

# *Early Stuart Libels*

*An edition of poetry from manuscript sources*

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*Edited by Alastair Bellany and Andrew McRae  
with the assistance of Paul E.J. Hammer  
and Michelle O'Callaghan*

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*for Early Modern Literary Studies  
Text Series I*

## **PREFACE**

“Early Stuart Libels” is a web-based edition of early seventeenth-century political poetry from manuscript sources. It brings into the public domain over 350 poems, many of which have never before been published. Though most of the texts are poems of satire and invective, others take the form of anti-libels, responding to libellers with orthodox panegyric. These poems throw new light on literary and political culture in England in the decades from the accession of King James I to the outbreak of the English Civil War.

The edition is divided into chronological and thematic sections, for ease of navigation. It is fully searchable, by name and source. Editorial principles are explained in the introduction.

## EDITORIAL TEAM

### Editors

Alastair Bellany is Associate Professor of History at Rutgers University. He is the author of *The Politics of Court Scandal in Early Modern England: News Culture and the Overbury Affair, 1603-1660* (2002), and of numerous articles on early Stuart political culture. With Thomas Cogswell, he is currently working on *England's Assassin: John Felton and the Murder of the Duke of Buckingham*, for publication by Yale University Press.

Andrew McRae is Professor of Renaissance Studies in the School of English, University of Exeter. His publications include *God Speed the Plough: The Representation of Agrarian England, 1500-1660* (1996), and *Literature, Satire and the Early Stuart State* (2004). He is currently developing a new project on literature and domestic travel in early modern England.

### Assistant editors

Paul E.J. Hammer is Lecturer in History at the University of St. Andrews. His publications include *The Polarisation of Elizabethan Politics: The Political Career of Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex, 1585-1597* (1999), and *Elizabeth's Wars: Society, Government and Military Reformation in Tudor England, 1544-1604* (2003). He is currently working on a book provisionally titled *The Late Elizabethan Crisis: War, Faction and the Politics of Royal Decline, 1598-1603*. Dr. Hammer was responsible for the annotation of Section A.

Michelle O'Callaghan is Reader in English at Oxford Brookes University. She is the author of *The "shepherds nation": Jacobean Spenserians and Early Stuart Political Culture, 1612-1625* (2000), and is working on a study provisionally entitled *Literature, Sociability and Urbanity in Early Modern England*. Dr. O'Callaghan was responsible for the annotation of Section C.

### Electronic publishing project manager

Chris Boswell's PhD dissertation, "The Culture and Rhetoric of the Answer-Poem, 1485-1625" was completed at Leeds University in December 2003. His ongoing projects include an

electronic database of early modern verse exchanges, and a pair of companion articles (co-written with Eric Langley) on an exchange of verses between Sir George Rodney and Frances Seymour, Countess of Hertford, in 1601. Dr. Boswell also sits as a director for the international trading company, Gigabiz, and is the senior partner in FourSquare Innovations, a computing consultancy specializing in bespoke software solutions.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The electronic preparation of this edition of early Stuart libels was principally funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council. Additional funding was supplied by Rutgers University and the University of Exeter. The editors' research on libels spans a much longer period, and has been funded from a number of sources, including the Arts and Humanities Research Council, the Australian Research Council, the British Academy, Mrs. Giles M. Whiting Foundation, Princeton University, Rutgers University and the University of Sydney. The editors are grateful to all these institutions for their support with a project that has been necessarily costly and time-consuming.

The work of all those involved in the edition has been aided greatly by various colleagues who have advised on manuscript sources and information for annotations. In particular, we wish to thank: Peter Beal, Jack Cargill, Thomas Cogswell, David Colclough, Joshua Eckhardt, Karen Edwards, Cynthia Herrup, Caroline Hibbard, James Knowles, Peter Lake, Harold Love, Nick McDowell, James Masschaele, Graham Parry, Kevin Sharpe, Adam Smyth, Andrew Thrush, and Alex Walsham. Moreover, we have benefited from the work of scholars who have identified or edited libels in the past. In particular, the unpublished archive of Julian Mitchell has been extremely helpful.

For assistance and advice with electronic publication, we are grateful to: Jan Broadway, of the Centre for Lives and Letters; Martin Butler, Karen Britland and Orietta Da Rold, of the Jonson Project; Martin Thomas, of Leeds University Electronic Text Centre; and the Oxford Text Archive. Thanks are also due to the English department at Leeds University for hosting a development version of the project on their web server and to the ISS team at Leeds for technical support. Finally, we are grateful for the support of Lisa Hopkins and Matthew Steggle, successive editors at *Early Modern Literary Studies*, and for the editorial assistance of Tamsin Kilner.

## TECHNICAL NOTES

The electronic publication of a single-volume edition of verse posed a number of challenges. Not least of these was the relative scarcity of comparably edited electronic editions of early modern material upon a similar scale. Such works might have provided a standard against which we could measure our technical and presentational success, and no doubt would have offered inspiration for the project. It was recognized from early on that it would be our lot to co-exist alongside much larger, extravagantly funded multivolume works with the combined experience of large editorial and technical teams. While it would be hubristic of us to attempt to compete with these, we have been concerned to show that a technically and academically proficient single-volume publication might be achieved in our chosen medium within a comparatively short timescale.

This edition seeks in many ways to be a pathbreaking endeavour, most noticeably as a single-volume electronic text of early modern verse, and of verse largely inaccessible outside of manuscript archives; among the notable exceptions being Ray Siemens' forthcoming electronic edition of the Devonshire Manuscript. Indeed, while late-twentieth-century criticism moved away from privileging canonical works, the bulk of recent electronic publications of early modern literature have focused upon the old canon and upon drama<sup>1</sup>. There is nothing intrinsically wrong with disseminating the works of well-known dramatists and other literary figures to the hypertext community. In fact there are great benefits to be gained by widening their accessibility. However, the electronic medium also provides a superb opportunity to offer scholarly editions of works otherwise largely inaccessible or unknown to both the academic community and the layperson alike.

### **Accessibility, navigability, searchability**

It has never been far from our minds during the production of the edition that different readers will come to the text with different needs, whether due to differences of academic and educational background, varying levels of computer literacy, availability of up-to-date software, or owing to accessibility requirements. In response to our anticipation of such diverse requirements we have attempted to offer a text presented in formats that enhance accessibility

and that are comfortable to read, while ensuring that information relevant to the interests and needs of our readers is readily attainable. In doing so, our goal has been to combine and integrate the technologies of printed text, hypertext and electronic text. It will be noticed, for instance, that the look, feel and structure of a printed text has been retained so far as possible, and that linear, page-by-page navigation is available as well as the usual hypertext tree structure. We have also sought to combine the navigability of the hypertext medium with the depths of searchability enabled by an extensible markup language.

### **Textual stability**

The integrity of XML elements and attributes and consistency of the markup rules has been tested in a number of ways. Groups of elements and attributes were generated and compared using a combination of PHP 4.1 and XSLT, and other global searches were performed using markup editing software. A number of schemas were also generated in order to test for the integrity of a selection of document rules. It was found, however, that discrepancies in the parsing performed by a range of schema validation services sometimes rendered it difficult to make accurate assessments here, although some degree of improvement to document structure was achieved in a number of areas using this method. On the topic of schema validation consistency see:

[www.html.gov/presentations/silosmashers/XSDValidation.ppt](http://www.html.gov/presentations/silosmashers/XSDValidation.ppt)

### **Specifications**

The text has been marked up using XML 1.0. and output statically as W3C HTML 4.01 transitional using Instant Saxon 6.2.2. Metadata is presented in the Dublin Core format on the front page only. XML markup is largely derived from TEI guidelines for TEILite with the exception of tagging for manuscripts, and in a few other instances. XSLT stylesheets are our own. Our search engine scripts were originally written in PERL, but appear here written in a combination of PHP 4.1 and XSLT. The W3C's "Double A" guidelines for accessibility have been followed. A printable PDF version of the text is provided in full on the front page and PDFs of individual poems can be accessed either through the contents pages or from the HTML renderings of the poems. These have been optimized for Adobe Reader 6 and above. The most recent version of Adobe Reader can be downloaded for free from <http://www.adobe.com/>.

For purposes of citation the hypertext output of the electronic edition is to be regarded as the authoritative text, although textual stability between renderings should be close to 100%.

### Software and other resources

The project made use of the following software: Xpath Visualiser, XMLSpy Home Edition, Adobe Professional 6, PaintShopPro 8, Instant Saxon 6.2.2, ActivePerl 5.6, PHP 4.1, Adobe PhotoShop 7, Apache HTTP Server 2.0, Amaya, ConTEXT and NoteTab Standard.

### Interoperability

The project has been tested for compatibility with the following browsers: Netscape7, Mozilla Firebird/ Firefox 1.0.2, DocZilla, IE5/6, Smart Explorer, Lynx, Konqueror and Opera5; and with the following operating systems: WIN 98/2000/XP, Linux Redhat Fedora and Mac.

Chris Boswell, 2005

### Technical bibliography

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Meloni, Julie C. *SAMS Teach yourself PHP, MySQL and Apache*. Indianapolis, IN: SAMS, 2004.

Moncur, Michael. *SAMS Teach Yourself Javascript in 24 Hours*. 3rd edn. Indianapolis, IN:



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Pierce, Clinton. *SAMS Teach Yourself Perl in 24 Hours*. 2nd edn. Indianapolis, IN: SAMS, 2002.

Simpson, John E. *Just XSL*. New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 2002.

The SourceForge homepage. <http://sourceforge.net/>

Text Encoding Initiative website. <http://www.tei-c.org/>

World Wide Web Consortium website. <http://www.w3.org/>

The World Wide Web Consortium Web Accessibility Initiative. <http://www.w3.org/WAI/>

1) Although there is a dearth of such material published electronically, this is far from the case where vanilla hypertext transcriptions are concerned.

## ACCESSIBILITY

A significant part of the remit of this project has been accessibility or, in other words, to make a modest contribution to the democratisation of knowledge. Accessibility is all too often overlooked in hypertext environments and the industry standards available for guidance ignored. These guidelines include those of the World Wide Web Consortium's (W3C) Web Accessibility Initiative (WAI), Watchfire's Bobby (which offers a useful accessibility validator), and the Royal National Institute for the Blind (RNIB).

We have endeavoured to exceed general accessibility requirements such as using "alt" and "title" attributes and ensuring text-only readability. This has involved the inclusion of several features, of which only those arriving at the text with special requirements would usually be aware. Among these are summary descriptions for tables, the provision of [accesskeys](#) for hyperlinks and literal descriptions for pop-up and drop-down menus. Although the formatting of the edition has been tailored to match, in many ways, that of a printed text through fairly extensive use of Cascading Stylesheets (CSS), we are aware that such formatting will not satisfy the requirements of all, and that some features of the site may not function fully alongside some assistive technologies. It is with this in mind that we offer a text-only view of the edition<sup>1</sup> and instructions below for changing the styles and formatting of the text to suit the requirements of individual readers.

### Accessibility Instructions for Internet Explorer

#### To change fonts and colours

Go to "Tools" and Select "Internet Options" > "General" > "Accessibility" > tick the three check boxes > "OK"

#### To enlarge text

Go to "Tools" and Select "Internet Options" > "General" > "Accessibility" > Tick the "Ignore font sizes specified on web pages" check box > "OK" > Select "view" on the browser menu bar > Click "text size" > Choose text size

### Changing text and background colour

Go to “Tools” and Select “Internet Options” > “General” > “Colour” > Deselect the “Use Windows Colours” check box > Select the box next to “Text” and choose a colour > “OK” > Select the box next to “Background” and choose a colour > “OK”

### To switch off graphics and images

Go to “Tools” and Select “Internet Options” > “Advanced” > scroll to the “Multimedia” heading > Deselect options for “animations”, “videos”, “pictures” and “images” > “OK”

### To change the size of the window

Go to the “View” menu and Select “Full screen” (shortcut key is F11)

### Changing the colour of links

Go to “Tools” and Select “Internet Options” > “General” > “Accessibility” > Select “ignore colours specified on Web pages” > “OK” > “General” > “Colours” > uncheck the “Use hover colours” check box > Select “Visited” and pick a colour > “OK” > Select “Not Visited” and pick a colour > “OK” > Select “OK” for “Colours” and for “Internet Options”

## **Mozilla Instructions**

### To enlarge text

Go to “Tools” > “Options” > “Fonts and Colors”> Select the top or/and bottom “Size” drop box. Or, Select “View” > “Increase/Decrease Text Size”.

### Changing text and background colour

Go to “Tools” > “Options” > “Fonts and Colors”> Select “Text” and/or “Background”

### To switch off graphics and images

Go to “Tools” > “Options” > “Web features”> Deselect “Load Images ”

### To find links using the keyboard

Go to “Tools” > “Options” > “Advanced” > “Accessibility” Select “Use find as you type”

### **Netscape Instructions**

#### **To enlarge text**

Go to “Edit” > “Preferences” > “Appearance” > “Font” > Select a “Variable Width Font” and “Fixed Width Font” > “OK” > To set these fonts permanently, Select “Use my default fonts overriding document specified fonts”

#### **Changing text and background colour**

Go to “Edit” > “Preferences” > “Appearance” > “Colours” > Select the box next to “Text” and Select a colour > “OK” > Select the box next to “Background” and Select a colour > “OK” > To set your selection as the permanent default, choose “Always use my colours, overriding document”.

#### **To switch off graphics and images**

Go to “Edit” > “Preferences” > “Advanced” > Deselect “Automatically load images” by deslecting the check box > “OK”

### **Accesskey Index**

Note that all keys are preceded by ALT, e.g. ALT + 4 and that some browsers override these shortcuts in favour of their own menus. The Netscape/Mozilla family generally work well; however, for the best results using this feature, please download the zipped hypertext version of the edition:

#### **Basic Navigation**

home page = H | previous page = D | next page = C | name search popup = A | manuscript search popup = B | move one hyperlink forward = 1 or TAB | move one hyperlink backwards = SHIFT + TAB | Table of Contents/Sitemap = T | to navigate between footnotes and links to footnotes use the footnote number.

#### **Table of Contents by section**

To navigate from contents pages to the relevant section introduction = 0.

Editorial Team = 1 | Acknowledgements = 2 | Technical Notes = 3 | Accessibility = 4 |  
Abbreviations = 5

Introduction = 6 | Section A = 7 | B = 8 | C = 9 | D = 10 | E = 11 | F = 12 | G = 13 | H = 14 | I  
= 15 | J = 16 | K = 17 | L = 18 | M = 19 | N = 20 | O = 21 | P = 22 | Q = 23 | R = 24

First-Line Index = 25 | Manuscript Index = 26 | Name Index = 27 | Bibliography = 28

To navigate from contents pages to links for individual pages of verse in HTML  
accesskeys = the number of the verse in the section + H. For example, 6H, 3H or 9H. Easier  
navigation is available through the following method (33, 66, 99 etc.): For example, use 22 to  
take you to the link for second poem (html) in the section, 222 to the link for second poem (pdf)  
in the section and 2222 to the link to the menu for section P.

To navigate from contents pages to individual pages of poems in PDF accesskeys = the  
number of the verse in the section + P. For example, 6P, 3P or 9P. Or you can use 333, 666, 999  
etc. For simpler navigation use ALT + P to scroll through pdf versions of verse and ALT + H to  
scroll through html versions.

<sup>1</sup>. The code for the text-only version is provided by UsableNet  
([http://www.excellentsite.org/tut\\_textonly.shtml](http://www.excellentsite.org/tut_textonly.shtml)).

## ABBREVIATIONS

Beinecke	Beinecke Library, Yale University
BL	British Library
Bodleian	Bodleian Library, University of Oxford
Brotherton	Brotherton Library, University of Leeds
CCRO	Cheshire County Record Office
CUL	Cambridge University Library
<i>DNB</i>	<i>Dictionary of National Biography</i>
Doctor Williams's Library	Doctor Williams's Library, Gordon Square, London
Folger	Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, D.C.
HRO	Hampshire Record Office
Houghton	Houghton Library, Harvard University
Huntington	Huntington Library, San Marino, California
John Rylands	John Rylands Library, University of Manchester
LCRO	Leicestershire County Record Office
MP	Member of Parliament
Morgan	Pierpont Morgan Library, New York
NCRO	Northamptonshire County Record Office
NLS	National Library of Scotland
NLW	National Library of Wales
Nottingham	Hallward Library, University of Nottingham
<i>OED</i>	<i>Oxford English Dictionary</i>
PRO	Public Record Office, London
Rosenbach	Rosenbach Library, Philadelphia
SP	State Papers
St. John's	St. John's College, Cambridge, Library
TCD	Trinity College, Dublin, Library
V&A	Victoria and Albert Museum, London
WCRO	Wiltshire County Record Office

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

### Introduction

By page:

i ii iii iv v vi vii viii ix x xi xii xiii xiv xv

By section:

1. The conditions and practices of libelling
2. The edition: aims and methods
  - a) *parameters*
  - b) *conventional editorial practice*
  - c) *electronic editorial practice*
  - d) *readers' comments and suggestions*

## A. Essex, Raleigh and Late-Elizabethan Politics (c.1590-1603)

- A1. The Word of Deniall, and the Letter of Fifty
- A2. The Disease of the stomack, and the Terme of Disgrace
- A3. Goe soule the bodies guest [and A3b Flye soule the bodies guide]
- A4. Staye Conick soule thy errante
- A5. Courts scorne, states disgracing
- A6. Courts commender states mantayner
- A7. Go Eccho of the minde
- A8. Where Medwaye greetes old Thamesis silver streames
- A9. Admir-all weaknes wronges the right
- A10. Proude and ambitious wretch that feedest on naught but faction
- A11. Essex prayes, Southampton playes
- A12. England thy early prime is gone, good Knight
- A13. He that in Belgia fought for Englandes Queene
- A14. Chamberlaine Chamberlaine, one of her graces kinn
- A15. England men say of late is bankrupt growne
- A16. This day is made Knight of the Garter
- A17. Essex did spend, Northumberland did spare



## **B. Early Jacobean England (c.1603-1610)**

- B1.** Nevil for the protestant, L Thomas for the papist
- B2.** The Great Archpapist Learned Curio
- B3.** Come all you Farmers out of the Countrey
- B4.** Watt I wot well thy over weaning witt
- B5.** Wilye watt, wilie watt
- B6.** Water thy plaints with grace divine
- B7.** To whome shall cursed I my Case complaine
- B8.** I speake to such if any such there bee
- B9.** As Cats over houses do go a catter-walting
- B10.** Who doubts of Providence, or God denyes
- B11.** The prelat's Pope, the Canonists trope, the Courtyers oracle, virginitie's spectacle
- B12.** A Romane right, then rotten at the Kore
- B13.** The Divell men say is dead in devonshire late
- B14.** Here lyes the Lady Penelope Rich
- B15.** Heere lye's a Lord that Wenching thought no sinne
- B16.** Immodest death that wouldst not once conferre
- B17.** Here Lyes Dick of Canterburie, suspected a Papist
- B18.** Here lieth one who if his case be bad
- B19.** Heer lye's my Lord's Grace at six & at seaven
- B20.** Bancroft Was for Playes
- B21.** Seventh Henryes Counsayle was of great renowne

**C. The Parliament Fart (1607-)**

**C1a.** Downe came grave auntient Sir John Crooke

**C1b.** Reader I was borne and cry'd

#### D. The Death of Robert Cecil (1612)

D1. Heere lies Hobbinoll our Shepheard while ere

D2. Advance, advance my ill-disposed Muse

D3. Ah was there nott a time when one man swayed

D4. Heere lieth Robbin Crookt back, unjustly reckond

D5. Two R:R:rs twoe Crookebacks of late ruled Englands helme

D6. Robert E. of Salisburie. Libellous Anagram on Cecil

D7. The old Cicilian fox

D8. The divell now hath fetcht the Ape

D9. This Taper, fedd, & nurst with court-oyle

D10. He nowe is deade, from whome men fledd

D11. Falshoods Jewell

D12. O Ladies, ladies howle & cry

D13. You say that Malefacit was dead:

D14. Reader, if that desert may make the stay

D15. Heere lyes interred wormes meate

D16. Heere sleepes in the Lorde beepepperde with pox

D17. Heere Robbin rousteth in his last neast

D18. At Hattfeilde neere Hartforde there lyes in a coffin

D19. Passer by know heere is interrd

D20. Heere lyes Salisbury that little great comaunder

D21. Heere lyes great Salisbury though little of Stature

**D22.** Heere lyeth our great Lord Treasurer of late

**D23.** You that reade passing by

**D24.** If greatnes, wisdom, pollicie of state

**D25.** Oh that such wisdom that could steere a state

**D26.** When that rich soul of thine (now Sainted) kept

**D27.** Ould Sarum now is dead Younge Salisburie lyves

## **E. Attacks on the Scots**

- E1.** They beg our goods, our lands, and our lives
- E2.** Now doe your selves noe more so deck
- E3.** If either lotteryes or lottes
- E4.** Myene of Gold some say their's found
- E5.** Well met Jockie whether away
- E6.** When Scotland was Scotland and England it selfe
- E7.** The King hee hawkes, and hunts

**F. The Essex Nullity, the Somerset Marriage and the Death of Overbury (1613-1614)**

**F1.** A page a knight a Vicount, and an Earle [1613 version]

**F2.** Letchery did consult with witcherye

**F3.** Were itt nott a brutish crueltye

**F4.** From Katherins dock there launcht a pinke

**F5.** Essex bird hath flowen hir cage

**F6.** Lady changed to Venus Dove

**F7.** Henrie, raysed Brandon

**F8.** Brave hardie Carre-man that with thy bastinado

**F9.** The fayre and famous mayde is gone

**F10.** Tis painefull rowing gainst the bigg swolne tide

**F11.** Heere lyes one nowe not worth despising

## **G. The Addled Parliament and the Death of Northampton (1614)**

**G1.** The Court's full of newes

**G2.** Mee thought I walked in a dreame

**G3.** The worst is tould the best is hide

**G4.** Sonne Benjamin, whil'st thou art yong

**G5.** Here lyes my Lord of Northampton, his Majestie's erwigg

## H. The Overbury Murder Scandal (1615-1616)

- H1. There was an ould ladd rode on an ould padd
- H2. In England there lives a jolly Sire
- H3. From Roberts coach to Robins carr
- H4. Robbin of Essex all in a rage
- H5. A page, a knight, a viscount and an Erle
- H6. Heere lyes hee that once was poore
- H7. When Carr in Court a Page at first began
- H8. The Sommers sun is sett
- H9. I.C.U.R
- H10. Poore Pilote thou hast lost thy Pinke
- H11. The wealth he gott to make his meanes greate
- H12. Why how now Robine? discontented quite
- H13. From Car a Carter surely tooke his name
- H14. Dazal'd thus with hight of place
- H15. If ever woe possest a stubborn heart
- H16. A bird ill hatchd, from out a Cuckowes nest
- H17. She with whom troops of bustuary slaves
- H18. from Cathernes docke theer launcht A pritty Pinke
- H19. Me thinks I see a lady sitt and mourne
- H20. Looke, and lament behould a face of Earth
- H21. Anagram on Frances Howard



**H22.** Anagram on Sir Thomas Overbury

**H23.** Sir you are one of those, who dare commend

**H24.** Once dead and twice a live; death could not frame

**H25.** Hadst thou lik other Sirs and knights of worth

**H26.** Hesperides, within whose gardens grow

**H27.** The house of the Howards

**H28.** Here under lyes a Counsellor of State

## I. The Execution of Raleigh (1618)

- I1. Raleigh in this thy selfe thy selfe transcends
- I2. Young witts are soone seduced and alwaies apt
- I3. Even such is tyme, which takes in trust
- I4. Essex thy death's reveng'd, Lo here I lie
- I5. Heere lyes the man whose death and life
- I6. Heare heddlesse heedlesse matchlesse Rawly lies
- I7. Of Raleighs life and death the sum of all to tell
- I8. Who best did Calculate the life of man
- I9. Hope flattered thee though lawes did life convince
- I10. Heere lyes a treasure in this pitte
- I11. O had thy name bene causer of thy death
- I12. What Worlds of people hath death conquered
- I13. Beholde Brave Raleigh here interr'd
- I14. The Divell longe deceived hath, Watt Raleighs wit with evell
- I15. This stone can not inclose thy fame
- I16. Thou seest my tombe, Grey haire lye in this grave
- I17. Great heart, who taught thee so to dye
- I18. Two kinsmen wrastlinge, who shold have the fall
- I19. Fly Fame, report, that all the world may knowe
- I20. I will not weepe for twere as great a sin
- I21. Cease booteless teares, weepe not for him whose Death

**I22.** If spite be pleasd, when that her object dead

**I23.** Once he was Grace it selfe

**I24.** I knew thee but by fame and thy brave deeds

**I25.** All earthlie things by Water knowe

## **J. The Lake-Roos Affair (1617-1620)**

**J1.** Waste not a signe that courtlye Rosse should fall

**J2.** There is a close Prisoner in the Tower

**J3.** Heere lyes the breife of badnes vices nurse

**J4.** Greedie, Envious, malitious proud unstable

**J5.** Say, no man living would vouchsafe a verse

**K. "Fortune's wheel": Reflections on the Jacobean Era**

**K1.** Some would complaine of Fortune & blinde chance

**K2.** Bridewell I come be valient muse and strip

**L. King and Favourite: James, Buckingham and the Villiers Clan (c.1617-1623)**

- L1.** Above in the skies shall Gemini rise
- L2.** Now let us rejoyce sing Peans all
- L3.** O Joyfull newse for Buckingham is nowe
- L4.** Io to Buckingham great Admiral
- L5.** Listen jolly gentlemen
- L6.** The Kinge loves you, you him
- L7.** Arme, arme, in heaven there is a faction
- L8.** From such a face whose Excellence
- L9.** From a Gipsie in the morneing
- L10.** Heaven blesse King James our joy

## M. Monopolies and Corruption: the 1621 Parliament

### Mi. Attacks on Monopolists

**Mi1.** You Justices & men of myghte

**Mi2.** The tottering state of transitory things

**Mi3.** Pervertinge of the lawes makes justice blind

**Mi4.** Fly not Momperson sins thear is no inn

**Mi5.** Oyes

### Mii. The Fall of Bacon

**Mii1.** The measled Boare is frankt I tell noe fable

**Mii2.** Stand fast thou shaking quaking keeper

**Mii3.** Great Verulam is very lame, the gout of goe-out feeling

**Mii4.** Why shoulde poore chauncelour be condemned by a cry

**Mii5.** The greate assemblie of the parliamente

**Mii6.** Heer is Francis Verulam Lord Chancelour God save him

**Mii7.** Within this sty heer now doth ly

**Mii8.** When you awake, dull Brittons, and behould

**Mii9.** What hatfull fury dipt thy raging Quill

**Mii10.** Blame not the Poet though he make such moane

### Miii: The Aftermath: reflections and assessments

**Miii1.** One worthy Chancellour rendred up his place

**Miii2.** When Charles, hath got the Spanish Gearle

**Miii3.** Thy followers in hope to flatter thee

**Miii4.** Anagram on John Williams

**Miii5.** The Kinge & the court desyrous of sport



**N. The Spanish Match Crisis (c.1618-1623)**

**Ni. Prophecy and Portent c.1618-23**

**Ni1.** You men of Britaine, wherefore gaze yee so

**Ni2.** These put together, thus they crye

**Ni3.** A Prince out of the North shall come

**Ni4.** If 88 be past then thrive

**Nii. Bohemia and the Palatinate**

**Nii1.** Some say Sir Edward Cecill can

**Nii2.** Whiles thy sonnes rash unluckye armes attempt

**Nii3.** The famous Ambassador, brother to the French Faverer

**Nii4.** The Belgick Frogge, out of the bogge, with Brittish mouse doth strive

**Nii5.** When we but heare that Turkes and Tartars fight

**Nii6.** Religion the most sacred power on earth

**Niii. Gondomar**

**Niii1.** Why? what meanes this? England, & Spaine alike

**Niii2.** Adew deere Don & Priest for ever

**Niii3.** Anagram on Count Gondomar

**Niv. Saint Elizabeth**

**Niv1.** If Saints in heaven cann either see or heare

**Niv2.** Your bold Petition Mortalls I have seene

**Nv. Jack and Tom go to Spain**

- Nv1.** What suddayne change hath dark't of late
- Nv2.** From Englands happy & unequall state
- Nv3.** I've read of Ilands flotinge and removed
- Nv4.** False on his Deanrye? false nay more, Ile lay
- Nv5.** Tell mee for gods sake Christs Church what you meane
- Nv6.** The day was turnd to starrelight, & was runne
- Nv7.** A Phillipp once to england came
- Nv8.** The starre that rose in Virgo's trayne
- Nv9.** Since Arthure, or his stable stood
- Nv10.** Ilium deplores, but still old Priams glad
- Nv11.** Our eagle is yett flowne, to a place unknowne
- Nv12.** Poor silly wight that carkes in the night
- Nv13.** Our Prince whom we soe dearely lov'd
- Nv14.** The Prince of Wales with all his royall traine
- Nv15.** All the newes thats stirringe now
- Nv16.** Oh for an Ovid or a Homer now
- Nv17.** The Prince is now come out of Spayne
- Nv18.** The fift of August, and the fift

### **Nvi. Against the Libellers**

- Nvi1.** O stay your teares yow who complaine
- Nvi2.** Contemne not Gracious king our plaints and teares
- Nvi3.** Withold thy fiery steeds great God of light

**O. Buckingham at War (c.1624-1628)**

**Oi. The Patriot Hero (1624-25)**

- Oi1.** The Parliament sitts with a Synod of Witts
- Oi2.** Oh honoured England how art thou disgracd
- Oi3.** Our digby digd'e but digd'e in vaine
- Oi4.** The base on which mans greatnesse firmest stands
- Oi5.** There was a man, & hee was Semper idem
- Oi6.** There was a great fleete, all they that did see't
- Oi7.** There was a Munkye clumbe up a tree
- Oi8.** Yee Spanyards, come away, come away
- Oi9.** There was some pollicie I doe beleive
- Oi10.** The Kinge and his wyfe the Parliament
- Oi11.** Why did the fond Plebeans say
- Oi12.** Fower Cheyffe Justices late wee had
- Oi13.** Justice of late hath lost her witts
- Oi14.** Ould Ned Cooke is putt to a new booke
- Oi15.** Rex & grex are both of a sound
- Oi16.** Come heare, Lady Muses, and help mee to sing
- Oi17.** There is a man, a Plauge uppon him

**Oii. Parliament and Poison (1626)**

- Oii1.** when the uncivill civill peace of State
- Oii2.** It makes mee to muse to heare of the Newes

**Oii3.** Great Buckinghame

**Oii4.** In reading these my Lord youll see I've gott

**Oii5.** And wilt thou goe, great Duke, and leave us heere

**Oii6.** Charles would yee Prevaile your foes, thine better Lucke

**Oii7.** Rejoyce brave English Gallants

**Oii8.** Why was the varlett sent into the meane

**Oii9.** One askte me, why I mournde

**Oii10.** Oure crossrow's turnd, a signe off monstrous luck

**Oii11.** The noblest brave profession

**Oii12.** And art return'd againe with all thy Faults

**Oii13.** All you that will goe with me

**Oii14.** As sick men feare the cure & startle more

### **Oiii. The Ile de Re (1627)**

**Oiii1.** O Admirall! Since thou camst back againe

**Oiii2.** The wisest King did wonder when hee spy'd

**Oiii3.** The warrlike King was troubled when hee spy'd

**Oiii4.** Excuse me Eliott if I heare name thee

**Oiii5.** Avaunt you giddie-headed Multitude

**Oiii6.** Here Dr Lambe, the conjurer lyes

**Oiii7.** If heav'n rejoyce, when men leave off to sinne

**Oiii8.** For Lambe go ringe some bell

**Oiii9.** Heare lyes the Impostar Lambe

**Oiii10.** Our state's a Game at Cards the Councill deale

**Oiii11.** When onely one doth rule and guide the shipp

**Oiii12.** Of Brittish Beasts the Buck is King

**Oiii13.** To hunt the Doe I have refu'sd

**Oiii14.** The Parliament of late hath oft been broken

**Oiii15.** A thinge gott by candle light

**P. The Buckingham Assassination (1628)**

**Pi. Mocking Buckingham**

- Pi1.** lett Charles & george doe what they can
- Pi2.** Sith number with thy name doth thus agree
- Pi3.** Thy numerous name great George, expressest thee
- Pi4.** Anagram of George Villiers
- Pi5.** A yere of wonder to the world was 88
- Pi6.** The Shepheards struck, The sheepe are fledd
- Pi7.** Thus Buck-in-game, Felt-one did soone abate
- Pi8.** England was sick, a plewresey possest her
- Pi9.** Lord, what are wee, that thou shouldst thus respect
- Pi10.** Beehold this Obsequie: but without teares
- Pi11.** This little Grave embraces
- Pi12.** The pale horse of the Revelation
- Pi13.** Here lies Leachery, Treachery, Pride
- Pi14.** Here lyes great George the Glory of our state
- Pi15.** Great Buckingham's buried under a stone
- Pi16.** Pride lies heere, Revenge and Lust
- Pi17.** Fortunes darling, Kings Content
- Pi18.** Heere lies a gracious graceles Peere
- Pi19.** Had our great duke bene Joseph then might we
- Pi20.** Great potent Duke, whom fortune rais'd soe high

**Pi21.** And art thou dead! who whilome thought'st thy state

**Pi22.** Pale death, with Iron hand, hath struck a blowe

**Pi23.** Great Gorge, and art thou gone

**Pi24.** Thou that on topp of Fortunes wheeles did mount

**Pi25.** What once was said by valiant Tomyris

**Pi26.** If good mens graces in heaven with them abide

**Pi27.** Great Duke, which art commaunder of the Seas

**Pi28.** At Portsmouth Duke I will no longer staye

**Pi29.** Make haste I pray, launch out your shippes with speed

**Pi30.** No sooner had the worlds most happy knife

**Pi31.** Great Duke, Although I litle am acquainted

**Pi32.** Away, away, great George, o come not here

**Pi33.** My honour, favour, life, & all

**Pi34.** I that my countrey did betray

**Pi35.** Mother / My humble dutie done, I crave

**Pi36.** The Argument is cold and sencelesse clay

**Pi37.** Ye gastly Spiritts that haunt the gloomy night

## **Pii. Celebrating Felton**

**Pii1.** Anagram on John Felton

**Pii2.** Anagram on John Felton

**Pii3.** Felton, awake, & cheare thyselfe from sorrow

**Pii4.** The heavens approve brave Feltons resolution

**Pii5.** Some say the Duke was gracious, vertuous, good

- Pii6.** The Duke is dead, and wee are ridd of strife
- Pii7.** Why: is our Age turn'd coward, that no Penn
- Pii8.** Immortall Man of glorie, whose brave hand
- Pii9.** I mmortal man of glory, whose stout hand
- Pii10.** Enjoy thy Bondage; make thy Prison know
- Pii11.** Sir, I your servant, (who have sett you free
- Pii12.** You auntient Lawes of Right; Can you, for shame
- Pii13.** Feare not brave Felton sith it is thy fate
- Pii14.** Sorrow and Joy at once possesse my brest
- Pii15.** Heere uninterr'd suspends (though not to save
- Pii16.** Here uninterd suspends, (doubtles to save
- Pii17.** Wants hee a grave whom heavens doe cover? was hee
- Pii18.** Is Felton dead? It's that hee did desire
- Pii19.** Here Lyes the bonnes off him that did
- Pii20.** Awake, sad Brittain, and advance at last

### **Piii. Ambivalent Voices and Defenders of Buckingham**

- Piii1.** M alignant characters that did portend
- Piii2.** Heere lyes the best and worst of Fate
- Piii3.** Dearling off Kings, Patrone off armes
- Piii4.** You braveing spiritts (not brave) inflamd from hell
- Piii5.** I did not flatter thee Alive, and nowe
- Piii6.** Yee snarling Satyrs, cease your horrid yells
- Piii7.** Heere lyes thy Urne, O what a little blowe



**Piii8.** Sooner I may some fixed statue be

**Piii9.** Yet weere Bidentalls sacred, and the place

**Piii10.** Reader stand still and read loe heere I am

**Piii11.** Our countrie Merry England (once so styl'd)

**Piii12.** Honor, worth, greatnes, and what part so ere

**Piii13.** What! shall I say now George is dead

**Piii14.** Who ever lov'd man vertuous

**Piii15.** When Poets use to write men use to say

**Piii16.** Might Teares Revive thee I could wish to be

**Piii17.** Death come thy selfe and let thy Image sleepe

**Piii18.** Hee that can reade a sigh, or spell a teare

**Piii19.** Nourishd with sighs and frights, and form'd with fears

**Piii20.** When in the brazen leaves of fame

**Piii21.** Reader when these dumbe stones have told

**Piii22.** Noe Poets triviall rage that must aspire

**Q. The Castlehaven Scandal (1631)**

**Q1.** My Lord high stewarde his grace

**Q2.** Romes worst Philenis, and Pasiphaes dust

**Q3.** I neade noe Trophies, to adorne my hearse

**Q4.** My life is done my heart prepard for death

**Q5.** A proud cuckold tollit cornua

**Q6.** Blame not thy wife, for what thy selfe hath wrought

**Q7.** Its true you need noe trophees to your hearse

## **R. Miscellaneous (1628-1640)**

**R1.** Reader, Ile be sworne uppon a booke

**R2.** Surely the face of thinges is alter'd much

**R3.** Vainglorious man who can your witt applaude

**R4.** Come arme thy self brave England

**R5.** See what a love there is betweene

**R6.** A health to my Lady Duchess

**R7.** U. R. I. C. poore Canterbury

**R8.** Landless Will: of Lambeth strand

**R9.** Two Parliaments dissolv'd? then let my hart

## INTRODUCTION

This is an edition of early Stuart political poetry, drawn from manuscript sources. Roughly half the poems have never before been published, and many others have been available only in relatively obscure and dated sources. The fact that these texts have remained difficult for modern readers to access, however, should not be taken as any indication of their significance. For, at a time when restrictions of censorship prevented openly critical discussion of political identities and issues, manuscript verse, which could be disseminated anonymously and passed from hand to hand with relatively little risk, assumed a special value. These poems were known as libels: a term derived from the law, but which came to define a range of unauthorized and controversial texts, on individuals or topical issues (McRae, *Literature* 27-28. Cf. Bellany, *Politics* 98; Croft, “Libels” 266). While the libel was indebted at once to popular traditions of invective and elite literary traditions of satire, it emerged in the early seventeenth century as a distinct textual mode. In this edition, we are adopting a consciously inclusive approach to libels and political poetry, in an effort to represent the breadth of exchange in early Stuart manuscript culture. Here, therefore, are straightforward libellous assaults on men and women of state, more abstract representations of political processes, and even some eminently conservative poems written in response to libels.

