(sig. Blv-B2)

and

Thou that in quest of man, hast truly found
 That while men rotten vapours, do persue,
 They could not be thy friends, and flatterers too. (sig. Cl-v)

Henry's dislike of flatterers is well attested as is the strict and economical manner in which he ran his household, and his court was regarded by many as an academy of learning and manners. Once again caution is necessary, for Webster shows in other works an interest in the probity of the courtier. The corruption and deceit of court life is brought out in The White Devil, for example, and one may recall Vittoria's final lines,

O happy they that never saw the court,
 Nor ever knew great man but by report.

(V, vi, 261-2)

The events of 1613 may be reflected in Act IV Scene ii as Miss Inga-Stina Ekeblad⁹ has argued. In this scene the imprisoned Duchess is presented with a masque or rout of madmen. The ostensible reason behind it is to purge her of her sorrow though it is also a grotesque parody of the first part of a normal wedding masque and celebrates the Duchess's wedding with death. Miss Ekeblad shows that the whole scene

is permeated by the rituals and ceremonies of marriage. The masque is made up of

a mad lawyer, and a secular priest,
 A doctor that hath forfeited his wits
 By jealousy; an astrologian
 That in his works said that such a day o' th' month
 Should be the day of doom, and failing of 't
 Ran mad; an English tailor, craz'd i' th' brain
 With study of the new fashion; a gentleman usher
 Quite beside himself, with care to keep in mind
 The number of his lady's salutations,
 Or 'How do you', she employ'd him in each morning;
 A farmer too, an excellent knave in grave,
 Mad'cause he was hinder'd transportation. (IV, ii, 45-56).

A madman sings a song to a dismal kind of music and afterwards there is a dance 'consisting of 8 Madmen, with music answerable thereunto'.

There is a close parallel here with *Campion's* masque for he also has an anti-masque of frantics - the lover, the self-lover, the melancholic man full of fear, the schoolman overcome with fantasy, the overwatched usurer etc. - which dances to music strident and lacking in harmony as befits the deranged. The masques for Elizabeth's wedding individualise the members of the anti-masque for the first time, for previously anti-masques had been made up of one group of characters, and the fact that Webster also presents individual masquers is further evidence for probable influence.

The marriage theme is continued by the Dirge which Webster gives to Bosola. It is a preparation for death as the epithalamium is a preparation for marriage and its consummation. The Dirge closely echoes the epithalamium in the dressing and washing of the bride which is here directed to a different purpose;

Hark, now everything is still,
 The screech-owl, and the whistler shrill
 Call upon our dame, aloud,
 And bid her quickly don her shroud.
 Strew your hair with powders sweet,
 Don clean linen, bathe your feet,
 And (the foul fiend more to check)
 A crucifix let bless your neck.
 'Tis now full tide, 'tween night and day:
 End your groan and come away. (IV,ii, 178-195)

Miss Ekeblad suggests that the audience would be particularly prepared to respond to the masque features of this scene since 1613 was above all a year of marriage festivity and that part of the response would be a realisation of the dissimilarities of this masque from those of the wedding celebrations. This may well be the case though it must be remembered that the scene presents in highly charged terms the ambiguous relationship and correspondence of love and death, a relationship handled in similar terms in The Malcontent for which Webster wrote the Induction. Thus the idea combining the two streams was not new.

The mixture of masque-form and epithalamia in the circumstances of the Duchess's death has its own horror but it also mirrors the mood of the play. It is impossible to say how far, if at all, the mixture of an intense response to death allied with an awareness of the values of love and devotion in marriage, which seems to be implicit in the relationship of the Duchess and Antonio, reflects the public mood of the time. Love and death, so closely linked in the play, are basic concerns of Jacobean writing. Yet as the marriage literature shows there was in 1613 a sense of the creativity of love tempered by a realisation of the nihilism of death.

The echo scene of Act V Scene iii may be influenced by George Wither's elegy, Prince Henry's Obsequies. In A Supposed Interlocution

between the Spirit of Prince Henry and Great Britain the echo of Great Britain gradually becomes the Prince and having spoken at first as an echo it speaks on independently, prophesying the future success of Prince Charles. Only as the Spirit's power begins to fade does Wither return to the strict echo technique. As J. R. Brown notes, Act V, scene iii is unusual in that ^{the} echo seems to become the Duchess as in the poem the echo becomes Prince Henry. The Duchess may be visible during the scene, at least Antonio believes so,

I mark'd not one repetition of the echo
But that: and on the sudden, a clear light
Presented me a face folded in sorrow. (V, iii, 43-45)

This could be the result of Antonio's over-active imagination as Delio believes, but the stage direction, 'Echo from the Duchess Grave' seems to imply that the Duchess is discovered in her grave. Though The Second Maiden's Tragedy which had been performed by the King's Men in 1611 has been suggested as a partial source for the scene it does not fully account for the echo's transmutation, and here it is likely that Wither's poem influenced Webster.

We are reminded of the elegies written on the Prince's death by the lament spoken over the body of Hector in Heywood's The Iron Age Part I,

Blacke fate, blacke day, be neuer Kallendred
Hereafter in the number of the years,
The Planets cease to worke, the Spheares to mouue,
The Sunne in his meridian course to shine,
Perpetuall darkness ouerwhelme the day,
In which is falne the pride of Asia. (IV, i.).

It is interesting that in his Funeral Elegie Heywood compares

the grief that afflicts King James with Priam's sorrow on seeing Hector slain (sig. C2) and Queen Anne's sadness is compared to Hecuba's. In the play Paris's remarks on the funeral of his brother might well describe London's reaction to Henry's death,

A most sad Funerall
 Will his in Troy be, where shall scarce an eye
 Of twice two hundred thousand be found drye. (IV, 1).

Though both these passages are completely appropriate within the context of the play their sentiments are remarkably close to the literature written in celebration of the death, and the likely date of the play's composition, 1612-13, adds support to the view that there may be a reflection here. It can be argued however that Heywood draws on the play in writing the elegy but without more specific evidence for dating it is impossible to determine the true relationship.

A parallel with the events of 1612-13 is also found in Heywood's The Brazen Age. The play deals with the adventures of the Greek heroes, the chief among them being Hercules. In the hunt for the Calydonian Boar the youthful Adonis is killed. Venus's lament for him, in Theseus's words the 'most beauteous of the youths of Greece', may be compared with the elegies for the Prince,

My sorrowes like a populous throng, all struing
 At once to passe through some inforced breach,
 In stead of winning passage stop the way,
 And so the greatest hast, breeds the most stay. ...
 Speake, speake, my Adon, thou whom death hath fed on
 Ere thou wast yet full ripe; and this thy beautie's
 Deuour'd ere tasted. Eye, where's now thy brightnesse?
 Or hand thy warmth? Oh that such louely parts
 Should be by death thus made unseruiceable. (II,ii)

The boar having been finally hunted down and destroyed by Meleager a quarrel breaks out because he awards the pelt to Atlanta. In the ensuing fight Meleager kills his uncles and after a brief space of time he weds Atlanta. Meleager's remarks before the funeral draw out the parallel with the changing mood of the winter of 1612-13.

First then, wee'l royally interre our vnkles,
 And spend some teares vpon the funerall rites,
 That done we'le in our Palace feast these Princes,
 With bright Atlanta, whom wee'le make our Queene.
 Our Vnkles once bestow'de into the earth,
 Our mournings shall expire in Bridall mirth. (II,ii).

Heywood has telescoped and altered his sources here. Adonis is certainly killed by a boar but in no account does he seem to be connected with the hunt of the Calydonion Boar, and Meleager, though responsible for slaying his uncles, does not marry Atlanta. The reasons for bringing the stories together in this way may be purely dramatic yet it may be that Heywood was influenced by events to choose these stories which reflected the contemporary mood.

As I have suggested the mixture of moods and the movement from grief to joy is closely connected with the fashion for tragi-comedy. Thus the final scene of A Chaste Maid in Cheapside probably owes its parallel to the death and marriage to the prevailing fashion. The scene opens with the funeral of the lovers and the lament of parents and friends. All are agreed that the previous objections to their marriage appear foolish in the knowledge of their death. This having been said the couple reveal that they still live and the funeral procession becomes a nuptial procession. Though the play may well have been written before 1612, one authority has confidently dated it at 1613 and for this reason I think

that the parallel is worthy of notice.

The parallels in Daniel's Hymen's Triumph are open to the same objection. The centre of the plot is once again the frustrated love of two young people. Forbidden to marry they disappeared and are thought by their respective fathers to be dead. At the wedding of Alexis and Galatea the fathers bitterly regret their actions,

Moderus come, we two must sit, and mourne
 Whilst others reuell. We are not for sports,
 Or nuptiall shewes, which will but show us more
 Our miseries, in beeing both depriu'd,
 The comforts of our issue, which might haue
 (And was as like to haue) made our hearts
 As ioyful now, as others are in theirs. (III,ii).

Regret and sadness at nuptial celebrations certainly parallel the tone of some of the poetry written for Elizabeth's wedding, but in the play Daniel is preparing the way for the reconciliation of the parents and the children, who are of course alive. It is perhaps more appropriate to regard the mixture of emotions as a device to draw from the audience as much sympathy and pathos as possible, rather than as a reflection of recent events.

The Two Noble Kinsmen offers more substantial evidence of a relationship with the death and the marriage. The opening scene exploits exactly that mixture of emotions which we find in the verse written for the marriage. The splendour and joy of the nuptial procession of Theseus and Hippolita finds sharp contrast in the appearance and the mission of the three queens who come to urge Theseus to take up their

quarrel with Green. The scene opens with a formal epithalamic song which accompanies the bride and groom to church. The final verse of the song aduabrates the approach of the wedding night in its request that Nature provide perfect conditions for the consummation of the marriage.

The Crow, the slanderous Cuckoo, nor
 The boading Raven, nor Chough hoar,
 Nor chattering Pie,
 May on our Bridehouse perch or sing,
 Or with them any discord bring
 But from it fly. (I, 1).

The entrance of three veiled women to the marriage procession must surely make a remarkable impact on stage, for at once the values of hope and generation, implicit in the marital procession, are challenged and qualified by the destructive attributes of death, decay, and grief, symbolised by the widows in their mourning. Such a sudden reversal of mood is not uncommon (one may recall the entrance of the messenger in the final scene of Love's Labour's Lost), but here the circumstances fit Elizabeth's marriage quite closely. In the play's source, Chaucer's The Knight's Tale, Theseus and Hippolita are married before the opening of the story. In the play they are on their way to the wedding when they are interrupted, and the wedding has to be postponed until the end of the play. It seems likely that any royal wedding shewn upon the stage at the time of this play's composition (1613-14) would arouse recollections of Elizabeth's marriage and more so here since the first scene is presented with some elaborateness. It may be significant

that the playwright has deliberately altered the source to fit in a royal wedding though it also increases the dramatic effect of the opening of the play. We may also detect a reflection of the Princess's wedding in the fact that Theseus's marriage is postponed because of the intervention of the ladies just as Elizabeth's was postponed because of Henry's death.

A further link with contemporary events is the entertainment offered by the rustics to Duke Theseus (III, v). Here the May dance and some of the characters have been borrowed from Beaumont's Masque of the Inner Temple. Gerrold, the schoolmaster, tells Theseus,

I first appear, though rude, and raw, and muddy,
 To speak before thy noble grace this tenor:
 At whose great feet I offer up my penner,
 The next, the Lord of May, and Lady bright,
 The Chambermaid, and Servingman by night,
 That seek out silent hangings: Then mine Host,
 And his fat Spouse, that welcome to their cost
 The galled Traveller, and with a beck'ning
 Informs the Tapster to inflame the reck'ning;
 Then the beast eating Clown, and next the fool,
 The Bayian, with the long tail, and eek long tool. (III, v)

This catalogue may be compared with the personnel of the second anti-masque in the Inner Temple Masque.

The second Anti-masque rush in, daunce their Measure, and as rudely depart; consisting of a Pedant, May Lord, May Lady; Servingman, Chambermaide; A Countrey Clowne, or Shepherd, Countrey Wench; an Host, Hostesse; a Hee Baboon, Shee Baboon; a Hee Fool, Shee Fool vshering them in.
 (sig. C3V)

The lists are very similar, the pedant of the Beaumont masque corresponds with the schoolmaster Gerrold, the only difference being in the description of the clowns.

The mixed emotion of the first scenes re-appears in the final scenes in which Palamon and Arcite contend for the honour of Emelia's hand. Arcite is the victor and it is decreed that Palamon shall die. The scene opens with the condemned man on the scaffold. His head on the block and waiting for the axeman's stroke he is redeemed by a messenger who tells of Arcite's mortal injury in falling from his horse. The dying Arcite is brought in and before he dies he asks Palamon to take Emelia. With his death we look towards a marriage once more as we did at the opening of the play. The strands are brought together by Theseus.

A day or two

Let us look sadly, and give grace unto
 The Funerall of Arcite, in whose end
 The visages of Bridegroomes we'll put on
 And smile with Palamon: For whom an hour,
 But one hour since, I was dearly sorry,
 As glad of Arcite: And am now as glad,
 As for him sorry.

Emelia's name is

(V.vi)

Here once more a marriage must wait upon a funeral. The fact that the play makes use of borrowings from a wedding masque would make it likely that the playwright(s) would be close to the events of 1612-13 and thus the mixture of emotions and the presentation of a royal marriage may be rather more than a coincidence. Furthermore pageantry and ceremony are so striking a feature of the play that the playwright(s) may well have had the splendour of the wedding celebrations in mind, and certainly the correspondences must have occurred to the contemporary audience. It must be recognised of course that with the exception of the first scene the source largely dictates the development and content of the plot, but this does not detract from the appropriateness of the play to the events of

the time and does not eliminate the possibility of their influence upon it.

Four Plays in One would seem at first sight to offer some parallel to the literature written for the marriage and contain a number of possible reflections. However the problem is complicated by the uncertainty of the date. Though W. J. Lawrence¹² tried to show that the play was written for the nuptials of Elizabeth and Frederick, he afterwards revised his view and argued for a date as late as 1625.¹³ It should be recalled that his dating of 1612-13 convinced neither Oliphant¹⁴ nor Chambers.¹⁵ The Annals of English Drama gives a date of 1608-13 and Oliphant, whose position rests upon his argument that Field's hand is detectable in the play, offers 1613-15. Recognising that no final assertion can be made on this problem it can be said that if the date were to be fixed after 1613 there is a likelihood that certain parallels might be taken as reflections. As it is I do not think that the parallels on their own are sufficient evidence to establish the date.

The four plays which make up the work are set within the framework of a royal entertainment commissioned for the marriage celebrations at the nuptials of the King of Portugal and the daughter of the King of Castile. Emanuel and Isabella, the bride and groom, look on during the performance and at the conclusion of each play they comment on what they have seen. Each playlet demonstrates a moral truth and their comment draws this out. The plays would seem to be intended for performance at Court

rather than in the public theatre for they contain some elaborate stage devices and a good deal of pomp and pageantry characteristic of the masque. In The Triumph of Honour there is a transfiguration in which a mist sweeps across the stage and the rocks of the landscape appear to move, and in The Triumph of Time a mine of gold is discovered in a rock. At the conclusion of each play there is a triumph or procession across the stage in which the main characters take part, together with musicians and pageant figures such as Concord and Revenge who direct the audience's attention to the moral burden of the piece. Elaborate use is also made of descents. Diana descends from Heaven in The Triumph of Honour and in The Triumph of Time, which is to all intents and purposes a masque, there is a double descent of Jupiter and Mercury. This together with much use of dust and snow is appropriate for the marriage entertainments and corresponds to the character of the entertainments of 1613 in which spectacle, music, and pageantry are the main ingredients together with some proffered advice, though the latter is more explicit and forceful in Four Plays In One.

More particular correspondences with the literature for Elizabeth's marriage may be noted in these and image, though they tend to spring from the nature of the event. The bride and groom, as we might expect are spoken of in ideal terms. The King is a fit husband for so gracious and excellent a Princess, as his worthy mate Isabella, the King of Castiles Daughter doth in her very external lineaments, mixture of colours, and joyning Dove-like behaviour, assure her self to be.

(Induction)

Rinaldo speaks of the marriage and the future in language which recalls the 1613 marriage literature,

And I protest (my dear Don) seriously, I can sing prophetically nothing but blessed hymns, and happy occasions to this sacred union of Portugal and Castile, which have so wisely and mutually conjoyned two such vertuous and beautifull Princes as these are; and in all opinion like to multiplie to their very last minute. (Induction)

The stress on the union of the kingdoms brought about by the marriage, and the hope for offspring of the match is repeated by Emanuel who calls his bride the 'fair fountain' of his life from whose pure streams the 'propagation of two kingdoms flows'. Later he looks to the future and prophesies,

I look through this hour like a perspective,
and far off see millions of prosperous seeds,
that our recipocall affection breeds. (Induction)

Similar sentiments are found in the marriage literature as are the images of river and ocean which are used by writers to express the union of Frederick and Elizabeth and that of England and Germany.

The most striking parallel occurs in the fourth play, The Triumph of Time, which shows in allegorical terms the downfall of Anthropos, a character who seems to stand for every man. In seeking assistance from his friends Flattery, Vain Delight, and Pleasure he is rejected and forced to make companions of Poverty, Simplicity, and Peace. At this point the Gods take a hand and order Time to compel Plutus, the God of Riches, to dwell with Anthropos. Plutus is discovered with a troop of Indians dancing wildly about him and though at first he is reluctant to

leave their innocent world he is at last persuaded. In Anthropos's service Plutus performs a miraculous feat in striking upon a rock and so revealing a gold mine. He then returns to the Indians leaving Anthropos to dwell amidst his new found riches. There are obvious affinities with Chapman's masque in the presentation of Plutus, the portrayal of the Indians, and the discovery of the mine in the rock. The rock which breaks apart is a common device in the masque and the association of Plutus with Indians, who were fabled to be rich beyond imagination, is understandable; however their combination and the manner of their presentation suggests some connection with Chapman's masque. Certainly the context of wedding celebrations in which the masque is here presented implies that the playwright made use of Chapman's work as an appropriate entertainment for the occasion. The difficulty of dating the four plays, individually and within their framework, precludes any certainty on this point for if the masque was written before 1613, as the limits offered by Annals of English Drama would allow, the indebtedness might be Chapman's.

There is perhaps one further allusion to the 1613 marriage celebrations. In the Induction Frigiso attempts to find a place for his acquaintance, Rinaldo, on the scaffold so that he might secure a good view of the proceedings.

but would you had come sooner; You see how full the Scaffolds are there is scant room for a Lovers thought here. Gentlewomen sit close for shame; Has none of ye a little corner for this Gentleman? I'll place ye, fear not.

The third masque at Whitehall had to be abandoned partly because of the

King's weariness but Chamberlain¹⁶ writes that 'the Hall was so full that yt was not possible to avoyde yt or make roome for them' (the masquers). The masque in question was written by Beaumont so it is probable that Fletcher - if this is his work - was well acquainted with the incident. On the other hand performances of masques at Court were notorious for the crowds they attracted and women were ordered to leave off their farthingales when they attended them because of the space ^{they} occupied.

In none of the plays so far discussed has the inflamed political and religious emotion - a feature of the literature written for the death and the marriage - found a reflection. The Roman Church is mildly lampooned in Dekker's If It Be Not Good the Devil Is In It and the iniquities of one of its prelates are revealed in The Duchess of Mal'i though here one feels that nationality rather than religious belief is responsible for the vice. Only two plays - The Hector of Germany by Wentworth Smith and Henry VIII by Shakespeare - reflect the religious and political excitement of the period and parallel the concern with the rivalry of Protestant and Catholic of those plays which were re-published in 1613, such as Thomas Lord Cromwell.

The Hector of Germany, or the Palsgrave, Prime Elector was most probably intended, as Louis B. Wright¹⁷ remarks, as a compliment to the Elector and his bride from the citizens of London. It was certainly performed by citizens, for the prologue takes great care to argue the right of citizen actors to strut upon the stage. The prologue also makes a formal disclaimer that the play has any relationship with recent

events - the date of its composition is 1614/15:

Our Author for himselfe, this bad me say,
 Although the Palsgraue be the name of th' Play,
 Tis not the Prince, which in this Kingdome late,
 Married the Maiden-glory of our state:
 What pen dares be so bold in this strict age,
 To bring him while he lives vpon the Stage?
 And though he would, Authorities sterne brow
 Such a presumptuous deede will not allow: (sig. A2v)

Though this claim is strictly true many of the themes and topics which we have examined in the poetry written for the marriage are once again handled here, and there are even echoes of a number of events of the previous year. Primarily the play offers a dream fulfillment to its citizen audience on the two levels of political and religious action and of personal success in love and social advancement. The hopes which many of the poets expressed, that the combined power of Great Britain and the Palatinate would eventually bring about the downfall of Popery and as a consequence secure the eternal safety of the European Protestant Reformation, are acted out in this play. The playwright narrates, with a curious prophetic insight in view of the genesis of the Thirty Years War, the political crisis and subsequent struggle over the election of the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. The rivals for the office are the Spanish usurper and the Duke of Savoy, the former supported by Saxony, Mentz, and Trier, and the latter by Britain, the Palsgrave, Bohemia, and Brandenburg. France is later induced to support the candidacy of the Spanish Bastard. At the opening of the play the Elector is gravely ill and unable to take part in the fighting. This results in defeat for the Protestant powers and the crown passes to the Bastard who imprisons

Savoy, Brandenburg, and Bohemia. Eventually the Palsgrave recovers his strength and seeks the assistance of the King of England. In order to offset this disadvantage the Spanish faction recruits French support. The combined English and Palatine forces invade France and through a ruse, organised in part by the citizen hero, Young Fitzwater, the Spanish party is overthrown. Though religious identifications are never made (the opposing forces are strictly national) it could hardly be overlooked by the most ignorant spectator that the Spanish and French were Roman Catholic and the English and Palatine forces were Protestant.

Thus, as Campion's Sibylla had predicted, the league, at least in the field of drama, had overcome its enemies. The Princes of England and the Palatinate, though their names were not Charles and Frederick, had defeated the Spanish tyranny. Wentworth Smith flatters his citizen audience by mirroring its own prejudices. The Palsgrave, having read the letter from the English King Edward, remarks,

That Nation my Grandfather did loue.
 And since I came to vnderstand their valour
 I held them the Prime Souldiers of the world:
 And thinke no Martiall Tutor fittes a prince,
 But hee that is a true borne Englishman. (sig. A5)

Later the Bastard is disturbed by the possibility of the English entering the dispute on the Palatine's side,

If such a day come, twill be blacke to vs:
 For of all Nations in the world, I hate
 To deale with Englishmen, they conquer so. (sig. D5v)

Finally in this vein there is the French King's complaint about his treatment after the defeats of Crecy and Poitiers. Such references to

the touchstones of national pride, the defeat of the Armada and the humbling of French pride, are pure clap-trap intended to summon up a sense of martial superiority and a patronising smugness.

The Palsgrave is highly praised and, like the poets, Smith grossly overestimates his political influence and power in Germany. His view of him as the most powerful figure on the European political scene, whilst it can be excused in some degree on dramatic grounds, reflects a dangerous fallacy seemingly general in England at the time. The Palsgrave says of himself,

Though I am chiefe Elector of the seuen,
And a meere Caesar now the Chayre is voyde. (sig. A3)

Only his sickness, it is implied, prevents him from enforcing his will on the Empire; for Bohemia says 'The strength of Germanie is sicke in him' (sig. A3v), and King Edward recalls that his sickness was the 'greatest losse'. (sig. C4v).

Hector is also praised for his personal prowess in much the same way as Frederick is praised. Edward speaks of his being matchless in chivalry and the play demonstrates his valour in arms. The Elector visits England and a tournament, reminiscent of the running at the ring and the entertainments arranged for Frederick's visit, and no doubt recalling them, is held in his honour. The Palsgrave carries all before him, as Clynton tells Old Fitzwater:

The best that ere I saw.
What a braue Horse that Palsgrue rid vpon,
And with what courage, nimbleness, and strength,
Did he vnhorse his valiant opposites?
Speares flew in splinters, halfe the way to heauen,
And none that ranne against him kept his saddle,
Except the King. (sig. B4)

Also recalling Frederick's visit, the presentation to the Palsgrave of the Order of the Garter symbolises the Anglo-Palatine union and the mutual respect and affection between Hector and Edward:

Ed. High is this Embassy, like to your valour,
Which I admire and loue ardently;
That I could wish your presence all my dayes
And thinke your company to me more sweete
Than mine owne Kingdome, or my Crowne besides.
Pals. Your loue and Royall presence I desire. (sig. G2).

The drama being as much a visual as a verbal medium, it is likely that more sympathy and respect was won for the Palsgrave in the final scene in which he kills the arch-villain, Saxony, than from all the verbal praise from the mouths of others. The extravagant praise heaped upon him is partially qualified by Artois's complaint that his position in Edward's favours has been undermined by Hector. His 'Must my affairs give place unto a Palsgrave?' recalls the misgivings on the part of many Englishmen that Frederick's status was too humble for Elizabeth's hand.

As we might expect, Smith confirms his audience's prejudices about the enemies of Protestantism. No doubt there was a favourable response to

The Bastards but a Coward, and a Spanyard,
Coward and Spanyard oft times goe together (sig. A4).

Again the parallel with the poetry for the marriage is exact. There the type figure of the plotting Papist and the Machiavel Jesuit were paraded by writers such as Wither who decries the lascivious appetites of the priests. Here we find the corrupt French King attempting to seduce the heroine Floremell and the French Queen entertaining designs on the young

Fitzwater. More striking however are the underhand and unchivalrous methods of the Spanish party, for they resort to assassination, employing two rogues and a traitor in an attempt to murder the King and the Palgrave. Fortunately the plan is unsuccessful for the assassins' pistols fail. Here there may be an allusion to the fears current at the time of the wedding that the Papists were planning the murder of the Palatine. Arthur Wilson writes,

For the Spaniard, who opposed the marriage of the Prince Palatine, and saw their ruine growing up in Prince Henries towardly Spirit, were reputed (vulgarly) the Mint-masters of some horrid practices; and that a Ship of Pocket Pistols was come out of Spain, fit Instruments for a Massacre. And these Trepidations were not onely in the lower Region but wrought upwards, so high that Proclamations were sent abroad, to forbid the making or carrying of Pistols, under a foot long in the Barrell. And all Papists are not onely disarmed (being ever esteemed Vassals to the Catholick King) but their Actions with caution pried into

(sig. I4)

The Spanish party in the play is unruly and indisciplined for each member seems to be purely self-seeking - the Saxon attempts to use the Spanish usurper as his puppet - whereas the Protestant allies display unshakeable comradeship and trust.

The play shows the combined powers of England and the Palatinate, in pursuit of a popular expansionist foreign policy, invading France and overthrowing the power of Spain. English arms are at their height and the popular ambition expressed so often in the poetry is presented in a dramatic form. The citizen audience may also identify itself with the hero who not only wins through, despite the opposition of both fathers, to marry the girl he loves, but also helps to bring about the victory of his King and receives his personal thanks. In addition therefore to presenting compliments from the citizens and the city to

the bride and groom, Wentworth Smith expresses their willingness to play their part in any religious struggle which is likely to ensue.

It has been asserted that Henry VIII was written in celebration of Elizabeth's wedding¹⁹ but no evidence external to the play has been offered to support this view. Henry VIII is not among those plays presented at Court about the time of the marriage as listed in the Chamber Account for May 1613, but it may have been the intended production for the Tuesday following the marriage, for we learn that

The night proceeding much expectation was made of a stage play to be acted in the Great Hall by the King's players, where many hundred of people stood attending the same; but it hapned contrarie, for greater pleasures were preparing.²⁰

The 'greater pleasures' was the masque presented by the members of Gray's Inn and the Inner Temple. The substitution of the lawyers' masque may perhaps have denied us one certain example of a stage play written for a specific occasion, but without external evidence we cannot be sure. I would suggest however that the play's mixture of moods reflects in part public feeling, so far as it may be judged, during the period January-June 1613, and that the matter of the play would have been appropriate to the religious and political prejudices which the marriage seems to have stimulated. Finally I would suggest that there are in the play a number of allusions to the events of the time which may cast some light on the problem of the occasion and the date.

R. A. Foakes²¹ has placed Henry VIII within the context of Shakespeare's last plays, and defined in it, in common with The Winter's Tale, and The Tempest, themes of justice and injustice, forgiveness, and particularly

the restoration of what has been lost and the rectifying of the mistakes and sufferings of an older generation in the vitality, joy, and hope of a younger. It is important to remember that these themes are common to all Shakespeare's late work since in a cruder and more diffuse form they occur in the literature for the marriage when poets consider the hopes of regeneration as a partial compensation for the Prince's death - after the sorrow and loss of winter comes the joy and hope of Spring. Thus the mood of mingled sadness and joy which we find in Henry VIII may be coincidental, only seeming to reflect a more general state of mind.

The prologue sets the tone promising an entertainment 'Sad, high, and working, full of state and woe'. (1. 3) and the final lines speak of sorrow even at time of joy,

And if you can be merry then, I'll say
A man may weep upon his wedding day. (Prologue, ll. 31-2)

The choice of the words 'wedding-day' may be merely fortuitous but they nonetheless recall the sadness still felt by many people at the time of the marriage which is expressed in Chapman's 'Sing, sing a rapture to all nuptial ears, / Bright Hymen's torches drunk up Parcae's teares'. In seeking out reflections we are perhaps on firmer ground when Shakespeare brings together the two gentlemen before Anne Bullen's coronation,

1. Gent. Y'are well met once again.
2 Gent. So are you.
1 Gent. You come to take your stand here, and behold
The Lady Anne pass from her coronation?
2 Gent. 'Tis all my business. At our last encounter
The Duke of Buckingham came from his trial.
1 Gent. 'Tis very true. But that time offer'd sorrow,
This general joy. (IV, 1, ~~ll~~ 1-7)

Buckingham, a man popular with the people as was Prince Henry, had been going to his death and here Anne, a representative (as we shall see) of Protestantism, was returning from her crowning. The recollected sorrow at a time of public rejoicing recalls the events of November 1612 - February 1613 - those same streets and those same citizens saw the funeral of Prince Henry pass by in December and witnessed the progress of the masquers on their way to Whitehall in the following February. I do not wish to press the correspondence too far but the mood is similar to that of some of the marriage literature and it is likely that a contemporary audience would have recognised this. The darker note is struck once more during the procession. The gentlemen are attempting to identify the dignitaries as they pass:

2 Gent. I take it, she that carries up the train

Is that old noble lady, Duchess of Norfolk.

1 Gent. It is, and all the rest are countesses.

2 Gent. Their coronets say so. These are stars indeed -

1 Gent. And sometimes falling ones.

2 Gent. No more of that. (ll. 51-55)

The fall of the great is a central theme of the play and this remark has its place within that context but here it may not be too fanciful to recall Prince Henry who also fell like a 'falling star'.

The juxtaposition of opposing emotional states which we recognise in this scene is characteristic of the play's structure. Wilson Knight²² has pointed out how a series of falls in the play is countered by the gaiety of a banquet, the coronation, or the christening and how the oppositions are deliberate:

the tragic and religious as opposed by the warm, sex-impelled, blood; the eternities of death as against the glow and thrill of incarnate life, of creation.

This same opposition, the tragedy of early death contrasted with the hope of marriage and procreation, is taken up, though not with Shakespeare's subtlety, by a number of writers who celebrate the marriage. The parallel should not be pressed too far, but as it is presented here in terms of the fall of Princes and great men, contrasted with the vigour and splendour of pageant, masque, and procession, the warmth of the King's passion for Anne and the life symbol of the baby Elizabeth, there is a close correspondence with the events and the occasional literature. Thus it seems more than likely that Shakespeare in this play reflects something of the contemporary happenings and that his handling of certain scenes and themes is influenced by the events and the general mood of the time.

It can also be argued that the play would have been appropriate entertainment for a wedding celebration in so far as it contains a number of scenes of pageant and splendour, again reflecting the mood of the time. The trial of Catherine opens with an impressive procession of church-men, the masque at Wolsey's palace provides an opportunity for music and dancing, and the Coronation procession and Christening offer the chance of presenting a vivid spectacle, a chance which was not missed when the play was produced in June 1613. Sir Henry Wotton²³ in a letter to Sir Edmund Bacon reports that the play

was set forth with many extraordinary circumstances of Pomp and Majesty, even to the matting of the stage; the Knights of the Order, with their Georges and Garter, the Guards with their emboidered Coats, and the like: sufficient in truth within a while to make greatness very familiar, if not ridiculous.

Though all Shakespeare's late plays exploit the possibilities of music, dance, and spectacle, none present these elements to the same extent and in so splendid a manner as Henry VIII and it is possible, as Foakes argues, that these scenes are reflections of the shows and processions of the wedding.

The matter of the play is certainly appropriate for the time. As we have noted the match between Frederick and Elizabeth was regarded as a guarantee of security for European Protestantism in its struggle against the Counter-Reformation and was greeted by many writers as a corner-stone in the safe-guarding of the true religion. Anti-Catholic sentiment is common in the occasional literature, for the marriage was regarded by many as the first step on the road to the ruin of Popedom. Eliza's sons, it may be recalled, will destroy Popish pride and bring down Rome's walls. One of the chief objects of Protestant censure is the Jesuit order whose ambitions to control Kings and subjects, together with their plottings and intrigues, are sometimes hysterically attacked. In this respect Wolsey's intrigues, double-dealing, deceit, ambition and greed make him the type figure of the Jesuit of popular imagination. The criticisms made of him in the play tend to bear out this view. In the first scene Buckingham accuses him of over-ambitious designs and at 11.167 he charges him with arranging a treaty with the French which he,

having been bribed by the Emperor Charles, quickly breaks. In Scene ii we see Wolsey responsible for the tax scandal, skilfully avoiding the blame by putting out the rumour that he had requested the King to withdraw those taxes which he himself had imposed. It is made plain in Act II, Scene i that he is responsible for Buckingham's downfall and in Scene iii the blame for the divorce is also laid at his door. He is accused of so managing affairs that all possible rivals are sent to distant parts of the country far away from the centre of power, and his final and fatal crime is his vast acquisition of wealth through abuse of office together with the King's discovery that whilst urging the divorce at home Wolsey had encouraged the Pope to reject the petition so that Henry might not marry Anne Bullen. The identification of Wolsey's party with Roman Catholicism would of course be obvious from the robes he would wear, and no doubt in as elaborate a production as Henry VIII appears to have been the point would have been made forcefully. The identification is strengthened^{en} by no less a person than the King who, when the divorce seems to be dragging says,

I may perceive
 These cardinals trifle with me: I abhor
 This dilatory sloth, and tricks of Rome.
 My learn'd and well-beloved servant Cranmer,
 Prithes return: with thy approach, I know
 My comfort comes along; (II, iv, 23-38)

Any contemporary audience might be expected to cry amen to that.

Anne Bullen on the other hand is identified with the Protestant party, for Wolsey objects to her marriage to the King and mentions her religious position as the main ground for his opposition:

as Wolsey admits, brings him down. Cromwell tells him that Anne, now openly acknowledged Queen, will soon be crowned. Wolsey replies,

There was the weight that pull'd me down. O Cromwell,
The king has gone beyond me: all my glories
In that one woman I have lost forever. (III. ii. 407/9)

Here perhaps we see the hopes for the marriage of Frederick and Elizabeth acted out in the England of Henry VIII, for just as Wolsey was toppled by the marriage of Anne and Henry, so, the occasional writers hope, the marriage of Frederick and Eliza will topple the power of Rome. The union of Henry and Anne is blessed by a child, Elizabeth, who Cranmer prophesies will bring peace and a golden future to the realm. The last scene of the play, as Foakes argues, may present a compliment not only to Queen Elizabeth I and King James but also to Princess Elizabeth. It opens with Garter King of Arms blessing the baby Elizabeth in terms which are taken largely from Holinshed²⁴ though no doubt recalling to the audience the Princess's wedding and subsequent ceremonies. The herald's blessing is,

Heaven, from thy endless goodness, send prosperous life, long and ever happy, to the high and mighty princess of England, Elizabeth. (V. iv. 1/3)

whilst Peacham in The Period of Mourning records that

Mr. Garter Principall King of Armes, published the stile of the Prince and Princesse, to this effect: All Health, Happinesse and Honour be to the High and Mightie Princes, FREDERICK and ELIZABETH (sig H2v)

We must be cautious and not attempt to ascribe these correspondences to the conscious purpose of the dramatist(s). All I would suggest is that the play is topically appropriate in its religious/political matter and in showing some interesting parallels with the occasional works written for the wedding partially reflects the events of the time. The playwright(s)

in the choice of subject no doubt responded to the mood of the time and it is likely, though impossible to demonstrate, that had the play been written at any other period the handling of the religious themes would have been different.

Foakes in his edition ²⁶ has seen allusions to the wedding and the celebrations, in the Lords' complaint against the French-influenced gallants and their interest in fights and fireworks (I,iii), in the Cardinal's masque (I,iv), the scene in which the porter and his man struggle to keep out the crowd (V. iii), and the last scene of the christening. It is possible I think to detect allusions to the wedding and celebrations and to Prince Henry's death in two other episodes of the play - the description of the masques at the Field of the Cloth of Gold given by Norfolk in Act I, Scene 1, and Wolsey's speech after his fall from office. Norfolk tells Buckingham that,

Became the next day's ^{Each following day} master, till the last
 Made former wonders, its. To-day the French,
 All clinquant all in gold, like heathen gods
 Shone down the English; and to-morrow they
 Made Britain India; every man that stood
 Show'd like a mine. Their dwarfish pages were
 All cherubins, all gilt, the madams too,
 Not us'd to toil, did almost sweat to bear
 The pride upon them, that their very labour
 Was to them a painting. Now this masque
 Was cried incomparable: and th' ensuing night
 Made it fool and beggar.

(ll. 16-28)

There is surely a recollection here of the wedding masques. The Lords Masque of the Sunday evening was followed on the Monday evening by the entertainment of The Middle Temple and Lincoln's Inn which was itself followed on the Tuesday evening by the elaborate and impressive water

procession of the Gray's Inn and Inner Temple masquers, though the masque itself was postponed until the following Saturday. The Templers were certainly attempting to outdo their rivals in the splendour of their show and their passage through London. There is however a closer allusion, for Shakespeare in this description may have in mind the masque written by Chapman for the Middle Temple and Lincoln's Inn. The main masque was dressed in Indian costume representing the Phoebades from Virginia. The costume was very rich with gold and silver trappings. In addition Chapman contrived to bring the heathen gods, Honour and Plutus, the God of Riches, to honour the wedding. Plutus it should be noted was dressed in 'a short robe of gold, fringed his wide sleeves turned up, and out showed his naked arms; his head and beard sprinkled with showers of gold; his buskins cliquant as his other attire'. One of the foremost spectacles of the masque was the discovery of the Virginians within a 'rich and refulgent mine of gold' where the costumes shone and glittered with reflected light. Thus each man seemed part of the richness of the mine. The dwarfish pages have their equivalent in Chapman's masque in the mock-masque of Baboons who were attired like fantastical travellers in Neapolitan suits and with great ruffs, all horsed with asses and dwarf palfreys with yellow footcloths. If indeed there is an allusion here to the masque it would point to a date of composition for the play during or after the wedding celebrations since it seems unlikely that the dramatist would know of the arrangements of the masque in much detail before hand. It would thus seem impossible that the play was specifically written for performance at the celebrations.

Wolsey left alone on stage after his impeachment and deprived of his lands and goods ponders on the state of man and concludes that all earthly pomp and power is illusory:

This is the state of man; to-day he puts forth
 The tender leaves of hopes, tomorrow blossoms,
 And bears his blushing honours, thick upon him;
 The third day comes a frost, a killing frost,
 And when he thinks, good easy man, full surely
 His greatness is a-ripening, nips his root,
 And then he falls as I do. (III, ii, 352-358)

These sentiments of contemptus mundi spring naturally from their context yet they may also allude to or reflect the recent death of Prince Henry for the imagery of natural growth and blossom blasted by early and unexpected frost, though common in elegiac poetry^{is} used in the literature on the Prince's death. Furthermore Henry received many 'blushing honours' and it was generally felt that his greatness was 'a-ripening' when he died. The remarks also seem more appropriate for someone who like the Prince had yet to make his mark in the world than for Wolsey who had already reached eminence, though the Cardinal may have in mind his Papal ambitions at this point. It does not seem too fanciful to suggest that a contemporary audience would recall the recent death of the Prince of Wales on hearing Wolsey's meditation.

²⁶
 Many scholars and editors have argued that The Tempest was altered for the performance at Court during the celebrations for the marriage. There is no external evidence that the play was regarded as more important or appropriate than any of the others which were presented, and none that it was used to mark a special occasion. Nonetheless the

masque and the banquet have been singled out as the elements which were written into the play to make it more appropriate to the wedding celebrations. The masque is in no sense a wedding masque however, for Iris speaks of Ferdinand and Miranda as those

Whose vows are, that no bed-right shall be paid
Till Hymen's torch be lighted: but in vain (IV. 1. 96-7)

The masque is obviously a betrothal entertainment. The masque's personnel do have a parallel in the characters of Beaumont's Masque in that Iris introduces both masques. Furthermore the nymphs who dance with the sicklemen in The Tempest's masque are matched by the nymphs of the rivers in the anti-masque of Beaumont's entertainment. Both of these are slight similarities however since Iris as the servant of Juno, the goddess of marriage, might well be expected to appear in any celebration of marriage or betrothal. Ceres too, who is alluded to in The Lords Masque, is also a stock figure of the marriage entertainment. Even if a link between the masques in terms of personnel could be established it would prove little since the play ante-dates the masque in its performance at the celebrations and this would imply that any indebtedness would be Beaumont's rather than Shakespeare's.

There is no imagery which connects the play with the literature specifically written for the marriage. The expression of hope for fertility and offspring is general to the wedding masque and it is difficult to accept the speculations of Dover Wilson and Lawrence²⁷ on the lines,

Spring come to you at the farthest,
In the very end of harvest: (IV, 1, 114/115).

They argue that 'Spring' is a veiled reference to the future

offspring of the royal marriage. Since however the wedding was celebrated on February 14th the end of harvest would be too early a time to expect legitimate issue. But this obstacle is negotiated by the speculation that the entertainment was originally intended for performance at an earlier date but Prince Henry's death postponed both wedding and play. Kermode²⁸ rightly notes that the lines defeat all attempts to make them apply specifically to human fertility and lovers outside the play.

The banquet scene has been called Shakespeare's most elaborate experiment in stage spectacle and in contrast to the masque, where the only refinement is the descent of Juno, its presentation requires sophisticated machinery. Though J.C. Adams²⁹ has ingeniously argued that the scene could be presented on the Globe stage, it seems more appropriate for the private theatre or for Court performance and indeed is just the kind of spectacle which might be contrived for a special occasion, though there is no reason why such an occasion should be limited to the marriage of the Princess.

Reflections of the Death and Marriage in Prose and Verse Literature.

The occasional writers and poetasters seem to have quickly forgotten Prince Henry's death and Elizabeth's marriage, for there are few recollections of them in prose and verse in the following years. The events seem, as it were, to have dropped from the headlines. Writers and poets, having explored them to their limit and drawn from them the maximum advantage, moved on to bewail other deaths and celebrate other marriages. Chapman, perhaps seeking fresh patronage, composed an elegy on the death of Lord Russell in August 1613,³⁰ and contributed to the

praises and congratulations of Rochester and Frances Howard on their marriage in December 1613 with his poem Andromeda liberata³¹ - a piece which gained the poet a good deal of odium, as some saw in it a slighting reference to the bride's divorced husband, Essex. The divorce proceedings which lasted from May to September and the subsequent marriage on 26 December aroused much public interest. The wedding celebrations, organised in part by Ben Jonson and the anonymous writers of the Masque of Flowers, brought 1613 to a spectacular conclusion - the masquing, feasting, and revels continued until Twelfth Night - and no doubt erased the memories of the Princess's wedding and its associated celebrations of the previous spring.

An examination of the prose and verse literature of the years following the death and the marriage reveals that the main preoccupation of writers and poets was the moral corruption and decadence of society. In varying tones and degrees of outrage and concern vice is castigated in sermon, moral treatise, satirical poem, and verse or prose narrative. The targets - pride, profanity, lust, and greed - are objectified in the excesses of gallants and roaring boys (whose smoking and drunkenness is repeatedly attacked), prostitutes and their pimps, and usurers, whilst the general ingratitude of men for God's grace and mercy is everywhere lamented.

Thomas Adams in Englands sicknes, comparatively conferred with Israel's, a sermon published in 1614, graphically describes war and the plague (G4-HIV), which ~~have~~^{are} the punishments for England's lack of faith, and afterwards fulminates against the dangers from within represented by

the Papistes, the atheists, and Babylonians (sig. F4). The lesson that society's sickness is the result of sin is firmly driven home. The sermon has perhaps a further call on our attention, for the preacher speaks at some length on the text 'The King's daughter is all glorious within' (Psalm 45. 13.), a text much used in the sermons for Elizabeth's marriage. It may be that he is aware of the possibility of some confusion here for he seems to warn his reader (sig. C2) that he is not referring to Elizabeth remarking that he speaks not topically but typically.

The note of criticism and lament is also found in less didactic works. In Samuel Rowlands's mild verse satire The Melancholie Knight the affectations of a gallant who remarks of himself

Like discontented Tymon in his Cell,
My braines with melancholy humers swell. (sig B1).

are ridiculed. Usury, the taking of tobacco, and false pride are presented in an adverse light and the belief that the present age is inauspicious and decaying is presented in terms of the knight's regret for the passing of the age of chivalry. Though Rowlands handles this notion humorously; Humphrey King in An halfe-penny worth of wit or the hermits tale takes it more seriously. The hermit whom the poet meets is a persuasive spokesman for the contemptus mundi philosophy. He argues that the old times were better, for the people were more honest (sig. D4-E1), and offers as proof of this view a catalogue of the vices of contemporary society.