The edition is borne out of an awareness of widespread interdisciplinary interest in this field, which is being stifled for lack of easy access to sources. The editors have respectively confronted this challenge, having begun research projects which required access to libels, and subsequently having devoted years to the search for texts. Those searches encompassed a range of sources—including verse miscellanies, commonplace books, diaries and letters—which may be found in archives across the world. As a result, the edition performs the function of an early Stuart verse miscellany. Many miscellanies-manuscript volumes of poems, collected by individual readers-document an intense interest in libels. Bodleian MS Malone 23, to take the most stunning example, contains one of the richest contemporary collections of early Stuart political poetry, including many pieces which were over twenty years old when the volume’s owner deemed them worthy of transcription (McRae, *Literature* 42-43). The present edition

builds upon such sources, in order to gather the most comprehensive ever collection of early Stuart political poetry. Its purpose is twofold: to bring this material into the public domain in the most effective possible manner, and to provide a framework for further research. With these ends in mind, it provides one reliable text of each poem that has been identified in manuscript sources, along with explanatory annotation and a list of other known sources.

The purpose of this introduction is neither to present new arguments about early Stuart political poetry, nor to rehearse arguments that the editors have made elsewhere, but rather to contextualize the material and explain the editorial methods. Like the edition as a whole, it is prepared with an interdisciplinary audience in mind, and attempts to situate these poems in relation to scholarly concerns in both historical and literary studies. The first section considers the cultural and political conditions of early Stuart England, and outlines the principal characteristics and functions of libels. The second section describes in detail the editorial decisions on which the edition is based, and summarizes the practices that have been employed throughout.

### 1. The conditions and practices of libelling

The early Stuart period was not the first time that poetry had been employed in politics, nor would it be the last. Nonetheless, this edition aims to demonstrate that the political poems of these years form a body of interconnected work, which is lent coherence by virtue of the activities of both writers and readers. These people were without doubt aware of what their culture was producing, and were keen to participate in a vital cultural and political practice. Consequently, when surveying the literary and political culture of the period it is possible to identify a number of converging factors which might explain not only the proliferation of libels, but also the principal characteristics of early Stuart political poetry. As becomes apparent from any consideration of the poems and their contexts, early Stuart libels participated in an increasingly contestatory culture, and in turn helped to refine the central conflicts and struggles of that culture.

One of the most popular poems contained in this edition may seem, with the questionable benefit of temporal distance, a peculiar and quirky achievement. “The Parliament

Fart” (“Downe came grave auntient Sir John Croke”) records a fart emitted in the House of Commons in 1607. More significantly, however, it commemorates both an institution and a community, as it accumulates couplet after witty couplet attributing reactions to the fart to individual members of parliament. Though it seems innocuous enough politically, readers appear to have responded not merely to the display of wit, but also to the focus on an institution which became increasingly problematic in the course of the reigns of James and Charles. Indeed none of the early Stuart parliaments was an easy experience for the monarch, and by the late 1620s the evident tensions placed acute strains on traditional ideals of a politics of consensus and counsel. It was perhaps partly for this reason that collectors continued to transcribe “The Parliament Fart” into miscellanies in the 1620s and 1630s, making it one of the most popular poems in manuscript circulation during the early seventeenth century. The poem offered, simply, an unauthorized history of the Commons. It was perhaps also for this reason that the final lines (in our chosen version) seek to identify the poem as a libel: “Come come quoth the King libelling is not safe / Bury you the fart, I’le make the Epitaph”.

Although authorship of “The Parliament Fart” appears to have been in part a group activity, and although the poem changes considerably from one version to another, some readers may also have been attracted to it because it was most commonly linked to John Hoskyns. In the early years of James’s reign, Hoskyns typified a political milieu characterized by transgressive acts of wit. Associated equally with the interlinked legal and literary communities of London, he established a reputation for outspokenness and dissent. Moreover, after he was imprisoned by the Crown for his contributions to the Addled Parliament of 1614, he continued to write satirical verse, and appears to have attained the status of “a martyr to the cause of free speech” (Colclough 373). Therefore, while it would risk exaggeration to identify Hoskyns as a figure of political “opposition”, he assumes a central position within a culture which was increasingly prepared to question the structures of authority. There are demonstrable links between Hoskyns and the Spenserian poets of the 1610s and 1620s, who consistently agitated for political reform (O’Callaghan). More importantly, in the current context, his work is increasingly associated in manuscript culture with the waves of libels that shaped political discourse. As will become apparent, in the decades following the emission of Croke’s fart these poems became freshly strident in tone and forthright in analysis.

The evident transformation of “The Parliament Fart”, from a coterie production into a text of national renown, also typifies the way in which networks of political comment were stretching across the nation (Cust; Raymond). Although the discussion of domestic politics in print was heavily proscribed, contemporaries exhibited new levels of sophistication in their production and dissemination of news. The aisles of St. Paul’s Cathedral, long recognized as a central meeting place in the city, became the heart of the news business: “the great Exchange of all discourse”, according to one commentator, where men might “turn merchants...and traffick for news” (Earle II1v; Cogswell, *Blessed Revolution* 20-53). Beyond Paul’s Walk, news was circulated into the provinces either informally, or through the expanding commercial production of newsletters and manuscript “separates” reporting events and debates. Letters and diaries from the period document the spread and intensity of interest in politics, and equally underline the importance of libels. The Suffolk clergyman John Rous, for example, appears to have found libels both unsettling and compelling. Though generally scornful of “light scoffing wittes” who “rime upon any the most vulgar surmises”, Rous nonetheless recorded a significant number of libels (30). Transcribing a poem about the Isle of Rhé expedition, for instance, Rous commented that, “whether any more be sette downe then vulgar rumor, which is often lying, I knowe not” (22).<sup>1</sup>

These practices of textual circulation coalesced with established methods for the dissemination of poetry. Many poets, throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, acknowledged what has become known as the “stigma of print”, and consequently eschewed the relatively new technology of the printing press in favour of scribal distribution (Saunders). John Donne is the most notable example of a poet whose work circulated only in manuscript form in this lifetime; by contrast, Michael Drayton draws attention to this phenomenon by presenting a contrary argument, lamenting that “nothing [is] esteem’d in this lunatique Age, but what is kept in Cabinets, and must only passe by Transcription” (4.v\*). Moreover, despite Drayton’s biased representation, manuscript culture was by no means a private and controlled mode of textual circulation. Though most prevalent within certain sites—the universities, the court, and the inns of court—surviving evidence reveals authors and collectors alike seeking and exchanging poetry, thereby constructing miscellanies which reflect personal tastes and interests. Moreover, while literary history has tended to focus on identifiable canonical authors, scores of surviving

miscellanies also include anonymous libels. These poems were appreciated as products of wit, and therefore transcribed, often without comment, alongside the works of authors such as Donne, Ben Jonson and Robert Herrick.

Some scholars have argued that the vogue for libels within this context was influenced by the “Bishops’ Ban” of 1599, which outlawed the works of certain prominent satirists. According to this argument, the banning of printed satires drove this vital literary mode “underground”, where it metamorphosed into more virulent strains of libel (esp. Cogswell, “Underground”). This narrative is in many respects simplistic, and overlooks the many important distinctions between the neoclassical verse satire that flourished in the 1590s and the libels of the early Stuart decades (Bellany, *Politics* 99-100; McRae, *Literature* 27-29). Crucially, the libel was not merely a debased offshoot of an acknowledged genre, but an independent mode with its own traditions and conventions. Nevertheless, it remains unquestionable that in the early seventeenth century formal verse satire slipped from the prominent status it had held in the preceding decade, while the related mode of the libel was increasingly embraced as a preeminent product of wit. The vogue for the libel, in other words, is attributable to developments in literary culture as well as those in politics. Under the conditions of censorship which prevailed in the early seventeenth century, as contemporaries became anxious about the state of their nation and sought new ways to engage in political discourse, the libel emerged simply as the most pertinent form of satire.

In the course of the early Stuart period, it is also evident that the libel assumed its own loose set of generic expectations. Though perforce an anonymous mode, writers consistently turn their anonymity into a fundamental, and in many respects empowering characteristic. In numerous poems, especially from the latter half of our period, the speaker is positioned as a representative of the people, and looks critically at the actions and motivations of those in positions of great power. One, for example, begins by invoking the poet’s muse to “Goe to the Court let those above us knowe / they have their faults as well as we belowe” (“Bridewell I come be valient muse and strip”). In others, accounts of the sufferings of a politicized “we” assume a tone of menace, embracing suggestions of popular revolt (Norbrook 50-57). Formally, libels lack the consistency of satire, which was generally written in iambic pentameter couplets. By comparison, libels inhabit a range of forms, from the epigram to the ballad, and often deploy



a rough-hewn populism to underscore a political point. In their stances towards politics, the poems range from confrontational assault to ironic commentary. Yet all participate in a distinctive poetics of engagement, and this edition attempts to represent the breadth of this phenomenon by also including examples of the period's anti-libels: poems concerned to rebut the claims of libellers, written not only by court poets but also by James I himself.

Much scholarship, particularly in the field of political history, has tended to diminish the significance of libels because of their recurrent prioritization of morality over ideology. Libellers are undeniably drawn to instances of sexual depravity and corporeal corruption; to take the most notable example, poems on the death of Robert Cecil in 1612 seem to be fuelled almost as much by a fascination at his grotesque process of bodily decay, as by any concerted opposition to his policies and achievements (Croft, "Reputation"). But this objection to libels runs the risk of imposing upon the early Stuart period anachronistic perceptions of politics. For contemporary commentators, corporeal corruption was inextricably connected with moral corruption, while discourses of politics were effectively inseparable from those of morality. Consequently, representations of courtly immorality were at once a powerful form of political critique, and also created a forum within which a writer might think his or her way towards more abstract ideas of politics. For instance, suggestions of sodomy at court swerve from mere titillation, through moral outrage, to intimations of a discourse of opposition (P. Hammond 128-150; Knowles; Perry). One of the most important libels of the 1620s, "The Five Senses" ("From such a face whose Excellence"), focuses on the relationship between King James and his powerful court favourite, George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham. The poem is striking in its suggestions of regal fallibility, as it suggests that the "whoreish breath" of "a Ganimede" has the "power to lead / His excellence which way it list". It concludes with a menacing prayer that God should give the king himself "a Taste.../ Of what his Subjects undergoe", and "a Feeling of there woes". Only then might he truly appreciate the problems of his realm.

While this poem is rare in its explicit attention to the king, an analysis of the politics of libels reveals a remarkable range of political positions. Traditionally, libelling had been accepted, especially in London, as a form of crisis communication between the people and their rulers (Croft, "Libels" 270). Like many early modern riots, such libels were essentially conservative, begging for the restoration of an order perceived to be lost. Others served as

weapons in factional disputes at court, at a time when struggles for power could effectively centre on contests over the reputations of prominent statesmen. (This, indeed, is perhaps the principal explanation for the plethora of poems on the death of Cecil.) And others still used conventional discourses of denigration in order to touch upon issues of wider concern, including some of the nation's most fundamental values. At law, the doctrine of *scandalum magnatum*, under which numerous libel actions were brought to the Star Chamber, held that to libel a person in public office was also to libel the government, and hence the king himself (Bellany, "Poem" 156). As Francis Bacon recognized, counsellors and court favourites were placed in especially precarious positions; writing to Buckingham, he warned that "the King himself is above the reach of his people, but cannot be above their censures, and you are his shadow" (*Letter 2*). This potential was exploited in the years immediately before and after Buckingham's assassination. When libels laud the assassin, John Felton, for liberating the country "from one mans thrall", they teeter uneasily between a celebration of order restored and a contrary suggestion that the very system within which Buckingham operated might itself be irreparably cankered ("You auntient Lawes of Right; Can you, for shame").

Such poems have prompted some to identify libels with the development of political opposition in the years preceding the Civil War (Cogswell, "Underground"; Holstun 143-191). But while particular poems unquestionably contain traces of radicalism, it would be misleading to approach either the politics or poetry of this period as in any way coherent. As recent historical scholarship has demonstrated, the development of opposition, from the 1620s to the 1640s, was a complex and uncertain process. In this context, much of the value of libels lies in the way that they document this process, revealing critical struggles over the meanings of political figures and events. In some cases, the satiric strategies of the poems seek simply to strip away myths of power. As Harold Love comments about Restoration satires, they function by "neutralising or evacuating the dominant fictions of state" (175). In other cases, their practices of stigmatization and discrimination create the potential for new discourses of confrontation. Ultimately, although libels may not be aligned with an identifiable and coherent oppositionist movement, and although their politics are at times provocative and evasive rather than rational and purposeful, they decisively contribute to political change. They help to make opposition conceivable: and speakable.

## 2. The edition: aims and methods

After centuries of historical and literary scholarship throughout which libels received relatively little attention, over the past twenty years they have finally begun to gain the attention they deserve. In the field of political history, post-revisionist scholars have focused valuably on the role of public opinion, while others have reassessed the significance of individual reputations and particular court scandals. Moreover, some historians have accepted a need to adopt different interpretative strategies when reading pamphlets and ballads, compared to those required for more direct or explicit documents (e.g. Sharpe 5). In literary studies, meanwhile, there are signs that the enthusiasm for history that propelled the new historicism and cultural materialism is increasingly now being married to a heightened appreciation of archival research and historical method. Significantly, a number of new “historical” editions of early Stuart poetry have highlighted the complex politics of manuscript culture, while important critical studies have properly situated libels within narratives of cultural and political upheaval (e.g. Raleigh, *Poems*; G. Hammond 41-66; McRae, *Literature*; Marotti 75-133; Norbrook 50-58).

This edition is a product of these movements, since it brings into the public domain the findings of two parallel research projects: one in the field of political history, the other in that of literary studies. Its collection of approximately 350 poems surpasses all existing sources for the study of libels, and includes roughly 200 that have never before been published. Its breadth of coverage and its editorial apparatus are intended to establish a foundation for further research, in a field which raises so many problems and unanswered questions. The presentation of the poems, and the explanatory notes, are also intended to make this material accessible to a wider range of readers.

### *a) parameters*

The edition encompasses poems directly relating to English political identities and issues, which were produced for and circulated within manuscript culture. This includes anything that contemporaries would have identified as a libel, while also incorporating a number of pieces

that directly respond to libels, and others that function more in the manner of satiric commentary. But it is unashamedly biased towards expressions of dissent, and hitherto unheard voices. While critics might argue that canonical poets such as Donne and Jonson wrote politically sensitive verse, there is little reason to include their work in an edition of libels; and while poets of print culture such as Drayton and George Wither unquestionably forged new models of political poetry, they consistently defined their work against that of anonymous libellers.<sup>1</sup> These parameters create a particular kind of miscellany—more than commonly focused and thorough in its selections—yet one which retains the basic experience of encountering a contemporary collection of manuscript poetry.

Some of the implications of these editorial decisions may require justification. Firstly, it will be apparent to those who are familiar with this material that a significant number of the poems here have been printed elsewhere. A couple of printed sources—F.W. Fairholt’s edition of *Poems and Songs Relating to George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham*, and Norman Farmer’s edition of “Poems from a Seventeenth-Century Manuscript”—have provided the basis for much of the existing scholarship on libels. Other sources include published news-diaries and commonplace books (e.g. Rous; Whiteway; *Dr. Farmer Chetham Manuscript*; *First and Second Dalhousie Manuscripts*). But since some of these sources are not easy to access, and none aims for comprehensive coverage, a certain amount of duplication is necessary. Secondly, since libels were written by such a broad range of authors, a number have been published in editions of the works of major seventeenth-century poets. While our versions, which are unmodernized and taken from single manuscript sources, may lack the appearance of reliability and coherence projected by a scholarly edition, to have given such poems special treatment here would not only have been inconsistent, but would unduly have privileged the canonical over the anonymous and non-canonical. Therefore, while modern editions are cited where appropriate as alternative sources, it is important here that a modern reader, like his or her early Stuart counterpart, should encounter the occasional work of a well-known author in a miscellaneous context.

The edition’s borderlines are inevitably shadowy in places, largely due to the subject-matter of the poetry. The modern category of “politics” did not exist in early Stuart England; far from being an independent sphere, the political was inextricably intertwined with matters of

religion and morality. Nonetheless, most cases are obvious enough. Libels proliferated especially around key figures in the business of state, such as Robert Cecil and the Duke of Buckingham, and around court controversies and scandals, such as that surrounding the divorce of Frances Howard and her subsequent involvement in the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury. Many more, especially in the 1620s, isolated issues of concern in parliament, such as monopolies and foreign affairs, or represented tensions between the parliament and the court. But others are more problematic. Firstly, editorial decisions have been made about poems concerned with religion, to determine whether individual pieces have any content that might reasonably be described as political. This has meant the inclusion, for example, of some pieces that specifically aim to politicize the stigmatized identity of the Puritan, but the omission of others concerned more with perceived ecclesiastical or theological aberrations. Secondly, in determining “political” content, it was determined that the edition should focus principally on a national context, as opposed to international or local contexts. Consequently, poems on the Thirty Years’ War are included only if they focus particularly on the debates concerning English involvement, while numerous elegies from the early 1630s on the Swedish military hero Gustavus Adolphus are omitted on similar grounds. While it might fairly be argued that such poems are concerned to *reflect* upon English politics, they lack the qualities of outspokenness and satire that characterize libel. Thirdly, although libels on local political matters inevitably reflect upon wider debates, this edition privileges poems that were principally concerned with national figures and issues, and that circulated beyond local contexts. Poems from the provinces that survive in records of Star Chamber libel actions typically did not also circulate in verse miscellanies, and as a result this edition excludes texts from these sources (cf. Fox 299-334; McRae, “Verse Libel”).

The edition’s canon is determined further by a decision to privilege poems that originated in manuscript culture. Some pieces were subsequently printed, most notably after the effective collapse of censorship in the 1640s; and in such cases details of publication are provided, though manuscript sources are preferred. But a handful of other poems (not included here) moved in the other direction, originally surfacing in fugitive printed texts, but surviving in manuscript sources once the printed source was no longer available. *The Interpreter* (1622), probably written by Alexander Leighton, is a signal example of this phenomenon.<sup>1</sup> Other poems

that are clearly libellous managed to scrape past the censors, often when packaged in a volume of otherwise relatively innocuous material, or when presented in a sufficiently veiled manner. William Goddard managed this risky feat in 1615, when he published two epigrams on the controversial marriage of Frances Howard and Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset, in which the latter is identified pointedly as “the dunghill Carr” (F4r). In the present context, however, it is entirely justifiable to treat poems which were presumably written for manuscript circulation as a relatively discrete body of writing. Manuscript poetry had its own codes and conventions, and the libel was without question a product of this particular culture.

The temporal parameters, though relatively clear, also require some notes of justification. At the beginning of our period, the only significant questions concern poems on Robert Devereux, second Earl of Essex, who was executed after his failed uprising against Elizabeth I in 1601. Strictly speaking, these should not belong in an edition of early Stuart poetry; however, they are included partly because they do much to establish the conventions of libelling, and partly because the factional conflicts they describe continue to influence politics over the following decades. Most notably, many of the vitriolic libels on the death of Cecil in 1612 explicitly invoke this context, and the study of such poems can only benefit from being read alongside the earlier works (Croft, “Libels” 275-76; Croft, “Reputation” 46-47). The main body of material, as will become apparent, dates unproblematically from the middle decades of the early Stuart period, with the activity of libelling reaching a high-point in the 1620s. The edition’s range ends in the early 1640s, with the collapse of the early Stuart censorship regime and the subsequent outbreak of the Civil War. As has been demonstrated in numerous studies of the 1640s and 1650s, these two events mark a relatively distinct cultural watershed (esp. Hill; Loxley; Potter; Smith; Zwicker). Although it is hoped that this edition will demonstrate some of the ways in which libels of the preceding decades informed the better-known writing of the revolutionary era, it is nonetheless sensible in the present context to keep the two periods distinct.

Throughout the period, libels did not stand alone, but rather functioned within a highly contentious culture. Numerous poems directly respond to others, while all pieces contribute regardless to often bitter debates over the significance of individual lives and events. In recognition of this context, the present edition includes a range of laudatory poems, which could

not strictly be defined as libels. Instead, many might be described as anti-libels: poems directly responding to the charges of libels, and “offering rival interpretations of controversial events or attacking those whom the libellers criticised” (Bellany, “Poisoning” 115). Others simply try to maintain principles of orthodoxy and decorum: lamenting the death of Buckingham in a conventionally elegiac voice, for instance, despite the plethora of libels presenting contrary images. Given that poetry of praise accounts for a significant proportion of seventeenth-century literature, however, editorial decisions have necessarily produced a limited selection of such works. These decisions have been determined by the extent to which particular poems demonstrably participated in conflicts conducted in manuscript culture. Hence most of the poems included are concerned with individuals who were attacked in libels, while those on relatively uncontroversial figures are generally not included. In particular, the edition does not represent the wealth of poems marking royal deaths and births, even though some of these may contain critical political content.

Another way in which the parameters of the edition have been determined by the culture of the manuscript miscellany is apparent in the inclusion of anagrams and chronograms. Each form typically scrutinizes the name of its target: either by teasing meaning out of the name’s rearranged letters, or by assigning numerical values to letters (“usually employing Roman numerals, so that V signified 5, C 100 and so on”) (Bellany, *Politics* 105). Anagrams and chronograms appear to have had an ambiguous function, appreciated widely as entertaining products of wit, but also offering themselves as “keys to deeper...meaning”, or unauthorized truths (Bellany, *Politics* 107). A popular chronogram on Buckingham, for example, derived the year of his assassination, 1628, from the letters of his name. Noting this curious fact, one couplet commented darkly: “Thy numerous name great George, expressthe thee / But XXIX I hope, thou ne’re shalt see” (“Thy numerous name great George, expressthe thee”). For the purposes of this edition, anagrams and chronograms assume significance principally because of their obvious connections with libels. In many instances, such as that of the Buckingham chronogram, they are followed by explanatory epigrams. More fundamentally, they were commonly composed and collected by those involved in the culture of political libelling, and valued as products of wit. As Sir Simonds D’Ewes recalled in his *Autobiography*, when relating the murder of Thomas Overbury: two anagrams “came ... to my hands, not unworthy to be

owned by the rarest wits of this age” (1.87).

Ultimately, it is fair to conclude that the edition provides an extensive, though not exhaustive, collection of libels and related material. The texts are drawn from research in over twenty major research libraries and records offices, mainly in the United Kingdom and the United States of America. Within these archives, research was guided partly by available catalogues and first-line indices, and partly by the previous research of other scholars. No known source of any significance has been overlooked, and many new sources have been identified. Nonetheless, while there is good reason to believe that the edition has identified and collected the majority of libels extant in manuscript collections, there is also reason to believe that other poems remain to be identified. Since the cataloguing in some archives is far from complete, it is likely that further discoveries will be made as more resources become available.

*b) conventional editorial practice*

The editorial practice does not conform to what are generally accepted as the requirements of a “scholarly” edition of poetry. Typically, the editors of such volumes will seek all available sources for individual poems, and will produce a text by comparing these sources and identifying that which best represents the final intention of the author. Further, a scholarly edition will collate extant texts, and identify variations. By comparison, this edition reproduces one sound version of every known libel, and does not depart in any way from the selected version unless there is a special reason for doing so. In most cases, more than one version has been consulted, and a choice of a copy-text has been made on grounds of clarity and (if it is possible to judge) quality. In all cases, the text of a poem is accompanied by a list of other known sources, so that readers with particular interests may independently pursue further research into variants.

This practice combines practical and scholarly demands. For an edition of libels, it is by no means clear that the benefits of a “scholarly” edition would outweigh the extraordinary costs it would demand. Since many libels may be identified in over twenty different sources, the task of transcribing and comparing all these sources for all the poems identified for this edition would



be immense. More importantly, since libels were typically circulated anonymously, and since there is very little evidence of readers concerning themselves with variant texts and questions of authorship, the argument that one version of a poem will necessarily be “better” than another is tenuous. Distinctions between “good” and “bad” versions would inevitably become subjective, while an editorial project that produced conflated texts from different versions would have the dubious consequence of creating poems that nobody in early modern England actually read. Instead, in its presentation of each poem this edition mirrors the activity of contemporary readers, by intervening in manuscript culture at one particular and identifiable moment. The edition follows those readers in not trying to differentiate between an original and an altered version, and seeks only to identify one legible, clear and coherent source.

The physical presentation of texts similarly balances demands of textual scholarship and legibility. Consequently, the selected manuscript source for any one poem is reproduced exactly—including original spelling, punctuation, and even apparent scribal errors—except for two concessions to the modern reader. Firstly, while the seventeenth-century writer tended to follow the Roman alphabet, using interchangeably “i” and “j” and also “u” and “v”, here these letters have been regularized in accordance with modern usage. Since there are no instances in which the process of regularization produces ambiguities, or asserts an editor’s interpretation of a text in the face of uncertainty, there can be few arguments against this practice, especially when one considers the enhanced clarity of the regularized text. Secondly, standard scribal abbreviations and contractions are routinely expanded. Hence, while readers of early modern manuscripts are familiar with annotations that indicate, for example, an extra letter or syllable, this edition simply adds those letters and syllables without comment. Scribes are almost always clear and consistent in their practice, which is designed merely to save on labour. Given the aims of this edition, there is no good reason either to replicate their practice, or to alert readers every time an obvious abbreviation is used.

Some readers might reasonably ask why spelling and punctuation have not also been modernized. Given that the texts were considered relatively flexible at the time, there might appear to be little cause to be so careful now, especially when that care may in fact reproduce clear scribal errors. This may appear at times nonsensical, or even perverse. But the counterargument, which seems too strong to ignore, is that the process of “correction” involves

too many subjective, and possibly unsignalled, editorial decisions. In short, it becomes almost impossible, for editors and readers alike, to determine where this process should stop, and there is a risk that the experience of encountering these texts in their manuscript sources would irrevocably be altered. Instead, the best and clearest course, in this particular edition of these poems, is for the editors to perform the role of diligent and faithful (albeit at times somewhat mechanical and uncritical) scribes. Those who use the edition, either for research or teaching purposes, may of course wish to be more intrusive. One unquestionable benefit of the practice adopted here is that such users will be able to do so, while those wanting an accurate representation of the manuscript sources will equally be able to rely on the texts provided.

The edition is structured into sections, which are organized partly by topics and partly by chronology. Some of these are self-explanatory. The libels on the death of Cecil, for example, or those a generation later on the death of Buckingham, form discrete bodies of poetry. Indeed it is evident that such libellers were reading other libels, and had a sense of their participation in a distinct cultural movement. Others, due to the nature of the issues with which they engage, are not quite so clear. In the early 1620s, for instance, numerous poets, concerned by fraught relations between the court and parliament, tried to find new ways of representing such political struggles. For instance, the longest poem in the edition, “Fortunes wheele. or Rota fortunæ in gyro” (“Some would complaine of Fortune & blinde chance”), is unlike any other in its method and detail, but entirely typical of the period in its underlying motivation (McRae, “Political”). While some issues and individuals may be traced throughout more than one section, the structure is nonetheless intended to make the edition easier to navigate. As such, it follows the practice of a number of early Stuart miscellanies, which variously grouped, labelled and even indexed poems (McRae, *Literature* 36-44).

The editorial annotation attends principally to matters of historical detail. Given that they are so highly topical in character, most poems benefit from some explanation of references to individuals, events and political debates. While many will inevitably remain somewhat opaque, and while others will doubtless benefit from further contextual research, the annotation here aims simply to make the material more accessible with the benefit of information currently available to specialists in the field. The headnotes to poems provide contextual information, identify connections with other poems, and cite relevant critical material. Footnotes are usually

explanatory in nature: identifying individuals, expanding upon topical references, and glossing difficult words and phrases. Others are more strictly textual: perhaps drawing attention to variant readings, or identifying probable scribal errors.

*c) electronic editorial practice*

Electronic publication gives the edition a number of benefits. One central goal of the project has been to make libels as accessible as possible, thereby abolishing the monopolistic grip on their interpretation effectively claimed in the past by those with the skills and resources necessary to deal with manuscript sources. In this respect, a web-based resource, published in association with a respected free-access journal, provides an attractive alternative to conventional forms of publishing. Furthermore, when dealing with a large and disparate body of poems, electronic publication enables a high degree of navigability and flexibility. Relatively few readers will choose to read through the collection from beginning to end; others will come to the collection with particular interests, and will want tools to facilitate their research. In other words, they will want to compile their own miscellanies: and this edition encourages them to do so.

The edition's method is clear and uncomplicated. Each poem occupies a separate page, with its first-line used as a heading and a brief headnote providing some introductory information. Footnotes are marked conventionally on the text, and are accessible by following links to the bottom of the page. Between the text and the notes on a page are a number of buttons providing links to other sections, and other poems in the same section. Readers are also given access here, as on the site's home-page, to a range of search functions: by person (subject or author) and manuscript. These categories have been chosen to accommodate the most likely lines of enquiry. Most readers will be interested in individuals targeted by libels, and the search-engine will take them to whole poems, or parts of longer poems, that are relevant to those interests. Other searches will facilitate research on literary culture. While only a small number of poems can be ascribed to particular authors, the lists of all known sources of a poem, and also the searches by manuscript, should highlight practices of collecting and circulation. Within a matter of seconds a reader can identify all political poems in a particular manuscript, and then

use this as a point of comparison with other manuscripts. This might well provide a foundation for research with the actual manuscripts themselves. In particular, navigation is facilitated by indices of names, manuscripts, and first-lines. The index of names includes individuals mentioned in libels and authors of libels, as well as classical and biblical names to which the poems refer. The index of manuscripts lists all manuscripts cited in the edition, and contains links to poems contained in respective manuscripts.

At various points, the reader has an option to download poems in PDF format. Some may choose to download the entire text, to preserve in the manner of a printed book. Others will choose to compile their own miscellanies, gathering individualized collections for electronic storage and printing. In this way, the edition combines the manifold benefits of twenty-first century technologies with some of the basic reading practices of the seventeenth century. Though separated historically from the poetry's contexts, the user of "Early Stuart Libels" therefore has a breadth and ease of access that was no more than a dream for the poems' contemporary readers.

*d) readers' comments and suggestions*

The edition is not designed to be updated on a regular basis. It is intended rather to have the textual integrity of a conventional book, to be used and judged as it stands for the foreseeable future. Nevertheless, the editors are well aware that a project of this nature will inevitably be incomplete in various ways. Extra poems and sources will come to light, while new information could undoubtedly help to improve our explanatory notes. For this reason, we plan to gather information over the coming years, with a view to producing a second, and presumably final, edition. Consequently, we warmly invite comments and suggestions from researchers using this edition, all of which will be acknowledged in any future edition. Please email comments to [stuart.libels@exeter.ac.uk](mailto:stuart.libels@exeter.ac.uk).

### A. Essex, Raleigh and Late-Elizabethan Politics (c.1590-1603)

Libels and other partisan documents which were discreetly circulated in manuscript form seemed to proliferate during the latter part of Elizabeth I's reign, as did the surreptitious printing or importing of "banned books". Many of these clandestine writings and copyings were encouraged by the religious policies of the Elizabethan regime, which attracted sharp criticism from both Catholic recusants and extremist Puritans (especially Presbyterians) by the late 1560s. Perhaps the most significant of these religious tracts were the "Martin Marprelate" pamphlets which were secretly printed and disseminated by Presbyterian radicals in 1588-89. Ironically, such critiques gained extra currency from the Elizabethan government's own efforts to punish these authors and discredit their ideas. In their endeavour to crack down on libel-spreaders and publicly counter the claims of "seditious" writers and printers, the ecclesiastical authorities and the Privy Council gave their critics the oxygen of publicity and effectively recognized a kind of proto-"public sphere" which was entirely contrary to the legal orthodoxy that the business of government was secret and the actions of the sovereign were accountable only to God (Lake and Questier).

The most notorious and widely-circulated libel of the Elizabethan era was a prose attack by Catholic exile writers on the Queen's great favourite, Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester. Printed overseas under the title of *The copy of a letter written by a Master of Art of Cambridge* in 1584, this work quickly became known as "Leicester's Commonwealth" (*Leicester's Commonwealth*). Although printed copies were smuggled into England (despite official efforts to suppress it), the work also circulated widely in the form of manuscript copies, as well as spawning shorter derivative libels such as "News from heaven and hell" ("News from heaven and hell"). In 1592, William Cecil, Lord Burghley, the Lord Treasurer and Elizabeth's most influential advisor, received similar treatment from Catholic polemicists, following a new government crackdown on Catholic nonconformity in late 1591. Tracts such as Richard Verstegan's *A declaration of the true causes of the great troubles* (1592) and Robert Parsons' (or Persons') *An advertisement written to a secretarie of my L. Treasurers of England* (1592) were smuggled into the realm and collectively created the defamatory notion of "Burghley's commonwealth" or a *regnum Cecilianum*, in which Elizabeth and her realm were shamelessly manipulated for the

benefit of the Cecil family and their supporters.

During the mid-1590s, the task of the Privy Council in stemming libels and other “seditious” writings became even more difficult because a factional divide emerged at the very heart of Elizabethan government, which created growing tensions at the Council board itself. Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex, who emerged as the Queen’s dominant royal favourite after the deaths of the Earl of Leicester and Sir Christopher Hatton in 1588 and 1591, espoused an expansive war policy against Spain which was increasingly at odds with the wishes of Elizabeth. Essex’s political ambitions also provoked growing resentment from older members of the Council, especially the septuagenarian Lord Burghley, who mistrusted Essex’s martial aspirations and was anxious to promote the career of his own younger son, Sir Robert Cecil. Thwarted in his efforts to win over Elizabeth to his agenda, Essex began to circulate letters and treatises in manuscript form which advocated policies markedly different from those endorsed by the Queen. The most important and widely-copied of these tracts was a letter nominally addressed to his friend Anthony Bacon, which was later printed as *An apologie of the earle of Essex against those which falsly and maliciously taxe him to be the onely hinderer of the peace and quiet of his countrey* (1603). Such behaviour infuriated his conciliar colleagues, as did the Earl’s constant efforts at self-promotion, which were increasingly seen as courting the sort of popular acclaim that the Elizabethan regime reserved solely for the Queen herself (Hammer, “The smiling crocodile”). A growing number of courtiers began to line up against Essex and his friends, including Burghley (who died in 1598), Sir Robert Cecil and his brother-in-law Henry Brooke (who succeeded as 11th Lord Cobham in 1597), and Sir Walter Raleigh, who had lost out to Essex in the competition to become the new royal favourite in the late 1580s (Hammer, *Polarisation*).

Most of the libels in Section A relate directly to this bitter factional struggle during the closing years of Elizabeth’s reign. Raleigh, in particular, had a combative nature and skill with the pen, as did Essex. Although Essex and Raleigh were banned from actually using swords during their competition for the Queen’s favour between 1587 and 1591, both men seem to have challenged each other with mocking poems (May, *Elizabethan Courtier Poets* 119-125). As the most important literary patron of the 1590s, Essex attracted many writers who were eager to use their pens in similar fashion once factional rivalry for political ascendancy began to become

obvious in the mid-1590s. Essex's own carefully-cultivated public image also made his cause seem more noble and that of his opponents more corrupt. Given that Sir Robert Cecil emerged as Essex's most substantial political rival and the Earl's following included a significant number of Catholics, it is perhaps not surprising that features of the Catholic critique of the so-called *regnum Cecilianum* in the early 1590s re-emerged in the context of this struggle between Essex and his enemies in the late 1590s. More generally, the rivalry between Essex and his enemies also echoed in the work of satirical writers such as Nashe, Marston and Guilpin, whose troubling publications were formally suppressed by Archbishop Whitgift and Bishop Bancroft on 1 June 1599 (Clegg 198-217).

When Essex was arrested in September 1599 after his return from Ireland, in what seemed like murky circumstances, the intense speculation about the cause and significance of this event prompted a veritable flood of libels against the Earl's rivals. At the end of November, members of the Privy Council delivered a series of speeches in Star Chamber in an attempt publicly to justify Essex's arrest. In doing so, they also vented their fury at the anonymous personal attacks against them. Lord Keeper Egerton, for example, inveighed against "the iniquitye of these dayes, that the taverns and ordinaries are filled with tales of governement and matters of state, and they so farr proceede that they scatter libells, which doe falcely and trayterouslye slaunder her sacred Majestie and her whole counsell, nay in such manner as though (after 42 yeares' governement) she knewe not whom to rewarde. They are dangerous enemyes and deseine to refuse the governement of the realme. I call them traytors, for the lawe condemnes [them] as traytors, but our state doe not severely punishe yt, and yet they are traytors". Lord Treasurer Buckhurst echoed this opinion: "they deserve death better then open enemies: they are dangerous & who can be fre from their stroake; they lurke in secret and ought to be subject to the censure of death. There ys remedy against the sworde, against gunshott &c, but none against backebyters & libellers". Sir Robert Cecil, who was perhaps the most frequently vilified member of the council, complained that libellers were "vipers" and "the children of the divell, for he ys the author of all lyes and there ys no truth in their papers" (Folger MS V.b.142, fols. 49r-v, 50r).

Yet no amount of public condemnation could stem the flow of libels. Shortly after the Star Chamber speeches, Francis Bacon (the younger brother of Anthony) felt obliged to respond to

the latest tales shaped in “the London forge”. As a highly conspicuous former dependent of the Earl, Bacon attracted particular comment for his public efforts against Essex while acting in his capacity as one of the Queen’s legal counsel. Bacon’s solution was to write a letter to one of the Earl’s aristocratic friends, Lord Henry Howard, to complain about the unfair criticism and to circulate it and Howard’s reply in manuscript form (HMC Hatfield 9.405-07). However, this manoeuvre proved wholly inadequate when Bacon took a leading role in the trial which resulted in Essex’s execution in February 1601. Like the Earl’s more conspicuous enemies, such as Raleigh, Cobham and Cecil, Bacon carried a stigma from his involvement in Essex’s death which lasted for years afterwards. When Essex’s reputation received a limited public rehabilitation after the accession of James in March 1603, the recriminations surrounding Bacon’s conduct resurfaced and Bacon again felt obliged to respond publicly, this time in the form of a letter to another friend of Essex, Charles Blount, Earl of Devonshire (formerly Lord Mountjoy). Published as *Sir Francis Bacon his apologie, in certaine imputations concerning the late earle of Essex* (1604), the work went through four printings during 1604-05. Like many of the libels included in later sections, Bacon’s need to pen his *Apologie* is testimony to the intense passions aroused during the great political struggle of Elizabeth’s last years and the magnetism of Essex’s name and memory. For the winners in the great Elizabethan political battle, the taint associated with their victory would perhaps outlast even the Essexians’ bitterness at their defeat.

A0



## A1 The Word of Deniall, and the Letter of Fifty

*Notes.* This couplet, attributed to Raleigh, is commonly collected with a corresponding couplet on Raleigh himself (see “*The Disease of the stomach, and the Terme of Disgrace*”). Although the author of the latter is named in this manuscript copy as “Dr Noel”, other copies identify Raleigh’s adversary as “Mr Noel”. Given that “Dr Noel” can only refer to Dr. Alexander Nowell or Noel, Dean of St. Paul’s and aged in his nineties by the time of his death in 1602, “Mr Noel” seems a more probable attribution. “Mr Noel” can be identified as Henry Noel, a Gentleman Pensioner (i.e. a member of a band of socially elite bodyguards for the sovereign) who died in 1597. Noel was described by John Harington as “one of the greatest gallants” at Elizabeth’s court and mixed in the same social circles as Raleigh from at least the late 1570s. It is possible that this verse exchange dates from this early period and was meant to tease or amuse their mutual friends rather than intended as a genuine criticism (May, “*Companion Poems*” 261, 272; Raleigh, *Poems* 150).

### “On Dr Noell”

The Word of Deniall, and the Letter of Fifty,<sup>1</sup>

Makes the name of the man that will never be thrifty.

**Source.** Folger MS V.a.103, fol. 68r

**Other known sources.** Manningham 161; Raleigh, *Poems* 28; Bodleian MS Douce f.5, fol. 31r; Bodleian MS Malone 19, p. 53; Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 117, fol. 271v; Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 148, fol. 1r; BL MS Harley 5353, fol. 83r; Nottingham MS Portland PW V 37, p. 140; Houghton MS Eng 686, fol. 17v; Rosenbach MS 1083/16, p. 195

A1

<sup>1</sup> *The Word of Deniall...Fifty*: i.e. “No” and “L”—the Roman numeral for the number fifty—creating “Noel”.

## A2 The Disease of the stomach, and the Terme of Disgrace

*Notes.* This couplet on Raleigh, attributed to “Dr. Noell”, is commonly collected with a corresponding couplet on Noel, attributed to Raleigh (see “*The Word of Deniall, and the Letter of Fifty*”). See further the introductory comments for “*The Word of Deniall, and the Letter of Fifty*”.

“On Sir W. Rawly”

The Disease of the stomach, and the Terme of Disgrace<sup>1</sup>

Makes the name of the man with the brazen face.

**Source.** Folger MS V.a.103, fol. 68r

**Other known sources.** Manningham 161; Raleigh, *Poems* 28; Bodleian MS Douce f.5, fol. 31r; Bodleian MS Malone 19, p. 52; Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 84, fol. 72v; Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 148, fol. 1r; BL MS Harley 5353, fol. 83r; Nottingham MS Portland PW V 37, p. 140; Houghton MS Eng 686, fol. 17v; Rosenbach MS 1083/16, p. 195

A2

<sup>1</sup> *The Disease...Disgrace*: i.e. “Raw”, meaning uncooked and hence normally inedible, and “Lie”, creating “Rawlie” or “Rawly”. The “Lie” is “the terme of disgrace” because a challenge to a duel was usually incited by “giving the lie” (i.e. claiming that a rival had told an untruth). Although this verse was probably written in the late 1570s or 1580s, the allusion probably struck later readers as doubly appropriate because Raleigh’s poem “Goe soule the bodies guest” is best known as “The Lie”.

### A3 Goe soule the bodies guest [and A3b Flye soule the bodies guide]

*Notes.* Sir Walter Raleigh's poem "The Lie" (or, as here, the "Farewell") is a relatively conventional satire, which hardly warrants inclusion in the present edition. It assumes greater significance, however, because it elicited several answer-poems, which focused hostile attention on Raleigh himself. Although the poem initially circulated anonymously, these responses show that its authorship clearly became widely known. Raleigh's poem is typically transcribed alone (as is the case in most, if not all, of the other known sources listed below), but perhaps the most enlightening way of presenting "The Lie" and one of the answer-poems is simply to follow the scribe of Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 212. The following text intersperses stanzas from Raleigh's poem (marked as "Far [ewell]") with stanzas from the answer-poem (marked "Ans[wer]"), attributed to "Dr. Lateware" ("Latworth" in some manuscript copies). As these attributions suggest, the apparent author of the "Answer" is Dr. Richard Latewar, a chaplain of Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy, whose long and openly adulterous relationship with Essex's sister Penelope, Lady Rich, made him the Earl's de facto brother-in-law during the 1590s. The earliest date associated with "The Lie" among its many manuscript copies is 1595 (Raleigh, Poems 33), by which time Raleigh had endured three years of exclusion from court for lying about his secret marriage to Elizabeth Throckmorton, one of the Queen's maids of honour. Raleigh finally recovered his position at court in May 1597, thanks to his cultivation of Cecil and Essex. During the naval expedition to the Azores that summer, however, the relationship between Raleigh and Essex collapsed and it seems likely that the anti-Raleigh rhymes by Essexians such as Latewar were written after Raleigh re-emerged as an opponent of Essex in late 1597. Here Raleigh's bitter "farewell" to the courtly life from which he had been excluded is transmuted to become a poem urging respect for the institutions scorned by Raleigh and instead wishing good riddance to Raleigh himself, whose name is mocked as "Rawhead" and "raw-lye made against all stats". Latewar's "Answer" also repeatedly condemns qualities and actions associated with Raleigh, such as excessive "ambition", "pride" and "spendinge". As indicated in the textual notes, the version of Raleigh's poem answered in this manuscript lacks one stanza found in some other copies which circulated in the 1590s.

"W R farewell made by D: Lat:"

Far:       Goe soule the bodies guest  
          Upon a thanckles arrante<sup>1</sup>  
          Spare not to tuch the best  
          The truth shalbee thy warrante

- Goe since I needs must dye 5  
 And give the world the lye.
- Ans: flye soule the bodies guide  
 with speede in honors arrante  
 feare not to touch prince pride  
 duty shall bee thy warrante  
 And since thou needs must flye 5  
 Give him againe the lye
- f: Say to the court it glowes  
 And shines like rotten woode  
 Say to the church it showes  
 whats good, yet doth no good 10  
 If Courte or Church repleye  
 Give Courte & Church the lye
- A: Say to the Courte it shines  
 Gone is that rotten woode  
 from courte & church devine  
 which never there did good 10  
 If Rawhead<sup>2</sup> this denye  
 Tell him that hee doth lye
- f: Tell potentats they live  
 Actinge but others actions<sup>3</sup>  
 Not lovd unles they give 15  
 Not stronge but by a faction  
 If potentats repleye  
 Give potentats the lye
- A: Say potentats neare<sup>4</sup> leave - off  
 Actinge princelye actions

	Well lov'd though groomes deceave Stronge to subdew their factions And if hee this denye Give him againe the lye.	15
f:	Tell men of high condition That rule affaires of state Their purpose is ambition Their practise onely hate And if they once replye Then give them all the lye	20
A:	Say men of high condition Rule well affaires of state They plucke downe proude ambition which only breedeth hate If Rawhead this denye Tell him his tongue doth lye	20
f:	Tell those that brave it most They begg for more by spendinge who in their greatest coste Seek nothinge but commendinge And if they make replye Give each of them the lye	25 30
A:	Tell him that bravd <sup>5</sup> it most whose begginge gott his spendinge <sup>6</sup> was at such thankles coste As well deserved hanginge Which if hee doe denye Tell him that hee doth lye.	25 30

f: Tell zeale it wants devotion<sup>7</sup>  
Tell love it is but lost<sup>8</sup>  
Tell time it meets<sup>9</sup> but motion  
Tell flesh it is but dust  
And wish them not replye  
for thou must give the lye 35

A: ——— deest<sup>10</sup>

f: Tell age it dayly wasteth  
Tell honor how it alters  
Tell bewty how it blasteth<sup>11</sup>  
Tell favour how it falters  
And as they shall replye  
Give every one the lye<sup>12</sup> 40

A: ——— deest

f: Tell Physicke<sup>13</sup> of her boldnes  
Tell skill<sup>14</sup> it is prevention<sup>15</sup>  
Tell charity of coldnes  
Tell lawe it is contention  
And if they doe replye  
Straight give them all the lye 45

A: Say Physickes skill is bolde  
diseases to prevente  
And charities not colde  
The law goodmen contente  
If Rawhead this denye  
Tell him that hee doth lye 35

f: Tell fortune of her blindnes

	Tell nature of decaye	50
	Tell frindshippe of unkindnes	
	Tell justice of delaye	
	And if they doe repleye	
	Give all of them the lye	
A: ———	deest	
f:	Tell arts <sup>16</sup> they have noe soundnes	55
	But vary by esteeminge	
	Tell schooles they lacke profoundnes	
	And stand to much on seeminge	
	If arts & schooles repleye	
	Give arts & schooles the lye	60
A:	Say arts weare neare more sounde	40
	By learnings deepe esteeminge	
	Nor schools weare more profounde	
	Then in this age is seeminge <sup>17</sup>	
	If Rawhead this denye	
	Arts schooles & schollers give the lye	45
f:	Tell fayth is <sup>18</sup> fledd the cittye	
	Tell how the country erreth	
	Tell manhoode shakes off pittye	
	Tell vertue least preferreth <sup>19</sup>	
	And if they doe repleye	65
	feare not to give the lye	
A:	Say fayth is in the cittye	
	In country erres not one	
	In men is manly pittye	
	Now prince of beggers gone.	

Whose raw-lye made against all stats 50  
deserves both prince & subjects hates.

f: Soe when thou hast as I  
Commaunded thee done blabbinge  
Although to give the lye  
deserve noe lesse then stabbinge 70  
Stabbe at thee hee that will  
No stabbe thy sowle can kill

A: Now since thy taske is done  
And dutye showne by blabbinge  
Though little thou hast wonne  
That though<sup>20</sup> deservst noe stabbing 55  
for all men out did crye  
Returne prince pride his lye.

**Source.** Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 212, fols. 88r-90r

**Other known sources for A3a.** *Poetical Rapsodie* 17; *Dr Farmer Chetham Manuscript* 114; *First and Second Dalhousie Manuscripts* 110 and 181; Bodleian MS Ashmole 51, fol. 6r; Bodleian MS Douce f.5, fol. 11r; Bodleian MS Eng. Poet. d.3, fol. 2v; Bodleian MS Firth d.7, fol. 146r; Bodleian MS Firth e.4, p. 3; Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 172, fol. 12v; BL Add. MS 29764, fol. 9r; BL Add. MS 69847A, fol. 5r; BL MS Harley 2296, fol. 135r; BL MS Harley 6910, fol. 141v; Doctor Williams's Library MS Jones B.60, p. 257; Nottingham MS Portland PW V 37, p. 138; Folger MS V.a.103, fol. 67r; Folger MS V.a.345, p. 176; Folger MS V.b.198, fol. 2r; Rosenbach MS 1083/15, p. 32

### A3

<sup>1</sup> *arrante*: i.e. errand.

<sup>2</sup> *Rawhead*: often used in a phrase with “bloody-bones” as the name of a bug-bear to terrify children (*OED*), but also an obvious allusion to Raleigh’s name. The reference to Raleigh as “rotten woode” expelled “from courte & church devine” turns the wording of his poem “Goe soule the bodies guest” against him; however, the allusion also presumably reflects more directly on Raleigh’s own career—specifically his sequestration from court in 1592 and the curious investigation of charges of atheism



against him and his friends held in Dorset in March 1594.

<sup>3</sup> *Actinge but others actions*: i.e. acting only by means of the actions of others. This line, like the verse as a whole, could mean either that a prince can only be strong by working through others, or only if factional politics among the courtiers permit him to seem strong. The former reading makes the prince a puppet-master, while the latter makes him a puppet—a proposition repugnant to official Tudor notions of royal authority (as the answering verse shows).

<sup>4</sup> *neare*: never.

<sup>5</sup> *bravd*: put on an impressive display to the world.

<sup>6</sup> *whose begginge gott his spendinge*: Raleigh's wealth was heavily dependent upon the royal grants he won from the Queen in the 1580s.

<sup>7</sup> *zeale...devotion*: i.e. excessive commitment to the display of faith results in losing the essential qualities that make it laudable. This could be a comment on either Catholic or Puritan extremism (or both).

<sup>8</sup> *lost* : probable scribal error; read "lust".

<sup>9</sup> *meets*: measures out.

<sup>10</sup> *deest*: "it is lacking".

<sup>11</sup> *blasteth*: is blasted, worn away.

<sup>12</sup> *lye*: a variant of Raleigh's poem, dated 1595, includes another stanza at this point: "Tell wyt how mutche it wrangles, / In tyckle poynets of nycenes / tell wysdom shee intangles / her sellfe in others wysenes / and when they do repleye / strayght gyve them boothe the lye" (Raleigh, *Poems* 32; ll. 43-48).

<sup>13</sup> *Physicke*: medicine or, more generally, natural philosophy. The "Answer" focuses on the former meaning.

<sup>14</sup> *skill*: the human capacity to reason.

<sup>15</sup> *prevention*: anticipation; more specifically action to avoid ill-effects.

<sup>16</sup> *arts*: i.e. the liberal arts.

<sup>17</sup> *seeminge*: appropriate.

<sup>18</sup> *is*: probable scribal error; read "it's".

19 *preferreth*: advances, promotes.

20 *though*: probable scribal error; read “thou”.

### A3c Staye Conick soule thy errante

*Notes. This is yet another answer to “Goe soule the bodies guest”, rebutting the latter poem almost point by point. It survives in only one known manuscript copy and may not have been widely disseminated. The reference to the “Brave Sovereigne” as “She” confirms that it was written during Elizabeth’s reign. Prominent references to “atheism” and “Fortune” again demonstrate the link which contemporaries made between “Goe soule” and Sir Walter Raleigh. This poem’s awkward syntax makes it less successful as an example of poetic skill than some of the other replies to “Goe soule”, but the author’s scorn for Raleigh is passionate and direct.*

Staye Conick soule thy errante

And lett the beste alone<sup>1</sup>

The worst skornes forged warrante<sup>2</sup>

Thy Patron now is gonn

The lyes thou gave so hott

Returns into thy throte.

5

The Courte hath settled suernes

In bannishinge sutche bouldnes:

The Churtche reteynes her puernes

Though Atheysts shewe theyr couldnes<sup>3</sup>

The Courte and Churtch though<sup>4</sup>

Turnes Lyes into thy face

10

The Potentates reply

Thow base by them advanced

Sinisterly sores hye

And at theyr actions glanced.<sup>5</sup>

They for this thanck-less parte

Turnes Lyes into thy harte.

15

States-men seeke common good

And shunn bothe hate and faction

20

Adventure welthe and blud  
To maynteyn cuntryes action  
And these with grete detest  
Turnes Lyes into thy brest.

The Courtes attending trayne 25  
Brave Sovereynes servyce tender  
For vertues worth agayne  
She<sup>6</sup> recompence doth tender  
The Lyes that these have hearde  
They turne into thy bearde 30

Both zeale and Love thoue slan<sup>7</sup>  
With thy envenomed tunge  
Tyme motions fleshly dangers  
To the thow dust and dunge  
And till that thow be deade<sup>8</sup> 35  
Turnes Lyes uppon thy heade.

Age, Honor, Beuty, Favour  
As lyekes the<sup>9</sup> now thow changest  
Thow all of change doest savoure  
And in those humors raungest<sup>10</sup> 40  
These for reportes unkyende  
Turnes Lyes into thy myende.

Detractor bothe from witt  
And wisdoms sacred skill  
A Curb<sup>11</sup> and cutting bitt<sup>12</sup> 45  
Must reave<sup>13</sup> thy wresting will  
These lykewyse by assyement  
Turnes Lyes into thy judgement

Phisick and Charitye  
 Wronged by skill-less rayling<sup>14</sup> 50  
 Lawe termed enmity  
 Fyends thy opinions fayling  
 And for those termes unfitt  
 Turnes Lyes into thy witt  
  
 Fortune was blyende to rayse the<sup>15</sup> 55  
 By nature, frendshipps foe  
 Justice indeed delayse the  
 From whither thow must goe  
 And these whome thow doste mayme  
 Trust<sup>16</sup> lyes into thy name. 60  
  
 Thow art-less, gibes at Art  
 And scoffes att schooles of lerning  
 Schollers skorne this prowde parte  
 And gives thee (witless<sup>17</sup>  
 And f his sharpe contro<sup>18</sup> 65  
 Turne into thy hou<sup>19</sup>  
  
 Citty thy faythe hath proved,  
 Cuntry, glad of thy assence<sup>20</sup>  
 Mannhoode and vertue moved  
 To hear thy senceless sentence 70  
 They, for thow art prone to stryfe  
 Gives Lyes to all thy Lyefe.  
  
 Now Blabber soone repent the  
 Of this thy Lyinge vayne  
 Eatche state wil ells torment the 75  
 When thow returnes agayne

Mean whyle unto thy shame  
They Bastonade<sup>21</sup> thy fame.

**Source.** Bodleian MS Tanner 306\*, fol. 188r-v

**Other known sources.** Raleigh, *Poems* 42

A3c

- <sup>1</sup> *Staye Conick...alone*: i.e. the “conick” soul should abandon its errand and cease criticizing the high and mighty. Although its general meaning is clear, the word “conick” is somewhat problematic. It may be “conical” (i.e. crooked or irregular in motion and purpose) or perhaps “cunning” (i.e. clever, sly).
- <sup>2</sup> *The worst...warrante*: even the least honorable members of society (i.e. those most likely to be jealous of “the best” and willing to see them slandered) reject the claim to truth (made in “Goe soule the bodies gweste”) and recognize this criticism as unjustified. The “truth” claimed by the author of “Goe soule” is here described as being exposed as a “forged warrante”—hence “thy Patron” (i.e. the supposed “truth”) is claimed in the following line to be “now...gonn”.
- <sup>3</sup> *Though Atheysts...couldnes*: another allusion to the “atheism” which was so widely associated with Raleigh and his friends.
- <sup>4</sup> *The Courte and Churtch though*: this line is marred by a probable scribal error and a missing word at the end of the line, lost due to damage to the manuscript; read “The Courte and Churtch through grace”.
- <sup>5</sup> *Thow base...glanced*: although potentates advance base men, the actions of those who soar high by indirect means are censured.
- <sup>6</sup> *She*: i.e. Elizabeth I, the “brave Sovereyne”.
- <sup>7</sup> *slan*: damaged manuscript; read “slander”.
- <sup>8</sup> *Tyme motions...deade*: i.e. time brings fleshly dangers closer to thee, thou dust and dung, (and will continue to do so) until thou be dead.
- <sup>9</sup> *As lyekes the*: i.e. as it pleases thee.
- <sup>10</sup> *raungest*: ranges, roams about.
- <sup>11</sup> *Curb*: a strap passing under the jaw of a horse and attaching to the ends of the bit.

- 12 *cutting bitt*: a form of bit which cuts the mouth of an unruly horse.
- 13 *reave*: remove, or take possession of, by force.
- 14 *skill-less rayling*: irrational and baseless criticizing. The use of the word “skill” here also suggests a contrast between the intellectual accomplishments required in medicine and the mere “rayling” of the author of “Goe soule the bodies guest”.
- 15 *Fortune was blyende to rayse the*: another allusion to Raleigh, who was strongly associated with “Fortune”, as the supposed author of “Goe soule the bodies guest”. During the period of his meteoric rise to royal favour in the mid-1580s, the connection between Raleigh and “Fortune” was made by his enemies to suggest that he had won success that was entirely undeserved by birth or honorable conduct. Raleigh’s subsequent career gave his association with “Fortune” even greater piquancy. As Sir Robert Naunton (writing several years after Raleigh’s execution) observed: “Sir Walter Raleigh was one that it seems fortune had picked out of purpose of whom to make an example or to use as a tennis ball thereby to show what she could do, for she tossed him up of nothing, and to and fro, and thence down to little more than wherein she found him, a bare gentleman” (71).
- 16 *Trust*: probable scribal error; “Thrust” would be a better reading.
- 17 *And gives thee (witless*: damaged manuscript; a word is missing from the end of this line.
- 18 *And f his sharpe contro*: damaged manuscript.
- 19 *Turne into thy hou*: damaged manuscript.
- 20 *assence*: perhaps the obsolete form of the word “essence”, here meaning “importance”.
- 21 *Bastonade*: bastinado; to thrash with a stick (*OED*). Cudgeling a gentleman in this manner was an extreme and calculated form of humiliation, reducing him to the level of a servant or child who could be punished in this way.

#### A4 Courts scorne, states disgracing

*Notes.* This attack on Raleigh is linked with Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex, although the case for his authorship is weak, and the attribution to the Earl may simply reflect his notorious hostility towards Raleigh. One manuscript copy suggests that it circulated as early as 1595, predating the second and final rupture between Essex and Raleigh in 1597 (DeVere 107-08). This makes it unlikely that Essex himself wrote this riposte, although it is conceivable that the anonymous circulation of “Goe Soule the bodies guest” provided the Earl with an opportunity to vent his own political frustrations in a way which enabled him to cast himself as the champion of political orthodoxy. Regardless of its authorship, this verse scorns the content and the author of “The Lie” almost stanza by stanza. It is answered in kind in (“Courts commender states mantayner”).

“Another answeare thought to bee made by R. Essex”

Courts scorne, states disgracinge

Potentates scoffe, goverments defacinge

Prelates nippe, churches unhallowinge

Artes injurye, vertues debasinge

Ages monster honours wastinge

Beauties blemish, favours blastinge

Witts excremente, wisdoms vomitte

Physickes scorne, lawes commette<sup>1</sup>

Fortunes childe,<sup>2</sup> natures defiler

Justices revenger, frindshippes beguiler

Such is the songe, such is the author

Woorthy to bee rewarded with a halter.<sup>3</sup>

5

10

**Source.** Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 212, fol. 91r

**Other known sources.** DeVere 60; Bodleian MS Ashmole 781, p. 164; Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 172, fol. 13r; Rosenbach MS 1083/15, p. 34



<sup>1</sup> *lawes commette*: comets were seen as portents of major events. This phrase seems to imply inevitable legal retribution against “the author” rather than disaster for the legal system.

<sup>2</sup> *Fortunes childe*: Raleigh was often associated with Fortune. To his critics, his success in winning Elizabeth’s favour was otherwise incomprehensible and the fortunate nature of this success was emphasized to indicate that it was undeserved.

<sup>3</sup> *halter*: a noose for a hanging.

## A5 Courts commender states mantayner

*Notes.* This is a point-for-point answer to “*Courts scorne, states disgracing*”, reversing the charges made in that poem. In one source it is attributed to Raleigh himself (Bodleian MS Ashmole 781).

“In reproofe of this made by the first”

Courts commender states mantayner

Potentates defender, goverments gayner

Prelats prayser, churches preacher

Arts rayser, vertues teacher,

Ages rewarder, honors strengthener

5

Witts admirer, wisdoms scholler

Physicks desirer, laws follower

Fortunes blamer, natures observer

Justice proclaymer, friendshippes preserver.

Such is the author, such is the songe

10

Returninge the halter,<sup>1</sup> contemninge the wronge.

**Source.** Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 212, fol. 91r

**Other known sources.** Bodleian MS Ashmole 781, p. 164; Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 172, fol. 13r

A5

<sup>1</sup> *halter*: a noose for a hanging.

## A6 Go Eccho of the minde

*Notes.* This is another poem written in answer to Raleigh's "Goe soule the bodies guest". Like "Courts scorne, states disgracing", it has occasionally been attributed to Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex. Although May has noted that this verse has a sing-song metre which is similar to a poem written by Essex (DeVere 106-08), the case for this attribution is weak, and its authorship remains uncertain. Nonetheless, the poem's target is clearly Raleigh—a point made by the pun in the third line ("so rawe a lye"). Some copies even read this line as "that rude Rawly" (Raleigh, Poems 153).

"Another answer made by an unknowne author"

Go Eccho of the minde

A careles truth protest

Make answer that so rawe a lye

Noe stomacke can disgest

for why the lies discente

Is ever base to tell

To us it came from Italye<sup>1</sup>

To them it came from hell

what reasons prove, confesse

what slaunder sayth, denye

Lett not untruth with triumphe passe

yett never give the lye.

Confesse in glitteringe courte

All is not gold doth shine

yet say that pure and much fine gold

Growes in that golden clime

Confesse that many tares<sup>2</sup>

May overspread the grownde

5

10

15

Yet saye within the fielde of golde  
Pure corne is to bee founde 20

Confesse some unjust judge  
The widdowes right delaye  
Yet say there ar some Samuells<sup>3</sup>  
That will not say her naye

Admitte some man of state 25  
Doe pitch his thoughts too high  
Is that a rule to all the rest  
Their loyalty to trye

Your witt is in the wayne  
your Autumne in the budd 30  
you argue from particulars  
your reason is not good.

And still that men may see  
Lesse reason to commend you  
I marvaile much amonge the rest 35  
How schools & arts offend you.

But why pursue I thus  
The waightles woords of winde  
The more the Crabb doth seeke to creepe<sup>4</sup>  
The more shee is behinde 40

In courte & commonwealth  
In church & countrey both  
what? nothinge good, but all so badd  
That every man may loath.

The farther that you raunge 45

your error is the wider  
The Bee sometime doth honey sucke  
But sure you are the spider.

And this my counsell is  
for that you want a name 50  
To seeke some corner in the darke  
To hide your selfe from shame.

There wrappe the silly<sup>5</sup> flye  
within your spitefull webbe  
But courte and church may coante<sup>6</sup> you well 55  
They ar at no such ebbe.

As quarrells once begunne  
Ar not so quickly ended  
So many faults ar founde  
But none so soone amended. 60

But when you come againe  
To give the worlde the lye  
I pray you teach them how to live  
And tell them how to dye.

**Source.** Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 212, fols. 90r-91r

**Other known sources.** DeVere 60; *Dr Farmer Chetham Manuscript* 118; Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 172, fol. 13r ; Doctor Williams's Library MS Jones B.60, p. 261 ; Folger MS V.a.103, fol. 67v

A6

<sup>1</sup> *from Italye*: allusion to the works of Machiavelli, whose association with political dissimulation and irreligion made the term "Machiavel" an Elizabethan synonym for a scheming villain.

<sup>2</sup> *tares*: a species of vetch, which occurred in corn-fields as a weed.

<sup>3</sup> *Samuells*: reference to Samuel, the Old Testament prophet and law-giver.

<sup>4</sup> *Crabb doth seeke to creepe*: like a crab's sidewise movement, the pen in the writer's hand moves across the page.

<sup>5</sup> *silly*: weak, helpless; deserving of pity.

<sup>6</sup> *coante*: a textual problem. This may be "coame", a verb meaning to split into fissures or gape open; however, some manuscripts read this word as "want" (i.e. court and Church can easily do without him (Raleigh, *Poems* 153)).

## A7 Where Medway greetes old Thamesis silver streames

*Notes.* With its pastoral style and focus on rivers, this poem is reminiscent (perhaps consciously) of work by Edmund Spenser, a friend and client of Sir Walter Raleigh who became more closely associated with Essex in the mid-1590s. Spenser's "Prothalamion" (1596) celebrated the double marriage of the two daughters of the Earl of Worcester, a close ally of Essex, at Essex House on 8 November 1596. It was in this poem that Essex was described as "Great Englands glory and the Worlds wide wonder" (Spenser 602; l. 147). However, the animal fable of "Where Medway greetes old Thamesis silver streames" also echoes Spenser's earlier *Prosopopia*: or *Mother Hubberd's Tale* (written c.1580 and published 1591), whose apparent allusion to William Cecil, Lord Treasurer Burghley, as a deceitful fox (and perhaps also to his son Robert as an ape) was picked up by Catholic polemicists attacking the so-called *regnum Cecilianum* in 1592. Although many poetic allusions (including those in Spenser's work) are often difficult to interpret, most of the identifications here are obvious heraldic allusions, and are aided by explicit marginal annotations. Internal evidence suggests that this poem was probably composed in early October 1599, after Essex's return from Ireland and before his replacement as commander there by Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy. The poem is discussed by Marotti (95-98).

"A dreame alluding to my L of Essex, and his adversaries"

Where Medway greetes old Thamesis silver streames<sup>1</sup>

There did I sleepe, and then my thought did dreame

A stately HART<sup>2</sup> did grase on Northerne shore

[m.note: "Earle of Essex"]

of Thamasis, his head full highe he bore

Of feature comelie, and of couradge bold

5

Sterne was his lookes, yet lov'd of young and old.