The most readable of the moral commentators is the soldier and writer Barnaby Rich. The Honestie of this age, written in a weightily ironic style, soon reveals the author's view of the world - 'A general

corruption hath overgrowne the vertues of this latter times, and the world is become a Brothell house of sinne'(sig. B3). His critical eye is cast wide and he complains of the fashion for rich clothes, the decline in charity, the popularity of the theatre, flatterers, court parasites, and the increase in coachmen. The example given to children by their parents is found wanting - if the wife trots will not the daughter able, he remarks. The fashions of earlier times were superior but now the world goes on 'crouches' (sig. C4v). Rich takes greatest exception however to tobacco. He denies its alleged curative properties and asserts that those who smoke are in fact more likely to be infected with the pox. Furthermore the waste in money and time caused by the habit outrages him. In prose which communicates in its rhythmic vigour his mounting anger, he calculates the money spent on tobacco in London in a year. Allowing for 7,000 tobacco shops which he estimates must take at least half-a-crown per day each to remain in business he arrives at the total of £319,375 and even this figure he laments does not include the money wasted on ale (D4).

In the verse and prose literature the reflections of the death and the marriage are of a different order from those found in the drama. Much of the material is directed to a limited and topical purpose - the satires, sermons, and tracts - and there is little fiction in which moods reflecting the events could be developed. The drama is able to handle themes, ideas, and feelings in a free and imaginative manner through plot, character, and sustained debate within the individual play's structure. This potential is generally denied to the poet and writer, whose canvas is

smaller. In the prose and verse the reflections are more likely to be direct allusion in terms of recollection of the events.

Furthermore with writers so preoccupied by moral concerns and with a current fashion for verse satire and books of characters³³ the death of Prince Henry in general seems to be recalled only to point a moral or adorn a tale. John Hillyard's sensational pamphlet Fire from Heaven exemplifies this point. Hillyard or his publisher was adept at provoking the potential reader's curiosity, for the title-page describes a lurid and exciting event: 'Fire From Heauen./ Burning the body of one Iohn Hittchell of /Holne-hurst, within the parish of Christ-church, in the/ Country of Southampton the 26. of Iune last 1613. who/ by the same was consumed to ashes, and no fire scene, lying there- / in smoaking and smothering three dayes and three nights, not to / be quenched by water, nor the help/ of mans hand'. The reader is also urged to 'Reade and tremble', but all this is spurious being a disguise for a severely didactic moral tract, a vigorous attack on contemporary vice. The narration of the tragedy proclaimed by the title-page, the death of a man struck by lightning, is dismissed in a paragraph and the rest of the pamphlet is given over to drawing the dreadful implications - if an honest man may be struck down in this way, what may befall a sinner, for sin provokes God's punishment, An example of this may be seen in the death of the Prince of Wales:

What land has euermore plenty of all thinges then this Realme of England? and yet what country vnder the Sunne may be compared with it for vnthankfulness? Wee haue the light of the glorious Ghospell set vpon an hill, and yet too manie rather then they will see it will sit blind-fold in the valley of ignorance. Can any Cronicles make report of a more worthie, wise, vertuous, godly, & religious, Prince then the late Prince Henry? in whome the worthines of all the eight Henries before him met as in their confluence: I may speake of him as the Apostle spoke of those (with whome he is now in companie) The world was not worthy of him: And although our sinnes no doubt were the cause why he was taken from vs, yet who is the more sorrowfull? And whereas God (blessed be his name) hath left vnto vs not onley the Sunne and Moone of our firmament, but also Charleswayne to remaine in our Horizon: A Prince, if Starres be of any truth, like to be of long life, and great learning most hopefull for his time, most fruitfull for his hopes. (Sig. A4v)

Hillyard is repeating compliments and ideas which are familiar in the elegies and sermons, but here Prince Henry, no longer the centre of concern, is quoted as an exemplum of virtue and piety. Again, as in the occasional literature, the hopes for future success and prosperity are transferred to Charles who, curiously in so Puritan a pamphlet, is said to have benevolent stars.

In The Parliament of Vertues Royal Joshua Sylvester also presents Prince Henry as an example to be emulated by Prince Charles. The poem, translated from the French of Bertault, discusses the virtues and personal characteristics most desirable in a ruler and warns against such vices as hypocrisy, superstition, and prodigality. Sylvester in offering the work to Charles prays that it may influence and guide him in his future actions(A3). Aware that he may cause offence to the Prince's tutors by seeming to usurp their position he asks that his poem be accepted as a piece of light though instructive relief from more formal education, and he is careful to compliment their devotion and skill:

I know, the Field of His Yong HIGHness heart
 So duly till'd by Your deep Care and Art
 Adding His Fathers Royall golden Writt;
 And goodly Practize, to demonstrate it:
 His (late) rare Brother's Pattern, of Renowe:
 With Honest Quin's new-cast Prince Worthy Crowne: (sig.A2)

At the conclusion of this poem Sylvester professes to see in Prince Charles some consolation for Henry's death. He is a 'Phenix arising from a Phoenix Dust' who will

Restore our great losse, in Great HENRIE'S Toomb
 Long, long and Happy (in thy Brother's roome) (sig.F3)

This sentiment is repeated in Sylvester's dedication to Prince Charles of St Lewis: or a Lamp of Grace, another translation published with The second session of the Parliament of Vertues Reall. Here the poet addresses the Prince with servile gratitude. He has translated this poem

To intimate my Faith, and my Affection,
 Your gracious hand Thus binds my gratefull heart
 To Offer Heavn my Vowes and You my Verse,
 For that Deliuerance You haue daignd, in part,
 To my poore Hopes, wrackt in your Brothers Hearse. (sig. Aa 2)

Henry's death is occasionally recalled as an example of an event of outstanding sadness and grief. Sylvester in An Elegie and Epistle (sig. I 3) which was published with Lachrymae Lachrymarum attempts to console Sir William Sidney's mother on the death of her son by pointing out the sadness which the Prince's death brought to the nation and the bitterness of the Queen's grief. Abraham Jackson in celebrating the death of John Lord Harington heightens the grief of the deceased man's sister, Lucy, Countess of Bedford, by comparing it with that of classical figures and recent history:

And if you can coniove Polixen's woe,
 When her deare brother Troilus was slaine,
 By force of fierce Achilles fatall blowe:
 Or how that royall PRINCES did complaine,
 For Brittains hope, renowned HENRIES death;
 So might you think did Bedford spend her breath. (sig. A7v)

Because of Harington's close friendship with the Prince the poet extends his recollections of Henry's death (sig. B6v-B7). He parallels the family's sadness on the death of Harington with that of the nation on the death of the Prince:

Twas Brittains case when HENRY bid farewell.
 HENRY a Master-piece of Natures mould,
 The young mans hope, the refuge of the old.

HENRY that was your Cons, your Brothers Lord:
 HENRY, whom he in vertue imitated;
 HENRY, by whose example he was stor'd
 With noble-minded thoughts, to heauen elated. (sig. B6v)

Michael Drayton also recalls the Prince's death in his elegy for Lady Penelope Clifton who died in October 1613. Though he makes use of the recollection in a different manner, the result is much the same as in the previous examples - a heightened sense of loss and grief on Lady Clifton's death:³⁴

Mist I needes write, who's he that can refuse,
 He wants a minde, for her that hath no Muse,
 The thought of her doth heav'nly rage inspire,
 Next powerfull, to those cloven tongues of fire.

Since I knew ought time never did allowe
 Me stufte fit for an Elegie, till now;
 When France and England's HENRIE's dy'd my quill,
 Why, I know not, but it that time lay still.
 'Tis more than greatnesse that my spirit must raise,
 To observe custome I use not to praise.

Richard Niccols makes similar use of Henry's death in Monodia, or Walthams Complaint, a poem which laments the death of Lady Honor Hay.

The poet wandering through the grounds of Waltham Abbey, the family home of the Bannys, meets the spirit of the place which urges him to lament her death as he had lamented the death of the Prince:

For left to us poore Waltham nothing is
Of my deare Honor now, excepting this,
That buriall to her body dead I giue,
Who gaue it birth at first, when it did liue;
There as thou didst before her liuing shed
Thy sisters Teares for Royall Henrie dead,
Vanto her Teab, let teares thy dutie tell,
And from sad Waltham bid a sad farewell. (sig. B6V-B7)

The linking of the two deaths adds significance to the death of the poet's patron, and is appropriate also in that the elegy Niccol wrote on Henry's death was dedicated to Lady Hay.

Such self-indulgence and self-advertisement in mentioning one's previous poetry lead to George Wither's recollection of the death and the marriage in The Shepheard's Hunting published in 1614 and in A satyre dedicated to his most excellent Maiestie published in the following year. Wither was preoccupied during these years with the misfortunes which had befallen him after the publication of his satire, Abuses Stript and Whipt, 1614. It had gravely offended, and the poet was committed to the Marshalsea. Both poems are written from prison and are attempts to win support for the poet's release. The Shepheard's Hunting, five Eclogues in the Arcadian manner, tells of Wither's motives in writing Abuses and of the subsequent imprisonment. Three friends visit him, Willie (William Browne), Alexis (William Ferrar), and Cuddy (Christopher Brooke), and in the conversation which follows the

poet justifies his actions, manfully accepts his imprisonment as a spur to contemplation, and emphasises the comfort of a clear conscience. In these circumstances mention of Prince Henrie's Obsequies and the Epithalamia is some proof of the loyalty of their composer to the crown. Thus he recalls

But, though I say't, the noblest Nymph of Thame,
Hath graced my verse, unto my greater fame.

Later Alexis asks Philarete, (Wither), about his poems on the death and the marriage:

Didst thou not then in dolefull Sonnets moane,
When beloved of great Pan was gone?
And at the wedding of fair Thame and Rhine,
Sing of their glories to thy Valentine?

This helps to present Wither not as the cynical satirist but rather as the sincere and public spirited commentator.

A satyre dedicated to his most excellent Majesty covers much the same ground. He argues that he did not attempt to scandalize the state, urge sedition or attack anyone by name. His aim was rather to highlight vice for, as he sees society, vice often receives the reputation and privilege of virtue because of its wealth. He ^{is} concerned to establish his loyalty to the crown and to this end is not above writing in the most abject manner:

My Soule's as good, my Heart as great as theirs.
My love unto my Country and to thee,
As much as his that more would seeme to be. (sig. E7v)

Once more Wither recalls his Epithalamion and the fact that Princess Elizabeth had given him her support when he was first in danger of imprisonment for publishing in 1611 Abuses Stript and Whipt:

Yet one I had, and now I want one more;
 For once I stood accus'd for this before.
 As I remember and so long ago,
 Sung Thana, and Rhynne Epithalamion.
 When SHE that from thy Royall selfe deriues
 Those gracious vertues that best Title giues.
 She that makes Rhynne proud of her excellence,
 And me oft minde her here with reuerence;
 Daign'd in her great-good nature to incline
 Her gentle care to such a cause as mine; (sig. Bv-Fl)

He asks the King to take up the poet's defence as Elizabeth had done and continues that if he is released from prison he will compose a poem devoted to the praise of the Princess:

I'll make her Muse giue life vnto a Song,
 Whose neuer-dying note shall last as long
 As there is either Riuer, Groue, or Spring,
 Or Downe, for Sheepe, or Shepheards Led to sing. (sig. Flv)

Here therefore the recollection of the death and the marriage is an attempt on the part of the poet to remind a potential patron or sympathiser of previous service. They are remembered less for their emotional significance than as pieces of evidence in a litigation.

Wither's friend, William Browne, would seem to have no overt personal motive for lamenting Prince Henry's death in the Fifth Song of his Britannia's Pastorals published between 1613-16. In the first part of the Song, Idya, England under her Pastoral name, sings a lament for her buried love, the Prince, in notes which, Browne tells us, move the rocks to pity. As in many of the elegies, when the poet attempts to compose his funeral song he finds his Muse struck dumb by grief:

but now I come
 Vnto my taske, my Muse is stricken dumbe.
 My blubbring pen her sable teares lets fall,
 In Characters right Hieroglyphicall,
 And mixing with my teares are ready turning,
 My late white paper to a weede of mourning (sig. M4)

The poet takes his way to a small island where he intends to write his elegy. There he comes upon Idya whom he describes in terms reminiscent of the complimentary description of Elizabeth; had Homer and Virgil looked on her beauty, Helen and Dido would have been forgotten. It is upon Prince Henry that Idya (England) lavishes her affection, and she too has come to lament his death.

At last her truest love she threw upon
 A royall Youth, whose like, whose Paragon
 Heaven neuer lent the Earth; so great a spirit
 The World could not containe, nor kingdomes merit;
 And therefore Joue did with the Saints inthrono him,
 And left his Lady nought but teares to moane him.
 Within this place (as wofull as my Verse)
 She with her Cristall founts bedew'd his Hearse,
 Inuailled with sable weede she sate,
 Singing this song which stones dissolved at. (sig. NI)

The notion of Henry as a Prince without comparison whom the nation did not deserve is common in the elegies, and this passage leads into a slight reworking of the elegy which Browne had published in celebration of the death. The changes from the first published form seen primarily intended to make Idya's rendering of her lament more dramatic - the punctuation is strengthened and more liberal use is made of the explanation mark. The poet admits to being profoundly moved not only by the lament but by the passion and grief of the singer, and he remarks that if the sirens had heard her song they would have left their shelves and have drowned themselves to come near to her. Aletheia, Truth, now comes to Idya and they comfort each other in their loss, and recall in consolation the splendour of Queen Elizabeth's reign and the establishment through her

rule of the Protestant Reformation. Elizabeth is the 'nursing mother of God's Israel'

by whose hand the sacred Trine did bring
Us out of bonds, from bloody Bonnering. (sig N4)

Having thus framed his elegy within an allegorical and pastoral framework, and in common with the majority of elegy writers taken his tilt at Catholicism Browne changes his scene and theme to the conversion of Riot.

There may also be reflections of the Prince's death in the fourth Eclogue of Browne's The Shepherd's Pipe, published in 1614. This section of the poem laments the death of Mr Thomas Mamwood. Browne follows elegiac convention. The mood is established by the autumnal scene, the rising rivers, and the trees' falling asp. The Gods are urged to mourn and the reader is assured that the poet's grief can never be assuaged. The standard image of the rose blasted by frost and the familiar explanation that the dead man died because he was virtuous are also pressed into service. Finally the poet mourns not for the deceased but rather for himself. More uncommon is the idea that however short a man's life may be in years it may nevertheless be completely fulfilled,

Yet though so long hee liu'd not as hee might,
Hee had the time appointed to him giuen,
Who liueth but the space of one poor night,
His birth, his youth, his age is in that Euen.
Who euer doth the period see
Of dayes by heau'n forth plotted,
Dyes full of age, as well as hee
That had more yeares allotted. (sig. D8)

There may be some recollection here of Tournear's notion that Prince Henry had lived a complete life despite his early death because in his few

years he had performed as many virtuous acts as the average man achieves in a full lifetime. Furthermore the elegy is a model pastoral lament, displaying all the devices which are used in the poems written for the Prince's death, so that one feels that Browne may be drawing on them for his models. Certainly he establishes a more even and restrained tone and handles the conventions more adroitly than in his elegy on Henry. It may not be too fanciful to suggest that he learned from the substantial body of elegiac literature which had recently appeared.

Prince Henry's death fell most heavily upon Sir Walter Raleigh for the Prince was at that time attempting to procure his release from the Tower and the long and unjust imprisonment which he had suffered since 1603. 1612 offered some hope of success for Cecil, the main conspirator against Raleigh, had died that May of scurvy and dropsy, and with the negotiations for Elizabeth's marriage with the Protestant Palatine moving towards a successful conclusion pro-Spanish feeling at Court was on the wane. Thus Raleigh's dispatch of medicine to the dying Prince was more than an act of friendship, as Chamberlain notes in a letter to Carleton:

In his extremitie they tried all manner of conclusions upon him, as letting him blood in the nose, and whatsoever els they could ymagine and at the last cast gave him a quintessence sent by Sir Walter Raleigh, (which he sayes they should have applied sooner) that brought him some shew of sense and opening of his eyes, and (some will needs say) speach, but all fayled again presently. Amongst the rest he hath lost his greatest hope, and was growne into speciall confidence with him, insomuch that he had moved the King divers times for him, and had lastly a graunt that he should be delivered out of the Towre before Christmas.

The relationship between the Prince and Raleigh had been close. Henry developed early an admiration for his father's prisoner, for Raleigh

embodied those virtues and interest for which the Prince showed most aptitude - adventure, exploration, scientific investigation, and warfare.

It was natural therefore that Raleigh should advise Henry on the construction of the Prince Royal³⁶ and also feel able to advise (in two discourses written in 1611)³⁷ against the proposed double marriage of Elizabeth and Henry to the children of the Duke of Savoy.

Raleigh's History of the World was probably begun in 1608 and was published in its uncompleted form in March 1614. He was encouraged in its composition by Prince Henry, who asked that the chapters on Greek and Roman history should be extended and more fully developed. Though Raleigh intended to carry his work to the reign of Henry VIII he abandoned it on the Prince's death having reached only Rome's conquest of Macedonia. In the Preface he recalls the Prince's interest in the work: For it was for the service of that inestimable Prince Henry, the successive hope, and one of the greatest of the Christian World, that I vndertook this Worke. It pleased him to peruse some part thereof, and to pardon what was amisse. It is now left to the world without a Master; from which all that is presented hath received both blows and thanks. (sig. C4v)

In this Preface and in the final pages of the work we may detect in the sombre tone, the stoical acceptance of the triumph of death, and emphatic contemptus mundi note, in Raleigh's response to the Prince's death:

Certainly there is no other account to be made of this ridiculous world, than to resolute, That the change of fortune on the great Theater, is but as the change of garments on the lesse. For when on the one and the other, euery man but weares his own skin; the Players are all alike. For seeing Death, in the end of the Play, takes from all, whatsoever Fortune or Force takes from any one: it were a foolish madnesse in the shipwracke of worldly things, where all sinkes but the Sorrow, to saue it.

(sig. B5v)

Though the underlying purpose of the history is a serious one - the

demonstration of God's intervention and purpose throughout the history of the world - the tone of the last few paragraphs lacks the optimism or confidence one might expect in a writer holding such views. The predominant note is one of stoical disillusion and even bitterness. Raleigh's eye is fixed firmly on the moment of death and on its negation of ambition, status, power, and beauty:

It is therefore Death alone that can suddenly make man to know himselfe. He tells the proud and insolent, that they are but Abiects, and humbles them at the instant; makes them crye, complaine, and repent, yea, euen to hate their forepassed happinesse. He takes the account of the rich, and proues him a beggar; a naked beggar, which hath interest in nothing, but in the grauell that fills his mouth. He holds a Glasse before the eyes of the most beautifull, and makes them see therein, their deformitie and rottenesse; and they acknowledge it. O eloquent, iust and mighty Death! whom none could aduise, thou hast perswaded; what none hath dared, thou hast done; and whom all the world hath flattered, thou only hast cast out of the world and despised; thou hast drawne together all the farre stretched greatnesse, all the pride, crueltie, and ambition of man, and couered it all ouer with these two narrow words - Hic Jacet.

Raleigh concludes his History with an explanation of the premature ending of his work:

Lastly, whereas this Booke by the title it hath, calls it selfe The first part of the Generall Historie of the World, implying a Second and Third Volume; which I also intended, and haue hewne out; besides many other discouragements perswading my silence; it hath pleased God to take that glorious Prince out of the world to whom they were directed; whose unspeakable and neuer enough lamented losse hath taught me to say with Job, Versa est in luctus Cithara mea, and Organum meum in vocem flentium. 35
(sig. ZZZZZA)

Here the sustained and powerful expression of contemptus mundi sentiment, though fitting from the pen of a man legally dead who had suffered ten years injustice, is I think, attributable to Prince Henry's death and its significance for Raleigh's hope of freedom and justice. Certainly the Prince's loss made a deep impression upon him for he refers to it on

writing to his wife about the death of their son Nat:

Raleigh to Bess. 'from the Isle of St. Christopher's 22 March 1618.
I was loth to write because I know not how to comfort you. And God knows, I never knew what sorrow meant till now. All that I can say to you is, that you must obey the will and providence of God, and remember that the Queen's Majesty bare the loss of Prince Henry with a magnanimous heart.

The tone of the Preface and the final pages of the History together with the passion of the language reveal a deep personal involvement with the Prince's death, and the ideas of the mutability of life and fortune are expressed not in the manner of tired literary cliché but with a sense of bitter and disillusioning experience.

Though it is likely that memories of Elizabeth's marriage and the subsequent ceremonies faded quickly after her departure from England, interest in the Palatinate and its affairs seems to have been maintained in the following years. Public interest and concern about the religious practices of the Palatine's subjects were satisfied by the two pamphlets on this topic which have been discussed.⁴⁰ In 1613 W. Shute translated from the French The Triumphs of Nassau which narrates at great length the victories of Maurice Prince of Nassau⁴¹ over the Spanish. Maurice was Frederick's uncle and had attended Elizabeth on her journey through the Netherlands, and this, together with his successful struggle against Spanish oppression, made him popular in England. Furthermore Maurice's brother, Frederick Henry Count of Nassau, had come to England with the Palsgrave and had attended both the wedding and the celebrations, so associating in the public mind the Protestant House of Orange with the English Royal Family and the Palatinate.

In late 1614 or early 1615 William Walker translated and published

A Votive Oration for the Auspicious Government of ... Fredericke the V.

The Oration was given by Henry Alting, the Professor of Divinity, at the University of Heidelberg and is a lecture for the young ruler on just and successful government, or as Walker puts it 'the pattern of the perfect Prince framed out of God's own hand' (sig A3) Walker, as we might expect of an acquaintance and sympathizer of Alting and Schultetus, praised King James in his introduction for his support for the Protestant cause in arranging the match:

Happy and blessed is our most Christian King, truly the true Defendour of the Faith, who hath so religiously engrafted the One Arch of his Royall Issue in such a Most Noble and beloved Plant, of our heavenly fathers owne Planting.

Alting opens his Oration by remarking that princes are not born for themselves but for the state's benefit which is of course in the hands of God, and in this context he recalls the death of Prince Henry:

Furthermore sith also there are not a few of this Order of Princes, whom the Fates doe onely show vnto the Earth, for a small time, but doe not permit to live long in it; which saying Virgil vsing once of Marcellus, we may fitly apply to HENRY FREDERICKE Prince of Great Britaine taken from vs by vntimely death.