The LION<sup>3</sup> helde him deere, and had cause whie

[m.note: "The Queene"]

He did the lion's throne soe fortiefie

That neither Romish wolfe nor Spanishe beare<sup>4</sup>

The Lion cold hurte or one poore lambkin teare.

10

Me thought I sawe a CAMMELS<sup>5</sup> uglie broode

[m.note: "Sir Rob: Cecill

That on the other side of Medwaie stood

crookbackt"]

He coule not relishe silver Medwaes foame

A muddye BROOKE <sup>6</sup> pleas'd better mixt with loame.	[m.note: "L. Cobham"]	
His meate blood RAWE, <sup>7</sup> his salletts all were REWE. <sup>8</sup>	[m.note: "Sir Walt Rawleigh"]	15
Whose Wardes <sup>9</sup> he swallowe could, and never chewe.		
The gorged Camell to the Lion came		
God sheilde your Grace, and to your foes bring shame.		
The HART is all to great, he beares the swaye		
The peoples love he hathe, your loves decay		20
If a preservative your Grace will take		
Il'e make you stronger, Il'e make proude HARTE to quake		
Of Camels milke you shall twoe spoonefulles take		
Treble as much from fleeringe <sup>10</sup> Brooke his lake		
To this yow must ad a stalke of bitter REWE		25
With sugred lies well altogether brewe		
A leafe wee'le have from Co-oake <sup>11</sup> old his tree	[m.note: "Sir Ed: Coke"]	
That planted was of late in Cicelye <sup>12</sup>	[m.note: "Sir Ro: Cecyll"]	
Should I quoth Lion thinke he meanes me ill		
My banners he displaide on Gallian plaine. <sup>13</sup>		30
And Gerreon foil'd <sup>14</sup> and did us glorie gaine		
O quoth the Camell Hibernia <sup>15</sup> let him swaye		
And tame the wolffes which on there foldes doe praie		
Me thought he cheerelie went, yet scarce was there		
But home bredd wolves, our flockes at home did teare		35
A thowsand wolves he found and made them stoope		
And all he tam'd, <sup>16</sup> whoe sicke and doth not droope		
He sicke retir'd, to Lion welcome was		
Till Camell brought a poison in a Glass		
Which scarce had warm'd the Hart but night was daie		40
And Lion roard, and th' Hart was sent awaye <sup>17</sup>		
O that a Camell should a lion leade		
I saide, and thought I dream'd yet did I dreade		
Cammell for burthen is, and for the waie		



And not for kingdoms sterne and scepters swaye. 45  
 By sleight yet Camell swaies, and LION sleepes  
 And noble Hart in dampie dongeon<sup>18</sup> keepes  
 Wake noble Lion and this Cammell scorne  
 And teare him that thy Noble Hart hath torne.  
 Your Grace to Ireland should the Camell send 50  
 His backe will beare Tirone<sup>19</sup> and never bend  
 Or him or els white liverd LION<sup>20</sup> sende [m.note: "Char: Howard  
 L. Admirall"]  
 Poore Hart escape, this Lion soone will mend  
 To Ireland (generall) thrice renowned swaine  
 That bravelie triumph't on St. James his plaine.<sup>21</sup> 55  
 Goodlye thie feature is, thy stature's talle  
 Thy couradge foh,<sup>22</sup> thie witt God knowes is smalle.  
 Sterne Yorke in Irishe broiles sometimes did saye  
 Send Sommerset if yow will loose the daye<sup>23</sup>  
 And send this Lion alwaies pale for dreade 60  
 Hee'le take the gold and bless himself from leade  
 Honor to wynne to Ireland he would faine  
 But that ould fathers<sup>24</sup> Ghost doeth him restreyne  
 When on his death bedd chardged him eaven soe  
 To Ireland (sonne) see that thou never goe 65  
 Or send him RAWE whose conscience now is seared<sup>25</sup>  
 That knowes not Jove, nor Plato<sup>26</sup> ever feared.  
 For he Pithagoras sowle doeth fast enclose  
 Within his breast, by Metempsucose<sup>27</sup>  
 But fie he waxeth penitent of late 70  
 And sinnes of former daies he now doeth hate  
 He will noe more in Court faire Ladass<sup>28</sup> staine  
 Nor Chimney money beg to Comons paine<sup>29</sup>  
 Nor cease to be one of the dampned Crewe  
 Nor paye the score for puddinges that is due 75

Heele swere by God and worship Devill<sup>30</sup> for gaine  
Tobacco boye or sacke<sup>31</sup> to swaye his paine  
Then I awoke a frighted with the noise  
And sawe my frightfull dreames were dreaminge toies.<sup>32</sup>

**Source.** Bodleian MS Don. c.54, fols. 19r-20r

**Other known sources.** BL Add MS 58215, fol. 46v

A7

<sup>1</sup> *Where Medway greetes...streames*: the River Medway runs through northern Kent to meet the North Sea at Chatham. Its outflow meets that of the River Thames (“Thamesis”) at a sandbank known as the Nore, just north of Sheerness on the Isle of Sheppey.

<sup>2</sup> *HART*: male deer or stag; representing the Earl of Essex, whose crest included a deer. In 1589, George Peele described Essex as “famous by hys Crest: / His Raine Deere racking with proud and stately pace” (*An eclogue gratulatory* A2v).

<sup>3</sup> *LION*: Queen Elizabeth, whose royal arms as sovereign of England included lions.

<sup>4</sup> *neither Romish wolfe nor Spanishe beare*: the twin forces of international Catholicism—the papacy in Rome and the King of Spain—which seemed implacably intent upon the destruction of the Elizabethan regime and the forcible re-Catholicisation of England.

<sup>5</sup> *CAMMELS*: Sir Robert Cecil, whose deformed back was often cruelly mocked, as in the marginal note; “crookbackt”, like a camel.

<sup>6</sup> *BROOKE*: Henry Brooke, Lord Cobham, Cecil’s brother-in-law.

<sup>7</sup> *RAWE*: allusion to the name of Raleigh.

<sup>8</sup> *salletts all were REWE*: a sallet was a piece of armour, part of a helmet; “rew” is an old-fashioned variant of “raw”.

<sup>9</sup> *Wardes*: Cecil was appointed Master of the Court of Wards in May 1599, succeeding his father Lord Burghley (who had died in August 1598). Cecil’s appointment was an especially bitter blow to Essex, who had long been mooted as Burghley’s successor in the post.

<sup>10</sup> *fleeringe*: grinning; laughing scornfully or mockingly.

- <sup>11</sup> *Co-oake*: Sir Edward Coke. As Attorney-General, he led the Crown's various legal actions against Essex. He also harboured a grudge against the Earl for very publicly (but unsuccessfully) backing Francis Bacon for the post of Attorney-General in 1593.
- <sup>12</sup> *Cicelye*: pun on the name Cecil.
- <sup>13</sup> *Gallian plaine*: Essex commanded an English expeditionary force to France (Gallia) in 1591-92.
- <sup>14</sup> *Gerreon foil'd*: in Greek mythology, Geryon was a triple-bodied, winged giant whose famous herd of red cattle was stolen by Hercules as the tenth of his twelve labours. Geryon supposedly lived in the far west, which suggests that he represents here the King of Spain. This interpretation is especially probable because it seems to embody another allusion to the work of Edmund Spenser. In Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, Book 5, Cantos 10-11 (published in 1596), the "fell Tyrant" Geryoneo, the son of Geryon, is described as having seized the lands of Belge (i.e. the embodiment of the Low Countries) and assailing Sir Burbon (i.e. Henri IV of France). This is a clear reference to the forces of Philip II of Spain—"th'armes and legs of three, to succour him in fight" of the three-bodied Geryoneo (5.10.8) seemingly alluding to Philip's three chief dominions of Spain, Portugal and either Flanders or the New World. "Foil'd" means trampled under foot, defeated. In 1596, Essex and the Lord Admiral, Charles Howard, led a large amphibious force which destroyed a Spanish fleet, stormed the Spanish city of Cadiz (in poetic terms, situated close to the Pillars of Hercules—the Straits of Gibraltar) and carried off a vast quantity of booty, humiliating and enraging Philip.
- <sup>15</sup> *Hibernia*: Ireland. Some of Essex's supporters believed that his appointment as Lord Lieutenant in Ireland in 1599 was deliberately engineered by his enemies to keep him away from the Queen and make him dependent upon their good will for the provision of fresh supplies.
- <sup>16</sup> *And tame the woolfes...And all he tam'd*: the Camel (Cecil) urges Elizabeth to send Essex to Ireland to end the rebellion that was ravaging that kingdom and threatening the Queen's authority there ("tame the woolfes...there"). Essex found the task far more demanding than he had been led to believe (encountering "a thowsand wolves" there), but finally brought the Queen's enemies to heel. However, while Essex was in Ireland, "home bredd wolves" (i.e. Essex's domestic rivals, led by Cecil himself) had taken advantage of the Earl's absence to gorge themselves upon "our flockes at home" (i.e. without Essex's presence to serve as a counterweight, his rivals had been able to amass wealth and authority for themselves, regardless of the harm which this caused to the Queen and her other subjects). In reality, Essex was only able to reimpose a tenuous English authority on the southern half of Ireland and could do no more than arrange a temporary truce with Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone in Ulster. Essex's domestic rivals certainly seemed to benefit from his absence, with Cecil, for example, being appointed Master of the Court of Wards.
- <sup>17</sup> *He sicke retir'd...sent away*: describing Essex's unexpected return to court from Ireland early in the morning of 28 September 1599. According to one account, the travel-smear'd Essex initially found "a sweet calm" with Elizabeth, but after lunch "found her much changed in that small tyme" (Collins

2:127). He was subsequently placed under arrest. The reference to the Camel (i.e. Cecil) bringing poison in a glass is probably not to be taken literally (as in the famous case of Dr. Roderigo Lopez, who was executed in 1594 for allegedly trying to poison the Queen), but in the more general sense that his dissimulation turned the truthfulness associated with glass (or a mirror) on its head, bewitching the Queen into seeing night as day.

<sup>18</sup> *dampie dongeon*: Essex was remanded into the custody of Lord Keeper Egerton at York House.

<sup>19</sup> *Tirone*: Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, leader of the Irish confederation in arms against Elizabeth, and allied with Spain. The plea that the Lion (Elizabeth) should allow the Hart (Essex) to finish his work in Ireland seems to suggest that this poem was written before Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy, was appointed as his successor in Ireland on 18 October 1599.

<sup>20</sup> *white liverd LION*: Charles Howard, Lord Howard of Effingham, Lord Admiral of England and created Earl of Nottingham in 1597. Lord Admiral Nottingham is called a lion because the Howard crest includes “a lion on a chapeau”.

<sup>21</sup> *bravelie triumph't't...plaine*: Nottingham served as commander of the army raised during August 1599 in expectation of a new Spanish Armada. The mobilisation proved a false alarm (mocked as “the Invisible Armada”), but large numbers of troops briefly massed around London.

<sup>22</sup> *Thy couradge foh*: i.e. “Thy courage—foh!” (an expression of scorn for Nottingham’s courage).

<sup>23</sup> *Sterne Yorke...loose the daye*: Nottingham is here compared to Edmund Beaufort, 2nd Duke of Somerset (d.1455), who cut a fine figure at the court of Henry VI and was protected by the King, despite consistent military failure and calls that he should face trial for his misdeeds. Somerset was despised as an incompetent coward by Richard, Duke of York (1411-1460), whose own military efforts in France during the early 1440s had been undermined by the diversion of resources to John Beaufort, 1st Duke of Somerset. York subsequently became heir presumptive to Henry VI in 1447, but was forced to serve as Lord Lieutenant in Ireland by his enemies, 1449-1450. This comparison between Nottingham and Somerset implicitly compares Essex to York, who had Somerset arrested during his brief regency in 1453.

<sup>24</sup> *ould fathers*: reference to William Howard, Lord Howard of Effingham (1510?-1573).

<sup>25</sup> *seared*: dried up, withered, rendered incapable of feeling; a term often applied to the consciences of sinners in religious discourse of this period.

<sup>26</sup> *Jove, nor Plato*: Jove, or Jupiter, was king of the gods in the classical pantheon. Plato (427-347 BC) was one of the most famous philosophers of the classical world, but his name here may stand for philosophy itself. Here the author jokingly reverses the fear and knowledge associated with Jove and Plato.

<sup>27</sup> *Pithagoras...Metempsucose*: Pythagoras (582-500 BC), the classical philosopher and mathematician, was famous for espousing the notion of metempsychosis, or the transmigration of souls, by which the human body was only a temporary vessel for a soul which might be reborn into different bodies time and again.

<sup>28</sup> *Ladass*: possible scribal error; perhaps read “Ladies”. Raleigh was famously banned from court in 1592 after his secret marriage to the Maid of Honour Elizabeth Throckmorton was revealed when she gave birth to a son.

<sup>29</sup> *Chimney...paine*: Raleigh was notorious for his willingness to extract money by any means possible.

<sup>30</sup> *swere by God and worship Devill*: the charge of atheism, commonly levelled against Raleigh.

<sup>31</sup> *Tobacco boye or sacke*: this should perhaps be read as “Tobacco, boye, or sacke”, thereby listing a series of vices associated with Raleigh. Raleigh was a famous pipe-smoker and supposedly introduced tobacco to England from the New World. The new fashion for smoking was seen by many as dangerously decadent and a sign of sheer hedonism. The mention of “boye” suggests the crime of sodomy, which was often associated with atheism, of which Raleigh was so often accused. “Sacke” is white wine from Spain or the Canary Islands and hence suggests drunkenness. This list of vices is notable for representing un-English (or, in the case of sodomy, unnatural and un-Christian) debauchery supposedly practised by Raleigh and his friends.

<sup>32</sup> *toies*: tricks; idle fancies.

## A8 Admir-all weaknes wronges the right

*Notes.* This poem on enemies of the Earl of Essex is dated 20 December 1599 in one source (BL Add MS 5956). At this time, the sickness which Essex had suffered in Ireland brought him to the point of death. Much to the consternation of the Queen and Privy Council, the sympathy which many Londoners felt for the Earl and his plight encouraged many city churches to ring their bells when the rumour circulated that he had died. The bitterness which partisans of Essex felt towards his enemies also blighted the grand celebration of Christmas at court, where “upon the very white walls much villainy hath been written against Master Secretary” (Collins 2.154). The poem below offers a virtual roll-call of Essex’s enemies.

Admir-all weaknes<sup>1</sup> wronges the right  
Honor in generall<sup>2</sup> looseth hir sight  
Secrett are<sup>3</sup> ever their designes  
through whose desert true honor pynes

Award<sup>4</sup> in worth that is esteem’d  
by vertues wracke<sup>5</sup> must be redeem’d.  
pryde spight & pollicie taketh place  
in steade of conscience honor & grace

Noe Cob am I<sup>6</sup> that worketh ill  
or frame my tongue to enemies will.  
Godes ordinance<sup>7</sup> must governe all.  
Lett noe man smile at vertues fall.

Care you<sup>8</sup> that list.<sup>9</sup> For I care not  
by crooked waies<sup>10</sup> true worth to blott  
Nor will I stand upon the ground  
Where such impietie doth abound.

But basely clothed all in Gray<sup>11</sup>  
unto the Court I’le take my waie  
where though I can no Eagle<sup>12</sup> see  
a Cub<sup>13</sup> is good enough for mee.

Whose malice fitting to his mynde

5

10

15

20

will frame his apish witt<sup>14</sup> by kynde  
and make his use of present tyme  
by waies ridiculous to clyme.

There may yow see walk hand in hand

25

the polititians of our land  
that wrong artes glorie with a tongue  
dipt in Water from Limbo<sup>15</sup> spronge

These bussards<sup>16</sup> bold with eageles plumes

to wrong true noblenes presumes.

30

Actions factions now wee fynde<sup>17</sup>

they that see nothing must be blynde.

**Source.** Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 26, fol. 20v

**Other known sources.** Bodleian MS Don. c.54, fol. 7r; Bodleian MS Eng. Hist. c.272, p. 41; BL Add. MS 5956, fol. 23r; V&A MS D25.F.39, fol. 81r

A8

<sup>1</sup> *Admir-all weaknes*: Charles Howard, Lord Admiral Nottingham.

<sup>2</sup> *Honor in generall*: one copy has the marginal note here: “Essex lieutenant Generall of England” (Bodleian MS Eng. Hist. c.272).

<sup>3</sup> *Secrett are*: pun on “secretary” (i.e. Sir Robert Cecil).

<sup>4</sup> *Award*: allusion to the mastership of the Court of Wards, which was granted to Cecil in May 1599 during Essex’s absence in Ireland. One copy has the marginal note here: “The Court of Wardes promised to Essex, given to Essex” (Bodleian MS Eng. Hist. c.272).

<sup>5</sup> *wracke*: i.e. “wreck”.

<sup>6</sup> *Noe Cob am I*: allusion to Lord Cobham. A “cob” is big or great man, a leader.

<sup>7</sup> *Godes ordinance*: one copy has the marginal note here: “Lieutenant of the Ordnance”; i.e. Sir George Carew, Lieutenant of the Ordnance (Bodleian MS Eng. Hist. c.272). Although Essex was Master of the Ordnance, Carew served as his deputy and was a close friend of Cecil.

- <sup>8</sup> *Care you*: allusion to Sir George Carey, Lord Hunsdon, the Lord Chamberlain.
- <sup>9</sup> *list*: wishes.
- <sup>10</sup> *crooked waies*: connects Cecil's "crooked" back with his supposed political methods.
- <sup>11</sup> *Gray*: Thomas Grey, Lord Grey of Wilton. A former friend and follower of Essex, he became a bitter enemy of the Earl and pursued a personal feud with Essex's friend, Henry Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton.
- <sup>12</sup> *Eagle*: unclear. The eagle was the heraldic device associated with the Stanleys, Earls of Derby. William Stanley, Earl of Derby, had staged an expensive play using the boys of St. Paul's, London, in mid-November 1599, and was tied to Cecil by marriage, but it seems uncertain that a reference to him is intended here. It is possible that "eagle" refers rather to ancient and honourable nobility in a more general sense.
- <sup>13</sup> *a Cub*: allusion to Cecil, emphasizing that his success is based only upon his late father's efforts.
- <sup>14</sup> *apish witt*: seemingly an allusion to Cecil, perhaps drawing upon Spenser's notorious fable of the fox (widely interpreted as referring to Lord Treasurer Burghley) and the ape in *Mother Hubbard's Tale* (1591).
- <sup>15</sup> *Water from Limbo*: water represents Sir Walter Raleigh (from the pronunciation of his first name), while "Limbo" here means hell.
- <sup>16</sup> *bussards*: vultures; i.e. birds that feed on the carrion of more noble animals.
- <sup>17</sup> *Actions factions now wee fynde*: "Factious Action now I finde" is a better reading.



## A9 Proude and ambitious wretch that feedest on naught but faction

*Notes.* This libel includes all the usual themes found in the many attacks on Sir Robert Cecil, including his short stature and hunched back, his supposed monopoly of power (especially at the expense of aristocrats) and Machiavellian dissimulation, by which he allegedly controlled the Queen, dominated the anti-Essex faction and ultimately brought down Essex himself.

### “Libell against Sir Robert Cecill”

Proude and ambitious wretch that feedest on naught but faction

Prevaile and fill thy selfe, and burst with vile detraction<sup>1</sup>

Detraction is thy game, and hathe bene since thie youthe

And wilbe to thie dyinge daie, He lies that speakes the truthe

But well I knowe thy bosome is fraught, with naught but scorne

5

Dissemblinge smothfac'd dwarfe, wold god thad'st ne're bene borne

First did thy Sire and now thy selfe by Machivillian skill

Prevaile, and curbe the Peeres as well befittes your will<sup>2</sup>

Secreat-are<sup>3</sup> I knowe your Crookebacke spider shapen

Poison to the state and Comons, Foe to vertue frend to rapine

10

Soe farewell I post to hell

To bringe more newes

Good Gentlemen let this bill stand<sup>4</sup>

Till some good bodie have put to his hande

God save the Queene<sup>5</sup>

15

**Source.** Bodleian MS Don. c.54, fol. 20r

A9

<sup>1</sup> *detraction*: i.e. presenting the qualities of virtuous men to seem like vices.

<sup>2</sup> *First did...your will*: a principal charge by Catholic polemicists against Cecil's father ("sire"), William Cecil, Lord Burghley, was that he deliberately worked to "suppress" the political influence of the peerage. Although prominent in the *regnum Cecilianum* tracts of 1592, this claim was levelled

against Burghley by Catholic critics as early as 1572 (e.g. John Leslie, *A treatise of treasons against Q. Elizabeth and the crowne of England* (1572)).

<sup>3</sup> *Secreat-are*: pun on “Secretary”.

<sup>4</sup> *let this bill stand*: a “bill” is a written document intended for public display. A more specific meaning, which seems to be implied here, is that of a formal set of charges lodged in legal proceedings to open a case. This would make this rhyme literally an indictment of Cecil.

<sup>5</sup> *Till some...God save the Queene*: the allusion here seems to be to John Stubbes, who famously published *The discoverie of a gaping gulf whereinto England is like to be swallowed* (1579), an explosive book which criticized, in the most scathing terms, Elizabeth’s intention to marry a Catholic French prince, the Duke of Anjou. Elizabeth was so angry at this public intervention in matters of state that Stubbes was punished by having his right hand cut off. Stubbes re-emphasized his patriotism—and further boosted popular support for his stance—by raising his bloody stump and crying “God save the Queene”. Elizabeth subsequently abandoned her plans to marry Anjou. The implication of this allusion seems to be that England now needs another Stubbes-like patriot (“some good bodie”) who is willing to risk the Queen’s anger by publicly denouncing Cecil and urging her to punish him. This would also suggest that Cecil is a new Anjou-like figure, whose ability to deceive the Queen threatens the realm in the most profound manner.

## A10 Essex prayes, Southampton playes

*Notes.* This rhyme seems to describe the different behaviour of Essex and his aristocratic followers after the failure of their attempt to rouse the City of London to take up arms on behalf of the Earl on 8 February 1601. The so-called Essex Rising was quickly proclaimed an act of treason by the Privy Council and its participants imprisoned—including Essex, Henry Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton, Roger Manners, Earl of Rutland, William Lord Sandys, Edward Lord Cromwell and William Parker, who was known as Lord Mouteagle but not formally recognized in that title by the Crown until 1604. By contrast, William Herbert, 3rd Earl of Pembroke, was committed to the Fleet prison (where some of Essex’s followers were also housed) a few days before the Rising for the offence of seducing one of the Queen’s maids of honour (this affair is discussed more fully in relation to “Chamberlaine Chamberlaine, one of her graces kinn”). Given its content, this rhyme was written after 8 February and probably before the trial of Essex and Southampton on 19 February. Essex was executed on 25 February 1601, ending his period of prayer and reflection.

Essex prayes, Southampton<sup>1</sup> playes;<sup>2</sup>

Rutland<sup>3</sup> weepes, Sandes<sup>4</sup> sleepes:

Crumwell quaffes,<sup>5</sup> Mouteagle<sup>6</sup> laughs.

And amongst all this treachery,

They brought in L. Pembroke for his lechery.<sup>7</sup>

5

**Source.** Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 26, fol. 2r

**Other known sources.** BL Add. MS 10309, fol. 142v

A10

<sup>1</sup> *Southampton:* Henry Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton.

<sup>2</sup> *playes:* presumably in the sense of gambling or playing cards.

<sup>3</sup> *Rutland:* Roger Manners, Earl of Rutland.

<sup>4</sup> *Sandes:* William Lord Sandys.

<sup>5</sup> *quaffes:* drinks.

<sup>6</sup> *Mounteagle*: William Parker, known as Lord Mounteagle.

<sup>7</sup> *They brought in...lechery*: William Herbert, 3rd Earl of Pembroke, was committed to the Fleet prison a few days before the Rising for the offence of seducing one of the Queen's maids of honour.

### A11 England thy early prime is gone, good Knight

*Notes.* This poem clearly refers to the execution of the Earl of Essex on 25 February 1601. In addition to the pun on “good knight”/“good night” and its contrast with “prime”, it seems to reflect the blow to England’s aristocracy dealt by the fall of Essex in its truncation of “knight” to “k.”. The reference to “Thy cheife Nobilitie is now a K.” is surely intended to suggest that Cecil—a mere knight—now lords it over the the nobility despite his inferior social status.

“On Essex”

England thy early prime<sup>1</sup> is gone, good Knight

Thy cheife Nobilitie is now a K.<sup>2</sup>

**Source.** “Poems from a Seventeenth-Century Manuscript” 28

A11

<sup>1</sup> *prime*: the first hour of the day, usually taken as sunrise or 6 a.m.; more generally, the period of greatest vigour.

<sup>2</sup> *K.*: the abbreviation of “knight” here is perhaps intended to imply that Cecil was not even worthy to be called a proper knight. It is also possible that “K.” alludes to “Kay the Jackdaw”, the bird of borrowed feathers (cf. “I.C.U.R.”).

## A12 He that in Belgia fought for Englandes Queene

*Notes.* This libel contrasts the long and heroic military record of Essex with the villainy of “Cankred Cecil”, who supposedly contrived the Earl’s death. While Essex’s battles were “fought for Englandes Queene”, and in every theatre in which English forces were engaged in the war against Spain, Cecil’s triumph is portrayed as that of an evil disease, the very success of which only confirms his malignity. In contrast to Essex’s repeated participation in honourable combat, Cecil “slew” him by means that reflect his own foul and dishonourable nature.

“Of Robert E. of Essex”

He that in Belgia fought for Englandes Queene;<sup>1</sup>

he that soe oft in bloodie-field was seene:

he that did knocke at Lisbone’s statelye gate,<sup>2</sup>

He that was fitt’st to give Mars check-mate:<sup>3</sup>

He that proud Spaine so oft did put in feare:

5

He that in Fra: at Roune<sup>4</sup> brave Armes did beare:

He that did Cales surprise and Captaines wake:<sup>5</sup>

He that strong seated Flores, and Corves did take<sup>6</sup>

He that did make tyrone to yeald to peace;<sup>7</sup>

Him Cankred Cecill slew, but not disease.<sup>8</sup>

10

**Source.** CUL Add. MS 4138, fol. 49r

**Other known sources.** Bodleian MS Firth d.7, fol. 158r

A12

<sup>1</sup> *He that in Belgia...Queene:* in 1586, Essex served as Lieutenant-General of the cavalry in the Anglo-Dutch army, which was commanded by his step-father, Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester. Essex was subsequently knighted for his bravery at the battle of Zutphen (in which Sir Philip Sidney was mortally wounded) in September 1586.

<sup>2</sup> *he that did knocke...gate:* in April 1589, Essex escaped from court to join the expedition which Sir John Norris and Sir Francis Drake led against Spain and Portugal. When the English army proved

unable to capture the Portuguese capital of Lisbon, Essex thrust his lance into the city gates before he reluctantly joined the retreat. George Peele celebrated this action in his *Eclogue gratulory* (1589), claiming that Essex “brake his Launce, with terror and renowne, / Against the gates of slaughtered Rhemus Towne” (B1r-v).

<sup>3</sup> *give Mars check-mate*: Mars was the classical god of war, while “check-mate” alludes to victory in chess. Essex is known to have played chess, but the meaning here is probably that Essex’s expertise in war exceeded even that of Mars himself.

<sup>4</sup> *Fra: at Roune*: Essex commanded an English army that was sent to France in 1591 to join the forces of Henri IV of France in besieging the city of Rouen, which was controlled by forces of the Catholic League which were opposed to Henri’s claim to the French Crown. Essex repeatedly joined the front-line fighting in this unsuccessful campaign, despite repeated warnings from Elizabeth not to endanger himself.

<sup>5</sup> *He that did Cales surprise...wake*: in 1596, Essex was co-commander (with the Lord Admiral, Lord Howard of Effingham) of an English fleet which launched a surprise attack on the Spanish port of Cadiz (“Cales”) and destroyed a Spanish fleet guarding its harbour. Essex subsequently landed a small number of soldiers and attacked the city so quickly that the Spanish defenders panicked and the Earl and his men were able to capture Cadiz itself.

<sup>6</sup> *He that strong seated Flores...take*: in 1597, Essex commanded a major naval expedition which sailed to the Azores Islands (the so-called “Azores” or “Islands” voyage), briefly occupying the islands of Flores and Cuervo.

<sup>7</sup> *He that did make tyrone...peace*: a rather optimistic interpretation of Essex’s Irish campaign of 1599. Essex was given an army of unprecedented size and charged with crushing the “rebellion” led by Hugh O’Neill, Earl of Tyrone. Despite some initial success in the south, Essex found himself unable to assault Tyrone’s main army in Ulster and consequently agreed a truce with the rebel leader. This truce infuriated Elizabeth and prompted charges of misconduct against Essex after his return to England.

<sup>8</sup> *Him Cankred Cecill...disease*: i.e. “Cankred Cecil” contrived Essex’s death, but such great cunning is still insufficient to cure Cecil of his own incurable malignity. The idea that Cecil “slew” Essex refers to the contemporary belief that Cecil either goaded Essex into his fatal mis-step (using Raleigh, Cobham and Grey, in particular, as his cat’s-paws) or was responsible for branding as treason Essex’s effort to rally support within the City of London on 8 February 1601, and ensuring that Essex was undeservedly sentenced to death for this action.

### A13 Chamberlaine Chamberlaine, one of her graces kinn

*Notes. Internal evidence indicates that this poem was written shortly after the fall of Essex in February 1601. It mocks the behaviour of many courtiers, but directs its most bitter comments at Sir Robert Cecil and Sir Walter Raleigh, who are here presented as the chief beneficiaries of Essex's death.*

Chamberlaine<sup>1</sup> Chamberlaine, one of her graces kinn  
Foole he hathe ever binn, with his Joane silver pinn<sup>2</sup>  
Rawe without and Foule within, she makes his Coxcombe thinn  
and shakes in everie Lymm  
quicksilver is in his head.  
but his witt all is Lead.<sup>3</sup>

5

Lord for thy pittie

Partie Beard<sup>4</sup> was a feard, when they Ran at the heard<sup>5</sup>  
The Raynedeare<sup>6</sup> was Imbost,<sup>7</sup> the white do she was Lost,  
Pembroke he strooke her downe, and tooke her from the Clown,<sup>8</sup>

10

Lord for thy pittie

Little Cecill<sup>9</sup> tripps up and downe, he Rules bothe Court & Croun  
with his great Burghley Clowne,<sup>10</sup> in his Longe fox-furd gowne  
with his Longe proclamacion, hee saith hee saved the Towne<sup>11</sup>

is it not Likelie

15

Litle Gray, Litle Gray, made a souldier in the monthe of may<sup>12</sup>  
hee made a Ladies Fray, turnd aboute & ran away<sup>13</sup>  
he shalbe advanced as men say, for to bear some great sway

Lord for thy pittie.

Bedford he ran awaie when wee had lost the day  
yet moste his honor pay, so it is assigned  
yf his Fyne Dauncing Dame, do not their hard harts tame<sup>14</sup>

20



and say it is a shame, Fooles should bee Fyned:

Foulke and John,<sup>15</sup> Foulke and John:

Yow two shall rise anon 25  
when wiser men be gonn

Yow two can reache as farre  
when honors riffeled<sup>16</sup> are  
as the best men, of warr.

yf non your hands doe Barr: 30  
    Lord for thy pittie

Rawley doth tyme bestride  
yet uphill he can not ryde<sup>17</sup>

for all his blooddie pride  
he lieth twixt tyme and tyde 35  
sekes Taxes in the Tynn<sup>18</sup>

strips the poore to the skynn,  
yet sais it is no synn  
    Lord for thy pittie

**Source.** BL MS Harley 2127, fol. 34r

**Other known sources.** PRO SP 12/278/23

A13

<sup>1</sup> *Chamberlaine*: George Carey, Lord Hunsdon, Lord Chamberlain and a cousin of the Queen.

<sup>2</sup> *Joan silver pinn*: unclear; probably either an allusion to a mistress of Hunsdon, or to mercury (“quicksilver”), which was used as a treatment for syphilis, but had debilitating and potentially fatal side-effects.

<sup>3</sup> *Rawe...Lead*: description of the physical manifestations of Hunsdon’s syphilis, which brought him close to death in May 1601. A “coxcombe” is a cap worn by a jester in the shape of a cockrel’s comb and symbolic of foolishness. As well as emphasizing his addled wits, the thinning of Hunsdon’s

“coxcombe” may refer to the loss of his hair and/or to sexual impotence.

<sup>4</sup> *Partie Beard*: Sir William Knollys, the Comptroller of the Queen’s Household. He was so-called because his beard showed a mix of white, black and fair hair (Haynes 46).

<sup>5</sup> *the heard*: the young women at court; perhaps more specifically the Queen’s maids of honour.

<sup>6</sup> *Raynedeare*: the Queen. Presumably the reindeer’s large horns represent the Queen’s crown. The reference to the reindeer as “she” and the fact that this verse was apparently written after Essex’s execution mean that this cannot be an allusion to Essex, whose stag crest was sometimes called a reindeer.

<sup>7</sup> *Imbost*: foaming at the mouth, driven to exhausted fury; hence an allusion to the Queen’s furious reaction to events.

<sup>8</sup> *the white do...the Clown*: the “white do” (i.e. “doe”) is Mary Fitton, a young Maid of Honour who became pregnant to William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke. On Elizabeth’s orders, Pembroke was sent to the Fleet prison in early February 1601, but refused to marry Mary Fitton. The “Clown” is another reference to Sir William Knollys, who was besotted with Fitton, but trapped in an unhappy marriage and bound by his promise to Fitton’s family to act as her protector at court (Hammer, “Sex and the Virgin Queen” 84, 94, 96; Haynes 44-49).

<sup>9</sup> *Little Cecill*: Sir Robert Cecil.

<sup>10</sup> *his great Burghley Clowne*: Thomas Cecil, 2nd Lord Burghley, Cecil’s older brother.

<sup>11</sup> *Longe proclamacion...Towne*: Essex and his followers were publicly proclaimed as traitors during their attempt to rally armed support in the City of London. The proclamation was read out by Lord Burghley. The government subsequently claimed that Essex had sought to capture London.

<sup>12</sup> *Litle Gray...monthe of may*: Thomas Grey, Lord Grey of Wilton, a bitter adversary of Essex and personal enemy of Southampton. In May 1600, he went to fight in the Low Countries where he subsequently took part in the great Dutch victory over the Spanish army at Nieuport.

<sup>13</sup> *hee made...ran away*: probably a reference to Grey’s notorious feud with Southampton, which stemmed from the former’s alleged insubordination during Essex’s campaign in Ireland in 1599. Grey repeatedly sought a duel with Southampton, but failed to back his words with action.

<sup>14</sup> *Bedford...tame*: comment on Edward Russell, Earl of Bedford, who accompanied Essex on his march into the city on the morning of 8 February 1601, but abandoned Essex’s band when it was clear the Earl’s cause was lost. Although not charged with treason, Bedford was heavily fined for his action. The fines imposed upon Essex’s followers (very few of whom were charged with treason) were levied by special commissioners, some of whom were supposedly prone to favouritism and even susceptible to

bribery. Bedford's "fyne dauncing dame" is his wife, Lucy Russell (née Harrington), Countess of Bedford, who became one of the leading hostesses in courtly society during the early years of James I's reign.