There are two main themes in his discourse, the delineation of rules and guide lines for just government, and praise of Frederick as a pious and virtuous Prince. He argues that the ruler is in no way above the laws (sig. B4) and warns against flatterers and favourites (sig. C1).³³ Above all the King's actions must conform to the WORD, this is the guiding principle (sig. C3v), for it must never be forgotten that the King, however powerful he may be on earth, is no more than the smallest piece

of dust to God, who may destroy him and his Kingdom with the slightest push of his little finger (sig B3v). The three main precepts which Altius offers to the young Prince are that he must not carry his people back again to Egypt, that is the Roman Church; that he must not lift up his heart above his brethren; and that he should not 'multiply unto himself' horses, gold, wines, and silver (sig. DI). All the advice is of course given greater authority by reference to biblical and classical example. Altius has no fear that his words will go unheeded however, for the Palsgrave's character would seem to be above reproach:

But such is his piety towards his God, his humility towards his Lord, his reverence towards his heavenly father; that even in the height of his prosperity, when all things come flowing in vpon him, according to the wishes of his heart; hee doth with most voluntarie seruice, submit himselfe wholly to his almighty Superior, and commits all that euer he hath, or is, vnto him. (sig. B4v)

The English reading public was perhaps reassured to learn that their Princess had married so pious and complete a Prince.

At Heidelberg on 2 January 1614 between twelve o'clock and one o'clock in the morning was born the Frederick Henry longed for by so many of the occasional poets and writers. Some six days later the news was greeted with great enthusiasm in England. The bells of Saint Margaret's, Westminster, rang out, and in the City of London bonfires were blazing. The King granted Elisabeth a pension of two thousand pounds per year. The birth of an heir to the Palsgrave was a most welcome event for James since, in the light of Prince Charles's continuing frailty, the Stuart succession now seemed adequately safeguarded. In the Parliament of 1614 the King took steps to secure the naturalization of the new Prince, so establishing him in the succession. This may be seen from

the headings of his speech to Parliament:

He has married his daughter to the Prince Palatine, on account of religion; and has charged the judges to observe the laws against Papists more rigidly, but does not think fresh laws needful, is no friend in persecution, and thinks experience shows that religions flourish in persecutions. God having taken away Prince Henry, in punishment for their sins he wishes his grandson to be naturalised, and declared in the succession; England would not thus become a province of Germany, but, as Henry VII. observed in reference to Scotland, would remain superior. (April 1614)

Notwithstanding the expectations of an heir for Frederick and Elizabeth widely expressed in the poetry written for the marriage, the birth of Frederick Henry went almost without notice from the occasional poets. Joshua Sylvester in dedicating his Little Bartaas; or Brief Meditations on the Power, Providence, Greatnes and Goodnes of God to Elizabeth offers his work as an aid to the young Prince:

Heer, to your HIGHNES (with all Good-Preasage,
Congratulating Your little PALATINE)
I consecrate This LITTLE-ONE of Mine
To serue Your Self, first; then Your Son, for Page. (sig. Q2)

This is merely a reference in a dedication, however. Only Henry Peacham celebrates the birth with a formal poem.

Peacham's Prince Henry reviyed draws together many of the strands of imagery and many of the ideas found in the poems on the Prince's death and on Elizabeth's marriage. As the title suggests, the birth of Elizabeth's son is linked with Henry's death and is regarded by the poet as a partial consolation for it. Addressing Elizabeth he speaks of his poem as a 'Genethliaque or Birth Poeme' written in honour of 'young Prince Henrie your sweete and deereest Sonne' (sig. A2v). He recalls his commemoration of Henry's death and Elizabeth's wedding since which time his Muse has been silent, but this poem is to be specially tuned to the needs of the

new child:

who like another Sunne,
From Rosie bed arised 'st in the East,
When that great light we saw extinct and done,
Ah Henric, waile of euery gentle brest,
Dart one sweet saile vpon me early ghest. (sig. A4v)

As in the elegies and the marriage verses Nature participates in the emotions experienced by mankind. While 'silver bells, with iron tongues proclaime/A new borne Henry, to the nymphes of Thames' (sig. B2), January throws off his frosty grey for the green of May, and forgets his mood of bitter rage.

Peacham would seem to have four aims in his poem - the declaration of the hopes and prophecies connected with Frederick Henry's life and future reign; an account of the English heritage to which the Prince is heir; praise of Elizabeth's virtues and personality; and an examination of the best methods of educating a future ruler. The prophecies for the young Prince's future are similar in their extravagance to those which had been made for Prince Henry, and had been lamented on his death. They are influenced by King James's foreign policy however, so that the emphasis is shifted from war to peace. Peace shall prevail and War shall lie bound at Prince Frederick's feet (sig. B3). War between Christians is abhorrent and the sword should only be taken up against the Turks, ^{since} only the infidel can gain from the antagonism of Christian sects. This argument is illustrated by the parable of two bears who fight each other until they are exhausted whereupon they both become the victims of a lioness. The young Prince, however, brings a new promise of peace:

But (happie Prince) thy time fortels thee peace,
 And restfull dayes, with Honors large increase.
 Now Germanie, and Britaine, shall be one,
 In League, in Lawes, in Loue, Religion;
 Twixt Dane, and English, English and the Scott,
 Olde grudges (see) for euer are forgot. (sigs. B3v-B4)

Thus the dynastic influence of the Stuarts, seeming to spread over Europe as the poet prophesies, is acclaimed, perhaps one day through the destiny of the new Prince to encompass a 'Caesar's triple crowne' (sig. B4).

Such imaginings are only shadows of the possibilities, for Peacham modestly admits that had he the tongues of angels and a golden pen he could not do justice to the blessings and benefits which this Prince will bring to the nation. Here the hopes formerly invested in Prince Henry are transferred to Frederick, as in some of the poems they are transferred to Prince Charles.

Since so much is to be expected of this Prince, Peacham considers it necessary to remind him and the reader of his ancestry and heritage. His descent from Charlemagne through his father - commented upon and praised in the marriage poems - augurs well for his courage and warlike skill should the need arise. The poet feels at first that little need be said of Frederick's English forebears, but he finds that he is unable to resist alluding to the touchstones of English pride. Since the Prince is obviously unacquainted with English history he is asked to imagine himself at Hampton Court, and in that palace the events and figures of England's past are displayed on a tapestry. Thus he is made aware of the exploits of Edward III, the Black Prince, and Elizabeth I.

Peacham briefly digresses in praising Elizabeth's virtues - her

piety, goodness, modesty and bounty (sig. C3) - before considering the proper course of education for a young Prince. Since the human personality is like a plant it should be tended and taught to grow and develop in a certain way. The foundation of moral character is shown to be religious belief, and upon it all the virtues depend:

Religion, then first ground worke lay below
 Which inward though it lies, and makes least show,
 All other Vertues it doth strong sustaine,
 All weaker peeces resting on the maine;
 This shall his life establish and assure,
 Heighten content, and make his seat secure. (sig. C3v)

Love of the muses, which gives 'the boundless Intellect her eye' and, incidentally, employment to the poet, is to be encouraged together with learning. Learning, which has a moral force, and is a help against the attractions of flattery and the temptations of vice, is exemplified by rulers such as Caesar and Solomon, but chiefly by King James:

But neereſt patterne place before thine eie,
 Thy grandsire James, our Royall Mercurie:
 Who with his wand all tumult caus'd to cease,
 Fulfill'd our wiſhes, gaue our daies more peace. (sig. D1)

In a passage which echoes the discussions of kingship in the contemporary drama, Peacham describes the ruler's position in society, and the progress of his reign in terms of the sun's journey through the heavens (sig. D1v). The Prince will rise, reach his solstice, and eventually decline. Without the light of his counsel and the example of his behaviour his people will perish. Yet he must be virtuous, for the unvirtuous ruler destroys not only himself but his nation as the examples of Nero, Domitian, and Pyrrhus illustrate. Thus the just and pious king is the most precious

gift the heavens can bestow upon a people.

In Peacham's poem a cycle is completed. Prince Henry's loss is restored through Elizabeth's marriage as many writers had hoped and prophesied, and the young Prince offers a new focus for the nation's hope and ambition. The poet is once more able to embark upon his task of instruction and prophecy. He prays that the precepts which he has outlined may have some influence on the young Prince's education and concludes by voicing hopes as ambitious and as ill-fated as those which had been unexpectedly cast down in November 1612, ambitions which, ironically, were to bring the Palsgrave and his people to ruin:

Then grow (sweet Infant) grow and grow apace,
And liue the Phoenix of thy royall race
That Cesar Henrie thou maist one day raigne,
As good, as great, as euer Charlemaigne.

Notes.

1. In examining the dramatic material of 1612-15 I have made use of the limits of date given by Alfred Harbage in Annals of English Drama 975-1700, revised by S. Schoenbaum (1964). I have considered those plays dated between 1612-15, and also those plays which though given dates outside these years nevertheless include them within their limits of possible composition. See bibliography Part 3.
2. Christopher Hill, Intellectual Origins of the English Revolution (Oxford 1965), p. 12.
3. Maren-Sophie Røstvig, The Happy Man (Oslo, 1954), pp. 101, 113 and 120.
4. Chambers, The Elizabethan Stage, III, 496.
5. Chambers, III, 228.
6. E.H.C. Oliphant, The Plays of Beaumont and Fletcher (New Haven, 1927), p. 131.
7. The Duchess of Malfi, edited by John Russell Brown (1964), p. xvii.
8. The Complete Works of John Webster, edited by F.L. Lucas, 4 vols. (1927); III, 286-90.

9. Inga-Stina Ekeblad, 'The Lapure Art of John Webster', Review of English Studies, NS (1958), 253-67.
10. F.C. Wald, 'The Chronology of Middleton's Plays', J.L.S., XXXII (1937), 37-47.
11. Love's Labour's Lost, V. II. 705.
12. Times Literary Supplement, December 11th, 1919.
13. Oliphant, p. 371.
14. Oliphant, p. 311.
15. Chambers, III, 231.
16. The Letters of John Chamberlain, p. 426.
17. Louis B. Wright, Middle Class Culture in Elizabethan England (New York, 1958), p. 625.
18. Arthur Wilson, The History of Great Britain being the Life and Reign of King James the First (1653).
19. A. W. Coese, The Cease of Majesty (1961), p. 137.
20. The Magnificent Marriage of the Two Great Princes Frederick.... and the Lady Elizabeth in Nichol's Progresses of James I. 4 vols. (1828), II, 536-52. The text of this pamphlet as printed in the Progresses is taken from the second impression, ^{to which} is added descriptions of the entertainments given on the Tuesday evening. It is from the augmented matter of this second impression ^{that} the quotation is taken. The postponement of the Tuesday evening masque to the Saturday afternoon may well have caused the cancellation of another play. Carola Oman, p. 21, states that a play was which postponed so that the masque might be performed was Marston's The Dutch Courtesan and gives a reference for this information as S.P. 14.72.30, which appears to be a letter written by John Chamberlain, though the letter offers no information as to the identity of the play or the incident. See Chamberlain, p. 423-26.
21. Henry VIII, edited by R. A. Foakes (1957), 3rd edition (1964), pp. xxix ff.
22. G. Wilson Knight, The Crown of Life (1947, reprinted 1958), p. 206.
23. Life and Letters of Sir Henry Wotton, edited by L. Pearsall Smith, 2 vols. (1907), II, 32.

24. Holinshed writes - 'When the ceremonies and chrissening were ended, Garter cheefe king of armes cried aloud, God of his infinite goodnesse send prosperous life and long to the high and mightie princesse of England Elizabeth; and then the trumpets blew'. Holinshed's Chronicles, 3 vols. (1587), iii, 934.
25. Henry VIII, edited by R. A. Foakes, pp. xxxi-xxxii.
26. See The Tempest, edited by Frank Kernode (1954), pp. xv-xxiv.
27. John Dover Wilson, The New Cambridge Shakespeare, The Tempest (Cambridge, 1921, reprinted 1948), p. 80, and W.J. Lawrence, Fortnightly Review, CXVII (1920), 941.
28. The Tempest, edited by Kernode, p. xxiii.
29. J.C. Adams, The Globe Play-house, its design and equipment (Cambridge, Mass., 1943) pp. 319-22.
30. Eugenia; or the true nobilities trance for the death of Lord Russell (1614).
31. Andromeda liberata. Or the nuptials of Perseus and Andromeda (1614).
32. Such fictional literature as there is may be represented by Gervase Markham's continuation and completion of Sidney's Arcadia published in 1613 or by Robert Anton's Morionachia also published in that year. The latter book though written in the form of a Quixote story contains a good deal of social criticism and satire.
33. Satire was popular at this time, some of the poems being inspired perhaps by Wither's Abuses Stript and Whipt, published first in 1611 and again in 1613. Works of this nature included Nicholas Breton's Cornu-copiae, Pasquil's Night-cap (1612), Henry Austin's The Scourge of Venus (1613), John Taylor's The nipping and snipping of abuses (1613), and The Uncasing of Machivils instructions to his sonne (1613). Among the books of characters were Sir Thomas Overbury's A Wife now a Widow, (1613) Samuel Rowlands's The Knave of Harts (1613), Nicholas Breton's The good and the bad (1615), and John Stephens's Satirical Essayes (1615).
34. It is surprising that Drayton did not write in celebration of the Prince's death since he dedicated his Poly-olbion to Prince Henry 'as the hopeful Heir of the Kingdoms of Great Britain'. The work was prefaced by a portrait of the Prince who is shown in armour with a lance in his hand. The following poem is printed with the portrait:

BRITAIN, behold here portray'd, to thy sight,
Henry, thy best hope, and the world's delight;
 Ordain'd to make thy eight Great Henries, nine:
 Who, by that vertue in the treble Trine,
 To his owne goddess (in his Being) brings
 These severall Glories of th'eight English Kings,
 Deep Knowledge, Greatnes, long Life, Policy,
 Courage, Zeale, Fortune, awfull Majestie.
 He like great Neptune on three Seas shall rove,
 And rule three Realms, with triple power, like Jove:
 Thus in soft Peace, thus in tempestuous Warres,
 Till from his foote, his Fame shall strike the starres.

Poly-olbion was published in 1612. The quotation here is taken from The Works of Michael Drayton, edited by J. William Hebel, 5 vols. (Oxford, 1931-41), IV, iv. The elegy is quoted from the same edition, III, 219.

35. Chamberlain, I, 389.
36. For Raleigh's letter to Prince Henry on the construction of the ship see Edward Edwards, The Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, 2 vols (1868), II, 330.
37. See Birch, p. 235.
38. Job 30: 31. 'My harp is also turned to mourning, and my organ into the voice of them that weep'.
39. See Norman Lloyd Williams, Sir Walter Raleigh (1962), p. 242.
40. See Chapter 7, pp. 210-13.
41. Peacham refers to Maurice Prince of Orange in his poem Prince Henry Revived as one of the new Prince's noble forbears, and at sig. c2v he is spoken of as Prince Frederick's 'gallant uncle'.
42. See C.S.P.D. - Addenda 1580-1625, p. 540.

Appendix 1.Biographical Notes on the writers, poets, and divines who contributed to the literature occasioned by the death and the marriage.

No attempt has been made in the following notes to provide comprehensive biographical details. Major literary figures such as Chapman and Donne have been only briefly noted as their backgrounds are generally familiar. The main aim is to provide, where possible, sufficient biographical information to place the minor figures within their social context. With the exception of Giles Fletcher, however, no entry has been made for those writers who contributed to the University anthologies since their social situation at the time of the events is obvious enough. The main source of biographical information is the Dictionary of National Biography. Other sources are noted in the individual entries.

Allyne, Robert.

D.N.B. offers no information on Robert Allyne, and S.T.C. records only two entries under his name, the two poems composed by him for the Prince's death and Elizabeth's marriage. It would appear, however, from the dedication of Teares of Ioy that Allyne's origins were in Scotland for he speaks of his simple muse being drawn from the banks of the Clyde, and dedicates his poems to members of the Erskene family. It is possible that he was in the service of this family.

Alexander, William, Earl of Stirling (c. 1567-1640)

Alexander appears to have been educated at the Universities of Glasgow and Leyden, and afterwards to have been tutor to Archibald, seventh Earl of Argyle, with whom he travelled in France, Spain and Italy. On his return to Scotland he was introduced to the Court where James VI appointed him tutor to Prince Henry. Alexander was one of the many Scots who followed King James to London on his accession to the English throne, and this enterprise was rewarded when he was made one of the gentlemen extraordinary of Prince Henry's bed chamber. He was known as a poet before he came south to England - his Tragedie of Darius was published in 1603 and dedicated to the King. Alexander also figures in his role of tutor in his A Paraenesis to the Prince (1604) in which he offers advice and counsel to the young Prince Henry. Alexander married in 1607, and was probably knighted in 1609. Though Prince Henry's death was no doubt a set-back to his ambitions his elegy may have pleased the King for Alexander was given a similar post in Prince Charles's court. Alexander was a scholar, a courtier, a poet, and in later career something of a diplomatist. He was acquainted with many poets, and even advised the King in matters of verse.

Aretius, Jacobus.

D.N.B. offers no information on Aretius, and S.T.C. records only one entry, his verses on the marriage of Frederick and Elizabeth.

Aurelius, Abraham (1575-1632).

The son of a Protestant minister, Aurelius became the pastor of the French Protestant Church in London. He had studied in Leyden and the Low Countries. S.T.C. records one other entry only.

Basse, William (d. 1653?).

Basse was a retainer to Sir Richard (afterwards Lord) Wenman of Thame Park. From references in his verse it seems likely that he was attached at one time to the household of Lord Norreys at Ricot, Oxfordshire. Perhaps best known for his epitaph on Shakespeare and his 'Anglers Song' quoted by Walton. Many of Basse's poems have Oxfordshire references and themes. Basse was a friend of William Browne and possibly George Wither.

Baudius, Domenicus.

Professor of rhetoric and history at the University of Leyden. He was received by King James and Prince Henry when he visited England in 1607. On that occasion Baudius presented verses to King James. In June 1612 Baudius sent Prince Henry a copy of his Gnomae iambicae together with a laudatory letter which is printed by Birch p. 520. See Birch, pp. 287 and 368, and E.C. Wilson, Prince Henry and English Literature, pp. 111 and 157.

Beaumont, Francis (1584-1616).

Educated at Broadgates Hall and the Inner Temple which he entered in 1600. He collaborated with Fletcher from 1608 until 1613 during which time plays were written for the Queen's Revels, the Lady Elizabeth's, and the King's Men. See Chambers, Elizabethan Stage, III, 215-16.

Brathwaite, Richard (1588-1673).

Brathwaite was the son of the recorder of Kendal, Westmorland. He was educated at Oriel College Oxford, and later at Cambridge where he was taught by Lancelot Andrewes. After his father's death in 1610 he seems to have been free to take to writing and produced numerous volumes, the most famous of which is Barnabees Journall (1638). Eventually he became Deputy Lieutenant of Westmorland and possibly served on the royalist side in the Civil War. In 1612-13, however, he was a young man attempting to win for himself some sort of reputation in literary and dramatic circles.

Brooke, Christopher (d. 1628).

Brooke was the son of a rich merchant and alderman of York. He may have been educated at Cambridge. He studied law at Lincoln's Inn where he was a 'chamber fellow' to John Donne. In 1601 he witnessed Donne's secret marriage, the ceremony being performed by his brother, Samuel Brooke. Donne and the brothers were committed to prison. In 1614 Brooke became a bencher at Lincoln's Inn, and through the Inns of Court he was acquainted with many literary men including Ben Jonson, Drayton, John Davies of Hereford, and William Browne.

Browne, William (1591-1643).

Educated at Tavistock and Exeter College Oxford Browne entered the Inner Temple in 1611. He seems to have struck up a close relationship with Christopher Brooke. Browne's major poem is Britannia's Pastorals published between 1613-16. In 1615 he superintended the Inner Temple Masque based on the story of Ulysses and Circe.

Burton, Henry (1578-1648).

It seems likely that this is the Henry Burton who contributed a poem on the death of Prince Henry to Lachryae Lachrymarum. Burton, who became a noted preacher and Independent in later life, took his M.A. at Cambridge in 1602 and on leaving the University became tutor to two of the sons of Sir Robert Carey. With Carey's help he later obtained the post of clerk of the closet to Prince Henry. While acting in this capacity he composed a treatise on Anti-Christ. On Prince Henry's death he was appointed clerk of the closet to Prince Charles. In the 1620s he was summoned before the Star Chamber because of his attacks on Bishops and on Laud, and was sentenced to degradation, fine, pillory, loss of ears, and perpetual imprisonment. He was eventually freed by Parliament in 1640.

Campion, Thomas (1567-1620).

Campion was admitted to Gray's Inn in 1586, though he left the law and may have served in Essex's expedition to France in 1591. He first appears as a poet in the Appendix to Astrophel and Stella (1591). His Observations on the Art of English Poesie was published in 1602, and thereafter Campion became involved with a number of masques which were presented at Court in addition to publishing volumes of 'Ayres' and 'Songs'. At some time before 1607 Campion had taken M.B. and in his capacity as a doctor he was implicated in the Overbury scandal, though he was cleared of any guilt. His work is notable for its combination of the talents of both poet and musician.

Chetwind, Edward (1577-1639).

Divine. Chetwind was a native of Ingestre, Staffordshire. He entered Exeter College Oxford in 1592 and proceeded B.A. 1595, M.A. 1598, and B.D. 1606. He became Lecturer or Public Preacher to the Corporation of Abingdon in 1606 and in the following year Public Preacher to the Corporation of Bristol. In 1613 he was appointed Chaplain to Queen Anne.

Chapman, George (1559-1634).

Chapman was born at Hitchin in Hertfordshire. He is said to have been educated at Oxford. He was abroad for some time, possibly in the Low Countries, between 1591-2, and was imprisoned for debt in 1599-1600. Lack of means characterises much of Chapman's career, and the support and encouragement which he received from Prince Henry in his translation of Homer and the minor post he secured in the Prince's court were doubtless important to him. On the Prince's death his hopes were disappointed and he failed to secure an equivalent post in Prince Charles's household, see Chapter 8. He sought the patronage of the ill-fated Rochester, but his attempts were once more frustrated by the interpretations which were put on his poem Andromeda Liberata. His first known play is The Blind Begger of Alexandria (1596) though the bulk of his plays was written between 1606-12. See Chambers, Elizabethan Stage III, 249, and Una Ellis-Fermor, The Jacobean Drama (1936, revised 1958), pp. 285-88.

Cornwallis, Sir William (d. 1631?).

Essayist. Son of Sir Charles Cornwallis, Prince Henry's Treasurer and biographer Sir William Cornwallis was knighted in 1602, and was a friend of Donne.

Davies, John, of Hereford (1565?-1618).

Poet and writing master. Davies may have been educated at Oxford, and it is certain that he taught there having many pupils at Magdalen College. He won high fame as a writing master and though he drew pupils from the noblest families, he assures his reader that he found it difficult to secure an

adequate living. He had been a tutor to Prince Henry. The dedications of his many volumes testify to the number and status of his pupils.

Donne, John (1573-1631).