<sup>15</sup> *Foulke and John*: Fulke Greville, a close friend of Essex who subsequently distanced himself from the Earl and cultivated Cecil's friendship. The identity of "John" is uncertain; however, this may be Greville's friend and protege, John Coke. Greville was Treasurer of the Navy and Coke ultimately became Secretary of State under Charles I. Since Coke was not a major figure in the final years of Elizabeth's reign, this identification would suggest that the author of this poem had a close personal knowledge of the circles in which Coke (and Greville) moved.

<sup>16</sup> *riffeled*: rifled, plundered.

<sup>17</sup> *yet uphill he can not ryde*: perhaps suggesting that Raleigh could not rise any higher in the social order (i.e. become a peer).

<sup>18</sup> *Tynn*: Raleigh was Warden of the Stannaries, which gave him jurisdiction over the tin-mining regions of Cornwall and Devon. This is a biting reference to his efforts to maximize his income from that office.

#### A14 England men say of late is bankrupt growne

*Notes.* This is accepted as the work of Sir John Harington. It was copied by Harington at the end of his Tract on the Succession of the Crown, where it is dated 18 December 1602. It depends on the pun in the final line (steward/Stuart): a point not seized by all those who transcribed the poem. The general charge here that the victors in the late-Elizabethan power struggle were corrupt and interested only in personal gain reflects the widespread belief (zealously encouraged by Essexians) that those in positions of authority during the closing years of the reign were bent upon feathering their own nests in anticipation of the Queen's death, when all royal offices held "during pleasure" would fall vacant and be liable to redistribution by her successor. (For their part, Essex's enemies claimed that the chief ambition of the Earl's followers was to "carve for themselves" (James 427n.)) Harington had been a follower of Essex and served in the Earl's Irish campaign of 1599, but subsequently distanced himself from Essex during the latter's slow-motion fall into political catastrophe during 1599-1600.

England (Men say) of late is bankrupt grown:

Th'effect is manifest, the Cause unknown.

Rich Treasurers it hath had, and wary Keepers,<sup>1</sup>

Fat Judges, Counsellors in Gain no-sleepers,

Auditors, & Surveyors, Receivers many,

Pillers, & pollers too,<sup>2</sup> All for the penny.

As for the Church, that must both pray, & pay:

For Solvat Ecclesia, the Courtiers say.<sup>3</sup>

Can Any tell, how to help this Disorder?

Faith, one good STEWARD<sup>4</sup> would putt All in Order.

5

10

**Source.** Bodleian MS Sancroft 53, p. 47

**Other known sources.** Harington, *Tract* 123; Harington, *Letters and Epigrams* 301; Bodleian MS Ashmole 781, p. 134; Bodleian MS CCC. 327, fol. 24r; Bodleian MS Eng. Poet. f.10, fol. 97r; Bodleian MS Malone 23, p. 121; Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 212, fol. 87v; Bodleian MS Sancroft 53, p. 57; BL Add. MS 10309, fol. 120r; BL Add. MS 22601, fol. 60v; BL Add. MS 39829, fol. 93r

<sup>1</sup> *Rich Treasurers...wary Keepers*: it is possible that “Rich Treasurers” is a specific allusion to the Lord Treasurer, Thomas Sackville, Lord Buckhurst, whose father had been nicknamed “Fill-Sack” while serving as a royal Treasurer. “Wary Keepers” may allude to Sir Thomas Egerton, the Lord Keeper, who sought to avoid factional entanglement and maintained good relations with both Cecil and Essex until the latter’s fall.

<sup>2</sup> *Pillers, & pollers too*: to pill is to pillage, plunder, extort; to poll is to fleece, despoil by excessive taxation.

<sup>3</sup> *As for...the Courtiers say*: the Church of England was not only the official state Church, but also a ready source of patronage for the Crown. Encouraged by cash-hungry courtiers, Elizabeth regularly used her authority as Supreme Head of the Church to force clerics to surrender Church lands to the Crown or lease them out to favoured courtiers as a condition of their appointment. The phrase “Solvat Ecclesia” means “let the Church pay”.

<sup>4</sup> *STEWARD*: the steward/Stuart pun looks forward to the succession of James VI of Scotland, whose accession as James I of England in March 1603 inaugurated the Stuart dynasty in England.

### A15 This day is made Knight of the Garter

*Notes.* The precise date and inspiration of this libel is uncertain. The reference to Cecil as a knight and his pairing with Raleigh suggests that it was written before Elizabeth's death—the accession of James I soon saw Cecil elevated to the peerage as Lord Cecil, while Raleigh's fortunes took a sharply contrasting path. Raleigh was treated roughly by the new King (much to the glee of former Essexians) and was condemned for treason in November 1603, spending most of the next fifteen years in the Tower before being executed in 1618. However, the reference to election as a Knight of the Garter is hard to reconcile with an Elizabethan provenance. Cecil had to wait until 1606 before he was elected to this august status, while Raleigh never received this supreme accolade. It is possible that the heading connecting this verse to Cecil and Raleigh is an erroneous later addition to the rhyme.

“On Sir Robert Sicill, & Sir Walter Raleigh”

This day is made Knight of the Garter

An honourable Tomblor,<sup>1</sup> and a notable Farter

**Source.** BL Add. MS 15227, fol. 15r

A15

<sup>1</sup> *Tomblor*: an acrobat, swindler; hence an unprincipled political opportunist.

## A16 Essex did spend, Northumberland did spare

*Notes.* It seems probable that this epigram was actually written during the reign of James I rather than in Elizabeth's reign. Essex and Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland were brothers-in-law (Northumberland married Essex's sister Dorothy) and both were ultimately condemned for involvement in treasonous affairs. While Essex's Rising in February 1601 cost him his life, Northumberland was convicted of complicity in the Gunpowder Plot of 5 November 1605 and spent many years in the Tower. This verse seems to have been written after Northumberland followed his late brother-in-law into misfortune—i.e. no earlier than November 1605. The claim made here is that, even though they behaved in contrary ways, the two earls shared the same fate of being condemned for supposed “plots” simply because their status as leading members of the ancient nobility made them “suspect” to the sovereign and his/her favoured advisors. The clear implication here is the same which had featured in many Catholic political tracts of the 1570s and later—that the sovereign was encouraged to turn against the great noblemen of England because of the “detraction” of low-born advisors, who feared the power and envied the status of the ancient nobility. The common beneficiary of the fall of Essex and Northumberland was Sir Robert Cecil, who became Earl of Salisbury in 1605.

### “Epigram”

Essex did spend, Northumberland did spare,<sup>1</sup>

He was free, this close; How shall we live then?

Of Plotts, these courses both suspected are

No: they are not suspected, but great men.

**Source.** BL Add. MS 10309, fol. 103v

A16

<sup>1</sup> *Essex...spare*: the meaning here seems to be that Essex spent lavishly (demonstrating traditional aristocratic largesse), while Northumberland concentrated on building up his revenues. The former course of life won Essex many admirers but left him critically dependent upon royal grants, while the latter approach made Northumberland rich and deeply unpopular with many of his tenants.

### Early Jacobean England (c.1603 - 1610)

This section collects the surviving libels written during the first seven or eight years of James I's reign—the one known poem from this period not in this section, “The Parliament Fart”, appears in Section C. The poems are arranged—with two exceptions—in chronological order, and the one poem that has proved impossible to date precisely has been included at the end of the section.

We begin with some miscellaneous poems from the opening months of the reign, responding to the scramble of English courtiers to greet the new King as he made his way from Scotland; to James's orders that all men worth forty pounds a year present themselves at his coronation for knighting; and to the King's promotion to title and high office of the controversial, and supposedly ex-Catholic, Lord Henry Howard.

These are followed by what is probably the most significant cluster of poems from the early part of the reign: the verse written in response to the dramatic fall of Sir Walter Raleigh. James I arrived in England with a low opinion of Raleigh, shaped in part by highly critical assessments sent to him by Robert Cecil and Henry Howard during the last years of Elizabeth's reign. Soon after a famously awkward first meeting, James stripped Raleigh of his office of Captain of the Guard, his London residence at Durham House, and his lucrative monopoly on the licensing of wine retailing and imports. In mid-July 1603, Raleigh's close ally Henry Brooke, Lord Cobham, implicated him in two murky Catholic plots against the King. The Bye Plot was an alleged plan to kidnap James and force him to grant toleration to Catholics; the Main Plot supposedly involved designs for a Spanish invasion, the deposition of James and the establishment of his cousin Arabella Stuart as Queen. Raleigh was imprisoned and, in November 1603, tried and convicted as a traitor for his planned role in the Main Plot. Although his life was spared, his lands were confiscated—his chief property, the manor at Sherborne in Dorset was given to James I's young Scottish favourite Robert Carr—and Raleigh remained in the Tower until radically (if only temporarily) altered political conditions led to his release early in 1616. The poems composed on Raleigh's fall are uniformly unsympathetic, viewing his ruin as an appropriate punishment for his many sins, moral and political, but in particular for his widely



suspected role in the destruction of Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex. By the time of his release in 1616, however, Raleigh's reputation had changed. The degree of the shift can best be seen in the poems written at the time of his execution in 1618 (Section I), but we include here a poem from 1614 that indicates some of the ways that Raleigh's rehabilitated reputation could already be used to critique Jacobean court mores.

The last group of poems in this section consists mostly of libellous epitaphs on courtiers and ministers—on Archbishops of Canterbury John Whitgift (d.1604) and Richard Bancroft (d.1610), on Charles Blount, Earl of Devonshire (d.1606) and his wife, Penelope Rich (d.1607), and on Lord Treasurer Thomas Sackville, who was Lord Buckhurst and Earl of Dorset (d.1608). Of these poems, by far the most significant is the libel on Whitgift. The poem itself is a fascinating example of Puritan polemic in the style of the late Elizabethan Marprelate pamphlets, mixing seriously intended attacks on the failings of the English Church—its quality of ministry, its hierarchy, its ceremonial style and its system of ecclesiastical courts—with an artfully crude and “popular” carnivalesque style. More significantly, the Star Chamber prosecution of the alleged author of the poem, Lewis Pickering, helped redefine the law of seditious libel: Edward Coke's report on the case, “De Libellis Famosis”, became the standard interpretation of the crime. Pickering's case made it clear that it was possible to libel the dead, that truth or falsehood were legally immaterial to whether a statement was a libel or not, and that, perhaps most importantly, to libel a minister of the Crown was an inherently seditious act (see Bellany, “Poem”).

Although, read as a whole, the libels from this period do not document a growing political crisis in early Jacobean England, a number of these verses do reveal some notable potential political faultlines. One verse, for instance, lampoons what Lawrence Stone called the Jacobean “inflation of honours”, the King's tendency to grant honours—knighthoods and aristocratic titles—at a far greater rate, at a cash price, and to a socially more diverse group of men, than his predecessor had done (“Come all you Farmers out of the Countrey”). Stone controversially argued that the consequent debasement in the value of honour played an important role in a growing crisis of confidence in monarchy and aristocracy that would seriously undermine traditional authority in the decades before the Civil War (*Crisis* and *Causes*). The other interesting faultline is revealed in the libels' anxiety about crypto-popery in high places,

documented here not only in the libellous epitaphs on Archbishops Whitgift and Bancroft, but also in the 1603 attack on the sincerity of the Earl of Northampton's conformity to the Church of England, and in the obscure 1606 poem denouncing William Cecil, 3rd Lord Burghley, as a crypto-Catholic and traitor. As we shall see in later sections, by the 1610s and 1620s the fear that popery was nestled within the royal court and political hierarchy became one of the major themes of verse libellers, and a source of more widespread political anxiety and conflict.

B0

## B1 Nevil for the protestant, L Thomas for the papist

*Notes.* This couplet lists the men of various religious persuasions who had sped from London at the death of Elizabeth I to greet the new King in Scotland. The diarist John Manningham, who transcribed the fragment in April 1603 after hearing it recited by John Isham of the Middle Temple, noted, “There is a foolishe rime runnes up and downe in the Court of Sir H[enry] Bromley, L[ord] Tho[mas] Haward, L[ord] Cobham, and the deane of Canterbury Dr. Nevil, that each should goe to move the K[ing] for what they like”.

Nevil<sup>1</sup> for the protestant, L Thomas<sup>2</sup> for the papist

Bromley<sup>3</sup> for the puritane, L Cobham<sup>4</sup> for the Atheist.

**Source.** Manningham 235

### B1

<sup>1</sup> *Nevil:* Thomas Neville, Dean of Canterbury, was sent to Scotland on the death of Elizabeth I. Neville was deputed by John Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury, to present King James with the formal greetings of the English clergy.

<sup>2</sup> *L Thomas:* Manningham identifies “L[ord] Thomas” as Lord Thomas “Haward” or Howard, who would be created Earl of Suffolk at the start of the new reign by James I. Chamberlain reported that Thomas Howard’s uncle, Lord Henry Howard, later Earl of Northampton, was sent to Scotland “to possesse the Kinges eare and countermine the Lord Cobham” (1.192).

<sup>3</sup> *Bromley:* Chamberlain reported that Sir Henry Bromley was one of several men who rode post-haste to Scotland on the death of Elizabeth I (1.189).

<sup>4</sup> *L Cobham:* Henry Brooke, Lord Cobham and Warden of the Cinque Ports. Cobham was a friend of Sir Walter Raleigh and thus is tarred here with the charges of atheism that dogged many in the Raleigh circle during the 1590s. Chamberlain (1.191) reported that Cobham had set off for Scotland to “go toward the kinge and do his wonted goode offices”.

## B2 The Great Archpapist Learned Curio

*Notes.* This epigram, heavily indebted to late Elizabethan and early Jacobean literary trends, is headed in one source “In Curione” (Huntington MS HM 198). At the beginning of James I’s reign, the Catholic Henry Howard was given the title of Earl of Northampton, the office of Warden of the Cinque Ports, and a place on the Privy Council. He formally conformed to the Protestant Church at this point, but remained widely suspected as a crypto-Catholic. This verse is typical of a broader scepticism about the motivation and sincerity of his “conversion”, a scepticism that was expressed at even higher levels of intensity during the period of Northampton’s greatest influence at court, from around 1612 to the time of his death in 1614.

“Upon Henry Howard Earle of Northampton. 1603”

The great Archpapist Learned Curio<sup>1</sup>

Is nowe perswaded to the Church to goe

Hee nowe discernes their jugling fopperies

Wherewith the Shaveling Antiques<sup>2</sup> blear’d his eyes

Hee nowe perceives that Romes Ambition

5

Is Author of Romes superstition

Thanked be God, and the Basilius<sup>3</sup>

Whose Exhortation hath prevailed thus;

For to thy power full Argumentes alone

Curio attributes his conversion.

10

He nought respecteth Luther,<sup>4</sup> Zuinglius,<sup>5</sup>

Melancthon,<sup>6</sup> Martyr,<sup>7</sup> Oecolampadius,<sup>8</sup>

Ursinus,<sup>9</sup> Calvin,<sup>10</sup> Buchanan<sup>11</sup> or Knox<sup>12</sup>

Our English Jewell,<sup>13</sup> Whittaker<sup>14</sup> or Fox<sup>15</sup>

Nor any graybeard prelates of these tymes

15

Thoughe wee Accompt them reverend divines

Their Argumentes hee saith, are sleight & weake

Onely Basilius cann to purpose speake

True, Curio true, Basilius on this theame

Cann say much more of this, then all of them  
For hee hath power to say recant thyne error  
And thou shalt be A Privie Counsellour.

20

**Source.** Bodleian MS Malone 23, p. 1

**Other known sources.** BL MS Harley 3910, fol. 11r; Folger MS V.a.339, fols. 189r and 208r; Huntington MS HM 198, l.164; Rosenbach MS 1083/15, p. 153

## B2

- <sup>1</sup> *Curio*: the curio was the Roman priest of the curia, a subdivision of the Roman patriciate.
- <sup>2</sup> *Shaveling Antiques*: i.e. shaveling antics; “mad monks”. “Shaveling” was a derogatory term for a Catholic priest or monk, derived from their distinctive ecclesiastical tonsures.
- <sup>3</sup> *the Basilius*: the name derives from “basilieus”, the Greek for “king”, and refers here to James I; a variant reads, more pointedly, “and great Bassilius” (Huntington MS HM 198). But there is also perhaps an allusion—made more explicit in the Huntington MS HM 198 reading—to the character Basilius in Sir Philip Sidney’s prose romance *Arcadia*. Sidney’s Basilius, the Duke of Arcadia, is an ineffective, effeminate and foolish ruler, whose flaws constitute a kind of tyranny, “exercised not by the stong but by the weak” (Worden 213). Moreover, there is another layer of implied critique of the King here. The poem explicitly mocks Northampton’s claims that it was James’s arguments that won him from Rome, and this mockery implicitly undercuts James’s own, much cherished, reputation as a Protestant controversialist and intellectual foe of “Romes Ambition”.
- <sup>4</sup> *Luther*: Martin Luther (1483-1546), the founder of Lutheran Protestantism.
- <sup>5</sup> *Zuinglius*: Huldrych Zwingli (1484-1531), Swiss Protestant reformer.
- <sup>6</sup> *Melancthon*: Philip Melanchthon (1497-1560), German Lutheran reformer.
- <sup>7</sup> *Martyr*: Peter Martyr, or Piermartire Vermigli (1500-1562), Italian Protestant.
- <sup>8</sup> *Oecolampadius*: Johannes Hussgen, known as Joannes Oecolampadius (1482-1531), Protestant leader in Basle.
- <sup>9</sup> *Ursinus*: Zacharias Beer, known as Ursinus (1534-1583), German Calvinist theologian.
- <sup>10</sup> *Calvin*: John Calvin (1509-1564), French Protestant reformer and founder of Calvinism.

- 11 *Buchanan*: George Buchanan (1506-1582), Scots Calvinist, humanist and former tutor to James I.
- 12 *Knox*: John Knox (c.1513-1572), Scots Calvinist reformer.
- 13 *Jewel*: John Jewel (d.1571), English Protestant reformer and Elizabethan Bishop of Salisbury.
- 14 *Whittaker*: William Whitaker (d.1595), English Protestant theologian, anti-Catholic polemicist and Elizabethan Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge.
- 15 *Fox*: John Foxe (1516-1587), English Protestant martyrologist and historian of the Church.

### B3 Come all you Farmers out of the Countrey

*Notes.* This poem responds to James I's July 1603 orders that all those worth £40 per year should present themselves to be knighted at his coronation. The orders prompted bitter comments about the debasement of the title. Sir Thomas Tresham, for instance, feared that some of those who qualified for the title were "landless, many base and dosser headed [i.e. foolish] clowns, and not one among forty worthy of that degree" (qtd. in Stone, Crisis 75).

"Verses upon the Order for making Knights of such Persons who had 40 pounds per annum in King James I. Time."

Come all you Farmers out of the Countrey,  
Carter, Plowmen, Hedgers<sup>1</sup> & all;  
Tome, Dick, & Will, Raph, Roger & Humfrey,  
Leave of your Gestures rusticall.

Bidd all your Home-sponne Russetts<sup>2</sup> adue,  
And sute yourselves in Fashions new:  
Honour invits you to Delights:  
Come all to Court, & be made Knights.

5

He that hath fortie Pounds per Annum,  
Shalbe promoted from the Plowe:  
His Wife shall take the Wall of her Grannam:<sup>3</sup>  
Honour is sould soe Dog-cheeap now.  
Though thow hast neither good Birth nor Breeding,  
If thow hast Money, thow art sure of speeding.

10

Knighthood in old Time was counted an Honour,  
Which the best Spiritts did not disdayne:  
But now it is us'd in soe base a manner,  
That it's noe Creditt, but rather a Staine.  
Tush, it's noe Matter what People doe say!  
The Name of a Knight a whole village will sway.

15

20

Shepherds, leave singing your Pastorall Sonnetts,  
And to learne Complements shew your Endeavours:  
Cast of for ever your twoe Shillings Bonnetts;  
Cover your Coxcombs<sup>4</sup> with three Pounds Beavers.<sup>5</sup>  
Sell Carte & Tarrboxe<sup>6</sup> new Coaches to buy: 25  
Then, Good your worshipp, the Vulgar will cry.

And thus unto Worshipp being advanced,  
Keepe all your Tenants in Awe with your Frownes;  
And lett your Rents be yearly inhaunced,  
To buy your new-moulded Maddams new Gownes. 30  
Joan, Sisse, & Nell shalbe all Ladified:  
Instead of Hay-Carts, in Coaches shall ryde.

What ever you doe, have a Care of Expenses:  
In Hospitality doe not exceed:  
Greatnes of Followers belongeth to Princes: 35  
A Coachman & Footman are all that you need:  
And still observe this, let your Servants Meate lacke,  
To keepe brave Apparell upon your Wives Backe.

Now to conclud, & shute upp my Sonnett:  
Leave of your Cartwhipp, Hedgbill & Flayle.<sup>7</sup> 40  
This is my Councell: think well upon it:  
Knighthood & Honour are now putt to Saile  
Then make Haste quickly, & lett out your Farmes,  
And I will hereafter emblazen your Armes.<sup>8</sup>

**Source.** BL Add. MS 5832, fol. 206r-v

**Other known sources.** Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 160, fol. 185r



- <sup>1</sup> *Hedgers*: men who repair hedges.
- <sup>2</sup> *Russetts*: plain-coloured clothing typically worn by peasants.
- <sup>3</sup> *take the Wall of her Grannam*: to take the place of honour ahead of her grandmother.
- <sup>4</sup> *Coxcombs*: heads (derogatory colloquialism).
- <sup>5</sup> *Beavers*: hats made of beaver pelts.
- <sup>6</sup> *Tarrboxe*: tarbox; a container of salve shepherds carried to treat their sheep.
- <sup>7</sup> *Hedgbill & Flayle*: agricultural tools.
- <sup>8</sup> *emblazen your Armes*: to emblazon (set-up, or portray) your coat-of-arms.

#### B4 Watt I wot well thy over weaning witt

*Notes.* Sir Walter Raleigh was arrested in mid-July 1603 on suspicion of involvement in two related plots against James I: the Bye Plot, a plan to kidnap the King to ensure he granted toleration to Catholics; and the Main Plot, a plan to engineer a Spanish invasion, the deposition of James I and his replacement by his cousin Arabella Stuart. Raleigh was tried and convicted for treason at Winchester on 17 November 1603, reprieved from execution on 9 December 1603, and spent the next twelve years or so imprisoned in the Tower. In one source (Folger MS X.d.241), the poem is attributed to Thomas Rogers (c.1573-1610), author of *Celestiall elegies of the goddesses and the Muses* (1598), and of the poem *Leycesters Ghost* (written c.1605 printed 1641), an attack on the early Elizabethan favourite Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester.

Watt<sup>1</sup> I wot<sup>2</sup> well thy overweeninge<sup>3</sup> witt

lead by ambitious humours wrought thy fall

Like Phaeton that did presume to sitt

in Phoebus chaire to guide the golden ball

Which overturn'd did sett the worlde on fire

& burnt him selfe in prime of his desire.<sup>4</sup>

5

So thou that didst in thought aspire so hie

to manage the affaires for Englands Crowne

And didst like Icarus<sup>5</sup> attempt to flie

beyond thy limitts, now art tumbling downe

Thy waxen winges are melted by the Sunne

& in thy fall the thred of life is spunn.

10

From thee the Sonne doth turne away his face

from thee the pale faced Moone doth take hir flight

From thee the Starres do fall away a pace

from thee thy freinds are fled & shun thy sight

All fly from thee exceptinge only hope

which yet to breathe sad accents give thee scope.

15

Thou hast byn counted passinge wise & wittie  
hadst thou hast grace high treason to avoyed 20  
Then give me leave dread soveraigne Lord to pittie  
so rare a witt should be so ill imployed  
    Yea suche a witt as I could praise in reason  
    for any point, exceptinge only treason

I pittie that the Sommers Nightingale 25  
immortall Cinthia<sup>6</sup> sometime dere delighte  
that us'd to singe so sweete a Madrigale  
should like an Owle go wander in the nighte  
    Hated of all, but pittied of none  
    though Swan-like now he makes his dyinge mone 30

Hadst thou continued loyall to the kinge<sup>7</sup>  
as to the Queene thou evermore was true  
My Muse thy praise might uncontrolled singe  
which now is forcst thy dismall happ to rue.  
    And in this sable Characters to wrighte 35  
    the downfall of a sometime worthy Knighte.

Ah where is Cinthia now whose golden thred  
mighte leade thee from this laborinth of errours<sup>8</sup>  
She to hir soliar<sup>9</sup> Celestiall back is fledd  
& nothings lefte for thee but shame & terrours 40  
    Thy Candle is put out, thy glass<sup>10</sup> is ronne  
    the grave must be thy Tombe when all is donn

Proude Gaveston & both the Spencers fell  
yet theis were sometime favorites of a Kinge<sup>11</sup>  
But thou against thy Soveraigne didst rebell 45  
which to thy Conscience needes must be a stinge

Ill was their happ farr worse is thy estate  
whom both the Prince doth scorne & People hate.

Humilitie in Statesmen is a praise  
yet to imbrace this vertue thou didst scorne, 50  
Supposinge that faire Cinthias golden daies  
should still on earth this Iron age<sup>12</sup> adorne  
The Common people that did hate thy pride  
in change of state thy follies to deride.

Renowned Essex<sup>13</sup> as he past the streets 55  
would vaile his Bonnett<sup>14</sup> to an Oyster wife  
And with a kinde of humble Congie<sup>15</sup> greete  
the vulger sorte that did admire his life  
And now sith he hath spent his livinge breath  
they will not cease yet to lament his death 60

But thou like Midas surfettinge with golde<sup>16</sup>  
those gentle salutacions didst reject  
And when thou wast in greatest Pompe extolde  
not poore Mens love but feare thou didst effect.  
This makes those Men whom thou didst lately scorne 65  
Disdaine thee now, & laugh while thou dost moorne.

Perhapps likewise that Essex angrie spirite  
pursues thy life & for revenge doth crie<sup>17</sup>  
And so the Heavens accordinge to thy merite  
in his behalfe do acte this Tragedie. 70  
Essex was made the Prologue to the playe  
which thou didst penn in an unluckie daye

Herein the Kinge should play a tragique parte  
Graye<sup>18</sup> as a Champion stoutly should have fought

Rawleigh should play the Divell by his Arte, 75  
Cobham<sup>19</sup> should play the foole as he was taught  
Lame Brooke<sup>20</sup> should holde the booke & sitt him still  
to prompt if any mist or Acted ill

This Tragedy was plotted but not acted,  
herein was treason cunningly contrived, 80  
By thee o Rawlye was the same compacted  
for which of worldly Joye thou art deprived  
Thy life, thy wealth thy liberty & lande  
only at mercy of the Kinge doth stande.

If please the Kinge to pardon thy offence 85  
no doubt thou maist a faithfull Subject prove  
And by thy witt & wisdomes Quintessence  
recover to thy selfe thy Soveraignes love,  
But little hope remaines when faith is fled  
& when thy handes seeke bloud beware thy head 90

God that foresaw thy treason did reveale it  
and blest the Kinge in crossinge thy intent  
In vaine could man by policie conceale it  
when Heaven against thy purposes is bent.  
And Man that unto worldlinges seemeth wise 95  
is but a foole to him that rules the skies.

**Source.** BL Add. MS 22601, fols. 64r-65v

**Other known sources.** Raleigh, *Poems* 182-85; Bodleian MS Don. c.54, fol. 9v; Bodleian MS Eng. Hist. c.272, fol. 46v; Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 172, fol. 14r; BL Add. MS 38139, fol. 192v; BL MS Harley 3910, fol. 14r; BL MS Harley 6947, fol. 212r; BL MS Stowe 962, fol. 84r; Folger MS V.a.339, fol. 211v; Folger MS V.a.345, p. 177; Folger MS X.d.241, fol. 1v

- <sup>1</sup> *Watt*: common contraction of Walter.
- <sup>2</sup> *wot*: know; and a pun on Wat/Walter.
- <sup>3</sup> *overweeninge*: arrogant, presumptuous, conceited.
- <sup>4</sup> *Like Phaeton...prime of his desire*: allusion to the mythological story of Phaeton, who persuaded his father Phoebus, the sun god, to allow him to drive the chariot of the sun, with disastrous consequences. The myth was widely used in this period to attack courtiers who overstepped the proper bounds of their station.
- <sup>5</sup> *Icarus*: Icarus, son of Daedalus, escaped from Minos with his father, flying with wings attached by wax; when he flew too near the sun, the wax melted and Icarus plunged to his death.
- <sup>6</sup> *immortall Cinthia*: Elizabeth I. Poets and painters routinely portrayed the Queen as Cynthia, goddess of the moon.
- <sup>7</sup> *the kinge*: James I.
- <sup>8</sup> *Cinthia now...laborinth of errours*: allusion to the myth of Ariadne, whose thread helped Theseus escape from the Labyrinth.
- <sup>9</sup> *soliar*: Rudick (Raleigh, *Poems* 183), working from Folger MS X.d.241, reads this word as “spheare”.
- <sup>10</sup> *glass*: i.e. hourglass.
- <sup>11</sup> *Proude Gaveston...favorites of a Kinge*: allusion to the falls of the favourites of King Edward II (reigned 1307-1327): Piers Gaveston, and the Spensers (or Despencers), Hugh the elder and Hugh the younger.
- <sup>12</sup> *this Iron age*: in classical mythology, the decayed, present age.
- <sup>13</sup> *Essex*: Raleigh’s bitter court rival in the 1590s, Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex, who was executed for treason in 1601.
- <sup>14</sup> *vaile his Bonnett*: remove his hat.
- <sup>15</sup> *Congie*: congee; a bow.
- <sup>16</sup> *But thou like Midas...golde*: King Midas of Phrygia was granted his wish that all he touched should

turn to gold. This line might refer to the riches Raleigh accumulated as the holder of various lucrative patents and monopolies under Elizabeth I.

<sup>17</sup> *Essex angrie spirite...doth crie*: Raleigh was widely suspected of involvement in the alleged plot to destroy Essex. This charge is the main theme of the contemporary verse, “To whome shall cursed I my Case complaine”.

<sup>18</sup> *Graye*: Thomas, Lord Grey of Wilton, participant in the Bye Plot.

<sup>19</sup> *Cobham*: Henry Brooke, Lord Cobham, implicated in both the Bye and Main Plots, whose evidence was crucial to the prosecution case against Raleigh.

<sup>20</sup> *Brooke*: George Brooke, younger brother of Lord Cobham, and participant in the Bye Plot.

## B5 Wilye watt, wylie watt

*Notes. This poem dates from Raleigh's dramatic fall from office and arrest for treason in the summer of 1603.*

Wilye watt,<sup>1</sup> wylie watt

Wats<sup>2</sup> thou not & know thou what

Looke to thy forme and quat<sup>3</sup>

in towne & Citie

Freshe Houndes<sup>4</sup> are on thy taile

that will pull downe thy saile

and make thy hart & quaile

Lord for the pittie

5

Lordshipp is flagg'd and fled

Captainshipp newly sped

Dried is the Hogsheads hed<sup>5</sup>

wily watt wylie

10

Make the best of thy plea

least the rest goe awaie

and thou brought for to saie

wily beguilie

15

For thy skaunce<sup>6</sup> and pride

thy bloody minde beside

and thy mouth gaping wide

mischievous machiavell<sup>7</sup>

20

Essex for vengeance cries<sup>8</sup>

his bloud upon thee lies

mountinge above the skies



damnable fiend of hell  
mischievous matchivell

25

**Source.** BL Add. MS 22601, fol. 63r

**Other known sources.** Raleigh, *Poems* 186

B5

<sup>1</sup> *watt*: Wat; abbreviated form of Walter.

<sup>2</sup> *Wats*: pun on Wat/Walter, and “wot”, know.

<sup>3</sup> *quat*: squat or crouch; cower.

<sup>4</sup> *Fresh Houndes*: i.e. Raleigh’s prosecutors.

<sup>5</sup> *Lordshipp...Hogsheads hed*: reference to Raleigh’s dramatic losses at the beginning of James I’s reign. Before his implication in the Bye and Main Plots, Raleigh had lost his office as Captain of the Guard (the “Captainshipp”) and his lucrative monopoly to license wine-sellers and wine imports (“Dried is the Hogsheads [i.e. the wine cask’s] hed”). The flight of “Lordshipp” may refer to Raleigh’s loss of lands as a result of his treason conviction.

<sup>6</sup> *skaunce*: skance; a sidelong glance.

<sup>7</sup> *machiavell*: follower of the supposedly amoral and atheistic creeds of the Italian Niccolò Machiavelli.

<sup>8</sup> *Essex for vengeance cries*: Raleigh was alleged to have engineered the fall and 1601 execution of Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex. Raleigh’s plotting against Essex is the main subject of the contemporary poem on Raleigh’s fall, “To whome shall cursed I my Case complaine”.

## B6 Water thy plaints with grace divine

*Notes. This libel on Raleigh's 1603 fall and treason trial plays on a shorter, religious poem, attributed posthumously to Raleigh himself. The latter poem reads: "Water thy plants with grace devine, and hope to live for aye / Then to thy saviour Christe incline, in him make stedfast stay / Rawe is the reason that doth lye within an Atheists head / Which saith the soule of man doth dye, when that the boddies dead" (Raleigh, Poems 137).*

Water<sup>1</sup> thy plaints with grace divine

and trust in God for aye

And to thy saviour Christ incline

in him make stedfast staye.

Rawe is the reason that doth lie,<sup>2</sup>

within thy treacherous head,

To say the soule of Man doth die

when that the Corpse is dead.<sup>3</sup>

5

Nowe may you see the soodaine fall,

of him that thought to clime full hie,

A man well knowne unto you all

whose state you see doth stand Rawlie,<sup>4</sup>

10

Time did he take when time did serve,

now is his time neare spent,

Even for him selfe he craved still

and never would relent.

15

For he hath run a retchless<sup>5</sup> race,

which now hath brought him to disgrace

You that do see his soodaine fall

a warninge be it to you all

20

**Source.** BL Add. MS 22601, fol. 63v

**Other known sources.** Raleigh, *Poems* 187; Bodleian MS Ashmole 781, p. 163; Brotherton MS Lt. q. 9, fol. 17r

B6

- <sup>1</sup> *Water*: there is a possible pun here, as “Walter” was often pronounced “Water” or “Watter”.
- <sup>2</sup> *Rawe...lie*: punning on Raleigh’s name, typically pronounced “Raw-lee”.
- <sup>3</sup> *To say the soule...Corpse is dead*: Raleigh and his circle had been suspected of atheism in the 1590s. A 1594 investigation explored whether they did in fact believe in the mortality of the soul, the atheistical belief alleged by this couplet. The prosecution at Raleigh’s treason trial revived the old suspicions.
- <sup>4</sup> *Rawlie*: punning again on the pronunciation of Raleigh’s name.
- <sup>5</sup> *retchless*: i.e. reckless.

## B7 To whome shall cursed I my Case complaine

*Notes.* Though clearly composed after Raleigh's fall in 1603, this lengthy poem dwells in great detail on Raleigh's alleged betrayal of Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex, offering a detailed "confession" of Raleigh's plotting against Essex from the late 1590s until the Earl's disastrous rebellion and execution in 1601. In both known sources, this poem is immediately followed by "I speake to such if any such there bee".