Poet and divine. After his secret marriage Donne was dismissed from the service of Sir Thomas Egerton. From 1601 until 1615, when he was ordained, Donne vainly sought preferment. In 1615 however, he gave up this ambition and became a chaplain to the King. In 1616 he preached at Heidelberg before Princess Elizabeth. It also seems likely that Donne was acquainted with Prince Henry's court through his friend Sir William Cornwallis.

Drummond, William, of Hawthornden. (1585-1649).

Drummond's father was the first Laird of Hawthornden. He was appointed a gentleman usher to the Scottish King in 1590, and about the same time Drummond's uncle, William Fowler, was made private secretary to the Queen. Thus the young Drummond was early acquainted with Court affairs. He proceeded to the University of Edinburgh, and graduated M.A. in 1605, and from 1606-8 he was in France studying law. In 1610 his father died and he became master of Hawthornden. He abandoned the law for a life of literature and contemplation. This course he pursued for the rest of his life with occasional visits to the Continent and to England. Drummond was an accomplished French scholar, an historian, and had scientific interests.

Fennor, William.

D.N.B. offers no information about Fennor. S.T.C. records six entries and notes him as a courtier. The title page of Fennor's Descriptions records that he was 'His Maiesties Seruant' though this may mean very little. Fennor was one of a number of pamphlet and popular writers who engaged in literary disputes with John Taylor the Water Poet.

Fletcher, Giles (1588-1623).

Poet. Fletcher graduated B.A. at Trinity College Cambridge in 1606. In 1615 he became a reader in Greek grammar and language. Subsequently he became rector of Alderton, Suffolk.

Francis, Joannes Maria de.

D.N.B. has no entry for de Franchis, and S.T.C. records only the volume celebrating the marriage of Elizabeth. From the poet's name and the fact that the piece was first written in Latin it seems possible that the poet was of French or Dutch origin. We learn from the dedication of the poem that he was acquainted with the Archbishop of York, Dr Matthews.

Gerrard, George.

The second son of Sir William Gerrard of Dorney, Bucks, George Gerrard was perhaps the most intimate of Donne's friends. He later became master of Chyterhouse.

Goodyere, Sir Henry (1571-1627).

Goodyere was a literary patron, famous for his hospitality to literary men whom he entertained at his estate of Polesworth. He is best known as a close friend of John Donne who seems to have written news letters to him after 1600. His poetry imitates Donne's style. He became a gentleman of the Privy Chamber in 1605 but for much of his life his financial position seems to have been precarious.

Gordon, Patrick (fl. 1615-1650).

It is possible that the author of Neptunus Britannicus is identical with the Patrick Gordon of Ruthven who wrote A Shorte Abridgement of Britenes Distemper. Gordon is known only through his works, The famous historie of the renowned Prince Robert surnamed the Bruce, and The first booke of th famous historie of Penardo and Laissa. Both of these were published at Dort and are characterised by a strong patriotic fervour.

Gorges, Sir Arthur (d. 1625).

Poet and translator. Gorges entered Oxford University in 1574 and was in court service in 1576 carrying letters to France. In 1580 he was a Gentleman Pensioner. His career is closely linked with that of Raleigh. In 1588 he is said to have served in the Channel against the Armada, and by 1597 he had served four or five times in the Queen's ships. Gorges was in Parliament four times between 1584-1601. On the Azores expedition he commanded Raleigh's ship, Warapite. His marriage in 1597 earned the Queen's displeasure. On the accession of King James Gorges was arrested in connection with the Bye Plot, suspicion no doubt aroused by his connections with Raleigh. He was soon released however. His hopes of Court preferment seem to have faded at this time, and his only encouragement lay in the interest shown in him by Prince Henry. In 1611, perhaps with the Prince's help, he was made a gentleman of the Privy Chamber. His description of the Azores expedition was written for the Prince. Birch, pp. 187 and 211 quotes Gorges's letters to the Prince. For a fuller biographical treatment see The Poems of Sir Arthur Gorges, edited by H.E. Sandison (Oxford, 1953), pp. xiii-xxvii.

Hall, Joseph (1574-1656).

Hall was born at Ashby-de-la-Zouch where his father was bailiff of the town. Hall was educated at Emmanuel College Cambridge where he was noted for his ingenious wit. He was first beneficed by Sir Robert Drury in Suffolk, and later by Edward Lord Denny at Waltham Abbey. While he was in Drury's service Hall learnt that his Meditations were highly esteemed by Prince Henry. He was asked to preach before the Prince and afterwards became one of his Chaplains, though he refused the post of principal domestic chaplain to the Prince. He was, according to Fuller, commonly called the English Seneca because of the pureness of his wit, and the plainness and fullness of his style. He was celebrated not only for his sermons and meditations, but also for his characters and satires. Eventually he became Bishop of Exeter and later of Norwich.

Herbert, Edward, first Baron Herbert of Cherbury (1583-1633).

Philosopher, historian, and diplomatist. As a poet and a disciple of Donne he excelled his master in obscurity and ruggedness. Herbert was the son of Magdalen Herbert who had made the acquaintance of Donne while her son was at Oxford. She was liberal in her gifts to Donne, and he addressed much of his sacred verse to her. Between 1608-10 Herbert travelled on the Continent, and in 1610 he took part in the recapture of Juliers. He returned to England to a good deal of popularity, and was held in great esteem at Court where Queen Anne was one of his admirers. In 1614 Herbert returned to the Continent, and joined the Prince of Orange's army. At this time he visited the Palatinate and the Elector.

Heywood, Thomas (1570?-1641).

A tradition exists that Heywood became a fellow of Peterhouse. His first appearance as a dramatist is to be found in Henslowe's Diary for October 1596. Heywood was a professional writer, though also an actor for most of his writing career. On his own authority he had a hand in over two hundred plays most of which are lost. His writing embraced every form of literature. See Chambers, Elizabethan Stage, III, 338-9.

Holland, Henry (1583-1650?).

Compiler and publisher. The son of Philomel Holland he was made free of the Stationers' Company in 1608. Holland was a friend of Donne, and through his father's friendship with the Harington family he accompanied John Harington when he conducted Princess Elizabeth and the Palatine to Heidelberg in 1613. Holland's reputation as a publisher was chiefly made by his issue of two books on antiquarian matters which were elaborately illustrated. These were published in 1614 and 1620. In the Civil War Holland served on the side of the Parliament.

Hume, David (1560-1630).

Historian, controversialist, and Latin poet. Hume studied at St. Andrews University, and later became secretary to Archibald Douglas, eighth Earl of Angus. In 1605 he published part of a treatise on the union of Britain, and between 1608-11 he upheld Presbyterianism against Law, Bishop of Orkney, and in 1613 against Cowper, Bishop of Galloway.

Julius, Alexander (fl. 1606-18).

D.N.B. has no information on Julius. S.T.C. however records sixteen items under his name, all of them Latin works, and all published in Edinburgh between 1606-18.

King, Henry (1592-1669).

The son of John King, Bishop of London (see below). King was educated at Westminster, and Christ Church Oxford where he graduated M.A. in 1614. He entered the Church, and in 1617 became a royal chaplain. He was a friend of Izaak Walton, John Donne, and Ben Jonson. Donne's poetry ~~was~~ had a strong influence on his own. King was eventually appointed Bishop of Chichester in 1642. See The Poems of John King, edited by Margaret Crum (Oxford, 1965), pp. 1-27.

King, John (1559?-1621).

King was educated at Christ Church Oxford, graduating M.A. in 1583. In 1595 he was appointed chaplain to Sir Thomas Egerton, and in 1599 he became one of the Queen's chaplains. On King James's entry into London King was chosen by the Privy Council to preach to the King, and he was one of the four preachers at the Hampton Court Conference of 1604. King was Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University 1607-10, and was appointed Bishop of London in 1611. He was a member of the commission which examined the Countess of Essex's divorce petition. The rumours that he accepted the Roman faith on his death-bed were vigorously denied by his son.

Maxwell, James (fl. 1600-1640).

Author. Maxwell was educated at Edinburgh University, graduating M.A. in 1600. He subsequently went to the Continent, and returned to live in London, though returning to the Continent later in life. In his writing he deals with religion, history, genealogy, and antiquarian research as well as poetry. In

the 1630s he attempted to gain reward from Laud for his many books defending Anglicanism against Puritanism. He also claimed that he had been offered a bribe to accept Roman Catholicism, a temptation he had resisted.

Nethersole, Francis (1587-1659).

Nethersole was educated at Trinity College Cambridge 1605-10. In December 1611 he was appointed Public Orator to the University and in this capacity he delivered the funeral oration on Prince Henry before the Vice-Chancellor. He continued his academic career until 1619 when he became secretary to James Hay, Viscount Doncaster, who was dispatched to visit the Elector Palatine in order to reconcile differences with the Roman Catholic powers. On this visit Nethersole became a strong supporter of the Elector and his Queen, and in 1620 he became secretary to Elisabeth, Queen of Bohemia.

Niccols, Richard (1584-1616).

Niccols accompanied the Earl of Nottingham on the Cadiz expedition in 1596. In November 1602 he matriculated at Magdalen Hall, Oxford, and proceeded B.A. in 1606. According to Wood he was numbered among the 'ingenious persons' of the University. He spent his leisure in London studying poetry and writing verse in the Spenserian manner, at the same time following an unspecified profession. His chief literary patrons were the families of the Earl of Nottingham, Sir Thomas Wroth, and James Hay, Earl of Carlisle. Niccol's largest literary undertaking was the revision of The Mirror for Magistrates published in 1610.

Nixon, Anthony (fl. 1602-13).

S.T.C. records twelve entries under the name of this poet and pamphleteer which were published between 1602-13.

Peacham, Henry (1576?-1643?).

Peacham was educated at Trinity College Cambridge. He later became a schoolmaster at Wymondham. He had a wide range of interests and talents. He was something of a mathematician, could paint and draw, was a competent composer of Latin and English verse, and was interested in engraving and cosmography. Peacham's poetic reputation was sufficiently high in 1611 for some of his verse to be included in Coryat's Odeombian Banquet. His diverse talents were demonstrated in his Minerva Britanna, or a Garden of Heroical Deuises which he presented to Prince Henry. Peacham attempted to win favour at Court by presenting Henry with a Latin edition of Basilikon Doron illustrated with emblems. In 1613-14 he spent some time on the Continent and met a number of influential people. The work by which he is best known is The Compleat Gentleman (1622).

Price, Daniel (1581-1631).

Price's father was the Vicar of St Chad's, Shrewsbury. Price graduated M.A. from Exeter College in 1604, and subsequently took orders. He was appointed a chaplain to Prince Henry in 1608, and after the prince's death he became a chaplain to Prince Charles and the King, preaching repeatedly at Court. He held various livings in Sussex, Old Windsor, and Cornwall.

Price, Sampson (1585-1630).

Divine, Brother of Daniel Price. Educated at Exeter College and Hart Hall Oxford. Became a noted preacher in Oxford and neighbourhood, especially for his fierce attacks on Catholicism.

Rogers, Thomas.

S.T.C. identifies the author of Gloucester's Myte with the Thomas Rogers of Horningsheath in Suffolk who died in 1616. This identification seems doubtful however (see Chapter 8, p. 217, n. 8) and it seems more likely that Rogers was a divine living in the Gloucester area.

Scultetus, Abraham (1566-1624)

Scultetus studied at Wittenberg and Heidelberg universities and was ordained in 1594. Though he began his career as a parish priest he was appointed a court chaplain to the Elector Frederick IV in 1595. His skill as an organiser and efficiency as a reformer quickly won promotion and power for Scultetus. By 1609 his services were sought by neighbouring states who wished to reorganise their schools and churches on the models of the Palatinate. In the summer of 1610 Scultetus accompanied Prince Christian I into the Julich War of Succession, and was influential at the Synod of Duren which realised the idea of a joint synod of all the churches. In 1612 he accompanied Frederick V on his journey to England for the wedding of the Palatine and Princess Elizabeth. Here he made many interesting observations of the state of the Church and society which he wrote down in his autobiography. He was present at the funeral of Prince Henry. In subsequent years he became Professor of Theology at the University of Heidelberg, and was present in Frederick V's entourage when the Prince entered Bohemia as King. Scultetus's sermon after Frederick's ceremonial entrance into Prague was responsible for the removal of the images from the churches and the consequent ill-feeling against the Elector.

Sharpe, Lionell (1559-1631).

Divine. Sharpe was educated at Kings College Cambridge, graduating M.A. in 1584. He became chaplain to the Earl of Essex and accompanied him on the Cadiz expedition in 1589, and to Portugal in 1596. He was appointed a royal chaplain in 1601, and was subsequently appointed a chaplain to Prince Henry. After the Prince's death he fell from favour and was imprisoned in the Tower 1614-15 on suspicion of endeavouring to stir up strife between the English and the Scots. Sharpe had strongly anti-Catholic views, formed in part by his experiences in Spain and Portugal. It seems to have been his policy to ingratiate himself with authority for he was quick to issue a laudatory sermon on King James's accession, and congratulate Prince Henry on his escape from the danger of the Powder Plot of 1605.

Sylvester, Joshua (1563-1618).

Sylvester was born in the Medway region of Kent, the son of a clothier. He was educated in a school at Southampton, and later moved to a trading firm, a cause of regret in later years. In his spare time he devoted himself to poetry and through his work was well received he complained that he was poorly rewarded. For some time he seems to have been in the service of the Essex family in Lambourne Staffs, though on the accession of King James he looked for preferment at Court. He was rebuffed when he attempted to procure the post of Clerkship of the Commons. He was more fortunate however in his relations with Prince Henry for the Prince made him a groom of the Chamber, probably in 1606, and gave him a pension of £20 per annum. He was Henry's first poet pensioner. After Henry's death Sylvester seems to have found another patron, perhaps George Abbot, who helped him to obtain a secretaryship in the service of the Merchant Venturers. Soon afterwards, however, he seems to have left England for the Continent, settling in Middleberg where he died in September

1618. His most popular work was his translation of Du Bartas which won high opinions from Drummond, Joseph Hall, and Drayton among others, and which was read by Milton.

Taylor, Augustine.

D.N.B. offers no information about Augustine Taylor. S.T.C. records only four entries dated between 1613-23.

Taylor, John, The Water-Poet (c. 1580-1653).

John Taylor was born in Gloucester of humble parents. He did not proceed in his education beyond Grammar School and was eventually apprenticed to a London water-man. He was pressed into the navy and was present at the siege of Cadix, and on the Islands Voyage of 1597. Subsequently he became a London water-man, and for fourteen years was the collector of duties exacted on the wine entering the port of London by the Governor of the Tower. In his pamphlets he defended the water-man's trade complaining about the increase in coaches, and the removal of the theatres from the south bank of the Thames. His literary activities covered a number of fields - celebratory verses, satire and pamphlets on his famous wagering journeys. He engaged in disputes in print with Thomas Coryat and William Fennor. His output was vast but is of social rather than of literary interest. He lived until 1653, ending his days as a publican. On one of his journeys on the Continent he was entertained by Princess Elizabeth.

Tourneur, Cyril (d. 1626).

It is probable that Tourneur was a soldier and minor courtier whose connections with the theatre were brief and incidental. Much of his life was spent in the service of the Vere and Cecil families. He first comes upon the literary scene with his satiric poem The Transformed Metamorphosis (1600), and in 1609 he composed and published an Elegy on the death of Sir Francis Vere. The poem on Prince Henry which was published in association with Webster and Heywood seems to imply a close relationship with his fellow dramatists. His career as a dramatist seems to have been over by 1613. Though The Atheist's Tragedy is generally accepted as his work there is disagreement on the authorship of The Revenger's Tragedy. For a detailed biographical discussion of Tourneur see The Works of Cyril Tourneur, edited by Allardyce Nicoll (1929), pp. 1-38.

Vautor, Thomas, (fl. 1619).

Musician. Vautor was a servant of Buckingham's father. He graduated Mus. Bac. at Oxford in 1616 and dedicated his volume of madrigals to Buckingham in 1619.

Ward, John (fl. 1613).

Hardly anything is known of Ward's life beyond the fact that he enjoyed the patronage of Sir Henry Fanshawe. The First Set of English Madrigals (1613) is his only publication. He also left in manuscript some church music and a considerable amount of instrumental music.

Webbe, George (1581-1642).

Webbe entered New College Oxford in 1598 and graduated B.A. in 1601, and M.A. in 1605. In about 1605 he was appointed to the living of Vicar of Steeple-

Aston, Oxfordshire, and he also kept a Grammar School there. Subsequently in 1621 he became rector of SS Peter and Paul, Bath, and later a chaplain to Prince Charles.

Webster, John.

Almost nothing is known of his life. It seems he was born free of the Merchant Tailors' Company. The date of his birth is assumed to lie between 1570-80 and it seems possible that he was admitted to the Middle Temple in 1598. He is first mentioned in connection with the stage in 1602 by Henslowe. His name is variously associated with those of Dekker, Chettle, Drayton, Heywood, Middleton, and Munday. The remaining evidence for Webster's life is drawn from his works. He was probably dead by 1634. See The Complete Works of John Webster, edited by F.L. Lucas, 4 vols. (1927), I, 49-56.

Wedderburn, David (1580-1646).

Latin poet. Wedderburn was a master at Aberdeen Grammar School 1602-40 and Professor at Marischal College, Aberdeen, 1614-24. He was also the official Latin poet of the City of Aberdeen, and in 1630 he compiled a Latin Grammar. His verses include elegies on Prince Henry, King James (1625), and Arthur Johnson (1641). He was reckoned one of the foremost Latinists of his day.

Willet, Andrew (1562-1621).

Divine. Willet was born at Ely where his father was a notary and later a divine. He entered Cambridge in 1577, and at the age of 21 became a fellow of Christ's College. In 1585 he took orders. He earned fame as a preacher of power especially in dealing with Papists and controversialists. He was rector of Barley 1599-1621. His practice was to produce a commentary every half year. He read widely and contemporaries spoke of him as a walking library. He was also appointed as a chaplain in ordinary and tutor to Prince Henry, and became a frequent preacher at Court. In 1618 Willet was imprisoned for a month for opposing the proposed Spanish marriage.

Wither, George (1588-1667).

Poet and pamphleteer. Educated at Magalen College Oxford which he left without a degree. In 1606 he was sent to London to study at the Inns of Court where he entered Lincoln's Inn. We hear nothing of him until he was in trouble because of his attempted printing of Abuses Stript and Whipt in 1611. On this occasion he seems to have been helped by Princess Elizabeth - see his Satyre to the King (1614) and the dedication of his Psalms of David translated into Lyric Verse (1632). In 1613 Abuses was published and Wither was imprisoned in the Marshalsea. In prison he wrote The Shepherds Hunting. His Satyre dedicated to the King published in 1614 may have helped in winning his freedom. On his release he was admitted to the Inner Temple. With the publication in 1615 of Fidelia Wither confirmed his already considerable reputation. In 1622 he collected his Juvenalia but from this time his reputation as a poet was on the wane, Ben Jonson presenting a parody of him in his masque Time Vindicated (1624) in the person of Chronomastix. In later years Wither became a convinced and passionate supporter of the Parliamentary party in the Civil War. He was the commander of Farnham Castle in 1642, and was later captured. Wither was evidently in danger of his life but, as Aubrey relates the story, Sir John Denham went to the King and desired his Majesty not to hang him, 'for that whilst G.W. lived, he should not be the worst poet in England'. So far had Wither's reputation fallen. Wither performed a number of duties at the time of the Parliamentary government, and was imprisoned (1660-63) on the return of the monarchy.

Appendix 2.Chapman's didacticism and its relationship with Prince Henry and his Court.

(Quotations from Bussy D'Ambois, The Revenge of Bussy D'Ambois and The Tragedy of Charles Duke Byron are taken from The Plays and Poems of George Chapman, edited by T.M. Parrott (1910-14). For further discussion of the relationship between Chapman's drama and the Stuart political scene see Norma Dobie Solve, Stuart Politics in Chapman's Tragedy of Chabot (Michigan, 1928).)

Important elements in Chapman's tragedies are a concern with political problems and statecraft, and the belief in the didactic function of the drama. The latter is outlined in the dedication to Sir Thomas Howard of The Revenge of Bussy D'Ambois:

Poor envious souls they are that cavil at truth's want in these natural fictions; material instruction, elegant and sententious excitation to virtue, and deflection from her contrary, being the souls, limbs and limits of autentical tragedy.

The French setting of the plays gave the playwright greater freedom to handle and comment upon political themes which had a topical significance, and no doubt his experience of Prince Henry's court and of great men added to his appreciation of the political situation, and stimulated his desire to instruct his audience. Chapman's instruction and excitation to virtue, in terms both of personal conduct and morality, and political behaviour, have positive and negative aspects. On the one hand the audience is shown the viciousness of court society, Chapman railing against self-love, intrigue, ambition, hypocrisy, and dishonesty, and reserving his most bitter attacks for flattery and favouritism. On the other hand he offers the exempla of just and righteous men in the characters of Henry IV in the two Byron plays, and Clermont D'Ambois in The Revenge of Bussy D'Ambois.

Chapman's social criticism, though more bitter and persistent, is in line with that of his contemporary dramatists, and assumes an obvious topicality when the sycophancy and corruption of James's court is recalled. However, his links with Prince Henry are perhaps evident in occasional scenes,

as in the first scene of The Revenge of Bussy D'Ambois. Renel, and Baligny, brother-in-law to Clermont D'Ambois and an agent provocateur, are discovered discussing the decay of the times. The usual public and private vices are lamented - greed, avarice, self-love, fraud, and flattery - and are said to be corrupting the state. Baligny points out a further problem in the peace which has prevailed so sapping the nation's strength through idleness and ease. War brought forth the best in men, giving them the opportunity to expend their spirit and courage in public service rather than private rivalry:

No labour then was harsh, no way so deep,
 No rock so steep, but if a bird could scale it,
 Up would our youth fly too. A foe in arms
 Stirr'd up as much more lust of his encounter,
 Than of a mistress never-so-painted. (I, i, 43-7)

These sentiments would seem to have a topical relevance. The peace, which Baligny says he finds so onerous, is surely a reference to the peaceful foreign policy pursued by King James in an attempt to bring together the Catholic and Protestant powers of Europe. The sentiments he voices with their nostalgic recollection of past glories - the victories of Queen Elizabeth's reign - would have found a popular reception with many of the Prince's servants and associates who were fiercely Protestant and anti-Spanish, and are thus appropriate for a writer who was a servant to the Prince and a member of his circle. This together with the French plots of the tragedies - Henry's enthusiasm for all things French is well attested - suggests that Chapman was either sympathetic to those attitudes which prevailed at the Prince's court, or that he set out to address his plays to that audience. Whichever is the case it seems possible that Miss Tolve is correct in her speculation that Chapman was in part attempting to instruct Prince Henry in kingship and morality through his dramatic work, though against this it must

be admitted that the Prince showed little interest in the theatre.