"The dispairinge Complaite of wretched Rawleigh for his Trecheries wrought against the worthy Essex"

To whome shall cursed I my Case complaine

to move some Pitty of my wretched state

For though no other comferte doth remaine

yet pitty would my greife extenuate

For I towards God and man my selfe abused

and therefore am of God and man refused.

5

To heaven I dare not lifte my wretched eies

nor aske God pardon for my wretched deedes

For I his word and service did despise

esteeminge them of no more worth then weedes<sup>1</sup>

For which most vile conceytes these woes proceedes

For now I find and finding feare to rue

There is a God who is both just and true

10

And unto man I likewise am afraide

To make Complaite of this my gnawinge greife

Lest they (as well they may) should me upbraid

With scorne and pride which in mee were most reefe<sup>2</sup>

And therefore man will yeelde me no releife

Thus wretched I which everie man did scorne

Am now my selfe of every man forlorne.

15

20

What shall I doe in this perplexed plighte  
Fearinge to move or God or man for grace  
shall I to heavenly Saintes my woes recite  
And hope that they will moane my wretched Case  
O no it is their office and their place 25  
    To judge such giultie sinfull soules as I  
    And therefore no releife may come thereby

Yet one there is of that Celestiall sorte  
whoe sure I thinke would pittie my distresse  
For when he lived heere in earthly Porte 30  
He was the Patterne of all gentlenesse  
Ah but gainst him I greatlie did transgresse  
    Then Traytor vile how canst thou hope for grace  
    From him whom thou by Treason didst displace

O yes I know his virtues heere were such 35  
he did abhorre to beare revenginge minde  
and beinge there they better are by much  
Because he lives remote from fleshie kinde  
In perfecte joy to blessed Saintes assignde  
    A Worthy Essex but for feare of shame 40  
    I would invoke thy honorable name

But ere I can expect Commiseracion  
I must intreate forgivenes hartilie  
And ere forgivenes can have Confirmacion  
I must Confesse how I have injurde thee 45  
For it with Reason rightly doth agree  
    That such a wrongfull wicked wretch as I  
    Should first confesse and then for pardon cry

Wherefore I will my Clogged conscience Cleere  
 by true confession of my Treachery 50  
 That God and Angells Saintes & men may heare  
 how I thine honor wrongd most shamefullie  
 which on my selfe is lighted suddenly  
     For these my due deserts now falne on mee  
     plainly declares my Treason wrought gainst thee 55

For when thy soveraigne<sup>3</sup> did thee well respecte  
 As well thou didst deserve to be respected  
 I then with falshood did thy truth infecte  
 wherby her princelie judgment was infected  
 and thou by her most causleslie rejected 60  
     Then I which on occasion did attend  
     omitted naught which might thee more offend

For then with open throate I did not spare  
 To taxe the<sup>4</sup> virtues most reproachfullie  
 Thy valour was Ambition I would sweare 65  
 Thy curteous Bounty hope of Soveraigntie  
 Thy Justice malice and extremetie  
     And thy religious zeale I ofte would call  
     Dissimulation to deceave withall

Thus with detraction did I first assaile thee 70  
 Whoe did effect what shee did undertake  
 Then Envy wrought that nothings might availe thee  
 Thou<sup>5</sup> Truth thy just Apologie<sup>6</sup> did make  
 Then framed Treason brought thee to the stake  
     Thus to assaile thee with these furies fell 75  
     I pawnd my soule to fetch them out of hell

I also had assistance in this worke  
whose helping handes were in as deepe as mine  
though some of them aloofe now slylie lurke  
as if their Consciences were sole divine 80  
yet in a league with mee they did combine

    Thee to destroy by Treasons pollicy  
    which wee effected to our infamy<sup>7</sup>

But some of my Confederates in this Acte  
whose dates of mischeife did with mine expire 85  
are fallen with me in this pretended facte<sup>8</sup>  
prepard to pay our due deserved hier  
now if it were not sin I would desier

    That all which wrought with me in thy disgrace  
    Might stand with me in this my wretched case 90

But what should I neede doubt or stand in feare  
That they shall scape revenge more cleere then I  
Since he<sup>9</sup> whoe hath entrapt me in this snare  
Can Traverse them in their owne pollicy  
and will no doubt when he due time doth see 95

    For he will punish every Trecherous case  
    either in this or in a worsere place

And therefore though they flourish for a tyme  
in Grace Authoritie and honors greate<sup>10</sup>  
which may perswade them they may easilie Climbe 100  
upp to the highest stepp of fortunes seate  
yet is there one whoe can their hopes defeate

    For when they thinke themselves in highst respect  
    Then suddenlie he can them soone dejecte

Wittnesse my selfe who thought my selfe as sure 105  
as any one of my associates all

But now I finde Treason cannot endure

Insultinge Pride shall likewise have a fall

For such Offences doe for vengeance call

And he which is the Remedier of Wronge 110

hath said his vengeance shall not tarry longe

Which by experience I have found most true

For in the selfe same kinde that I offended

He justlie hath repaied to me my due

his justice therefore needes must be commended 115

which hath it selfe so equallie extended

usinge the meanes of my owne fowle offence

to give to mee a righteous recompence

For as by letters I procurde thy bane

which of a Perjurde villaine I did buy 120

who for Commoditie had stolne the same

From her to whom thou sentst them faithfullie

Conteyninge nought but Truth and Modestie

Yet I which knew they would me much infest

did spare no cost till I had them possest<sup>11</sup> 125

So I through Letters of Contrary kinde

to those of thine am now adjudgde my meede<sup>12</sup>

For when all other promises did faile

me to offend in this pretended deede

my Opposites more stricklie did proceede 130

And then a letter did gainst me produce<sup>13</sup>

For which my cunninge lackes a cleane excuse



And thus as I by letters thee offended  
by letters now my owne offence was provd  
vile Traytor I that ill gainst thee intended 135  
who for desert I rather should have lov'd  
Pride Spight and Mischeife thee unto me mov'd

And now methinks Dispayre doth me surprise  
setting thy wronge before my wretched eyes

For when I heard my selfe exclaimde upon 140  
by him whose mouth most mastive<sup>14</sup> like revilde thee  
Then thought I how I laughing stood by one  
Whose rancorde harte brake out and much defild thee  
and still wee laught to thinke how wee beguild thee

I then did praise the Barkers mouth for spendinge 145  
But now he hath me plagugd for then offendinge<sup>15</sup>

And now I find it doth my Conscience gall  
that wee subbornd a Judas to betray thee  
who told thee when the Councell did thee call  
that I and Cobham by the way would stay thee 150  
advising thee therfor at home to stay thee

And thus by fraude we forcde thee to offend  
by disobeyinge when the Lordes did send<sup>16</sup>

It likewise now doth greive me though too late  
that wee procurde the Prince thee to imploy<sup>17</sup> 155  
whilst in thy absence wee might worke thy hate  
by urginge: thou didst purpose to annoy  
thy lovinge Countrey and thy Prince destroy

And more to feare her with that foule intent  
we raysed force thy Comminge to prevent<sup>18</sup> 160

But well we knew thy meaninge was not such  
though wee pretended so thee to abuse  
hopinge thereby we might encrease so much  
thy soveraignes hate that wee should quite refuse  
to heare thee speake with truth this to excuse 165

And sure were wee should our purpose gaine  
if from her presence shee would thee restraine

When falsly thus wee had the Queene possest  
with this Conceite that thou hadst plotted Treason  
we likewise then our pollicies addrest 170  
To traine the over<sup>19</sup> by some subtill reason  
wherof our Consultacions were not geason<sup>20</sup>

For I have herd though here it may seeme grosse  
holies the Church where Sathan beares the Crosse

Then did we blowe abroad the Prince is dead 175  
thinking therby to further our intente  
for then we hopte thou sure wouldst gather head  
and come with speede invasion to prevente  
For wee before of cunninge purpose sent

That Spanish expedition was in hand 180  
the which we know thou stronglie wouldst withstand

But here our expectacion somewhat faded  
because thou didst not come when wee expected  
nor in that manner as wee had perswaded  
thou mentst to come when first thou wast detected 185  
Yet wee so wrought that quite thou wast rejected

And eke restrained of thy libertie  
the which we labourd most incessantlie<sup>21</sup>

Now when wee thus our wishes had obtained  
we left noe time nor mischeife to devise 190  
for then false articles wee forgd & fayned  
wherewith we dimbd<sup>22</sup> thy soverainges Princelie eies  
and then did everie one against thee rise

Like as a single hound by Curres<sup>23</sup> orematched  
once beinge downe of every Curre is snatched 195

Then for Starchamber<sup>24</sup> did wee worke apace  
pretendinge thou shouldst present there appeare  
and there by order answere face to face  
such articles as should concerne thee neare  
but this was never ment the case is cleare 200

For well we knew if thou shouldst there have spoken  
our knott of Treachery might have bin broken

But wee a farr more cleerer shifte devised  
then that thou shouldst have answered our objection  
For we procurde thy faults to be surmisde 205  
thou being absent (o vile lawes infection)  
and Censured as wee have given direction

for wee so wrought thy Prince by subtle sawes  
that what we wild<sup>25</sup> was of more force then lawes

The yce was broken then wee grew more bold 210  
In Course of violence forward to proceede  
For then all offices which thou didst hold  
wee purgde thee of as wee before decreede<sup>26</sup>  
therby more discontent in thee to breede

Thus when wee had occasion stirde to Ire 215  
wee gave thee scope that we might kindle fire

But when we saw occasion nought prevailed  
with furious blast the fier to inflame  
but as the more she wrought the more shee failed  
because coole Patience still the heate orecame 220  
For juyce of Herbage<sup>27</sup> was on the same  
wee then another Strategem devised  
by which thou wast most cunninglie surprised

And this was sly and subtle subboration  
with promises of very large extent 225  
which gaind us one with thee in estimacion  
and in thy private favour resident  
of him we made our working instrument  
Thee to perswade to gaine thy former grace  
by usinge meanes thy hinderers to displace<sup>28</sup> 230

But when hee told us thou wast well contented  
to live a private life remote from care  
the modell of a projecte we invented  
wherin he might his love to thee declare  
by givinge helpe thy state for to repaire 235  
To which when he had gotten thy consent  
we had our purpose and our whole intent

For then wee doubted not to pricke thee on  
by subtle force of forged instigation  
which wee alreadie had resolvde upon 240  
to stirre thee upp to secret consultation  
For resolution and determination  
For meanes and times of present execution  
Lo thus wee wrought thy utter desolution

Yet this my true detestable confession 245  
 Is but the abstracte of my villany  
 for I have wrought more trecherous transgression  
 against thy Honnour Truth and Loyaltie  
 Then now I can recall to memory  
     For which with sighes all desperate of releife 250  
     I cry for pardon to asswage my greife  
  
 And as for this offence I now intended<sup>29</sup>  
 I doe not doubt but I shall favour finde  
 but what can my estate be thereby mended  
 For still I shall retaine a guilty minde 255  
 From which I can no place of refuge finde  
     For every man will kill me with his eie  
     and therfore twere more ease for me to dye  
  
 For I such Terrour in my Conscience feele  
 by thought of my most execrable deedes 260  
 that though my hart obdurate be as steele  
 yet when I thinke thereon it quakes and bleedes  
 such piercing passions from them still proceedes  
     Ah: since I have confessed now the truth  
     Forgive me then and pittie this my ruth<sup>30</sup> 265  
  
 But if thou wilt not deigne to pittie mee  
 then must I ever pittillesse remaine  
 for all that live laugh at my misery  
 except some few and they I thinke doe faine  
 fearinge I should their falshood vile explaine 270  
     Thus like a Cursed Caitiffe<sup>31</sup> did I live  
     and now my cursed case doth no man greive

**Source.** Bodleian MS Ashmole 36-37, fols. 11r-14r

**Other known sources.** BL Add. MS 15226, fol. 6v

B7

<sup>1</sup> *For I his word...worth then weedes*: allusion to the charge of atheism levelled at Raleigh and his circle in the 1590s and revived by the prosecutors at Raleigh's treason trial in 1603.

<sup>2</sup> *reefe*: i.e. rife.

<sup>3</sup> *thy soveraigne*: Elizabeth I.

<sup>4</sup> *the*: probable scribal error; read "thy".

<sup>5</sup> *Thou*: probable scribal error; read "though".

<sup>6</sup> *thy just Apologie*: allusion to Essex's *Apologie*, a 1598 letter to Anthony Bacon that was circulating in manuscript by 1599, appeared in a rapidly-suppressed printed edition in 1600, and was printed again in 1603.

<sup>7</sup> *I also had assistance...infamy*: this stanza may refer to the actions of, among others, Robert Cecil. Cecil was in the process of becoming James I's chief minister and was instrumental in Raleigh's fall.

<sup>8</sup> *some of my Confederates...pretended facte*: the key figure who was alleged to have conspired with Raleigh against Essex and who then fell with Raleigh as a result of the Bye and Main Plots was Henry Brooke, Lord Cobham.

<sup>9</sup> *he*: i.e. God.

<sup>10</sup> *though they flourish...honors greate*: of all Essex's enemies, these lines best fit Robert Cecil.

<sup>11</sup> *For as by letters...had them possest*: this stanza probably refers to the letters written by Essex to his wife, Frances, and purloined by a disgruntled former servant, John Daniell. Daniell apparently doctored the letters to make them more incriminating and then tried to blackmail the Countess of Essex by claiming that Raleigh and Cobham had offered to pay £3000 for them. Essex cited the case at his trial as an example of his enemies' vicious smear campaign against him. Daniell was eventually tried in Star Chamber in June 1601.

<sup>12</sup> *meede*: reward.

<sup>13</sup> *And then a letter...produce*: perhaps a reference to the letter from Cobham used by the prosecution

against Raleigh in his treason trial.

14 *mastive*: i.e. mastiff; a dog.

15 *For when I heard...then offendinge*: the general meaning of this stanza is clear enough: the same men who once joined him in attacking Essex, have now attacked Raleigh. The sense of the poem implies this might refer to the Crown's most strident prosecutor at both treason trials, Sir Edward Coke.

16 *And now I find...Lords did send*: on 7 February 1601, the Privy Council summoned Essex to appear before it. The Earl refused, claiming he was ill. The poet implies here that Raleigh had persuaded one of Essex's friends to lure him into this dangerous act of contempt for royal authority by convincing the Earl that Raleigh and Cobham would attack him on his way to the Council. The identity of the "Judas" here is unclear, but it may be Sir Ferdinando Gorges.

17 *wee procurde the Prince...imploy*: reference to Elizabeth I's decision to send Essex to Ireland to quash Tyrone's rebellion. Essex left London for Ireland in March 1599.

18 *And more to feare...thy Comminge to prevent*: this couplet may refer to the military mobilization in the summer of 1599, triggered by incorrect reports that a new Spanish Armada was headed to England.

19 *To traine the over*: allusion to a plot to trick Essex into returning from Ireland.

20 *geason*: uncommon, infrequent.

21 *But here our expectacion...most incessantlie*: this stanza alludes to Essex's unauthorized return from Ireland in September 1599 and his subsequent placement under house arrest at the beginning of October 1599.

22 *dimbd*: i.e. dimmed.

23 *Curres*: dogs; often with the implication of "low-born".

24 *Then for Starchamber*: reference to the late November 1599 defence of the imprisonment of Essex by several Privy Councillors assembled in the court of Star Chamber. The implication, developed in this and the following stanza, is that the original plan was for Essex to be tried by that court, but that the plan was changed to facilitate a stage-managed series of denunciations of Essex *in absentia*.

25 *wild*: i.e. willed.

26 *For then all offices...before decreede*: Essex was stripped of office after a judicial verdict against him at a York House hearing in June 1600.

27 *Herbegrace*: herb-of-grace; the herb rue, symbolizing repentance.

<sup>28</sup> *And this was sly...to displace*: the allegation introduced in this stanza, and developed in the following stanza, is that Raleigh and Cobham worked to incite Essex to open revolt by suborning one of his trusted friends—perhaps Sir Ferdinando Gorges—and using him to urge on the Earl. Essex rose in armed revolt on 8 February 1601.

<sup>29</sup> *this offence I now intended*: reference to the alleged Main Plot.

<sup>30</sup> *ruth*: sorrow.

<sup>31</sup> *Caitiffe*: wretch, villain.



## B8 I speake to such if any such there bee

*Notes. Presented as a warning to other courtiers, and employing the kind of moral reasoning often found in contemporary works on criminality, this poem follows the interlinked chains of sin—atheism, avarice, oppression, arrogance, sexual excess, falsehood—that had corrupted Raleigh and precipitated God’s just punishment and Raleigh’s ruin. In both known sources this poem follows “To whome shall cursed I my Case complaine”.*

### “His Caveat to secure Courtiers”

I speake to such if any such there bee  
whoe are possessed through their Princes grace  
with swellinge pride and scornefull insolencye  
haughty disdainig and abuse of place

To such I say if any such there bee  
come see these vices punished in mee

5

For I that am now as you see abjected  
by just desert of former life ill spent  
was sometime of my Prince as well respected  
as any now in this new government

But for I then my favour misymploied  
I now with punishment am much annoyed

10

I then did hold Religion but a Jest<sup>1</sup>  
farre more esteeming my owne pollicie  
whereby I framde my Actions as a Beast  
moved by beastlike sensualitie

For what my fleshly humor did delight  
that held I lawfull were it wronge or right

15

My whole endeavour was to please my sence  
with greedy Avarice and fowle oppression

20

divelish disdain filthie incontinence  
and false invention were my cheife profession

    These vices were by me still exercisid  
    as those have caused me to be despisid

And well he doth deserve despise to bee 25

whose minde with such corruption is infected

Wherefore twere good you should their natures see  
that so they may the sooner be rejected

    For any one of them sufficient is 30  
    the soule and body to deprive of Blisse

First looke on Avarice that sencelesse beast  
and you shall see no end of greedy scraping  
for though her Paunch bee stufd at Middayes feast  
her still devouring mouth continues gaping

    Most wise was he who did her nature fitt 35  
    comparinge her to the infernall pitt

If you her reason should desier to know  
why beyond reason shee doth Riches love  
surelie no other reason could shee showe  
but covetous desier which doth her move

    The which enforceth her so loud to cry 40  
    For Riches Riches most incessantly

Then Riches come and with her shee doth bringe  
her God her Daughters and her Servants three  
her Enemies doe alsoe after flinge  
who doth her much molest and terrifie

    For Riches never doth approche alone 45  
    but is by furies force attended on

Plutus<sup>2</sup> her God doth guide her by the hand  
and doth dispose her where shee best doth please 50  
her daughter Pride doth swellinge by her stand  
who with sharpe pricking doth her much disease  
    Filthy Excesse for More More More still cries  
    and Ignorance doth blinde her mothers eies

Blinde Chance her Servante sometime doth availe her 55  
and sometimes he by losses sore doth wronge her  
but fraud and usurie doth never faile her  
but like good servaunts still doth profitt bringe her  
    suspition feare and greife her enimies  
    doth wayte advantages her to surprise 60

Now when vile Avarice is full possessed  
of Riches and this train which doth attend  
shee doth account herselfe not meanelie blest  
and then to gaine a heaven shee will not spend  
    but still doth seeke her to increase with gaine 65  
    by all meanes possible with busie paine

For then Oppression must his Cunnige use  
in Monopolyes and in Transportacions  
whereby he many thousands doth abuse  
by sendinge that away to other Nations 70  
    which should be dealt for Gods sake to the poore  
    who wantinge aske the same from doore to doore<sup>3</sup>

But Avarice for Riches still doth Cry  
so strongely that the poore cannot be heard  
for shee had rather they should starve & dye 75  
then shee from gettinge Riches should be barrd

such is the nature of the Damned Spright  
that Riches onely is her whole delight

To please her then Oppression with his power  
of all the meaner sort doth make his prey 80  
like to a wide mouthd Pike which doth devoure  
the smaller fish which cannot get away  
and when the Foxes skinn will take no place  
then doth Oppression use the Lions case<sup>4</sup>

If he by strength of place doth rule the Lawe 85  
and suites decrees upon longe pleaded Cases  
then if a matter have a cracke or flawe  
Argentum<sup>5</sup> must annoynt those crazie<sup>6</sup> places  
whereby in time it growes sufficient stronge  
to passe for currant be it right or wronge<sup>7</sup> 90

And if he bee in state of government  
havige of meaner places oversight  
then such as doe bribes unto him present  
are either pentiond or discharged quite  
For Avarice doth still cry out for gaine 95  
and the Oppressor doth no wronge refraine

When these vilde vices had my Coffers filld  
my minde likewise was then filld with disdain  
by whose approach all virtues quite were spild  
which doth in minde of any man remaine 100  
Yet in my minde shee founde but few to spill  
for since it was a minde the same was ill

This hellbred Monster of foule Divelish kinde  
was gotten by proud scorne of scornefull pride

nurst upp by Envy in a Cankerd minde 105  
which could no other but it selfe abide  
    deformitie her nature doth expresse  
    her nature poysons where it doth possesse

Of this her nature was my minde possest  
and with her poyson was I all infected 110  
the which by me her furie was exprest  
when any but my selfe I saw respected  
    For were he farr my better in degree  
    yet I disdainde he should my equall bee

This hatefull vice made me so odious seeme 115  
that for the same I hated was of all  
For as none but my selfe I did esteeme  
so none there was that did not wish my fall  
    Wherefore if this in any of you bee  
    come see the same now punished in mee 120

I likewise like a Beast much time did spend  
in that most beastlike sinne of fleshly pleasure  
to which with filthie minde I much did bend  
makinge no spare of Body, soule, nor Treasure  
    For as a Beast is moved still by sence 125  
    so was I movd by foule incontinence

And for I would be exquisite herein  
I used supernaturall devises  
Pouders Perfumes Payntings for filthie skynnes  
extractions distillations Spiritt of Spices 130  
    with theise and such like tricks I still was able  
    To trimme a hakney for the Divells stable<sup>8</sup>

And as younge Apes doe learne by imitation  
of elder apes their frisking apish toyes  
so many apes and monkeys usde my fashion 135  
and in the same doe place their cheifest joyes  
never was beast to Nature soe unjust  
as man & woman given to beastly lust

This sinne was my familiar recreacion  
wherin I gloried much with shamelesse pride 140  
boastinge my selfe of easie acceptacion  
protestinge that I never was denide  
Ah, but if this in any of you bee  
come see the same now justly plagued in mee

In false invention likewise I excelde 145  
with which my Princes<sup>9</sup> eares I much abusde  
whereby plaine Truth was often time refelde<sup>10</sup>  
and such as did present her were refuse  
This sinne is onely proper to the Divell  
then I which usde the same must needes be evill 150

Noe Tooth of Beaste or subtile serpents stinge  
is halfe so hurtfull as a Liars Tounge  
For those but paine to outward parts doe bringe  
which may be cured well with Medicines stronge  
But if a Liars Tounge doe make a wounde 155  
noe salve can heale the same or make it sounde

When smooth tounge Flattery with Falshood joyne  
as seldome shall you see them goe aparte  
Then what the one in her false hart doth coyne  
the other publisheth by subtile Arte

160

And such a Tincture of the same shee sett  
that of the greatest it acceptance getts

Surelie if Princes rightlie would conceive  
what daunger lies in fawninge Flattery  
how of their Sences shee doth them bereave 165  
and how shee doth impaire their royaltie

No doubt they would then hold it for good reason  
To punish her as they would punish Treason

For if it be offence deserving death  
to sett the Princes shadow on base coyne<sup>11</sup> 170  
sure he much more offendes whoe with base breath  
unto the Princes substance vice doth joyne

And thus doth he whoe makes an occupacion  
his Prince to honor with base adulation

These two united sinnes did first advance mee 175  
and by thesie two I still my state sustainde  
and theise in sinne so highly did inhance mee  
that for the same this mischeife I have gainde

wherefore if this in any of you bee  
come see this and the rest now plagued in mee 180

But doe not come as Idle gazers use  
whoe make noe use of that they doe behold  
but come & see how God doth me refuse  
because my selfe to vice I wholly solde

soe come & see behold these plagude in mee 185  
and fly my sinnes least soe you plagued bee

And doe not thinke that earthlie Princes graces  
can give protection to a life ill spent

nor doe not thinke Authoritie of places  
can (for one hower) reverse due punishment 190  
for neither favour nor Authoritie  
can stay Gods hand from just severitie

Wherefore all you that know your selves infected  
with those foule synnes which I have now confessed  
see that in time your prayers be directed 195  
and that your wronges committed be redressed  
For if you doe not speedily repent  
be sure you shall receive just punishment

Be not deceavde by vaine imagination  
of Gods remisse forgetfullnesse of wronge 200  
For though he somtimes use procrastinacion  
yet will he not deferre his comminge longe  
For when mans sinfull measures overfroth  
then powres he forth his measures fild with wrath

Soe measure just for measure shall you have 205  
if still without remorse you doe offend  
and therefore if you hope your selves to save  
leave off in time and seeke your lives to mend  
But if you still continue in your sinninge  
then shall your endes be worse then your begininge 210

And doe not hold this my advise for vayne  
because you know mee vaine that doth advise you  
but rather doe thereby your vice refraine  
least for the same both God and Man despise you  
For though my owne Confession prove me evill 215  
yet truth hath somtymes come even from the Divell



And therefore since with truth you now be warnde  
though from a mouth that truth hath seldome usde  
yet speaking truth lett not the same be scornde  
but lett the cause therof be well perusde

220

And you shall finde that God doth soe ordaine it  
for your beehoofe<sup>12</sup> if you can entertaine it

But if you wilfully advice refuse  
and like as I did grow from bad to worse  
Then looke what paiment God to mee doth use  
such or the like he will to thee disburse

225

For if my warninge cannott now advise you  
My punishment shall shortlie then surprise you

**Source.** Bodleian MS Ashmole 36-37, fols. 14r-16r

**Other known sources.** BL Add. MS 15266, fol. 11v

B8

<sup>1</sup> *I then did hold Religion...Jest*: reference to Raleigh's alleged atheism, a charge investigated in the 1590s and revived during his treason trial.

<sup>2</sup> *Plutus*: god of wealth.

<sup>3</sup> *For then Oppression...doore to doore*: this stanza adds specificity to the general charge of avarice, alluding to Raleigh's accumulation of several patents and monopolies from the Crown: a monopoly on the export of broadcloths; a monopoly on the licensing of wine-sellers and wine imports; and, as Warden of the Stanneries, a monopolistic control on English tin production.

<sup>4</sup> *and when the Foxes...Lions case*: the fox is an emblem of cunning, the lion of brute force.

<sup>5</sup> *Argentum*: silver.

<sup>6</sup> *crazie*: unsound.

<sup>7</sup> *If he by strength...right or wrong*: this stanza concerns the taking of bribes in judicial cases.

<sup>8</sup> *To trimme a hakney...Divells stable*: to make ready a horse for the devil's stable. The meaning here is a little obscure, but the stanza seems to argue that Raleigh used magical love potions to pursue his bestial sexual desires. The potions allowed him to seduce his targets, making them fit for the devil.

<sup>9</sup> *my Princes*: i.e. Elizabeth I's.

<sup>10</sup> *refelde*: refuted, rejected.

<sup>11</sup> *To sett the Princes...base coyne*: i.e. to counterfeit money.

<sup>12</sup> *beehoofe*: benefit.

### **B9 As Cats over houses do go a catter-walting**

*Notes.* This couplet makes a sardonic comment on the extent to which the royal favourite Robert Carr benefited from the fall of Raleigh. Late in 1608, James I granted Carr the manor at Sherborne, Dorset, worth about £1000 per annum in rents, that had been confiscated from Raleigh by the Crown upon his 1603 treason conviction.

As Cats over houses do go a catter-walting

So C is over house. he goes a walter-rauling.

**Source.** “Poems from a Seventeenth-Century Manuscript” 28

B9

## B10 Who doubts of Providence, or God denyes

*Notes.* Raleigh's *History of the World* was first printed in 1614. We include this poem, written in the form of a commendatory verse but circulated in manuscript culture, as evidence at once of the rehabilitation of Raleigh's image during his long imprisonment and of the use of that refurbished image as a weapon to criticize other, unreformed, courtiers. The most likely author, of a number of known writers bearing the name Thomas Scott, is the man who, in 1616, published the politically charged collection of poetic fables, *Philomythie, or, Philomythologie*. (He spelled his name "Scot".)

"Mr Thomas Scott sent these verses, by the hand of Dr John White,<sup>1</sup> to Sir Walter Raleigh; upon the setting forth of his Booke of the History of the World"

Who doubts of Providence, or God denyes;

Let hym thy Booke read, & thy Life advise.

Thy booke doth shew, nothinge directly can

(Save grace infus'd from heaven) informe a man.

Thy life doth likewise shew, that as the Devill

5

Drawes bad from good, God still drawes good from evill.

That at his set and fore-appointed tyme;

Hee to our good, t' his prayse, converts each crime.

That o're the greatest favorites of Kings

The greatest danger hangs on smallest strings.

10

In Greatnes thou art lost, as in a wood;

Treadinge the paths of flattery, falshood, blood.

The way to heaven neglected, thou did'st stray

As others now doe in thy Politick way.

But now thou'st found thy selfe; & wee have found

15

That sicknes taught thee Art to make men sound.

For had'st thou never fall'ne, th'hadst never writt:

Nor hadst thou cleer'd, but clouded us with witt.

But now thy falshood hath the truth so showne,

That a true World from a false World is knowne.

20

**Source.** Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 26, fol. 6v

**Other known sources.** Raleigh, *Poems* 188

B10

<sup>1</sup> *Dr John White*: probably the noted contemporary clergyman and preacher.

## B11 The prelates Pope, the Canonists trope, the Courtyers oracle, virginities spectacle

*Notes.* A copy of this libellous epitaph was pinned to the ceremonial hearse at the funeral of John Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury. Whitgift died in late February 1604 and, although he was buried shortly thereafter in Croydon, the full funeral ceremonies were delayed for several weeks. The poem is clearly a work of Puritan polemic, combining a derogatory, carnivalesque assault on Whitgift with pointed allusions to many of the grievances the Puritans—presented here as “Reformers” and “trew pastors”—had expressed during the decades in which Whitgift had led the polemical, political and legal fights against their campaign for further reform of the Church. A fortuitous set of circumstances allowed the authorities to identify Lewis Pickering, a Northamptonshire Puritan and minor Jacobean courtier, as the author of the poem, and as a result Pickering was tried and convicted in Star Chamber for seditious libel early in 1605. Bellany has explored the ecclesiastical and legal politics of the case (“Poem”), and has analyzed the inversionary power of the poem within its original ritual contexts (“Libels in Action” 102-06). The sole complete copy of the poem survives among the papers of Sir Peter Manwood of Kent.

The prelates Pope, the Canonists trope,<sup>1</sup> the Courtyers oracle, virginities spectacle,<sup>2</sup>  
Reformers hinderer, trew pastors slanderer, the papists broker, the Atheists Cloker  
The Ceremonyes Procter,<sup>3</sup> the latyn docter, the dumb doggs<sup>4</sup> patron, non residns<sup>5</sup> champion  
A well a daye<sup>6</sup> is dead & gone, and Jockey<sup>7</sup> hath left dumb Dickye<sup>8</sup> alone.

Prelats relent, Courtyers lament, Papists bee sadd, Athiests runn madd. 5  
Grone formalists,<sup>9</sup> mone pluralists<sup>10</sup> frowne yee doctors, mourne yee Proctors<sup>11</sup>  
Begge Registers,<sup>12</sup> starve parators,<sup>13</sup> scowle ye Summoners,<sup>14</sup> howle yee songsters  
Your great Patron is dead & gone, & Jockey hath left dumb Dickye alone.

Popishe Ambition vaine superstition, coulored conformity canckared envye  
Cunninge hipocrisie faigned simplicity, masked ympiety, servile flatterye, 10  
Goe all daunce about his hearse, & for his dierge chaunt this verse,  
Our greate Patron is dead and gone, & Jhockey hath left dumb duckye alon

Yf store of mourners yet there lacke lett Croyden coullers<sup>15</sup> bee more blacke  
And for a Cophin take a sacke bearing the corpes upon their backe

Dickye more blacke then any one as chief mourner may marche alone 15  
Singinge this requiem Jhocky is gone, & Dickye hopes to play Jhocky alone

Holla Dickye bee not so bould, to woulve that in Christ Jhesus fould  
as yf to hell thy Soule weare sould, lest as Jhocky was oft foretould  
If thou a persecutor stand, God likewise strike thee with his hand:  
Arankinge thee in the bloody band of ravening Cleargie woolves in the land 20

**Source.** BL Add. MS 38139, fol. 58r

**Other known sources.** *Les Reportes Del Cases in Camera Stellata* 223; BL MS Harley 6383, fol. 71r

#### B11

<sup>1</sup> *Canonists trope*: an abbreviated variant has “Canonists hope”, which perhaps makes better sense (BL MS Harley 6383). The canonists here are ecclesiastical lawyers.

<sup>2</sup> *virginitie spectacle*: the spectacles (i.e. a counsellor) for Elizabeth I, the Virgin Queen.

<sup>3</sup> *Ceremonyes Procter*: Whitgift had defended the legitimacy of ecclesiastical ceremonies authorized by the *Book of Common Prayer* against Puritan attacks.

<sup>4</sup> *dumb doggs*: derogative Puritan term for non-preaching clergy.

<sup>5</sup> *non residns*: i.e. non-resident clergy; clergy who held more than one parochial living (pluralists) and thus were not resident in one (or more) of their parishes. Puritans had urged an end to pluralism and non-residence.

<sup>6</sup> *A well a daye*: “Welladay” was a ballad tune often used for songs about death (see Simpson 747-48).

<sup>7</sup> *Jockey*: diminutive nickname for John; i.e. John Whitgift.

<sup>8</sup> *Dickye*: diminutive nickname for Richard; here Whitgift’s successor as Archbishop of Canterbury, Richard Bancroft.

<sup>9</sup> *formalists*: those committed to an overly ceremonial form of religious practice.

<sup>10</sup> *pluralists*: clergy who held more than one parochial living.

<sup>11</sup> *Proctors*: several ecclesiastical officials could have this title, including tithes collectors, ecclesiastical court attorneys and representatives of cathedral clergy at convocation.

<sup>12</sup> *Registers*: presumably ecclesiastical record keepers.

<sup>13</sup> *parators*: i.e. apparitors; officials of the ecclesiastical courts. Church courts were a common focus of Puritan critique.

<sup>14</sup> *Summoners*: ecclesiastical court officials.

<sup>15</sup> *Croyden coullers*: i.e. Croydon colliers. Croydon was well known for its population of charcoal burners.



## B12 A Romane right, then rotten at the Kore

*Notes.* The incident behind this libel remains obscure. The poem was directed at William Cecil, 3rd Lord Burghley (since 1605), and the nephew of James I's chief minister Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury. During the 1580s, Catholic agents had reported that the young William Cecil, travelling in France and Italy, had been "reconciled" to the Church of Rome (Read 350, 573 n.43), and while Cecil appears to have conformed to the English Church, this libel's charge of crypto-popery—and thus of disloyalty to the Crown—was particularly explosive in the immediate aftermath of the Catholic Gunpowder Plot to murder the King in November 1605.