In Bussy D'Ambois King Henry III describes the court of Queen Elizabeth and Chapman, through his mouth, is presenting a nostalgic ideal:

thats a Court indeed,
Not mixt with clowneries us'd in common houses,
But, as Courts should be th'abstracts of their kingdoms
In all the beauty, state, and worth they hold,
So is hers, amply, and by her informed. (I, ii, 19-23)

The ideal is negatively defined in the tragedies through the criticism of intrigue, dishonesty, and vice which are seen to be rampant in the French court. In Prince Henry's household however, Chapman would seem to have found a court which approached his ideal, for he tells us in the Epicode that it was a 'Spring-Court' where all the foremost spirits of the nation gathered. It was an Elisium to those who entered it, refining and regenerating the spirit. Men desired to place their sons near the Prince as they desired to build their houses near the Thames. The poet laments the passing of this 'court-school; this Olympus meerly', and ~~and~~ describes Prince Henry's household as an academy where all virtues were practised and to which men of worth from far and near came to seek his favour.

The positive elements of Chapman's didacticism are most clearly seen in his presentation of the ideal King in Henry IV and the ideal man in Clermont D'Ambois. In almost every scene of Byron's Tragedy Chapman offers warnings against flattery, favourites, policy, and ambition and sets over against this a King who repeatedly exhibits an awareness not only of the privileges of kingship, but also of its responsibilities. In Act V Scene ii Henry codifies the attributes of a just King. The life of the most humble subject demands the protection and concern of the ruler, and the subject's pain and passion are more important and deserve greater sympathy than the sensual whims of rulers and magistrates. Above all a king must possess

wisdom - ' He should be born grey-headed that will bear / The sword of
empire'.

O how much

Err these kings, then, that play with life and death,
And nothing put into their serious states
But humour and their lusts, for which alone
Men long for kingdoms; whose huge counterpoise
In cares and dangers could a fool comprise,
He would not be a king, but would be wise. (IV, ii, 79-85)

Kingship is a divinely ordained office, sacred yet conferring inescapable duties on the holder, and through the play Chapman presents these duties and the guidelines which the just ruler should follow. He instructs his audience not only in the divinity of kingship but in the human rights of the subject, and urges upon them the value of reason and learning, truth and justice, and loyalty in friendship.

Clermont D'Anbois is Chapman's perfect man, and The Revenge of Bussy D'Anbois seems solely designed to demonstrate and display his character through his actions, in the admiration of his supporters, and the reluctant praise of his enemies. Clermont is the 'complete man' of the Renaissance, a soldier and a scholar, a man of action and of contemplation. His courage and military prowess are demonstrated by his Herculean resistance to capture in the first scene of the fourth act. Yet so great a spirit is controlled and guided by his will. In contrast to his brother Bussy he shows great patience and calmness, dismissing and despising the common objects of men's desire such as rank, power, ambition, popularity, and sensual gratification. For Clermont all learning is but an art to live well, and this implies that action must be governed by reason rather than passion as he points out:

When Homer made Achilles passionate,
Wrathful, revengeful, and insatiate
In his affections, what man will deny
He did compose it all of industry,
To let men see that men of most renown,
Strong'st, noblest, fairest, if they set not down
Decrees within them, for disposing these,

Of judgement, resolution, uprightness,
 And certain knowledge of their use and ends
 Mishap and misery no less extends
 To their destruction, with all that they priz'd,
 Than to the poorest, and the most dispis'd. (III, iv, 14-25)

For this reason he regrets his vow to avenge the death of Bussy, for actions which originate in a 'vicious fury' cannot be virtuous. His highest aim is to identify himself with the universal pattern of moral order, an aim which necessitates a rejection of and an indifference to outward events, and an acceptance of fate. Clermont sums up his philosophy in conversation with his captors:

A man to join himself with th' Universe
 In his main sway, and make (in all things fit)
 One with that All, and go on round as it;
 Not plucking from the whole his wretched part,
 And into straits, or into nought revert,
 Wishing the complete Universe might be
 Subject to such a rag of it as he. (IV, i, 139-45)

To this end does he devote himself to learning, contemplation of the higher concerns of life, and affect an indifference to earthly experience, even to death itself. He is, as Guise remarks, a Senecal man, utterly self reliant, but at a Pyrrhic cost in human affection and emotion. His custom is

To love nothing outward,
 Or not within our powers to command;
 And so being sure of everything we love,
 Who cares to lose the rest? (IV, v, 4-7)

As Monsieur remarked of Clermont (I, i, 168-73) that his great virtue had won others, including Guise, to embrace his philosophy, so Prince Henry transformed the lives of those who came into his service, for they seemed to rise from death to the 'fields of life'. Chapman claims for Henry, despite his youth, wisdom, a love of truth and fairness, and a natural aptitude for governing - characteristics he presents in Henry IV. The Prince

Knew good and ill; but onely good did love;
 In him the Serpant did embrace the Dove. (Epicode sig. C2v)

and he recognised

that Iustice simply vsd, was best,
Made princes most secure, most lou'd most blest. (sig. C1)

Allied to such political acumen and a love of truth Chapman speaks of the Prince's dislike of flattery and favourites. Prince Henry was unwilling to accept the claims of arguments of divines, scholars or statesmen 'but he would descend/The depth of any right belong'd to it'. Thus Chapman shows, with obvious approval, that Henry was proof against flatterers.

How wise then was our Prince that hated these,
And wold with nocht but truth his humor please
Nor would he giue a place, but where hee saw
One that could vse it; and become a Law
Both to his fortunes, and his Princes Honor. (sig. C2)

One may recall here Guise's character of Clermont who scorned all things servile and ignoble and expressed contempt for 'jesters parasites, /servile observers, and political/tongues' (IV, iv, 40-1).

There is some correspondence therefore between the ideas on kingship and the notion of the Senecal man presented in the character of Henry IV and Clermont D'Ambois, and demonstrated generally throughout the tragedies, and the character of Prince Henry in Chapman's elegy. Though Chapman does not claim that Prince Henry held beliefs about the nature of the universe which remotely resemble those of Clermont, he does praise Henry for sobriety, honesty, a love of truth and justice and a hatred of flatterers, qualities which are common to both figures. Henry's favours are given to those who deserve them, and a man's worth rather than his pretensions are the touchstones of his judgment. Chapman's character study in the elegy is obviously idealised yet in contrast to many of the elegies it is a conceptual rather than a symbolic ideal, and agrees in part with what is known of the Prince's personality - his hatred of favourites, in particular Rochester, his almost Puritan honesty, his abstemiousness, his loyalty in friendship, and a desire

for equity illustrated by his views on his father's treatment of Raleigh.

It is perhaps the case that Chapman recognised in the Prince those attributes which he considered necessary in a just and successful ruler. Certainly the correspondences between the elegy and the plays would suggest this, and it may be that the tragedies were partly written with the idea of instructing a young and promising prince in the art of government and self-control.

Bibliography Part 1

Long-Title Bibliography of elegies and other works composed and published on the death of Henry, Prince of Wales, 1612.

1. THE/FVNERALS/OF THE HIGH AND/MIGHTY PRINCE HENRY,/ Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornewaile / and Rothsay, Count Palatine of Chester, / Earle of Carick, and late Knight / of the most Noble Order / of the GARTER. / Which Noble Prince deceased at St. / James, the sixt day of Nouember, 1612. / and was most Princely interred the seuenth / day of December following, within the /Abbey of Westminster, in the Eigh / teenth yeere of his / AGE. / LONDON: /Printed by T.S. for Iohn Budge, and are to be / sould at his shop at the great south dore of / Paules, and at Brittaines Bursse. 1613.

4to. S.T.C. 13157.

This pamphlet is also published with Chapman's elegy, An Epicede.

Elegies in English

2. Allyne, Robert.
FVNERALL / ELEGIES / VPON THE MOST / LAMENTABLE / and vntimely death of the thrice / illustrious Prince HENRY, / Prince of WALES, / &c. / By R.A. / Iam neque saxa silent / AT LONDON, / Printed by T.P. for Iohn Budge, / and are to be sold at his Shop at Brittaines / Bursse. An. 1613.

4to. S.T.C. 384.

3. Alexander, William. Earl of Stirling.
AN ELEGIE ON / THE DEATH OF / PRINCE HENRIE. / By SF William Alexander of MENSTRIE, / Gentleman of his Priuie Chamber. / EDINBURGH. / Printed by Andro Hart, and are to / be solde at his shop, on the North-side of the / high street, a litle beneath the Crosse. / 1612 / / With Licence.

4to. S.T.C. 339.

Another edition of this elegy, S.T.C. 340, was published in Edinburgh in 1613.

4. Basse, William.
GREAT BRITTAINES / SVNNES-SET, / BEWAILED WITH A SHOW- / ER OF TEARES. / BY / William Basse. / AT OXFORD, / Printed by Ioseph Barnes. 1613.

8o. S.T.C. 1546.

5. Brathwaite, Richard.
 THE / Poets Willow : / OR, / The Passionate Shepheard : / With sundry
 delightfull, and no lesse / Passionate Sonnets : describing the passions
 / of a discontented and perplexed / LOVER. / Diuers compositions of
verses conoording / as well with the Lyricke, as the Anacreon - / ticke
 measures; neuer before published: / Being reduced into an exact and
 distinct / order of Metricall extractions. / Arteum qui tractant
Musican, haec legant, & Poe- / sem ament, / Author : Impresse. / Nec
mori timeo, nec opto. / Imprinted at London by IOHN BEALE, / for
Samuel Rand, and are to be sold at his / shop at Holborne bridge. 1614.

8o. S.T.C. 3578

The main matter of this volume is not concerned with the death of Prince Henry, however Brathwaite includes in it an elegy upon the Prince's death at sigs. A3v-A4v which is entitled 'Vpon the illustrate Prince Henrie, the Authors long meditated teares'.

6. Brooke, Christopher, and Browne, William.
 Two Elegies, / Consecrated / TO THE NEVER- / dying Memorie of the
 most wor- / thily admyred; most hartily loued; and / generally bewayled
 PRINCE ; / HENRY / Prince of Wales. / Hec fonte deriuata elades / In
Patriam, Populumq; fluxit. / LONDON: / Printed by T.S. for RICHARD MORE,
 and are to / be sould at his shoppe in Saint Dunstones / Church-yard.
 1613.

4to. S.T.C. 3831.

Brooke's elegy appears first in this volume. Browne's elegy appears again with minor changes in the Fifth Song of his Britania's Pastorals.

7. Campion, Thomas.
 Songs of Mourning: / BEWAILING / the vntimely death of Prince Henry.
 / Werded by THO. CAMPION. / And set forth to bee sung with one voyce /
 to the Lute, or Violl: / By JOHN COPRARIO. / LONDON: / Printed for
John Browne, and / are to be sould in S. dunstons / Churchyard. 1613.

fol. S.T.C. 4546.

8. Chapman, George.
 AN / EPICEDE / OR / Funerall Song : / On the most disastrous Death,
 of the / High-borne Prince of Men, HENRY / Prince of WALES, &c. /
With / The Funeralls, and Representation of / the Hearse of the same
 High and mighty Prince: / Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornewalle and
Rothsay, / Count Palatine of Chester, Earle of Carick, / and late
 Knight of the most Noble / Order of the GARTER. / Which Noble Prince

deceased at S^t/James the sixt day of November, 1612. / and was most Princely interred the seventh / day of December following, within the / Abbey of Westminster, in the Eigh- / teenth yeere of his Age. / LONDON: / Printed by T.S. for John Budge, and are to bee / sould at his shop at the great south dore of / Paules, and at Brittanes Burse. 1612.

4to. S.T.C. 4974

The folding plate of the hearse would seem to be wanting in a number of copies. The 'Funerals' was also issued separately, S.T.C. 13157.

9. Davies, John, of Hereford.

THE / MVSES-TEARES / FOR THE LOSSE OF / THEIR HOPE: HERGICK / AND NERE-TOO-MVCH / praised, HENRY, Prince / of Wales, &c. / Together with TIMES Sobs / for the vntimely death of his Glory / in that his Darling: and, lastly, / his Epitaphs. / CONSECATED / To the high and mighty Prince, Frederick / the fift, Count-palatine of Rheyn. &c. / Where-vnto is added, / Consolatory STRAINES to wrest NATVRE / from her bent in immoderate mourning; most / loyally, and humbly wisht to the KING / and QUEENES most excellent / MAISTIES. / By / IOHN DAVIES of Hereford, their Maiesties / Beads-man, and Vassall. / AT LONDON, / Printed by G Eld, for John Wright; and are to be / sould at his shop neere Christ- / Church Dore. 1613.

4to. S.T.C. 6339.

10. Drummond, William, of Hawthornden.

TEARES / ON THE DEATH / of Meliades / EDINBVRGH, / Printed by Andro Hart, and are to be / sold at his shop on the North-side of the high streete, / a litle beneath the Crosse. 1613.

4to. S.T.C. 7257.

Another edition of this elegy was published in 1614 and was sold as the third edition. It will be noticed that the 1613 edition bears no specification of the edition. No other edition apart from this one and that of 1614, the 'third' has ever been discovered or recorded. L.E. Kastner has speculated that if there was a prior edition to that of 1613 it is likely that it was privately printed for Drummond's friends. On the other hand the 1614 may have been inadvertently called the third edition. For a discussion of this problem see The Poetical Works of William Drummond of Hawthornden, edited by L.E. Kastner, 2 vols. (Manchester, 1913), I, xlv - xlvii.

11. Gorges, Sir Arthur.

The Olympian Catastrophe / Dedicated to the worthy memory of / the most Heroicall Lord Henry, late / illustrious Prince of Wales. &c. / By / Sir Arthur Gorges knight / Fides fortibus, Fraus formidolosis / 1612.

The Olympian Catastrophe was not printed and the manuscript has been

edited by H.B. Sandison in her edition of The Poems of Sir Arthur Gorges (Oxford, 1953), pp. 135-182. For a description of the manuscript and its problems see the Introduction to The Poems, pp. xlix - lviii.

12. Great Brittans Mourning Garment.

GREAT / BRITTANS / Mourning Garment. / GIVEN:/ To all faithfull
sorrowfull Subiects at / the Funerall / Of / Prince HENRY. / LONDON.
/ Imprinted by G. Eld for Arthur Iouson. / 1612.

4to. S.T.C. 13158

13. King, Henry.

An Elegy Upon Prince Henryes Death. King's poem was not published until 1656 when it appeared in Parnassus Biceps. It was published for a second time in 1660 in Prince d'Amour. The poem would appear to have undergone a gradual process of revision. For the text and details of the revision see The Poems of Henry King, edited by Margaret Crum (Oxford, 1965), pp. 65, and 194-5.

14. Mausoleum.

MAVSOLEVM / OR / THE CHOISEST FLOWRES / of the Epitaphs, written on
the Death / of the neuer-too-much lamented / PRINCE HENRIE. / Cosa
bella mortal passa, e non dura. / EDINBVRGH / Printed by Andro Hart.
ANNO DOM. 1613.

4to. S.T.C. 13160

This volume, the leaves of which are unsigned, contains contributions from Walter Quin; William Drummond; Hugo Holland; George Wyther; Robert Allyne; George Chapman; and William Rowley.

15. Maxwell, James.

THE / Laudable Life, / And / Deplorable Death, / of our late
peerlesse / Prince HENRY. / Briefly repre / sented. / Together,
with some other Poemes, in ho- / nor both of our most gracious
Soueraigne King Iames / his auspicious entrie to this Crowne, and
also of / his most hopefull Children, Prince Charles / and Princesse
Elizabeths happy / entrie into this world. / By I.M. Master of Artes.
/ LONDON / Printed by Edw: Allde, for Thomas Pauier, / dwelling
neere the Royall Exchange, at the signe / of the Cats and parrat.
1612.

4to. S.T.C. 14701.

16. Niccols, Richard.
 THE / Three Sisters Teares. / SHED AT THE / LATE SOLEMNE / Funerals
 of the Royall decea- / sed HENRY, Prince of / WALES: &c., / R.N. Oxon.
 / Mors equa pulsat pauperum tabernas / regnumq; turres. / LONDON: /
 Printed by T.S. for Richard Redmer; and are to / be sould at his
 shop neere the West dore of / Paules Church. 1613.

4to. S.T.C. 18525

17. Peacham, Henry, the Younger.
 THE / PERIOD / OF / Mourning. / Disposed into sixe VISIONS. / In
 Memorie of the late Prince. / TOGETHER / With Nuptiall Hymnes, in /
 Honour of this Happy Marriage / betweene the Great PRINCES, / FREDERICK
 / Count Palatine of the RHENE, / AND / The Most Excellent, and
 Aboundant President / of all VIRTVE and GOODNES / ELIZABETH / onely
Daughter to our Soueraigne, / his MAIESTIE. / Also the manner of the
 Solemnization of the Marriage at / White-Hall on the 14. of February,
 being Sunday, / and St Valentines day. / By Henry Peacham, M^r. of
 Arts. / LONDON: / Printed by T.S. for Iohn Helme, and are to be sould
 in Saint / Dunstanes Churchyard in Fleetstreet. 1613.

4to. S.T.C. 19513.

As the title-page indicates this volume also contains poems in
 celebration of the marriage of Princess Elizabeth and the Elector
 Palatine. These are printed at sigs. E3v-H1.

18. Rogers, Thomas.
 Gloucesters / MYTE, / DELIVERED WITH / the mournfull Records of /
 GREAT BRITAIN, / into the Worlds Register. / For the inrolement
of the suerlasting / Fame and perpetuall remembrance / of our late
most gracious Prince / HENRIE. / With Motiues to Repentance. The
 ma- / teriall points touched, appeare in the / next Page. / LONDON
 / Imprinted by William Hall, for Ionas / Man, 1612.

4to. S.T.C. 21234

19. Sylvester, Joshua.
LACHRYMAE LACHRYMARVM. / or / The Distillation / of Teares / Shede
 / For the vntymely Death / of / The incomparable Prince / PANARETVS.
 / By Iosuah Sylvester.

4to. S.T.C. 23576

The colophon: LONDON, / Printed by Humfrey Lownes. / 1612.
 A second edition of Lachrymae Lachrymarum appears to have been
 published in 1612, S.T.C. 23577, and in 1613 a third edition was
 published with additions of Sylvesters and other poets.

20. Lachrymae Lachryma / or / The Spirit of Teares / Distilled / for the vn-tymely Death / of / The incomparable Prince / PANARETUS. / by Iosuah Sylvester. / The third Edition. / with Addition of His Owne / and / other Elegies.
Colophon : LONDON / Printhd (sic) by Humfrey Lownes. 1613.

4to. S.T.C. 23578

The additional elegies printed with Sylvester's poem in the third edition were written by G(eorge) G(errard); H. Holland; John Donne; Sir William Cornwallis; Sir Edward Herbert; Sir Henry Goodyere; and Henry Burton. There is also an epitaph by Sir P.Q. These poems are printed between sigs. D1-G4 and are fronted by their own title-page.

SVNDRY / FVNERAL/ELEGIES, / ON THE VNTIMELY / Death of the most excellent PRINCE, / HENRY; / Late, PRINCE of WALES. / Composed by seuerall / AVTHORS. / 1613.

It would appear that these poems may have been published separately under this title page, and that the volume is that given as S.T.C. 13162.

The third edition of Lachrymae Lachrymarum is concluded by Sylvester's elegy on the death of Sir William Sidney, sigs. H1-I3v. This poem also is introduced by its own title-page.

AN / ELEGIE-&-EPISTLE / Consolatorie, / Against / Immoderate Sorrow / for th' immature Decease / of / S^r WILLIAM SIDNEY / Knight, / Sonne and Heire apparant / to / The Right Honorable / ROBERT, LORD SIDNEY, / L Vi Count Lisle; / L. Chamberlain to the Queen, / & / L. Gouenour of His Maiesties / Cautionarie Towne of / VLVSHING / 1613.

21. Taylor, John, The Water Poet.
GREAT / Britaine, all / in Blacke. / FOR / The incomparable losse / of HENRY, our late / worthy Prince. / By Iohn Taylor. / LONDON / Printed by E.A. for I. Wright / dwelling in Newgate Market, / neere vnto Christs / Church - / gate. / 1612.

4to. S.T.C. 23760

22. Three Elegies.
Three Elegies / on / the most lamented / DEATH / of / PRINCE HENRIE,

<u>The first</u>)	(<u>Cyril Tourneur.</u>
<u>The second</u>)	<u>written by (John Webster.</u>
<u>The third</u>)	(<u>Tho. Heywood.</u>

London / Printed for William Welbie. / 1613.

4to. S.T.C. 24151

Though the three elegies were published together under the title-page above they were fronted by an individual title-page, and each part seems to have been issued separately.

Tourneur, Cyril.

A / GRIEFE / ON THE DEATH / OF PRINCE / HENRIE. / EXPRESSED IN A
BROKEN / Elegie, According to the nature of / such a sorrow. / BY
CYRIL TOVRNEVR. / LONDON / Printed for WILLIAM WELBIE. / 1613.

4to. S.T.C. 24151

Webster, John

A / MONVMENTAL / COLVMNE, / Erected to the liuing Memory of / the
euer-glorious HENRY, late / Prince of Wales. / Virgil. Ostendent
terris hunc tantum fata / By JOHN WEBSTER. / LONDON, / Printed by
N.O. for William Welby dwelling in / Pauls Church-yard at the signe
of the Swan. 1613.

4to. S.T.C. 25174

Heywood, Thomas.

A / FVNERALL / Elegie, / Vpon the death of the late most / hopefull
and illustrious Prince, / HENRY, Prince of Wales. / Written by
THOMAS HEYWOOD. / Quid numeras Annos ? vixit maturior Annis : /
Acta seuem faciunt; haec numeranda tibi. / LONDON, / Printed for
William Welbie, dwelling in Pauls Church- / yard, at the signe of
the Swan. 1613.

4to. S.T.C. 13323

23. Vautor, Thomas.

CANTVS. / THE / FIRST SET: / BEING / SONGS / of diuers Ayres and
Natures, / of Five and Sixe parts : Apt / for Vyols and Voyces. /
NEWLY COMPOSED / by Thomas Vautor, Batcheler / of MUSICKE. / LONDON : /
Printed by Thomas Snodham, for Matthew Lownes / and Iohn Browne 1619.
/ Cum Priuilegio.

4to. S.T.C. 24624
Songs on the death of Henry are printed on sigs. B2v-03.

24. Ward, John.

THE / FIRST SET / of English / MADRIGALS / To / 3. 4. 5. and 6.
parts / apt both for Viols/and Voyces. / With a Mourning Song / in
memory of Prince / Henry. / Newly Composed by / Iohn Ward. / CANTVS /
Printed by THOMAS SNODHAM. 1613.

4to. S.T.C. 25023

25. Wither, George, the Poet.
 PRINCE HENRIES / OBSEQUIES / OR / MOVRNEFVLL ELEGIES VPON / HIS
 DEATH: / With / woodcut: funeral-car with six horses; the Prince's
 effigy upon the hearse / A supposed Inter-locution betweene the /
 Ghost of Prince Henrie and Great / Brittaine. / By George Wyther. /
 LONDON, / Printed by Ed: Alde, for Arthur Iohnson, at the white /
Horse neere vnto the great North doore of / Saint Paul. 1612.

4to. S.T.C. 25915

Sermons composed and published on the death of Prince Henry

26. Chetwind, Edward.
Votiuæ Lachrymæ. / A VOW OF / TEARES, / For the losse of Prince
HENRY. / IN A SERMON PREACHED / in the Citie of Bristol Decem. / ber
 7. 1612. being the day of / his Funerall. / By E.C. Batchelar in
 Diuinitie and / publike Preacher to that Citie / 2. Chron. 35.25.
And Ieremiah lamen- / ted Iosiah, and all Singing men and Singing
wo- / men mourned for Iosiah in their Lamentations / to this day,
and made the same for an ordinance / vnto Israel: and behold they
are written in the / LAMENTATIONS. / AT LONDON, / Printed by W.H.
 for William Welby, and / are to be sold at his shop in Pauls /
 Church yard at the signe of / the Swanne.

8o S.T.C. 5128

27. Hall, Joseph, Bp.
 A / FAREWELL / SERMON, / PREAUGHT TO THE / FAMILIE OF PRINCE / HENRY,
 / VPON THE DAY OF / THEIR DISSOLVTION AT / S. IAMES / By IOS. HALL /
 LONDON, / Printed for THOMAS PAVIER, MILES FLESHER, / and John
Haviland. 1624.

This sermon was printed for the first time in The Complete Works of
Joseph Hall, (1625), S.T.C. 12635, pp. 461-8.

28. Price, Daniel.
 LAMENTATIONS / FOR / the death of the late Illustri-/ ous Prince
Henry: / AND / the dissolution of his religious / Familie. / Two
Sermons: / Preached in his Highnesse Chappell at / Saint IAMES,
 on the 10. and 15. day of / November, being the first Tuesday and
 Sunday / after his decease. / By DANIELL PRICE, Chaplaine / then
 in attendance. / MICAH 7. 8. / Reioyce not against me, O mine enimie,
though I fall I shall / rise againe. / LONDON: / Printed by THO.
SNODHAM, for ROGER IACKSON, / and are to be sould at his shop neere
 to Fleetstreet / Conduit 1613

4to. S.T.C. 20294

A second edition of Lamentations was published in 1613, S.T.C. 20295.

29. Price, Daniel.
 Prince HENRY / HIS / FIRST ANNIVERSARY. / HEB. 11.38 / Of whom the world was not worthy: / BY / DANIEL PRICE Doctor in Divinity, one of / his Highnesse Chaplaines. / AT OXFORD, / Printed by Joseph Barnes. 1613.

4to. S.T.C. 20299

30. Price, Daniel.
 PRINCE HENRY / HIS / SECOND / ANNIVERSARY. / ECCLESTIATICVS 50. 6. / Who was as a morning star in the midst of a clowd. / BY / DANIEL PRICE Doctor in Divinity, one of / his Highnesse Chaplaines. / AT OXFORD. / Printed by Ioseph Barnes and are to be sold by / Iohn Barnes over against St Pulchers / Church. 1614.

4to. S.T.C. 20300

31. Price, Daniel.
 SPIRITVALL / ODOVRS TO THE / MEMORY OF PRINCE / HENRY / IN FOVRE OF THE LAST SER- / mons preached in St JAMES after his High- / nesse death, the last being the Sermon be- / fore the body, the day before / the Funerall. / BY / DANIEL PRICE then Chaplaine in Attendance. / ECCLVS. 49. 1. / The remembrance of Iosias is like the composition of the per- / fume made by the Apothecary. / AT OXFORD / Printed by Ioseph Barnes and are to be sold by Iohn Barnes / dwelling neere Holborne Conduit. 1613.

4to. S.T.C. 20304

Also issued with Spiritvall Odovrs were two sermons on the Prince's death, Sorrow for the Sinnes of the Time, sigs. H1-L3, and Teares Shed over Abner sigs. L4-P2v. Both sermons are fronted by their own title-page.

SORROW / FOR THE SINNES OF / THE TIME. / A / SERMON PREACHED AT St, / JAMES on the third Sunday after / the PRINCE his death / BY / DANIEL PRICE then Chaplaine in Attendance. / EZEK. 9.4. / Go through the midst of the City, through the midst / of Ierusalem, and set a marke vpon the foreheads of the men / that sigh and cry for all the abominations that be done in the / midst of her. / AT OXFORD / Printed by Ioseph Barnes and are to be sold by Iohn Barnes / dwelling neere Holborne Conduit. 1613.

TEARES / SHED OVER ABNER. / THE / SERMON PREACHED ON THE / Sunday before the PRINCE his fu- / nerall in St. IAMES Chappell / before the body. / BY / DANIEL PRICE then Chaplaine in Attendance. / SENECA. / Hectora flemus. / AT OXFORD / Printed by Ioseph Barnes and are to be sold by Iohn Barnes / dwelling neere Holborne Conduit. 1613.

Sorrow for the Sinnes of the Time, and Teares over Abner were also published together, 4to. (1613), S.T.C. 20303.

32. Price, Daniel.
DAVID HIS OATH OF / ALLEGEANCE TO / IERUSALEM. / THE SERMON PREACHED
ON ACT / SVNDAY LAST IN THE MORNING, / IN ST. MARIES IN OXFORD. / BY
/ DANIEL PRICE Doctor in Divinity. / PSAL. 137. 6. / Let my tongue
cleave to the rooffe of my mouth, if I pre- / ferre not Ierusalem
about my chiefe ioie. / AT OXFORD, / Printed by Ioseph Barnes.
1613.

4to. S.T.C. 20291

33. Price, Sampson.
LONDONS / WARNING / BY / Laodicea's Luke-warmnesse. / OR / A SERMON /
Preached at Paules-Crosse, / the 10. of October, 1613. / BEING / The
first Sunday in Tearme. / BY / SAMPSON PRICE, M^r. of Arts, of
of Exeter- / Colledge; and Preacher to the Cittie / of OXFORD. /
LONDON: / Printed for John Barnes, dwelling on Snow-hill, / at the
signe of the Harrow. 1613.

4to. S.T.C. 20333

Though this sermon was not preached specifically on the occasion of Prince Henry's death Sampson Price, Daniel Price's brother, deals at some length with the Prince's death.

Items composed and published in Latin on the death of Prince Henry.

34. Badius, Domenicus.
MONVMENTVM / consecratum / Honori & memoriae / REVERENDISSIMI /
BRITANNIARVM PRINCIPIS / HENRICI FREDERICI / Authore / DOMINICO
BAVDIO I.C. / Historiarum Professore in Academia / Leidensi. /
LVGDVNI BATAVORVM, / Ex officina Ulrici Cornelii & Georgii Abrahami.
Impensis Iohannis Ganne. / Anno cl b exit 4to.

35. Epicedium Cantabrigiense.
EPICEDIVM / CANTABRIGIENSE, / In obitum imaturum semperqu: deflen- /
dum HENRICI, Illustrissimi Principis / WARRIAE, &c. / CANTABRIGIAE, /
Ex officina CANTRELLI LEGGE, / 1612.

Two editions of this volume were published, both in 1612. The first edition is made up of the contributions of many writers, all members of the University. The pieces are all in Latin verse except for five in Greek, two in French, and one in English. In the second edition sigs. N4-P2 were reprinted. The contents of the new pages are elegies in English and entirely different from those of the first edition. The contributors of poems in English were Giles Fletcher, sigs. N4-01; Stephen Saxby, sig. 01v; John Wilson, sigs. 01v-02; Edward Gybson sigs. 02-v; I.P., sig. 02v; Thomas May, sig. 03; Thomas Walkington, sigs. 03v-04v; John Cozen, sigs. 04v-p1; William Farner, sigs. P1-p2; A.B., sig. P2; L. Howlet, sigs. P2-v.

Both volumes are 4to.

1st edition S.T.C. 4481

2nd edition S.T.C. 4482

The contributors are Joseph Barbatus; Jacobus Aretius; F. Gal. Beyaert; C.F.G.L.F.; Fr. G. Theol. P.; T.C.; R.H.; Fr. Iz.; F.S.; T.H.; N.M.; I. Parry; P.A.; R.G.; T.D.; T.S.; I.I.; I.M.; E.L.; R.M.; E.H.; I.A.; and G.R.

41. Oxford University.
 IVSTA / OXONIEN- / SIVM. / 2. Reg. 3. 38. / Num ignoratis quoniam Princeps / & Maximus cecidit hodie / in Israel ? / LONDINI / Impensis Iohannis Bill / 1612.

4to. S.T.C. 19021

The contributors to this volume are Tho. Singleton; Ri. Kilbie (in Hebrew); I.L. Aedis Christi; Rob. Abbot; Isaac Casaubon (in Greek); John Williams; Geo. Ryves; William Goodwin; John Spenser; Henry Airay; Io Bancrofte; William Laud; William Langton; Io Rawlinson; Jo Budden; Sebastian Benefield; William Osberne; Io Pridaux; Henry Bust; Tho. Sellar; Rich. Corbet; Richard Spencer; Edward Spencer; Rob. Pincke; Edm. Gunter; Rob. Polden; Tho. Williams; E. Atwood; Tho. Sparke; Samuael Fell; John Reynolds; William Maycock; Roger Pincke; Henry Halswell; Nicholas Darrell; Io. Lloyd; Ro. Burton; Richard Adams; John Wall, John Rogers; William Gabriel Clarke; William Souch; Cornelius Lymer; Tho. Dugard; Tho. Wood; William Maxey; John Heath; Tho. Grent; Tho. Chaundler; Brian Duppa; Edward a Meetkerke; Nicol. Gray; Willam James; Willaim More; Warner South; Francis Lancaster; Francis Matkin; and one hundred others, all members of the University.

42. Oxford University.
 LVCTVS POSTHVIVS / SIVE / ERGA DEFVN- / CTVM ILLVSTRIS- / SIMVM HENRICVM WAL- / LIAE PRINCIPEM. COL. / legij Beatae Mariae MAGDALENae / apud Oxionienses Mecaenatem / longè indulgentissimum, / Magdalenensium of- / ficiosa Pietas / Serius, vt sero, Luctus venit. Altus in alto / Pectore concoctus, Posthumus esto dolor. / OXONIAE, / Excudebat Josephus Barnesius. 1612.

4to. S.T.C. 19047

The poems all in Latin verse with the exception of three in Greek and one in Spanish.

43. Sharpe, Lionell.
 ORATIO / FVNEBRIS IN / HONOREM HENRI- / CI Excellentissimi Walliae Prin- / cipis propriam atque intimam eius / effigiem praeferens, bonisque omnibus / & Domesticis, & exteris, honoris ergo / Dicata Authore LEONELLO / SHARPO sacrae Theolo- / giae Doctore. / LONDINI, / Excudebat Guilielmus Hall, / 1612.

4to. S.T.C. 22375

44. Wedderburn, David.
 IN OBITV SVM / MAE SPEI PRIN- / cipis HENRICI / IACOBI VI. SERENIS- /
 simi Britanniae magnae, Hiberniae & / Galliae Regis Fillii Primogeniti
 Lessus. / AVTHORE / DAVIDE WEDDERBVRNO / Scholae Abredonensis
 Moderatore. / EDINBVRGI, / Excudebat Andreas Hart, bibliopola / ANNO
 DOM. 1613.

4to. S.T.C. 25188

45. The Ballads
 The ballads which were published on the Prince's death have already
 been noted in Chapter 2, p. 32 note 9.

Bibliography Part 2

Long-Title Bibliography of the poems and other works composed and published on the Marriage of Princess Elizabeth and the Elector Palatine.

Poems in English.

1. Allyne, Robert.
TEARES OF IOY / SHED / At the happy departure from Great / Britaine, of the two Paragons of / the Christian world. / FREDERICKE AND ELIZABETH, / Prince, and Princesse Palatines of Rhine, / Duke and Duches of Bauaria, &c. / By R.A. / Iam redit & virgo, redeunt Saturnia regna. / LONDON, / Printed for Thomas Archer, and are to be sold at his / shop in the Popes-head-pallace, neere the / Royall Exchange. 1613.

4to. S.T.C. 385
2. Fennor, William.
FENNORS Descriptions, / OR / A TRVE RE- / LATION OF CER- / taine and diuers speeches spoken be- / fore the King and Queenes most excellent Maiestie, / the Prince his highnesse, and the Lady / ELIZABETH'S Grace. / By / WILLIAM FENNOR, His Maiesties / Seruant. / LONDON, / Printed by EDWARD GRIFFIN, for GEORGE / GIBBS, and are to be sold at his shop in / Pauls Church-yard at the signe of the Flower-Deluce. 1616.

4to. S.T.C. 10784
3. Franchis, Joannes Maria de.
OF / THE MOST / Auspicious Marriage: / BETWIXT, / The High and Mightie Prince, / FREDERICK; / COVNT PALATINE of RHEINE, / chiefe Sewer to the sacred Roman Empire, / Prince Elector, and Duke of / BAVARIA, &c. / AND / The most Illustrious Princesse, the Ladie / ELIZABETH her Grace, sole Daughter to the / high and mightie IAMES, King of great / BRITTAINE, &c. / IN III BOOKES; / Composed in Latine by M. IOANNES MARIA, de / Franchis. And Translated into English / AT LONDON, / Printed by G. Eld, for William Blaincher, and / are to be solde in Fleete-lane, at the signe / of the Printers Presse. 1613.

4to. S.T.C. 11309
This poem is a translation of the Latin poem number 25 p.380.

4. Heywood, Thomas.
 A / MARRIAGE / TRIVMPHE / SALIMNIZED IN AN / EPITHAMIVM, / In
 Memorie of the happie Nuptials be- / twixt the High and Mightie Prince
 Count / PALATINE. And the most Excellent / Princesse the Lady
 ELIZABETH. / Written / By THOMAS HEYWOOD. / Tu festas Hymen faces, tu
Gratia flores, / Elige, tu geminas Concordia nocte Coronas. /
 LONDON / Printed for Edward Marchant, and are to be sold at his
 Shoppe / in Pauls Church-yard ouer against the Crosse. / 1613.

4to. S.T.C. 13355

5. Maxwell, James.
 A MONVMENT / of Remembrance, / ERECTED IN ALBION IN / HONOR OF THE
 MAGNIFICENT / DEPARTVRE FROM BRITANNIE, / and honorable receiuing
 in GERMANY, / namely at HEIDELBERGE, of the / two most Noble Princes/
FREDERICKE, / First Prince of the) (ELIZABETH / INFANTA OF AL-/
Im-/ periall blood, sprung / from) (BION, Princesse PA / LATINE,
glorious Char-/ lemaigne, Count) (and Dut-/ chesse of BAVIER, /
Pala-/ tine of Rhine, Duke of /) (the onely Daughter / of our
Bauier, Elector and Arch-sewer) & (most gracious / and Soueraigne
of the ho-/ ly Romane Empire, /) (Lord / CHARLES-JAMES, / and of
and Knight of the Re-/ nowned) (his most Noble / and vertuous
order of the / GARTER.) (Wife, / Queene ANNE.

Both of them being almost in one and the same degree of lineall descent
/ from 25 Emperours of the East and West, of Romanes, Greekes, and /
Germans, and from 30 Kings of diuers countries. / By JAMES MAXWEL. /
 LONDON, / Printed by Nicholas Okes, for Henry Bell, and are to be
 sold/at his shop within Bishops-gate. 1613.

4to. S.T.C. 17703

6. Nixon, Anthony
 GREAT / BRITTAINES / Generall Ioyes. / LONDONS / Glorious Triumphes. /
Dedicated to the / Immortal memorie of the ioyfull Mariage of / the
two famous and illustrious Princes, / FREDERICKE and ELIZABETH. /
Celebrated the 14. of Februarie, being S. Valentines day. / With the
Instalment of the sayd potent Prince / FREDERICKE at Windsore, the
7. of / Februarie aforesaid. / Imprinted at London for Henry Robertes
/ and are to be sold by T.P. 1613.

4to. S.T.C. 18587

7. Peacham, Henry.
The Period of Mourning, see No. 17 in the bibliography of works
 published on the death of Prince Henry.

8. Taylor, Augustine.
Epithalamium / VPON THE ALL- / DESIRED NVPTIALS / of FREDERIKE
 the fift, Prince Pala- / tine of Rhene, chief Elector, Duke / of
 Bauier, and Arch-Sewer to / the Romane EMPIRE. / AND ELIZABETH,
 / The onely daughter of IAMES, / by the grace of God, King of
 great Brit- / taine, France and Ireland, Defender / of the FAITH,
 &c. / Written by AVGVSTINE TAYLOR / Illi poena datur, qui semper
amat, nec amatur / LONDON, / Printed for Samuel Rand, and are to
 bee sold by Edward / Marchant, at his shop in Pauls Church-yard,
 ouer / against the Crosse. 1613.
- 4to. S.T.C. 23722
9. Taylor, John, the Water Poet.
 Heauens Blessing, / And / Earths Ioy. / OR / A true relation, of
 the / supposed Sea-fights & Fire-Workes, / as were accomplished,
 before the Royall / Celebration, of the al-beloved Mariage, / of
 the two peerlesse Paragons of Chri- / stendome, FREDERICKE & /
 ELIZABETH. / With / Triumphall Encomiasticke Verses, consecrated /
 to the Immortall memory of those happy / and blessed Nuptials. /
 By Iohn Taylor. / Imprinted at London for Ioseph Hunt, and are to
 be solde
- 4to. S.T.C. 23763
10. Wither, George, the Poet.
 EPITHALAMIA : / OR / NVPTIAL POEMS / VPON THE MOST BLESSED / AND
 HAPPIE MARIAGE BETWEENE / the High and Fightie Prince FREDERICK
 the / fifth, Count Palatine of the Rhein, Duke / of Bauier, &c. /
 AND THE MOST VERTVOVS, / GRACIOUS AND THRICE EXCEL- / LENT PRINCESSE,
 ELIZABETH, SOLE / Daughter, to our dread Soueraigne, IAMES by / the
grace of God King of Great Britaine, / France and Ireland, defender /
of the Faith, &c. / CELEBRATED AT WHITE-HALL / the fourteenth of
Februarie, / 1612. / Written by GEORGE WITHER. / AT LONDON / Imprinted
 for Edward Marchant, and are to be sold / at his shop ouer against
 the Crosse in Pauls Church- / yeard. 1612.
- 4to. S.T.C. 25901
11. Sermons composed and published on the marriage of Princess Elizabeth
and the Elector Palatine
 King, John, Bp.
Vitis Palatina. / A SERMON / APPOINTED TO / be preached at WHITEHALL
 / vpon the Tuesday after the mariage of the / LADIE ELIZABETH / her
Grace. By the B. of London. / LONDON, / Printed for IOHN BILL. / 1614.
- 4to. S.T.C. 14990
 A second edition of this sermon was published in 1614, S.T.C. 14991.

12. Scultetus, Abraham.

A SERMON, / Preached before the two / high borne and illustrious Princes, / FREDERICKE the 5. PRINCE / ELECTOR PALATINE, DUKE / OF BAVARIA, &c. And the / Princesse Lady ELIZA - / BETH, &c. / Preached in the Castle-Chappell at / HEIDELBERG the 8. of June 1613. be- / ing the next day after her Highnesse happy / arriual there : By that reuerend and iudici / ous Diuine, M^r. ABRAHAM SCULTETVS, / his Highnesse Chaplaine. / Together with a short narration of the / Prince Electors greatnes, his Country, his / receiuing of her Highnesse. accompanied with twelue / other Princes, thirty earles, besides an excee- / ding great number of Barons and Gen- / tlemen, and eight daies enter- / tainment. / Translated out of High Dutch by IA MEDLVS / D.D. and one of his Maiesties Chaplaines / Imprinted at London by Iohn Beale, / for William Welby. 1613.

8^o.S.T.C. 22125

13. Webbe, George.

THE / BRIDE / ROYALL, / OR / The Spirituall Marriage / betweene CHRIST and his / CHVRCH / Deliuered / By way of a congratulation vpon the hap- / py and hopeful marriage betweene the two / incomparable Princes, the PALSE- / GRAVE, and the Ladie / ELIZABETH. / IN / A Sermon preached vpon the 14. day of FE- / BRUARIE last past, the day of that / Royall Marriage triumphant / solemnization / At Steeple Ashton in Wiltshire by G.W. Master of / Arts, and Pastor there. / LONDON, / Printed by W. Stansby for R. Mabbe. 1613.

8^o.S.T.C. 25157

14. Willet, Andrew.

A / TREATISE / OF SALOMONS / MARIAGE, / OR / A CONGRATVLATION FOR / THE HAPPIE AND HOPEFULL MARIAGE / betweene the most illustrious and Noble Prince FRE- / DERIKE the V. Count Palatine of Rhine, Elector of the Sacred / Romane Empire, and Arch-Sewer, and in the vacancie / thereof Vicar Generall: Duke of Bauaria, &c. / Knight of the most noble order / of the Garter. / AND THE MOST GRATIOVS AND EX- / cellent Princesse, the Ladie Elizabeth, sole daughter vnto / the High and Mighty Prince Iames, by the grace of God, / King of great Britaine, France and Ireland. Ioyfully / solemnized vpon the 14. day of Februarie / 1612. In the Kings Pallace of White- / hall in Westminster. / CANTICLES 6. 2. / I am my welbeloueds, and my welbeloued is mine. / AT LONDON / Imprinted by F.K. for Thomas Nan the elder, and William / Welby, and are to be sold at the Swanne in / Pauls Church-yard. 1612.

4to.

S.T.C. 25705

Another edition of this treatise was published in 1634, S.T.C. 25706. It was also published in Latin in 1612 as Tractatus de Salomonis nuptiis, S.T.C. 25707. See number 29.

The Masques commissioned for the Wedding Celebrations.

15. Beaumont, Francis.

THE / MASQUE / OF THE INNER / TEMPLE AND GRAYES / INNE: / GRAYES
INNE AND THE IN- / NER TEMPLE, PRESENTED BEFORE / his Maiestie,
the Queenes Maiestie, the Prince, Count / Palatine and the Lady
Elizabeth their Highnesses, in / the Banquetting house at White-hall
on Sa- / turday the twentirth day of Fe- / bruarie, 1612. / By
FRANCIS BEAMONT, Gent. / AT LONDON, / Imprinted by F.K. for George
Norton, and are to be sold / at his shoppe neere Temple-bar.

4to. S.T.C. 1663

There was another issue of the masque with cancel title omitting
Beaumont's name, S.T.C. 1664.