"Verses sett up over the Lo: Burgleys pew in newark churche,<sup>1</sup> for which Mr Batts the preacher there was cited up before the ArchB: of Cant.<sup>2</sup> 1606"

A Romane right, then rotten at the Kore

no loyall love within his brest resides

unto his king faine warning given before

that painted hoodes foule cancred mallice hides,

Their volumes vaunt, but leaden are their reasons

they proffer faire yet would supplant by treasons.

5

**Source.** BL MS Egerton 2877, fol. 88v

B12

<sup>1</sup> *newark churche*: probably in Newark, Nottinghamshire. William Cecil married Elizabeth Manners in the chapel at Newark Castle in 1589, and their son William was baptised there in 1590.

<sup>2</sup> *ArchB: of Cant.*: the Archbishop of Canterbury, Richard Bancroft.

### B13 The Divell men say is dead in devonshire late

*Notes.* Charles Blount, Earl of Devonshire, died in April 1606. This punning libellous epitaph alludes to Devonshire's scandalous illegal marriage to his longtime mistress Penelope Rich, wife of Robert, Lord Rich. In 1605 an ecclesiastical court had granted Lord and Lady Rich a formal separation on the grounds of her adultery. Penelope Rich married Devonshire almost immediately thereafter; however, the terms of her separation seem to have given her no legal right to remarry.

“On the L. Rich<sup>1</sup> Earle of Devonshire”

The Divell men say is dead in devonshire late  
Of late did devonshire live in rich estate  
Till Rich with toyes did devonshire bewitch  
That Devonshire died & left the Divell rich

**Source.** Huntington MS HM 116, p. 65

**Other known sources.** Bodleian MS Eng. Poet. e.14, fol. 89v; BL Add. MS 21433, fol. 102v; BL Add. MS 25303, fol. 98r; Brotherton MS Lt. 25, fol. 9r; V&A MS D25.F.39, fol. 66v

B13

<sup>1</sup> *L. Rich*: the scribe who added this title has confused Devonshire's name with that of his wife's former husband.

## B14 Here lyes the Lady Penelope Rich

*Notes.* Penelope Rich, separated from Lord Robert Rich and then illegally married to Charles Blount, Earl of Devonshire, died in July 1607. The final two lines of this poem are sometimes found independently, which might suggest that an unspecifically bawdy couplet was appropriated for application to Penelope Rich's notorious case. One source, however, has only the first couplet (V&A MS D25.F.39). All known variants are listed below.

Here lyes the Lady Penelope Rich  
Or the Countess of Devonshire, chuse ye which  
One stone contents her, low what death can doe  
That in her life was not content with two.

**Source.** Folger MS V.a.345, p. 28

**Other known sources.** Bodleian MS Ashmole 38, p. 169; Bodleian MS CCC 328, fols. 43r and 76v; Bodleian MS Don. d.58, fol. 15v; Bodleian MS Douce f.5, fol. 9r; Bodleian MS Eng. Poet. d.152, fol. 154v; Bodleian MS Eng. Poet. e.14, fol. 94v; Bodleian MS Hearne's Diaries 30, p. 212; Bodleian MS Malone 23, p. 5; Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 26, fol. 15v; Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 152, fol. 23r; V&A MS D25.F.39, fol. 67v; Folger MS V.a.97, p. 13; Folger MS V.a.103, fol. 21v; Rosenbach MS 1083/15, p. 126; Rosenbach MS 1083/16, p. 116

B14

**B15 Heere lye's a Lord that Wenching thought no sinne**

*Notes. Thomas Sackville, Lord Buckhurst, 1st Earl of Dorset, and Lord Treasurer under James I, died on 19 April 1608 during a meeting at the Privy Council table.*

Heere lye's a Lord that Wenching thought no sinne  
and bought his flesh by selling of our skinne  
His name was Sackvile & so Void of Pitty  
as hee did rob the Country with the Citty.

**Source.** BL MS Harley 3991, fol. 126v

**Other known sources.** V&A MS D25.F.39, fol. 68v

B15

## B16 Immodest death that wouldst not once conferre

*Notes.* Copies of this libel typically identify its target as Thomas Sackville, Lord Buckhurst, 1st Earl of Dorset, and James I's Lord Treasurer, who died at the Privy Council table on 19 April 1608. This version of the poem incorporates into a single work two segments—the opening four lines and the concluding six—that also circulated as separate poems. The verse opens by accusing Buckhurst of accepting bribes—the kind of everyday corruption expected of government servants—and then switches to allude to Buckhurst's bitter and protracted legal battle with Sir John Leveson. (One of the copies of the concluding six lines as a distinct poem is titled “On the L. Treas: Buckhurst, who died at the Councell Table swearing falsely against Sir J. Luson” (Bodleian MS Eng. Poet. e.14, fol. 96r)). The battle concerned the large estate left by Sir Richard Leveson to Sir John Leveson's son. Buckhurst connived in the forging of a will that left the estate to one of Sir Richard's cousins, Mary Curzon, who was married to Buckhurst's grandson.

### “On the Death of the L. Treasurer”

Immodest Death that wouldst not once conferre

Dispute or parle with our L. Treasurer

Had hee bene thee or of thy fatall tribe

He would ha spared thy lyfe & tane a Bribe

He that so often hath with Gold & wit

perverted lawes & almost conjur'd it

He that could lengthen causes & was able

To sterve a suitor at the councell table

At last not having evidence to show

Was faine perforce to take a deadly blow

5

10

**Source.** Huntington MS HM 116, p. 25

**Other known sources.** *Wit Restor'd* 65; Bodleian MS Ashmole 781, p. 136; Bodleian MS CCC. 328, fol. 97r; Bodleian MS Don. d.58, fol. 18r; Bodleian MS Douce f.5, fol. 11r; Bodleian MS Eng. Poet. e.14, fols. 95v and 96r; Bodleian MS Eng. Poet. e.97, p. 94; BL Add. MS 34218, fol. 6r; BL MS Cotton App. L, fol. 169r; BL MS Egerton 2230, fol. 35v; BL MS Harley 3991, fol. 126v; Brotherton MS Lt. 25, fol. 8r; V&A MS D25.F.39, fol. 67v; Beinecke MS Osborn b.197, p. 48; Folger MS V.a.97, p. 153; Folger MS V.a.103, fol. 20r; Folger MS V.a.345, p. 33; Rosenbach MS 1083/16, p. 114; Rosenbach MS

B16

**B17 Here Lyes Dick of Canterburie, suspected a Papist**

*Notes.* This is one of four extant libellous epitaphs on Richard Bancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, who died in November 1610.

Here Lyes Dick of Canterburie, suspected a Papist  
who liv'd a Machiavillan,<sup>1</sup> and dyde an Atheist.

**Source.** CUL Add. MS 4138, fol. 49r

**Other known sources.** Bodleian MS Don. d.58, fol. 18r; Bodleian MS Firth d.7, fol. 160r; V&A MS D25.F.39, fol. 68r

B17

<sup>1</sup> *Machiavillan*: i.e. Machiavellian; follower of the amoral creeds of the Italian Niccolò Machiavelli.

**B18 Here lieth one who if his case be bad**

*Notes.* This epitaph on Richard Bancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury (d.1610), survives in a number of variants, some more opaque than others. In this version, the scribe has copied the couplet in such a way as to make some sense of its message. The couplet thus appears to depend on a pun on “grace”, as both divine grace and the earthly title given to the Archbishop. Thus if Bancroft is now in hell—“if his case be bad”—it is because he lacked (divine) “grace” even though he had the title “grace” while alive.

“On Badscroft Archbishop of Canterbury”

Here lieth one who if his case be bad } his

It is because he wanted what he had } grace

**Source.** John Rylands MS Eng. 410, fol. 21r

**Other known sources.** Bodleian MS Don. d.58, fol. 18r; Bodleian MS Firth d.7, fol. 160r; CUL Add. MS 4138, fol. 49r

B18



**B19 Heer lye's my Lord's Grace at six & at seaven**

*Notes.* This is one of the four surviving libellous epitaphs on Richard Bancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, who died in November 1610.

“Epitaphs on Bishop Bancroft”

Heer lye's my Lord's Grace at six & at seaven<sup>1</sup>

And if I doe not lye his soule is in heaven

I wish with my heart it may bee to his Leeking<sup>2</sup>

Since all the World know's it Was never his seeking

**Source.** BL MS Harley 3991, fol. 126r

**Other known sources.** Bodleian MS Ashmole 1463, p. 13; BL Add. MS 70454, fol. 21v

B19

<sup>1</sup> *at six & at seaven:* in confusion.

<sup>2</sup> *Leeking:* i.e. liking.

## B20 Bancroft Was for Playes

*Notes.* This is perhaps the most clearly Puritan and anti-Catholic of the four libellous epitaphs written on the 1610 death of Richard Bancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury.

“Another [epitaph on Archbishop Bancroft]”

Bancroft Was for Playes

Lean Lent and holy-dayes<sup>1</sup>

But now under-goe’s their Doome:<sup>2</sup>

Had English Ladies store

Yet kept open a Back dore

To let in the Strumpet of Rome.

5

**Source.** BL MS Harley 3991, fol. 126r

**Other known sources.** Bodleian MS Ashmole 1463, p. 13; BL Add. MS 70454, fol. 22v

B20

<sup>1</sup> *Bancroft Was for Playes...holy-dayes*: Bancroft’s alleged support for stage plays—a frequent object of Puritan censure—is here conflated with his alleged support for Catholic Lenten fasting and the Catholic calendar of holy days.

<sup>2</sup> *But now under-goe’s their Doome*: the poet’s apparent perception that plays, Lent and holy-days have suffered a “doom” comparable to that of Bancroft himself is a little baffling. It is possible that he might be referring to a (temporary) closure of the theatres, as occasionally happened in times of plague.

## B21 Seventh Henryes Counsayle was of great renowne

*Notes.* This poem on James I's Privy Council is very difficult to date with any precision.

Seventh Henryes Counsayle was of great renowne  
That joynd the white & red rose<sup>1</sup> in the crowne  
And th'eight Henryes Counsayle weare no babies  
That supprest popery & put downe the Abbeyes<sup>2</sup>  
But King James his counsayle wins the prise  
For they make wise men mad, & mad men wise.

5

**Source.** V&A MS D25.F.39, fol. 82v

B21

<sup>1</sup> *joynd the white & red rose:* Henry VII's 1486 marriage to Elizabeth of York united the warring Houses of Lancaster (the red rose) and York (the white). The Tudor badge was a pink rose that blended red and white.

<sup>2</sup> *And th'eight Henryes...put downe the Abbeyes:* allusion to Henry VIII's break with the Church of Rome and his enforced dissolution of the monasteries during the 1530s.

### C. The Parliament Fart (1607-)

When Sir John Croke came to read his message from the Lords to the Commons on 4 March 1607, during debates on the naturalization of the Scots (the *post nati*), Henry Ludlow famously farted. At the time, Robert Bowyer noted in his diary that the fart emanated from “the nether end of the House...whereat the Company laughing the Messenger was almost out of Countenance”. He added, however, that it was not done in disgrace since his father, Sir Edward, had also farted during a committee meeting: “So this seemeth Infirmity Naturall, not Malice” (213, n. 1). This event occasioned one of the most popular comic political poems of the early Stuart era, which was still in circulation in the latter half of the seventeenth century. “The Parliament Fart” also proved to be one of the most malleable poems of the period. Couplets were introduced during or after the 1610 and 1614 Parliaments, and numerous variants were circulated during subsequent parliaments in the 1620s. In different manuscript sources, the poem ranges in length from around forty lines to over 225 lines, and couplets refer to at least 113 members of parliament (MPs), of whom approximately 112 sat in James’s first Parliament (in session from 1604 to 1610). (Indeed, given that many of these MPs were dead by 1622, the poem’s popularity in the 1620s is remarkable.) Although it almost invariably opens with the same ten or twelve lines, there is no particular order to subsequent couplets; rather, much of the poem’s popularity appears to have arisen out of its loose, improvisational structure, enabling copyists to personalize their own copies.

Authorship is occasionally attributed to John Hoskyns; however, it was almost certainly a collaborative venture. One source, perhaps most authoritatively, ascribes the poem to a group of wits, Richard Martin, Hoskyns, Christopher Brooke and a “Ned Jones”, most probably Edward Jones, a close friend of John Donne and Martin (BL Add. MS 23229, fol. 17v). This attribution invites comparison with another poem celebrating a gathering at the Mitre tavern, c.1611, at which these men were present, the “Convivium Philosophicum” or “Banquet of Wits”.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, a copy of a ballad in the Conway papers is listed to be sung “to the tune of downe came grave auntient Sergeant Croke”—a further indication that “The Parliament Fart” itself (to which this note refers) may have been performed at tavern gatherings, or similar occasions (BL Add. MS 23229, fol. 19v). The majority of the Wits were members of the Inns of Court, one of

the centres of early modern literary culture in England. Inns of Court students, such as John Donne, John Marston, John Davies, and Everard Guilpin, were the authors of the vast majority of satires written at the end of the sixteenth century. The “Parliament Fart” is a continuation of this culture.

Fundamentally, the poem is a piece of extempore wit, an extended fart joke. That said, couplets are also often topical, referring to key issues and debates in James’s first Parliament: the Union (of England and Scotland), purveyance (the right of the royal household to buy goods at less than market value), impositions (taxes on imported or exported goods levied without the consent of parliament), the authority of the common law, parliamentary liberties, and freedom of speech. Couplets added in subsequent years, meanwhile, address issues from the Overbury scandal to the 1624 monopolies bill. The poem’s characteristics of wit and parody invite comparison with the law sports of the Inns of Court Christmas revels; in both cases, parody relies on a heightened awareness of the codes and conventions that define an institution. Hence the deliberation on the fart by the assembled House arguably speaks to the institutional self-confidence of the Commons: it could be read as a brazen challenge to the Crown’s ability to manage the Commons, while the metaphor of the body politic humorously confers on the Lower House the central regulatory authority in maintaining the health of the commonwealth. Of course, “The Parliament Fart” was also open to alternative readings, particularly after 1649, when a flatulent Commons could stand for a headless government. The poem’s witty combination of liberty and licence led to its inclusion in the Restoration printed miscellanies, and it was thereby available as a precursor for the libertine wit of the 1660s.

## C0

\* The source for the following biographies and direct quotations, unless otherwise stated, is the History of Parliament Trust, London, 1604-1629 section, unpublished articles. Michelle O’Callaghan is grateful to the History of Parliament Trust for allowing her to see these articles in draft, and for the assistance of Dr. Andrew Thrush at the Trust.

<sup>1</sup> Though it was written in Latin, this poem was also translated into English, probably by John Reynolds (BL MS Harley 4931, p. 22).

## C1 Downe came grave auntient Sir John Crooke

*Notes.* The chosen version of “The Parliament Fart”, in Bodleian MS Malone 23, is one of the longest and most careful copies in circulation. On the whole it lacks the transcription errors frequently found in other copies; the names of members, with one or two possible exceptions, are given correctly; and there is an effort to provide the poem with some regularity (e.g. collating couplets attributed to the same member). The framing verses designate the poem’s value as an artful piece of wit, and hence the product of a sophisticated and urbane political culture. Given its status within parliamentary and legal circles, the notes concentrate on identifying members of parliament to whom the poem refers, and situating them within this context. Moreover, given the way in which the poem accrued substance and meaning into the 1620s, the notes regularly identify dates of death for men mentioned who died in these years. The notes also contain references to important variants.

### “The Censure of the Parliament Fart”

Never was bestowed such art

Upon the tuning of a Fart.

Downe came grave auntient Sir John Crooke<sup>1</sup>

And redd his message in his booke.

Fearie well, Quoth Sir William Morris,<sup>2</sup> Soe:

But Henry Ludlowes<sup>3</sup> Tayle cry’d Noe.

Up starts one fuller<sup>4</sup> of devotion

Then Eloquence; and said a very ill motion

Not soe neither quoth Sir Henry Jenkin<sup>5</sup>

The Motion was good; but for the stincking

Well quoth Sir Henry Poole<sup>6</sup> it was a bold tricke

To Fart in the nose of the bodie pollitique

Indeed I must confesse quoth Sir Edward Grevill<sup>7</sup>

The matter of it selfe was somewhat uncivill

Thanke God quoth Sir Edward Hungerford<sup>8</sup>

That this Fart proved not a Turdd

Quoth Sir Jerome the lesse<sup>9</sup> there was noe such abuse

Ever offer’d in Poland, or Spruce<sup>10</sup>

5

10

15

Quoth Sir Jerome in folio,<sup>11</sup> I swear by the Masse  
 This Fart was enough to have brooke all my Glasse 20  
 Indeed quoth Sir John Trevor<sup>12</sup> it gave a fowle knocke  
 As it lanced forth from his stincking Docke.<sup>13</sup>  
 I (quoth another) it once soe chanced  
 That a great Man farted as hee danced.<sup>14</sup>  
 Well then, quoth Sir William Lower<sup>15</sup> 25  
 This fart is noe Ordinance fitt for the Tower.  
 Quoth Sir Richard Houghton<sup>16</sup> noe Justice of Quorum<sup>17</sup>  
 But would take it in snuffe<sup>18</sup> to have a fart lett before him.  
 If it would beare an action quoth Sir Thomas Holcrofte<sup>19</sup>  
 I would make of this fart a bolt, or a shafte. 30  
 Quoth Sir Walter Cope<sup>20</sup> 'twas a fart rarely lett  
 I would 'twere sweet enough for my Cabinet.  
 Such a Fart was never seene  
 Quoth the Learned Councell of the Queene.<sup>21</sup>  
 Noe (quoth Mr Pecke<sup>22</sup> I have a President<sup>23</sup> in store 35  
 That his Father farted the Session before  
 Nay then quoth Noy<sup>24</sup> 'twas lawfully done  
 For this fart was entail'd<sup>25</sup> from father to sonne  
 Quoth Mr Recorder<sup>26</sup> a word for the cittie  
 To cutt of the aldermens right<sup>27</sup> weere great pittie. 40  
 Well quoth Kitt Brookes<sup>28</sup> wee give you a reason  
 Though he has right by discent he had not livery & seizin<sup>29</sup>  
 Ha ha quoth Mr Evans<sup>30</sup> I smell a fee  
 I'ts a private motion heere's something for mee<sup>31</sup> 45  
 Well saith Mr Moore<sup>32</sup> letts this motion repeale  
 Whats good for the private is oft ill for comonweale<sup>33</sup>  
 A good yeare on this fart, quoth gentle Sir Harry<sup>34</sup>  
 He has caus'd such an Earthquake that my colepitts miscarry<sup>35</sup>  
 'Tis hard to recall a fart when its out 50

Quoth with a loude shoote<sup>36</sup>  
 Yes quoth Lawrence Hyde<sup>37</sup> that wee may come by it  
 Weele make a Proviso tyme it, and tye it.  
 Quoth Harry the hardie<sup>38</sup> looke well to each clause  
 As well Englands liberties as lawes 55  
 Nowe then, so? the knightly Doctor<sup>39</sup> protestes  
 This fart shalbe brought into the court of requests<sup>40</sup>  
 Nay rather saith Sir Edwyn<sup>41</sup> I'le make a digression  
 And fart him a Project<sup>42</sup> shall last him a Session  
 Quoth Sir William Wade<sup>43</sup> you may doe as you please 60  
 For it hath broken allreadie out of little ease,<sup>44</sup>  
 Then swore Sir John Hollis<sup>45</sup> by the Masse  
 Such a fart would not I lett passe  
 Nor willingly make such a vacuitie<sup>46</sup>  
 Without some reward or hope of gratuitie<sup>47</sup> 65  
 For from the belly to the britch to make such a transition  
 Is a thriftles example of a frugall position.  
 Then start upp a fatt one call'd Sir Thomas Shurley<sup>48</sup>  
 Saying how durst hee crack soe being noe Burley<sup>49</sup>  
 Quoth Sir John Fortescue<sup>50</sup> this fart was lett fall 70  
 Not without great presumption doeing it withall<sup>51</sup>  
 Quoth Sir John Sheffield<sup>52</sup> in my opinion  
 'Tweere better leave this fart and fall to the union<sup>53</sup>  
 Nay quoth Sir Hugh Beeston<sup>54</sup> and swore by the Masse  
 Its rather the braying of some Puritain Asse 75  
 Tushe quoth Ned Hobbie<sup>55</sup> whatso'ere it bee  
 From Rome or Geneva 'tis all one to mee.  
 Swooks quoth Sir John Lee<sup>56</sup> is your arse in dottage<sup>57</sup>  
 Could you not have kept this breath to have cool'd your pottage  
 Why (quoth Sir Roger Owen)<sup>58</sup> if books be noe lyers 80  
 I knewe one fart devided amongst a dozen Fryeres<sup>59</sup>



Phillip Gawdie<sup>60</sup> strooke th'old stubble of his face  
 And said the fart was well penn'd, so squat downe in his place.  
 The modest Sir John Hollis<sup>61</sup> said, on his word  
 It was a shoe creek'd on a board. 85  
 Not soe quoth Sir John Acklam<sup>62</sup> that cannot be  
 The place underneath is matted you see.  
 Before God quoth Mr Brooke<sup>63</sup> to tell you noe lye  
 This fart by our Law is of the Post-nati<sup>64</sup>  
 Grave Senate (quoth Duncombe)<sup>65</sup> upon my salvation 90  
 This fart wanteth greatly some due reformation.  
 Quoth the cuntrie courtier<sup>66</sup> upon my conscience  
 'Twould be well mended with a little frankinsence  
 Quoth Sir Thomas Challenor<sup>67</sup> I'le demonstrate this fart  
 To be the voyce of his belly, noe thought of his hart. 95  
 Quoth Sir Hugh Beeston<sup>68</sup> it was a dissembling speach  
 Our mouth hath priviledge<sup>69</sup> but not our bretch.  
 Upstart Ned Wymark the Pasquill of Powles<sup>70</sup>  
 And said it were fitter for the chappell of the Roolles<sup>71</sup>  
 Then wisely spake Sir Anthony Cope<sup>72</sup> 100  
 Pray God it be not a Bull from the Pope.<sup>73</sup>  
 Not soe saith his brother,<sup>74</sup> words are but wynd  
 Yet noe man likes of this motion behynd  
 I said Oxenbridge<sup>75</sup> there is great suspition  
 That this fart savoreth of popish superstition 105  
 Nay quoth Mr Goad<sup>76</sup> and also some other  
 It should by its Libertie be a reformed brother<sup>77</sup>  
 Then up start Sir John Young,<sup>78</sup> & swore by Gods nayles  
 Was never such a fart lett on the borders of Wales  
 Quoth Sir Roger Aston<sup>79</sup> howe shall I tell it. 110  
 A fart hearesay and not see it nor smell it  
 Againe quoth Sir Roger it would well mend the matter

If this fart weere well shav'd and washt with rose water<sup>80</sup>  
 Quoth Sir Thomas Knevett<sup>81</sup> I feare there may lurke  
 Under this Vault some more powder worke<sup>82</sup> 115  
 No quoth Sir John Parker<sup>83</sup> I sweare by my Rapier  
 It was a Bombard<sup>84</sup> stopt with vild coppie paper  
 Then said Mr Moore in his wonted order<sup>85</sup>  
 I rise but to speake of the howses disorder.  
 And methinks that motion with noe reason stands 120  
 A man should be charg'd with thats not in his hands  
 In his hands quoth Price<sup>86</sup> noe the fault was in his britch  
 Some Taylor should have given the hose another stich  
 As noe talebearer darrs carry to the king<sup>87</sup>  
 Yes quoth Sir Roger Aston<sup>88</sup> without any paine 125  
 My Memorie will serve to report the word againe  
 Quoth Sir Lewis his brother<sup>89</sup> if it come of ambassage  
 The maister of Ceremonies must give it passage<sup>90</sup>  
 I quoth Sir Robert Drury<sup>91</sup> that had bene your part  
 If it had bene a Forraine fart. 130  
 Well quoth a frend<sup>92</sup> ere this be transacted  
 I feare wee must have this fart enacted  
 And wee shall have therefore (soe you doe not abhorr it  
 A fart from Scotland reciprocall for it.  
 A very good jeast by this light 135  
 Quoth little Mr James of the Isle of Wight<sup>93</sup>  
 Quoth Sir Robert Johnson<sup>94</sup> if you will not laugh  
 Ile measure this fart with my Jacobs staffe,<sup>95</sup>  
 And though it be hard, Ile bend myne intentions  
 To survay it out equall into severall demensions 140  
 Noe that must not be said Sir John Bennett<sup>96</sup>  
 Wee must have a select committee to penn it,  
 Nay quoth Sir Richard Lovelace<sup>97</sup> to end the difference

It weere fitt with the lords to have a conference<sup>98</sup>  
 Why said Doctor Crompton<sup>99</sup> no man can draw 145  
 This fart within the compasse of the civill lawe<sup>100</sup>  
 Noe said Doctor Paddy<sup>101</sup> yett darr I assure him  
 Though it be Præter modestiam its not Præter naturam<sup>102</sup>  
 Harke harke quoth Sir John Towneshend<sup>103</sup> this fart was of might  
 To deny his owne master to be dubbed knight. 150  
 For had it ambition, or orationis pars  
 Your Sonne could have told you Quid est Ars<sup>104</sup>  
 Then So Quoth Sir Richard Gargrave<sup>105</sup> by, and by  
 This mans ars speakes better then I.  
 'Tweere noe great grevance quoth Mr Hare<sup>106</sup> 155  
 The Surveyor heerein had his share<sup>107</sup>  
 Be patient gent quoth Sir Francis Bacon<sup>108</sup>  
 Ther's none of us all but may be thus overtaken  
 Sylence quoth Bond<sup>109</sup> thoug words be but wynde  
 Yet I much mislike of this motion behynd 160  
 For quoth hee it stincks the more you stirr it  
 Naturam Expellas surca licet usque recurrit<sup>110</sup>  
 Then gan sage Mounson<sup>111</sup> silence to breake  
 And said this fart would make an Image speake  
 Then quoth Sir Dannett<sup>112</sup> this youth is too bold 165  
 The priviledge of farting longs to us that are old  
 Then said Mr Tolderbury<sup>113</sup> I like not this passage  
 A fart interlocutory in the midd'st of a message  
 With all your Eloquence quoth Sir Richard Martin<sup>114</sup>  
 You cannot find out this figure of farting 170  
 Nor what part of speach save an interjection  
 This fart canne be in gramatique perfection  
 Up ryseth the speaker that noble Ephestion<sup>115</sup>  
 And said Gents I'le putt it to the question

The question once made, the yea's did loose 175  
 For the Major part went cleere with the nose  
 Sir Robert Cotton well redd in old stories<sup>116</sup>  
 Conferring his notes with good Mr Pories<sup>117</sup>  
 Can witnes well that these are not fables  
 And yet it was hard to putt the Fart in his tables.<sup>118</sup> 180  
 Quoth Sir Thomas Lake,<sup>119</sup> if this house be not able  
 To censure this fart I'le have it to the councell table.<sup>120</sup>  
 Quoth Sir George Moore<sup>121</sup> I thincke it be fitt  
 That wee this fart to the Serjant Committ.  
 Not soe quoth the Serjant<sup>122</sup> lowe on his knees 185  
 Farts will breake prison but never pay fees<sup>123</sup>  
 Why? yet quoth the clerke<sup>124</sup> it is most true  
 That for a private fart a fee is my due  
 This scent growes hott quoth Mr Dyett<sup>125</sup>  
 Lett each man take his share, and be quiett 190  
 Looke (quoth Sir William)<sup>126</sup> it had bene noe matter  
 If this fart weere butter'd & putt in a platter<sup>127</sup>  
 That these that had not their judgments well spent  
 Might have of the taste as well as the scent  
 Then Richard Buckley<sup>128</sup> that angerie ladd 195  
 Rose swearing (Goggs wounds) & satt downe halfe madd.  
 Quoth Sir John Perrot<sup>129</sup> it greives me at the hart  
 A private Man shold sweare for a publique fart  
 All of them concluded it was not well  
 To store upp this fart soe odious in smell 200  
 And merry Mr Hoskins<sup>130</sup> swore 'twas but a stale<sup>131</sup>  
 To putt the plaine Serjant out of his written tale.  
 Fie, fye, I thinke you never did see  
 Such a thinge as this quoth Sir John Lee.<sup>132</sup>  
 With many more whome heere I omitt 205

In censuring this fart who busied their witt  
Come come quoth the King libelling is not safe  
Bury you the fart, I'le make the Epitaph.<sup>133</sup>

**Source.** Bodleian MS Malone 23, pp. 2-10

**Other known sources.** *Musarum Deliciae* 65; *Le Prince d'Amour* 93; Bodleian MS Ashmole 36-37, fol. 131r; Bodleian MS CCC. 328, fol. 94v; Bodleian MS Douce f.5, fol. 28r; Bodleian MS North b.24, fol. 28r; Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 26, fol. 7r; Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 117, fol. 196v; Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 160, fol. 157v; Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 172, fol. 8r; Bodleian MS Sancroft 53, p. 53; Bodleian MS Tanner 306, fol. 254r; BL Add. MS 4149, fol. 213r; BL Add. MS 10309, fol. 123r; BL Add. MS 15227, fol. 17v; BL Add. MS 23229, fol. 16r; BL Add. MS 30982, fol. 33r; BL Add. MS 34218, fol. 20r; BL Add. MS 44963, fol. 19v; BL Add. MS 58215, fol. 190v; BL MS Egerton 2230, fol. 25r; BL MS Egerton 2725, fol. 45v; BL MS Harley 4931, fol. 10r; BL MS Harley 5191, fol. 17r; BL MS Sloane 1394, fol. 172r; BL MS Sloane 1489, fol. 25r; BL MS Sloane 1792, fol. 104v; BL MS Sloane 2023, fol. 59r; BL MS Stowe 354, fol. 43r; BL MS Stowe 962, fol. 66v; HRO, Malmesbury Papers, 9M73/G3(b); TCD MS G.2.21, p. 409; Beinecke MS Osborn b.197, p. 99; Folger MS J.a.2, fol. 81r; Folger MS V.a.160, p. 79; Folger MS V.a.275, p. 101; Folger MS V.a.322, p. 226; Folger MS V.a.399, fol. 248v; Huntington MS HM 198, 1.3; Rosenbach MS 239/22, fol. 42v; Rosenbach MS 1083/15, p. 109; Rosenbach MS 1083/16, p. 9

## C1

<sup>1</sup> *Sir John Croke*: Croke sat in the 1584, 1597 and 1601 Parliaments. He was the King's Serjeant in the 1604 Parliament, and thus brought messages and bills from the Lords to the Commons. He died in 1620.

<sup>2</sup> *Sir William Morris*: Maurice, or Morris, sat in the 1593, 1601 and 1604 Parliaments. James I referred to him as his godfather, since Maurice hailed James "King of Great Britain" on his accession, in the belief that this fulfilled a Welsh prophecy. He was the most ardent and vocal apologist for the Union of the Kingdoms in the Commons, and the House frequently censured his speeches due to their length or departure from business. In the 1610 Parliament, his two-hour speech on Union was subject to interruption and whistling, and was eventually stopped by the Speaker. He died in 1622.

<sup>3</sup> *Henry Ludlowes*: Ludlow, a member of the Inner Temple, sat in the 1601 and 1604 Parliaments. Ludlow represented Wiltshire with James Kirton, John Hoskyns' friend from the Middle Temple.

<sup>4</sup> *one fuller*: Nicholas Fuller, a member of Gray's Inn, sat in the 1593, 1604 and 1614 Parliaments. He was a Puritan lawyer keen to secure ecclesiastical and moral reform, and willing to challenge the royal prerogative in relation to purveyance, the Union, and impositions. Toby Matthews, in a letter to John Donne describing the first Jacobean Parliament, said: "The vild [i.e. wild] Speakers are, Hoskyns, Fuller,

with an &caetera of an hundred men” (Bald 145). Following his zealous opposition to the Crown in the 1606/07 sessions, he was censured over a legal decision by the Lord Chancellor, Thomas Egerton, Lord Ellesmere, as part of a campaign against those who too zealously studied the royal prerogative in the Commons (Cuddy 132-33). He died in 1620.

<sup>5</sup> *Sir Henry Jenkin*: Jenkin, a member of Lincoln’s Inn and a Justice of the Peace in Yorkshire, was elected to parliament in 1604. On 14 April 1604, during the purveyance debates, he cited the Magna Carta, defended freedom of election, and was called to order by the Speaker; on 20 Feb 1607 he followed a speech by Sir William Maurice with a prayer “that he might speak nothing impertinently and that the House would hear him with patience and attention”.

<sup>6</sup> *Sir Henry Poole*: Poole, a member of Lincoln’s Inn, sat in the 1597, 1604, 1610, 1621, 1624 and 1626 Parliaments. He established a reputation as a parliamentary wit in James’s first Parliament; his brother-in-law was Sir Henry Neville, Earl of Abergavenny, who contributed a panegyric verse to *Coryats Crudities*. In November 1606, he spoke against the ruling on the *post nati*, alongside Richard Martin.

<sup>7</sup> *Sir Edward Grevill*: Greville sat in the 1593 and 1604 Parliaments.

<sup>8</sup> *Sir Edward Hungerford*: Hungerford sat in the 1614, 1621, 1624, 1625, 1628 and 1640 Parliaments. A Sir John Hungerford, a kinsman of Sir Henry Poole, sat in the 1604 Parliament. (One source attributes the couplet to “Sir Tho: Hungerford”, and it is possible that “Tho:” may be a corruption of “John” (BL Add. MS 34218, fol. 21r).)

<sup>9</sup> *Sir Jerome the lesse*: Sir Jerome Bowes sat in the 1601 and 1604 Parliaments. Bowes was temporarily banished from court in 1577 for slandering Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester. He was appointed English ambassador to Russia in 1583, and died in 1616.

<sup>10</sup> *Spruce*: Prussia (derived from “Pruce”).

<sup>11</sup> *Sir Jerome in folio*: Sir Jerome Horsey sat in the 1593, 1597, 1601, 1604, 1614 and 1621 Parliaments, and was appointed High Sheriff of Buckinghamshire in 1610. He went to Moscow as clerk of the Russia Company in 1573, and engaged in trade and diplomatic work until 1587. He was granted a licence in 1592 to make drinking glasses in England and Ireland for twelve years. Since this and the preceding couplet are always cited together, “the lesse” and “in folio” function as a means of distinguishing the two Jeromes, although the contemporary significance of these phrases is now lost.

<sup>12</sup> *Sir John Trevor*: Trevor sat in the 1593, 1597, 1601, 1604, 1614, 1621 and 1625 Parliaments.

<sup>13</sup> *As it lanced...Docke*: aligns the contemporary colloquial meaning of “dock” as “arse” with a pointed naval metaphor. On 25 February 1606, Bowyer recorded that on the first reading of a bill “manie cried (away with it) then MR. TREVER of the Inner Temple, being a follower of the Lord Admyrall [Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham], spake in favor of the bill...but the howse without

farder question threw out the bill, Fearing least it would breade a new office which they though [i.e. ‘through’] some greate man aymed at ” (53).

<sup>14</sup> *a great Man...danced*: allusion to Edward de Vere, Earl of Oxford, who famously farted in front of Elizabeth I.

<sup>15</sup> *Sir William Lower*: Lower sat in the 1601 and 1604 Parliaments. In 1614 he sent pursuivants after Sir Henry Goodyer, an act which may explain the couplet attributed to Lower in other copies: “Then all in anger sayd Sir Will: Lower / Wee may by our privilidge Comitt to the Tower” (BL Add. MS 34218, fol. 21r).