16. Campion, Thomas.

A / RELATION / OF THE LATE ROY- / ALL ENTERTAINMENT / GIVEN BY THE
RIGHT HONO - / RABLE THE LORD KNOWLES, AT / Cawsome-House neere
Redding : to our most / Gracious Queene, Queene ANNE, in her /
Progresse toward the Bathe, vpon / the seuen and eight and twentie /
dayes of Aprill / 1613. / Whereunto is annexed the Description, /
Speeches, and Songs of the Lords Maske, presented in the / Banqueting-
house on the Mariage night of the High / and Mightie, COVNT PALATINE,
and the / Royally descended the Ladie / ELIZABETH. / Written by
THOMAS CAMPION. / LONDON, / Printed for Iohn Budge, and are to be
sold at his shop / at the South doore of S. Pauls, and at Bri - /
taines Bursse. 1613.

4to. S.T.C. 4545

17. Chapman, George.

THE / MEMORABLE MASKE / of the two Honorable Houses or Inns of /
Court; the Middle Temple and / Lyncolns Inne. / As it was / performed
before the King, at / White-Hall on Shroue Munday at night; / being
the 15. of February. 1613. / At the Princely celebration of the
most Royall / Nuptialls of the Palsgraue, and his thrice gracious /
Princesse Elizabeth. &c. / with a description of their whole show;
in the manner / of their march on horse-backe to the Court from /
the Maister of the Rolls his house: with all / their right Noble
consorts, and most / showfull attendants. / Inuented and fashioned,
with the ground, and / speciall structure of the whole worke, / By
our Kingdomes most Artfull and Ingenious / Architect INNIGO IONES. /
Supplied, Applied, Digested, and written, / By GEO: CHAPMAN. / AT
LONDON, / Printed by G. Eld, for George Norton and are to be / sould
at his shoppe neere Temple-bar.

4to. S.T.C. 4981

A second edition of this masque was published probably in 1614,
S.T.C. 4982.

Pamphlets published on the Marriage of Princess Elizabeth and Prince Frederick

18. The Magnificent Princely Entertainments.

THE / MAGNIFICENT, / Princely, and most Royall Entertain- / ments
giuen to the High and Mightie Prince, / and Princess, FREDERICK,
Count / Palatine, Palsgrau of the Rhine: and / ELIZABETH, sole
Daughter to the / High and Mighty King of England, / James, our
Soueraigne Lord. / TOGETHER WITH / A true Relation of all the
Gifts, Presentations, / Showes, Pageants, Fire-workes, and other
sump- / tuous Triumphs in euery place where the said / Princes were
lodged, and receiued, after / their landing vpon the Coasts / of
GERMANY. / LONDON: / Printed for NATHANIEL BUTTER, and are / be
solde at his Shop at the Signe of the Pide- / Bull, neere S.
Austines-gate. 1613.

4to. S.T.C. 11357

19. The Marriage of the two Great Princes.

THE / Marriage of the two great / Princes, FREDERICKE Count Pa- /
latine &c: and the Lady Elizabeth, daughter to the / Imperial
Majesties of King James and Queene / Anne. vpon Shroue Sunday last. /
With the Showes and Fire-workes vpon the Water: As also the / Maskes
& Reuels, in his Highnes Court of White-Hall / Printed at London,
by T.C. for William Barley, and are to / be sold by W. Wright, at
his shop on Snow-hill, nere / S. Pulchers church, at the signe of
the Harrow. 1613.

4to. S.T.C. 11358

Second edition (with additional matter) published in 1613. S.T.C.11359

20. A Faithfull Admonition.

A / FAITHFULL / ADMONITION / OF THE PALSGRAVES / Churches, to all
other / Protestant Churches in / Dutchland. / THAT THEY WOULD CONSI- /
der the great danger that hangeth ouer their / heads as well as ours
by the Popedome, and / therefore Christianly and brotherly cease the /
priuate vnnecessary and now too / much growne strife with vs. /
TOGETHER WITH A SHORT ABSTRACT / of the warning about the Iesuites
bloodthirsty plots publi- / shed in print at Tubing. / Published
by Authoritie. / According to the Originall Printed in the Electors
Pals- / graues Country at Nustadt vpon the Hardt, / Englised by
IOHN ROLTE. / Imprinted at London by Edward Griffin for George /
Gibbes, and are to be sould at his shop in Paules. / church-yard
at the signe of the / Flower de luce. 1614.

4to. S.T.C. 19129

21. A Full Declaration of the Faith and Ceremonies.
 A / FULL DE- / CLARATION OF / THE FAITH AND CE- / REMONIES PROFESSED
 IN / the dominions of the most Illustrious and no- / ble Prince
FREDERICKE, 5. Prince, Elector Palatine. / PVBLISHED FOR THE BENE- /
 FIT AND SATISFACTI- / on of all Gods people. / ACCORDING TO THE
 ORIGI- / nall printed in the High Dutch / tongue. / Translated into
 English by John Rolte. / LONDON, / Imprinted for William Welby,
 at the Swan in Pauls Churchyard. 1614.
 4to. S.T.C. 19130
 Another edition of this pamphlet was abridged and published in
 1637, S.T.C. 19131.

Items composed and published in Latin on the Marriage of Princess
 Elizabeth and Prince Frederick.

22. Aretius, Jacobus.
 PRIMVLA VERIS / SEV / PANEGYRICA; / Ad Excellentiss. Principem
 Palatinum. / ACCESSIT / IN AVGVSTISSIMAM / GLORIOSISSIMI REGIS IACOBI
 / INAVGVRATIONEM, / Carmen Seculare, &c. / Itemq In Nuptias Illustriss
 Princip. / FREDERICI & ELIZA- / BETHAE, Meletemata / Omnia
Brittannae cedant miracula terrae, / Natura hic posuit quicquid
vbiq fuit. / LONDINI. / Typis G. Stansby. Impensis I. Budge. 1613
 4to. S.T.C. 736
23. Aurelius, Abraham.
IN NVPTIAS / ILLVSTRISSIMI / PRINCIPIS FREDERICI V. / COMITIS
PALATINI AD / RHEVVM &c. / ET / ILLVSTRISSIMAE, / LECTISSIMAEQVE
VIRGINIS / ELIZABETHAE, Magni, Magnae / Britanniae, &c. Regis /
Filiae, / Epithamium ABRAHAMI AVRELII. / LONDINI / Apud Gulielm
Stansby. / 1613.
 4to. S.T.C. 960
24. Meletemata in honores.
MELETEMATATA, / IN HONORES / NVPTIALES NO- / BILISSIMI / FREDERICI; /
 Quo nihil in Terris ad finem Solis ab ortu / Clarius excepto Caesare,
 Mundus habet; / ET / AVGVSTISSIMAE / ELIZABETHAE, / Quae Veneris

formam, mores Iunonis habendo, / Sola est coelesti digna reperta
toro. / LONDINI. / Typis G. Stansby. Impensis I. Budge. 1613.

4to. S.T.C. 11360

25. Franchis, Joannes Maria de.
DE / AVSPICA- / TISSIMIS / NVPTIIS. / ILLVSTRISSIMI / PRINCIPIS D.
FRIDERICI, / SACRI ROMANI IMPERII / ARCHIDAPIFERI, ET ELEC- / TORIS,
&c. Comitum / Palatini ad Rhenum, Ducis / Bauariae, &c. / CVM /
ILLVSTRISSIMA / PRINCIPIS D. ELIZABETHA / SERENISSIMI MAGNAE
BRITANNIAE, &c. / Regis Filia Vnigenita / Poema. / Anno Domini, 1613.

4to. S.T.C. 11308

26. Julius, Alexander.
OB SECVNDVM ET / FELICEM EVENTVM CON / JUGI JLLVSMI HEROIS,
FREDERICI / 5. Electoralis Palatinatus Principis, D. BAVAR. /
Et Serenissimae Heroinae ELIZABETHAE Filiae / Invictissimi Regis
magnae BRITANNIAE, GALLIAE / & HIBERNIAE: Carmen [ἄριστος ἐκ τῶν ἀειψομένων.]
/ Cum jam pro lachrymis redeant risus / Auctore ALEX^{ro} JVLIO
Edinburgo suo et conciviu / nomine. / EDINBURGI, / Excudebat
Thomas Finlason, Typographus Regie M. / 16 Febr. 1614.

4to. S.T.C. 14853

27. Oxford University.
EPITHALAMIA. / SIVE / LVSVS PALA- / TINI IN NVPTIAS CELSISSI- / MI
PRINCIPIS DOMINI FRIDE- / RICHI COMITIS PALATINI AD / RHENVVM, &c,
ET SERENISSI- / MAE ELIZABETHAE IACOBI / POTENTISSIMI BRI. / TANNIAE
REGIS / FILIAE PRIMO- / GENITAE / OXONIAE, / Excudebat Josephus
Barnesius, & Londini vaen- / unt apud Johannem Barnesium propè
aquae- / ductum Holbornienseum. 1613.

4to. S.T.C. 19022

28. Willet, Andrew.
TRACTAVS / DE SALOMONIS / NVPTIIS: / VBI EPITHALAMIVM, IN SACRA- /
tissimas nuptias, inter illustrissimos principes, D. FRI- / DERICVM
V. Comitem Palatinum ad Rhenum, Sacri / Romani Imperii Electorem, &
Archidapiserum, Du- / cem Bauariae, &c. Noblissim. Ordinis Aureae /
Periscelidis Militem : / ET SERENISSIMAM DOMINAM ELIZA- / BETHAM,
Potentissimi principis IACOBI, Dei gratia / Britanniae magnae,
Galliae, & Hiberniae Regis, / filiam vnicam : / FELICITER CONSVMATAS
ET SCLM- / niter celebratas, die Dominico Februar. 14. anno 1612.
in / Palatius Regius in Ciuitate Westmonasteriens. / iuxta Londinum. /
CANTIC. 6.2 / Ergo sum dilecti, & dilectus meus est. / EXCVSVM
LONDINI TYPIS FELICIS / KINGSTON, impensis vero Thomae Fan. 1612.

4to. S.T.C. 25707

29. The ballads published on the occasion of the marriage have been previously noted, see Chapter 5, p. 140, note 14.

Bibliography Part 3

A List of the Plays, Poems, and Prose Works examined for the discussion in Chapter 9 of the Literary Reflections of the Death and the Marriage.

The Plays:

In examining the dramatic material of 1612-15 I have made use of the limits of date offered by Alfred Harbage in Annals of English Drama 975-1700, revised by S. Schoenbaum (1964). Each play has been entered under the year which Harbage considers most likely as the year of its composition. The years in brackets which follow each title are the limits for its composition, or in the case of masques and entertainments the date of performance.

1608

Fletcher	<u>Cupid's Revenge</u>	(1607-12)
W. Rowley	<u>The Birth of Merlin</u>	(1597-1621)

1609

Fletcher	<u>Wit at Several Weapons</u>	(1609-20)
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1610

Chapman	<u>The Revenge of Bussy D'Ambois</u>	(1601-12)
Daborne	<u>A Christian Turned Turk</u>	(1609-12)
Marston	<u>The Insatiate Countess</u>	(1610-13)

1611

Dekker	<u>Match Me In London</u>	(1611-13)
Dekker	<u>If It Be Not Good The Devil Is In It</u>	(1611-12)
Fletcher	<u>The Womans Prize</u>	(1604-17)
Heywood	<u>The Brazen Age</u>	(1610-13)
Heywood	<u>The Silver Age</u>	(1610-12)
Middleton	<u>The Chaste Maid In Cheapside</u>	(1611-13)
Shakespeare	<u>The Tempest</u>	(1609-11)

1612

R.A.	<u>The Valiant Welshman</u>	(1610-15)
Carew, Lady	<u>The Tragedie of Miriam, the</u>	(1612)
Elizabeth	<u>faire Queene of Jewry</u>	
Dekker	<u>Troia Nova Triumphans (City</u>	(29th October
	<u>Pageant)</u>	1612)
Fletcher	<u>The Captain</u>	(1609-12)
Fletcher	<u>Four Plays in One</u>	(1608-13)
Heywood	<u>The Iron Age, Parts 1 and 2</u>	(1612-13)
Webster	<u>The White Devil</u>	(1609-12)

1613

Campion	<u>The Entertainment at Cawsome</u>	(27th - 28th
		April)
Campion	<u>The Masque at the Earl of</u>	(26th December)
	<u>Somerset's Marriage</u>	
Fletcher	<u>Bonduca</u>	(1611-14)
Fletcher	<u>The Scornful Lady</u>	(1613-16)
Fletcher	<u>The Honest Man's Fortune</u>	(1613)
Jonson	<u>A Challenge at Tilt</u>	(27th December)
Jonson	<u>The Irish Masque</u>	(29th December)
Middleton	<u>The New River Entertainment</u>	(29th September)
Middleton	<u>No Wit, No Help Like a Woman's</u>	(1613-27)
Middleton	<u>The Triumphs of Truth (Civic</u>	(29th October)
	<u>Pageant)</u>	
Naile	<u>The Entertainment at Bristol</u>	(June)
Shakespeare	<u>Henry VIII</u>	(1613)
Shakespeare-	<u>The Two Noble Kinsmen</u>	(1613-16)
Apocrypha		
Stephens, John	<u>Cynthia's Revenge, or Meander's</u>	(1613 published)
	<u>Lecstasy</u>	
Tailor, Robert	<u>The Hog hath lost his Pearl</u>	(21st February
		perf')

1614

Daniel	<u>Hymen's Triumph</u>	(2nd February)
Fletcher	<u>Valentinian</u>	(1610-14)
Fletcher	<u>Wit without Money</u>	(1614-20)
Jonson	<u>Bartholomew Fair</u>	(31st October perf')
Munday	<u>Himatia-Poleos (Civic Pageant)</u>	(29th October)
Smith, Wentworth	<u>The Hector of Germany, or the</u>	(1614-15)
	<u>Palsgrave, Prince Elector</u>	
Webster	<u>The Duchess of Malfi</u>	(1612-14)
Anon. (possibly	<u>The Faithful Friends</u>	(1613-21)
Fletcher)		
Anon.	<u>The Masque of Flowers</u>	(6th January)

1615

Browne, William	<u>Ulysses and Circe Mask</u>	(13th January)
Fletcher	<u>Monsieur Thomas</u>	(1610-16)
Fletcher, Phineas	<u>Sicelides, A Piscatory</u>	(13th March perf')
Jonson	<u>The Golden Age Restored</u>	(6th January)
Middleton	<u>More Dissemblers Besides Women</u>	(1615?)
Middleton	<u>The Witch</u>	(1609-16)
Munday	<u>Metropolis Coronata (Civic Pageant)</u>	(30th October)
S.S.	<u>The Honest Lawyer</u>	(1614-15)
Tomkis, Thomas	<u>Albumazar</u>	(9th March perf')
Anon.	<u>Work for Cutlers (Comic Dialogue)</u>	(1614-15)
Anon.	<u>Band, Cuff, and Ruff (Comic Dialogue)</u>	(1615)

1617

Brewer, Anthony	<u>The Love-sick King</u>	(1608-17)
Daborne	<u>The Poor Man's Comfort</u>	(1610-17)
Fletcher	<u>Thierry and Theodoret</u>	(1607-21)
Goffe, Thomas	<u>Orestes</u>	(1613-18)
Webster	<u>The Devil's Law Case</u>	(1610-19)

1618

Goffe, Thomas	<u>The Raging Turk or Bajazet II</u>	(1613-18)
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Prose and Verse Literature

In the case of the prose and verse literature it has been necessary to be selective. Using the Chronological Short Title Catalogue at the Shakespeare Institute as a guide to the publications of 1612-15 I have examined those works which seemed to have some literary merit and also seemed sufficiently topical to contain reflections of the death and the marriage. A further guide has been the publication of any work by writers associated with Prince Henry or Princess Elizabeth. Since I have been selective in my choice of reading the prose and verse section cannot claim to be comprehensive in its noting of reflections.

1612

Breton, Nicholas	<u>Cornu-copiae, Pasquill's nightcap</u>	S.T.C.	3639
Breton, Nicholas	<u>Wits private wealth, stored w. choice commodities</u>	S.T.C.	3708
Campion, Thomas	<u>The third and fourth booke of ayres</u>	S.T.C.	4548
Corkine, William	<u>The Second booke of ayres</u>	S.T.C.	5769
Gibbons, Orlando	<u>The first set of madrigals and motets of 5 pts.</u>	S.T.C.	11826
Jerome, Stephen	<u>A serious fore-warning, delivered in a sermon</u>	S.T.C.	14516
Nixon, Anthony	<u>The dignitie of man</u>	S.T.C.	18584

1613

Anton, Robert	<u>Moriomachia</u>	<u>S.T.C.</u>	685
Austin, Henry	<u>The scourge of Venus</u>	<u>S.T.C.</u>	968
Bodenham, John	<u>Englands Helicon, or the muses harmony. 2nd edition with additions</u>	<u>S.T.C.</u>	3192
Browne, William	<u>Britannia's pastorals. Two Books</u>	<u>S.T.C.</u>	3914/5
Dekker, Thomas	<u>A strange horse-race, at the end of which comes the catch-poles masque</u>	<u>S.T.C.</u>	6528
J.F.	<u>Christes bloodie sweat</u>	<u>S.T.C.</u>	11706
Greene, Robert	<u>Greenes Mourning Garment. 2nd edition Ent 2 no 1613, pub. 1616.</u>	<u>S.T.C.</u>	12252
Greene, Robert	<u>Philomela: the Lady Itzwaters nightingale. 2nd edition Ent 2 no 1613.</u>	<u>S.T.C.</u>	12297
Hilliard, John	<u>Fire from Heaven</u>	<u>S.T.C.</u>	13507
King, Humphrey	<u>An halfe-penny worth of wit, or the hermites tale</u>	<u>S.T.C.</u>	14973
Lichfield, Henry	<u>The first set of madrigals of 5 parts</u>	<u>S.T.C.</u>	15588
Anon.	<u>The uncasing of Machivils instruc- tions to his sonne</u>	<u>S.T.C.</u>	17170
Markham, Gervase	<u>The second and last part of the first booke of the English Arcadia</u>	<u>S.T.C.</u>	17352
trans. W. Shute	<u>The triumphs of Nassau</u>	<u>S.T.C.</u>	17676
Overbury, Sir Thomas	<u>A wife now a widow of Sir T Overbury A poem of the choice of a wife. Whereunto are added many witty characters.</u>	<u>S.T.C.</u>	18904
Rowlands, Samuel	<u>The knave of harts. Haile fellow well met.</u>	<u>S.T.C.</u>	21390
Rowlands, Samuel	<u>More knaves yet? the knaves of spades and diamonds.</u>	<u>S.T.C.</u>	21392
Saluste du Bartas trans. Sylvester	<u>Bartas: his deuine weekes and workes. Now fourthly corrected and augmented.</u>	<u>S.T.C.</u>	21652
Taylor, John	<u>The nipping and snipping of abuses</u>	<u>S.T.C.</u>	23779
Tuke, Thomas	<u>A discourse of death, bodily, ghostly and eternal</u>	<u>S.T.C.</u>	24307

1614

Adams, Thomas	<u>Englands sicknes, comparatively conferred with Israels</u>	<u>S.T.C.</u>	114
Alexander, William, Earl of Stirling.	<u>Doomesday, or the great day of the Lords Judgement</u>	<u>S.T.C.</u>	338
Altling, H.	<u>A votive oration for the government of Fredericke V. Palatine of Rhene</u>	<u>S.T.C.</u>	539

Brathwaite, Richard	<u>The prodigals teares</u>	S.T.C.	3579
Brathwaite, Richard	<u>The schollers medley, or an intermixt discourse upon historical and poetically relations</u>	S.T.C.	3583
Breton, Nicholas	<u>I would and I would not</u>	S.T.C.	3664
Browne, William	<u>The shepherds pipe. (Other eclogues by Mr. Brooke, Mr. Wither, and Mr. Davies)</u>	S.T.C.	3917
Campion, Thomas	<u>Ayres made by several authors</u>	S.T.C.	4540
Chapman, George	<u>Andromeda liberata. Or the nuptials of Perseus and Andromeda</u>	S.T.C.	4964
Chapman, George	<u>Iugenia: or true nobilities trance, for death of William Lord Russell</u>	S.T.C.	4975
Cornwallis, Sir William	<u>Essayes, or rather, encomions, etc.</u>	S.T.C.	5778
Evans, Thomas	<u>Oedipus</u>	S.T.C.	10594
Heywood, Thomas	<u>The life and death of Hector</u>	S.T.C.	13346a
Jackson, Abraham	<u>Sorrowes lenitive; upon occasion of the death of John, Lord Harrington</u>	S.T.C.	14296
Maxwell, James	<u>Admirable and Notable prophesies</u>	S.T.C.	17698
Niccols, Richard	<u>The furies; with vertues encomium</u>	S.T.C.	18521
Niccols, Richard	<u>Monodia or Walthams complaint</u>	S.T.C.	18523
Nixon, Anthony	<u>The scourge of corruption</u>	S.T.C.	18590
Raleigh, Sir Walter	<u>The history of the world</u>	S.T.C.	20637
Rich, Larnaby	<u>The honestie of this age</u>	S.T.C.	20986
Rowlands, Samuel	<u>A fooles bolt is soon shot</u>	S.T.C.	21381
Rowlands, Samuel	<u>The melancholie knight</u>	S.T.C.	21401
Rowlands, Samuel	<u>Sir Thomas Overbury: or the poisoned knights complaint</u>	S.T.C.	21406
Sylvester, Joshua	<u>The parliament of vertues royal</u>	S.T.C.	23581
Taylor, Augustine	<u>Encomiasticke Elegies</u>	S.T.C.	23721
Tuvil, Daniel	<u>The dove and the serpent</u>	S.T.C.	24394
Wither, George	<u>The shepherds hunting. ent 8 oc 1614</u>	S.T.C.	25920

1615

Brathwaite, Richard	<u>Loves labyrinth or the true lovers knot</u>	S.T.C.	3570
Brathwaite, Richard	<u>A strappado for the divell. Epigrams and satires</u>	S.T.C.	3588
Breton, Nicholas	<u>The good and the badde, or a description of the worthies and unworthies of this age.</u>	S.T.C.	3656
Davies, John, of Hereford.	<u>A select second husband for Sir. T. Overburies wife, now a matchlesse widow.</u>	S.T.C.	6342

Niccholes, Alexander	<u>A discourse of marriage and wiving</u>	<u>S.T.C.</u>	18514
Peacham, Henry	<u>Prince Henrie revived; or a poeme</u>	<u>S.T.C.</u>	19514
Stephens, John	<u>Satyirical essays, characters and others</u>	<u>S.T.C.</u>	23249
Sylvester, Joshua	<u>The second session of the Parliament of Scotland reall</u>	<u>S.T.C.</u>	23582
Taylor, John	<u>Taylor's Vranie, or heavenly muse</u>	<u>S.T.C.</u>	23806
Wither, George	<u>Fidellia</u>	<u>S.T.C.</u>	25905
Wither, George	<u>A satyre dedicate to his most excellent Maiestie</u>	<u>S.T.C.</u>	25916

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This bibliography lists books and articles referred to in this dissertation, with the exception of those listed previously. Books are published in London unless otherwise stated.

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