<sup>16</sup> *Sir Richard Houghton*: Houghton sat in the 1601 and 1604 Parliaments.

<sup>17</sup> *Justice of Quorum*: a Justice of the Peace whose presence was necessary to constitute a bench.

<sup>18</sup> *take it in snuffe*: take offence.

<sup>19</sup> *Sir Thomas Holcrofte*: Holcrofte sat in the 1593, 1601 and 1604 Parliaments. He died in 1620.

<sup>20</sup> *Sir Walter Cope*: Cope, a noted antiquary, sat in the 1589, 1601, 1604 and 1614 Parliaments. He was appointed secretary to Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, in 1609, and Master of the Wards in 1613. He died in 1615.

<sup>21</sup> *Learned Councill of the Queene*: Sir Robert Hitcham, who attended Gray’s Inn, was appointed Queen Anne’s Attorney-General in 1603, and sat in the 1597, 1604, 1614, 1624, 1625 and 1626 Parliaments.

<sup>22</sup> *Mr Pecke*: Edward Peake sat in the 1576, 1584, 1586, 1589, 1593, 1597, 1601 and 1604 Parliaments. He died in July 1607, before the fourth session of this parliament.

<sup>23</sup> *President*: i.e. “precedent”. After members of the House of Lords were outraged by a message from the Commons claiming that some of its members were barons, Richard Martin reported on 5 March 1607 that Peake had a precedent in the description of representatives of the Cinque Ports.

<sup>24</sup> *Noy*: there were three Noyes in Jacobean Parliaments: William Noye sat in the 1604, 1621, 1624, 1626 and 1628 Parliaments; John Noyes sat in the 1604 Parliament; and Peter Noyes sat in the 1614 Parliament. The most likely candidate, however, given the legal tenor of the couplet, was William Noy: a member of Lincoln’s Inn and a highly regarded lawyer. On 14 March 1606, William Noy argued against a higher subsidy to the King, implying that high taxation was the cause of civil war and brought the state into disrepute at home and abroad (Bowyer 80).

<sup>25</sup> *entail’d*: pun on “tail”; to entail is to settle land or an estate on a designated series of possessors, hence from father to son. A joke of this type was made at the time, since Bowyer puts it in his diary (see

above, section Introduction).

<sup>26</sup> *Mr Recorder*: Sir Henry Mountague, Recorder of the City of London, sat in the 1593, 1597, 1603, 1604 and 1614 Parliaments, representing London in the last two of these.

<sup>27</sup> *To cutt...right*: i.e. to deny the powerful City of London representation and a voice in parliament.

<sup>28</sup> *Kitt Brookes*: Christopher Brooke, poet and member of Lincoln's Inn, sat in the 1604, 1610, 1614, 1621, 1624 and 1628 Parliaments. He was active in opposition to the Union and impositions, and was identified by Francis Bacon as one of the popular or "opposite party" (*Works* 4.365). Variants on this couplet include: "Wee may be note so severe quoth Christopher Brooke / That it inter orata in the end of the Clarke booke" (BL Add. MS 23229, fol. 17r); "Nay quoth Kitt Brooke, I tooke it in ill part, / And ere I have done Ile abridge the fart" (BL Add. MS 58215, fol. 189r).

<sup>29</sup> *livery & seizin*: livery of seisin refers to the delivery of property into the corporal possession of a person. Since a fart is intangible this cannot be done.

<sup>30</sup> *Mr Evans*: Ralph Ewens, a member of Gray's Inn, sat in the 1597 and 1601 parliaments, and was Clerk of the Commons in the 1604 Parliament. He died in 1611.

<sup>31</sup> *I smell...for mee*: fees were paid to the Speaker, Serjeant and possibly also the Clerk, to put private bills before the House.

<sup>32</sup> *Mr Moore*: Sir Francis Moore, a member of the Middle Temple, sat in the 1589, 1597, 1601, 1604 and 1614 Parliaments. He died in 1621.

<sup>33</sup> *Whats good...comonweale*: Moore was known for his opposition to monopolies. In 1606, he denounced a patent for blue starch as a monopoly; and in 1614, in a speech concerning the glass patent, he "declared that it was typical for monopolists to pretend that their patent was for the public good even though they were primarily concerned with private gain".

<sup>34</sup> *Sir Harry*: Sir Henry Goodyer, a member of the Middle Temple and Gentleman of the Privy Chamber from 1605, sat in the 1604 Parliament. He was a close friend and correspondent of John Donne and the other "wits" credited with the composition of the "Parliaments Fart".

<sup>35</sup> *He has caus'd...miscarry*: Goodyer held the monopoly on coal.

<sup>36</sup> *Quoth...shoote*: the manuscript leaves a gap here, and of the other versions that include this couplet there is no agreement whose name should appear. Contenders include: "Sir Thomas Holcraft" [i.e. Holcrofte, mentioned earlier in the poem] (Bodleian MS Ashmole 36-37), "Sir John Frogmorton" (BL MS Stowe 962) [i.e. John Throckmorton, who sat in the 1601 and 1604 Parliaments], and "Mr May" (BL MS Harley 5191) [i.e. Humphrey May, who sat in the 1604, 1614, 1621, 1625, 1624, 1626 and 1628 Parliaments]. A further couplet is attributed to May in other copies: "then spake Mr May this



eloquent speech / would this accident had bin substance in his breech” (Rosenbach MS 1083/15, p. 57).

<sup>37</sup> *Lawrence Hyde*: Hyde, a member of the Middle Temple, sat in the 1597 and 1604 Parliaments. He was a kinsman of Sir Edwin Sandys, was identified by Bacon as one of the “popular” party affiliated with the Earl of Southampton (*Works* 4.365), and vigorously defended parliamentary privileges, including freedom of speech. Couplets on Hyde in other versions include: “O wofull tymes, quoth Lawrence Hyde / yf once our freedome of speach be denyed” (BL Add. MS 23229, fol. 16v); “nay quoth Laurence Hyde I like not that fashion / for Monopolies wear forbidden by proclamation” (Rosenbach MS 1083/15, p. 56). (In March 1621 James I cancelled by proclamation the patents on concealed lands, inns, and gold and silver thread (*Stuart Royal Proclamations* 1.503-5).)

<sup>38</sup> *Harry the hardie*: possibly Sir Henry Neville, who sat in the 1604 and 1614 Parliaments, and whose red hair and beard resembled those of Henry VIII. Neville was considered to be one of the leaders of the Commons, and at the end of the 1610 sessions was seen by one contemporary to have “ranged himself with those Patriots that were accounted of a contrary faction to the courtiers”. He died in 1615.

<sup>39</sup> *the knightly Doctor*: Sir Daniel Dun, Master of Requests, sat in the 1598, 1601, 1604 and 1614 Parliaments, representing Oxford University in the last two of these. He died in 1617.

<sup>40</sup> *court of requests*: court for the recovery of small debts.

<sup>41</sup> *Sir Edwyn*: Sir Edwin Sandys, member of the Middle Temple, sat in the 1589, 1593, 1604, 1614, 1621, 1624, 1625 and 1626 Parliaments. He was active in disputing the prerogative powers of the Crown in relation to the *post nati* and impositions, and in defending parliamentary privileges. Following the dissolution of the 1614 Parliament, he had his papers on impositions called in and burnt in Whitehall, was examined by the Privy Council, and was held in custody for a month.

<sup>42</sup> *Project*: “a practical scheme for exploiting material things” (Thirsk 1). Projects were controversial at this period because they often involved the granting of monopolies or patents.

<sup>43</sup> *Sir William Wade*: Wade, a member of Gray’s Inn, sat in the 1584, 1589, 1601 and 1604 Parliaments. Lieutenant of the Tower between 1605 and 1613, he fell into disfavour and lost his post in part because of his failure to guard properly Arabella Stuart, who escaped from the Tower in 1611, and in part (according to a popular conspiracy theory) because he was unwilling to abet the murderers of Sir Thomas Overbury, who was murdered in 1613 (see Sections F and H).

<sup>44</sup> *little ease*: punning on the name given to the dungeon at the Tower of London.

<sup>45</sup> *Sir John Hollis*: Holles, a member of Gray’s Inn, sat in the 1604 and 1614 Parliaments. Though he increasingly sought patronage at court, and was made Lord Houghton in 1616 and first Earl of Clare in 1624, in the early Jacobean Parliaments Holles was a vocal critic of the Scottish bedchamber, an opponent of the Union, and a supporter of punitive restrictions on office-holding by Scots.

<sup>46</sup> *vacuitie*: absolute emptiness of space; vacuum.

<sup>47</sup> *Nor willingly...gratuitie*: Holles was well-known for his frugality, and was petitioning potential patrons in this period.

<sup>48</sup> *Sir Thomas Shurley*: two Sir Thomas Shirleys sat in James's Parliaments. Sir Thomas Shirley the elder (1542-1612) sat in the 1572, 1584, 1593, 1601 and 1604 Parliaments. He raised his own army to follow Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, to the Low Countries, and was made Treasurer-at-War to the English army in 1587, which resulted in massive personal debt, as a result either of his abuse of the office or use of his own funds. He died in great debt in 1612. His son, Sir Thomas Shirley (c.1564-1632), sat in the 1584, 1593, 1601, 1614 and 1621 Parliaments. He was one of the famous Shirley brothers, who engaged in privateering in the Levant until his capture by the Turks in 1603. The placing of the couplet after the "frugall" Sir John Holles suggests the "thrifles" Shirley senior.

<sup>49</sup> *Burley*: probably intended as a punning reference to the Elizabethan statesman, William Cecil, Lord Burghley.

<sup>50</sup> *Sir John Fortescue*: Fortescue sat in the 1559, 1572, 1586, 1589, 1593, 1597, 1601 and 1604 Parliaments. He was a cousin of Queen Elizabeth, and a close friend of Lord Burghley, Sir Francis Bacon, Sir Walter Raleigh and Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex. He died in December 1607, after the third session of the 1604 Parliament.

<sup>51</sup> *Not without...withall*: this line may ironically refer to Fortescue's presumption during elections to the 1604 Parliament. Fortescue lost the initial election to Sir Francis Goodwin; however, he convinced the Privy Council to void Goodwin's election, and was elected himself at the second election. In turn, the Commons responded by declaring Goodwin elected, and rejecting Fortescue. Both men eventually sat in this Parliament.

<sup>52</sup> *Sir John Sheffield*: Sheffield sat in the 1601 and 1604 Parliaments. An inactive member of James's first Parliament, Sheffield accompanied Charles Howard, Lord Admiral Nottingham on his embassy to Spain in 1605, and travelled in France 1607-1610. He is not recorded making any speeches or serving on any committees relating to the Union. He died in 1614. A variant replaces Sheffield with a more likely candidate, Sir John Herbert (BL MS Stowe 354, fol. 43v). Herbert, a member of Gray's Inn, sat in the 1586, 1589, 1593, 1597, 1601 and 1604 Parliaments. He was one of two Privy Councillors in the Commons in James's first Parliament and, somewhat ineffectively, put the Crown's case for the Union in this Parliament.

<sup>53</sup> *fall to the union*: i.e. turn (our) attention to the matter of the Union.

<sup>54</sup> *Sir Hugh Beeston*: there were two Hugh Beestons in this Parliament, though Sir Hugh (c.1547-1627) is the most likely referent. He was a member of Lincoln's Inn, and sat in the 1589, 1593, 1597, 1601, 1604 and 1614 Parliaments. In 1604 he was ordered to prepare for the Hampton Court conference on

religion, in 1606 he attended a conference on ecclesiastical grievances, and in 1610 he was among those appointed to consider a bill imposing the new oath of allegiance. His wife was prosecuted for recusancy later in 1610, and in the 1624 Parliament he was said to be “suspect in religion since ‘his daughter and heir apparent is a recusant’”.

<sup>55</sup> *Ned Hobbie*: Sir Edward Hoby sat in the 1580, 1585, 1586, 1589, 1593, 1597, 1601, 1604 and 1614 Parliaments. He was the author of *A Letter to Mr. T. H.* (1609), which attacked Catholic women on the basis that women should not have religious opinions. Questier argues that this work marks a shift from the “godly” views he expressed in the 1604 Parliament to an anti-Calvinist perspective (“Crypto-Catholicism” 60). He died in 1617.

<sup>56</sup> *Sir John Lee*: Sir John Leigh sat in the 1597, 1601 and 1604 Parliaments. He died in 1612.

<sup>57</sup> *dottage*: i.e. dotage.

<sup>58</sup> *Sir Roger Owen*: Owen, a member of Lincoln’s Inn, sat in the 1597, 1601, 1604 and 1614 Parliaments. He died in 1617. In variants, another couplet refers to Owen: “Within the Compasse of the earthe 21000 myle aboute / quoth the Sir Roger Owen such a Farte was never lett owte” (BL Add. MS 34218, fol. 20r; see also BL Add. MS 58215, fol. 188v).

<sup>59</sup> *if books...Fryeres*: the reference is to Chaucer’s “Summoner’s Tale”; the division of the fart, the scatological centrepiece of the tale, is part of an extended satire on the sophistry and hypocrisy of friars.

<sup>60</sup> *Phillip Gawdie*: Gawdie sat in the 1589, 1597, 1601, 1604 and 1614 Parliaments. He died in 1617.

<sup>61</sup> *Sir John Hollis*: Holles (the poem’s second reference to him).

<sup>62</sup> *Sir John Acklam*: Acland sat in the 1586 Parliament, and in 1607 he replaced Sir Thomas Ridgeway when the latter was appointed Treasurer in Ireland. He died in 1620.

<sup>63</sup> *Mr Brooke*: there were a number of Brookes sitting in this Parliament, and this one appears to be distinguished from “Kit Brooke”, even though the jest about the *post nati* is in keeping with Christopher Brooke’s stance on this issue. The other possibilities are Giles Brooke, Thomas Brooke and William Brocke. The scribe, uncertainly, writes “Cooke” above the line, as an alternate reading. Although Sir Edward Coke did not sit in James’s first Parliament, this identification might allude to his status as one of the leading Jacobean judges. Coke sat in the 1589, 1593, 1621, 1624, 1625, 1626 and 1628 Parliaments.

<sup>64</sup> *Post-nati*: reference to debates on the mutual naturalization of Scots and English born since James’s accession to the English throne (the *post nati*).

<sup>65</sup> *Duncombe*: Edward Duncombe sat in the 1604 and 1614 Parliaments. A different couplet on Duncombe in a variant alludes to “talebearers” reporting speeches to the King: “You did so, quoth

Duncombe, but with an ill intent / you left but the sense precedent & the sense subsequent” (BL Add. MS 23229, fol. 16v).

<sup>66</sup> *cuntrie courtier*: one copy identifies the “country courtier” as Sir Robert Wingfield, while another has “Sir R.W.” in the margin (BL Add. MS 23299; Rosenbach MS 1083/15). Wingfield, a member of Gray’s Inn, sat in the 1584, 1586, 1589, 1593, 1601 and 1604 Parliaments (the latter until his death in August 1609). Reputed a “grave person, and an ancient Parliament man”, he was very active in James’s first Parliament, and put forward a bill “for the establishment of true religion”.

<sup>67</sup> *Sir Thomas Challenor*: Challenor sat in the 1586 and 1604 Parliaments. He died in 1615.

<sup>68</sup> *Sir Hugh Beeston*: the poem’s second reference to Beeston.

<sup>69</sup> *mouth hath priviledge*: allusion to debates over the parliamentary privilege of freedom of speech.

<sup>70</sup> *Ned Wymark...Powles*: Edward Wymark sat in the 1597, 1601, 1604 and 1614 Parliaments. A well-known Paul’s walker, money-lender and great wit, he compiled a register of concealed tenures, and St. Paul’s became (in the words of a contemporary writer) “his exchange to put out his money for 40 years together”. “Pasquill” refers to his apparent activity writing pasquils: witty, generally libellous verses.

<sup>71</sup> *chappell of the Roolles*: Rolls House, Chancery Lane, was the official residence of the Master of the Rolls, Sir Edward Phelips.

<sup>72</sup> *Sir Anthony Cope*: Cope, a member of Gray’s Inn, sat in the 1571, 1572, 1586, 1589, 1593, 1597, 1601, 1604 and 1614 Parliaments. He acquired a reputation as one of the “puritan Parliament men”, and during James’s first Parliament he sat on committees to consider bills for ecclesiastical government and for the restoration of deprived ministers, and prepared a petition on ecclesiastical grievances. He died in 1614.

<sup>73</sup> *Bull from the Pope*: i.e. a papal bull (decree).

<sup>74</sup> *his brother*: the poem’s second reference to Sir Walter Cope. These sentiments are usually attributed to John Bond (who is mentioned again below).

<sup>75</sup> *Oxenbridge*: two Sir Robert Oxenbridges sat in the Commons. Sir Robert Oxenbridge the elder (c.1586-1616), a member of the Inner Temple, sat in the 1604 Parliament only; his son (1595-1638), a member of Gray’s Inn, sat in the 1621, 1624, 1625 and 1626 Parliaments. The elder Oxenbridge is the more likely candidate here, particularly as his son was inactive in all four parliaments in which he sat. While the elder Oxenbridge’s brother became a Jesuit, Oxenbridge himself was active on committees on reform of the ministry, and in February 1606, following the Gunpowder Plot, accused Sir William Maurice of attending mass (although, as a contemporary noted, “the House took no hold of that speech”). He died in 1616.

<sup>76</sup> *Mr Goad*: John Good, a member of Lincoln's Inn, sat in the 1604 Parliament. Good was a pro-Scottish Catholic who outwardly conformed, but whose autobiography set out his rejection of the Anglican Church. He made a speech on the bill "against Puritans" in 1604, and in 1610 he continued to speak against Puritan ministers and for leniency towards recusants.

<sup>77</sup> *reformed brother*: derogatory reference to a Puritan.

<sup>78</sup> *Sir John Young*: Yonge, who sat in the 1597 and 1604 Parliaments, was well-known for his profanities both within and without the Commons. He died around 1614. But the poem's suggested connection with Wales would be more appropriate if applied to Richard Younge, a member of Lincoln's Inn, who sat in the 1604, 1621 and 1624 Parliaments. The latter was well-known as a Welsh member of the Commons, and was on the committee for the Welsh government bill. A version of this couplet is also linked to "Mr. Jones" (e.g. "I am noe teller of tales / the like have I never heard in the marches of Wales" (BL Add. MS 34218, fol. 20v)). There were at least three Joneses in early Stuart parliaments: John Jones, who sat in 1604; Richard Jones, who sat in 1628, 1640 and 1647; and Robert Jones, who sat in 1625 and 1628.

<sup>79</sup> *Sir Roger Aston*: Aston, a close friend of John Donne and Sir Henry Goodyer, sat in the 1604 Parliament. Bodleian MS Malone 23 appears to be collating two couplets on Aston that appear separately in other copies. He died in 1612.

<sup>80</sup> *well shav'd...rose water*: a marginal note in one manuscript describes Aston as "The Kinges Barber" (Rosenbach MS 1083/15, fol. 55v)

<sup>81</sup> *Sir Thomas Knevett*: Knyvett sat in the 1572, 1584, 1586, 1589, 1597, 1601 and 1604 Parliaments. He died in 1622.

<sup>82</sup> *I feare...worke*: as Justice of the Peace for Westminster, Knyvett discovered the explosives under the Houses of Parliament in 1605.

<sup>83</sup> *Sir John Parker*: Parker sat in the 1589, 1593, 1601 and 1604 Parliaments. He died in 1617.

<sup>84</sup> *Bombard*: an early cannon; also playing on bombast (overblown, windy speech).

<sup>85</sup> *Mr Moore...order*: Sir George More, a member of the Inner Temple, sat in the 1584, 1586, 1589, 1593, 1597, 1601, 1604, 1614, 1621, 1624, 1625 and 1626 Parliaments. He was one of the most senior members of the House, and, famously, John Donne's father-in-law. More habitually rose in the Commons "about Eleven of the Clock...[to] make Repetition of all that had been spoken that Day" (Bald 145).

<sup>86</sup> *Price*: this could be a reference to any one of several early Stuart parliamentarians named Price. Charles Price sat in the 1621, 1624, 1625, 1626, 1628, 1640 and 1642 Parliaments; James Price I sat in the 1593, 1597, 1601, 1604, 1614 and 1621 Parliaments; James Price II sat in the 1624, 1625 and 1626

Parliaments; William Price sat in the 1614, 1621, 1624, 1625 and 1626 Parliaments.

<sup>87</sup> *As noe...king*: the first line of a couplet often attributed to Samuel Lewkenor (“I am gladd, quoth Sam: Lewkner, wee have found a thing / Which no talebearer can cary to the King” (Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 26, fol. 7v)), the second line of which seems to have been missed by this copyist. Lewkenor sat in the 1584 and 1604 Parliaments. Behind the couplet is a speech Lewkenor delivered on 6 May 1607, which set out a number of concerns about the way the House’s freedom of speech had been compromised by “private suggestions or reports” delivered to the King. He argued that men who had “expressly been blamed and reprehended by his Majesty for their speeches in the House” should be given an opportunity to clear themselves, and that in future the House should be able “with all liberty and freedom and without fear, [to] deliver their opinions in the matter in hand”.

<sup>88</sup> *Sir Roger Aston*: the poem’s second reference to Aston. A variant has Aston jest that he has already carried the House’s message (i.e. the fart) to the King: “naye quoth Sir Roger, I went from this place, / and reported it worde for worde to his grace” (BL Add. MS 23229, fol. 16v).

<sup>89</sup> *Sir Lewis his brother*: Samuel’s brother, Sir Lewis Lewkenor, a member of the Middle Temple, sat in the 1597 and 1604 Parliaments. He was a contributor to *Coryats Crudities*. Several of his speeches in James’s first Parliament provoked hostile reactions.

<sup>90</sup> *if it come...passage*: Lewis Lewkenor was the Master of Ceremonies. The lines perhaps also allude to the hostile reaction to Lewkenor’s interposed speech of 28 June 1604, in which he claimed “that he was induced by some late conference with a foreign ambassador to put the House in mind of some answer to be made to the King’s late letter, touching subsidy”. Regarded as ardently pro-Spanish from early in James’s reign, Lewkenor was briefly imprisoned in 1625 for presuming to order, without authorization, a ship for the departure of the Spanish ambassador.

<sup>91</sup> *Sir Robert Drury*: Drury sat in the 1604 and 1614 Parliaments. An experienced soldier in the 1590s, he was appointed to an embassy to Spain in 1605. He was also a patron, and later landlord, of John Donne, who travelled with the Druries in Europe 1611-12. He died in 1615.

<sup>92</sup> *a frend*: in one manuscript the “frend” is identified as Sir Edward Hoby (BL Add. MS 23299, fol. 15r).

<sup>93</sup> *Mr James...Wight*: Richard James represented Newport, Isle of Wight, in the 1597, 1601 and 1604 Parliaments. He died in 1613. When Sir William Maurice on 9 Dec 1606 pressed the House to read a bill for imperial title, Richard James launched into an anti-Scots tirade. A different couplet is attributed to James in a variant: “naye quoth mister James no saieing will serve, / But savinge your reverence yf well observe” (BL Add. MS 23229, fol. 15r).

<sup>94</sup> *Sir Robert Johnson*: Johnson sat in the 1597, 1601, 1604 and 1614 Parliaments. He was appointed Surveyor in the Exchequer under Elizabeth, and prepared a treatise on reform of Crown lands. He was active in matters relating to land reform in James’s first Parliament, partly in order to increase Crown

revenue, drawing on his expertise as a surveyor. He died in 1622.

<sup>95</sup> *Jacobs staffe*: surveyor's tool used for measuring distances and heights.

<sup>96</sup> *Sir John Bennett*: Bennet, a member of Gray's Inn, sat in the 1597, 1601, 1604, 1614 and 1621 Parliaments. An ecclesiastical and civil lawyer, he was appointed to twenty-nine committees in the 1606-07 session and thirty-six in 1610. He was impeached in 1621 on corruption charges for accepting bribes in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury.

<sup>97</sup> *Sir Richard Lovelace*: Lovelace, a member of Gray's Inn, sat in the 1601, 1604, 1614 and 1621 Parliaments.

<sup>98</sup> *to end...conference*: on 22 January 1606, Lovelace put the motion that a conference be called with the Lords before addressing Thomas Wentworth's proposal for securing "an able, sufficient and resident ministry"; however, the House instead nominated a committee.

<sup>99</sup> *Doctor Crompton*: Thomas Crompton sat in the 1589, 1597, 1601 and 1604 Parliaments. He died in February 1609, before the fourth session of the 1604 Parliament.

<sup>100</sup> *no man...civill lawe*: alludes to a conflict between the civil and common law, which precipitated the attack in the Commons, led by Richard Martin, on *The Interpreter* (1607), by John Cowell, Professor of Civil Law at Cambridge. *The Interpreter* was perceived to undermine the authority of the common law and Parliament, asserting instead the superiority of the royal prerogative. One copy continues: "for well I wott being a Cyvillian doctor / this farte came into Court withoute a Proctor" (BL Add. MS 34218, fol. 20v).

<sup>101</sup> *Doctor Paddy*: William Paddy, the King's physician and President of the College of Physicians, sat in the 1604 Parliament only.

<sup>102</sup> *Præter modestiam...naturam*: beyond propriety not beyond nature.

<sup>103</sup> *Sir John Townshend*: Townshend sat in the 1604 Parliament only.

<sup>104</sup> *orationis pars...Quid est Ars*: playing on the titles of the popular school Latin grammar books, Aelius Donatus's *De partibus orationis ars minor* and *De partibus orationis ars maior*. Literally: "orationis pars" (speaking part); "Quid est ars" (what is art).

<sup>105</sup> *Sir Richard Gargrave*: Gargrave sat in 1597, and took his seat in the 1604 Parliament on 7 April 1606.

<sup>106</sup> *Mr Hare*: John Hare sat in the 1572, 1584, 1586, 1589, 1593, 1597, 1601 and 1604 Parliaments.

<sup>107</sup> *The Surveyor...share*: the copyist has probably misread "Purveyor" for "Surveyor" (so the line



could allude to complaints about the avarice of purveyors). A more plausible variant has: “yt wer noe grievance quoth Mr Hare / If this knave Purveyor of this Fart had a share” (Bodleian MS Tanner 306, p. 256). Hare was an effective leader of the Commons in putting the legal case against purveyance in James’s first Parliament (Croft, “Parliament” 13-14, 23-26). He died in 1613.

<sup>108</sup> *Sir Francis Bacon*: Bacon, a member of Gray’s Inn, sat in the 1581, 1584, 1586, 1589, 1593, 1597, 1601, 1604 and 1614 Parliaments. Bacon’s activities as Attorney-General and a tract he published on duelling, *The charge of Sir Francis Bacon, knight, his Majesties Attorney Generall, touching Duells, upon information in the Star-chamber against Priest and Wright. With the Decree of the Star-Chamber in the same cause* (1614), inform a couplet in a variant: “Quoth fyne fraunces Bacon, yf it were not in this place / this farte maight bee proved a starr Chamber case ” (BL MS Stowe 354, fol. 43v). Another couplet seems to allude to his fall from grace following his impeachment in 1621: “why what doe you meane so much to take on / he was fedd with swynes flesh quoth sir Frauncis Bacon” (Rosenbach MS 1083/15, fol. 56v).

<sup>109</sup> *Bond*: John Bond sat in the 1601 and 1604 Parliaments. A physician and classical scholar, Bond (d. 1612) published commentaries on Horace (1606) and left notes on Persius which were published posthumously in 1614.

<sup>110</sup> *Naturam...recurrat*: allusion to Horace, *Epistles* 1.10: “Naturam expellas furca tamen usque recurret” (“Drive Nature out with a Pitchfork. She’ll be back again.”).

<sup>111</sup> *Mounson*: Sir Thomas Monson sat in the 1597, 1604 and 1614 Parliaments. He was accused of complicity in the Overbury poisoning in 1615, and remained in the Tower until 1617; however, “sage” Monson did not break his silence over his part in the Overbury murder, and he was eventually released without standing trial (Bellany, *Politics* 77).

<sup>112</sup> *Sir Dannett*: Thomas Damett (or Dannett) sat in the 1584, 1586, 1593, 1601 and 1604 Parliaments. He died in 1618.

<sup>113</sup> *Mr Tolderbury*: Christopher Tolderrey sat in the 1604 Parliament.

<sup>114</sup> *Sir Richard Martin*: Martin, a member of the Middle Temple, sat in the 1601 and 1604 Parliaments, and was permitted by the House to make a speech on behalf of the Virginia Company, as the Company’s counsel, in the 1614 Parliament. He was one of the leading wits in a tavern company that met at the Mitre and Mermaid taverns, and was highly regarded for his oratorical skills. After he delivered the oration to James I on his 1603 entrance into London, he was awarded the unofficial title of “London’s Oracle”. He died in 1618.

<sup>115</sup> *the speaker...Ephestion*: the Speaker of the Commons, Sir Edward Phelips, a member of the Middle Temple, sat in the 1584, 1586, 1593, 1597, 1601 and 1604 Parliaments. Phelips was the key spokesman for Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, in James’s first Parliament, which led in 1610 to protests over a conflict of interests. He may have acted as a patron of the wits, given his sponsorship of Thomas



Coryate, and close ties with Hoskyns, Brooke, Martin, and William Hakewill, who were frequent guests at his dining table (Coryate, *Traveller* 8-9). He secured a seat for Donne in the 1614 Parliament. The title given to Phelips, “noble Ephestian”, equates the Speaker with the classical orator. He died soon after the dissolution of the 1614 Parliament, having fallen into deep disgrace with the King for the part his son and “one of his cheife consorts and minions”, John Hoskyns, played in the “Addled” parliament of 1614 (Chamberlain, *Letters* 1.540, 556).

<sup>116</sup> *Sir Robert...stories*: Cotton, a member of the Middle Temple, sat in the 1604, 1624, 1626 and 1628 Parliaments. He was a well-known antiquary, a founding member of the Society of Antiquaries, and an advisor to Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton and James I on parliamentary matters. He was a friend of Jonson, Holland, Martin, Brooke, Donne, Goodyer, Jones and Richard James, among others.

<sup>117</sup> *Mr Pories*: John Pory sat in the 1604 Parliament, taking his seat in 1605. He was a close friend of fellow antiquaries Cotton and Sir Walter Cope.

<sup>118</sup> *putt the Fart...tables*: i.e. document the fart in his table book. Many copies of “The Parliament Fart” end either with these couplets, or add the Speaker putting the fart to the vote.

<sup>119</sup> *Sir Thomas Lake*: Lake sat in the 1593, 1601, 1604, 1614 and 1626 Parliaments. He was a member of the Elizabethan Society of Antiquaries, and was appointed Latin Secretary to James in 1603, and Keeper of the Records at Whitehall in 1604. After being appointed Secretary of State in 1616, he spectacularly fell from power (see Section J).

<sup>120</sup> *if this house...table*: this reference could allude to events in 1607 or 1614. When Christopher Piggot, the member for Buckinghamshire, made an intemperate speech against the Scots in February 1607, the Commons initially failed to punish him, and he was only sent to the Tower after James I intervened. Some versions of the poem include the following couplet “quoth Sir Edw: Hobbie alleadgd with the spiggot,/Sir if you fart at the union remember Kitt Piggott” (Stowe 962, fol. 67r). Lake was made a Privy Councillor in 1614, and this couplet would have gained additional resonance with the Commons’ failure to censure members, including John Hoskyns, for inflammatory speeches made during the 1614 Parliament; hence the need for the Privy Council to intervene, as it did following the 1614 dissolution (see Section G).

<sup>121</sup> *Sir George Moore*: the poem’s second reference to More.

<sup>122</sup> *the Serjant*: Roger Wood, appointed Serjeant-in-Ordinary in 1588, and Serjeant-at-Arms to the Speaker in 1590.

<sup>123</sup> *Farts...fees*: possibly a reference to the fact that prisoners paid fees to their keepers. A related couplet refers to the gratuities that were sometimes paid to the Serjeant and servants by individuals or the city guilds in order to further business in Commons, see C1i note 31.

<sup>124</sup> *the clerke*: the poem’s second reference to Ralph Ewens, Clerk of the Commons.

<sup>125</sup> *Mr Dyett*: Anthony Dyott, a member of the Inner Temple, sat in the 1601, 1604 and 1614 Parliaments. He made a “long, learned” speech on the illegality of purveyance in 1606, spoke in support of the Union, and opposed impositions in this Parliament. He died in 1622.

<sup>126</sup> *Sir William*: there are a number of candidates for “Sir William” in the 1604 Parliament, including those referenced elsewhere in other copies: Sir William Maurice, Sir William Lower, Sir William Waad, Sir William Paddy, and “Sir William Strowde of Sommersetshire” (BL Add. MS 23229, fol. 16v).

<sup>127</sup> *If this fart...platter*: probably refers to some office held by “Sir William”, possibly within one of the royal households; however, this has not been identified.

<sup>128</sup> *Richard Buckley*: Sir Richard Bullheley, a member of Lincoln’s Inn, sat in the 1563, 1604 and 1614 Parliaments. He died in 1621. “Angerie” might be a mistranscription of “Anglesey”; a variant has, “Then sayed Sir Rich: Buckley that Anglice Ladd / rose upp in a fury and rose upp halfe madd” (BL Add. MS 34218, fol. 21v).

<sup>129</sup> *Sir John Perrot*: James Perrot, a member of the Middle Temple and friend of John Hoskyns, sat in the 1597, 1604, 1614, 1621, 1624 and 1626 Parliaments. In 1614 he was summoned before the Privy Council after a violent attack on impositions which blamed James’s mismanagement of royal finances, and in 1621 he was outspoken in his attacks on popery and monopolists.

<sup>130</sup> *Mr Hoskins*: John Hoskyns, a member of the Middle Temple, sat in the 1604 and 1614 Parliaments. He was one of the lawyers in the Commons who studied the prerogative, alongside his friends Brooke, Hakewill, James Whitelocke, Martin, Sir Robert Phelips and others; and he was a vocal critic of James’s Scottish bedchamber in 1610 and 1614 (which led to his imprisonment following the dissolution of the latter Parliament). He was a leading wit in the tavern companies that met at the Mitre and Mermaid, and his poetry circulated widely in manuscript (see Section G). Other couplets on Hoskyns include: “Why quoth Sir John Hoskynes what needes this adoe / If youle bury the Farte I make an Epitaph therto” (BL Add. MS 34218, fol. 21r); “Gentlemen quoth Hoskins, to libe it is not safe, / Let the Fart bee buried, Ile make the Epitaph” (BL Add. MS 58215, fol. 189r); “Well quoth Mr Hoskins, I dare pawne my nose / The gentm: mente it noe farther than his hose / And yet not within that statute de dovis / Because a farte is nulli in bovis” (BL MS Sloane 1489, fol. 25r).

<sup>131</sup> *stale*: lure or trap.

<sup>132</sup> *Sir John Lee*: the poem’s second reference to Lee.

<sup>133</sup> *Come...Epitaph*: the closing couplet perhaps alludes to James’s poem attacking those who wrote libels (“O stay your teares yow who complaine”); however, other versions attribute the warning to Hoskyns. Endings of the poem are many and varied: some versions put the fart to the vote; another brings the poem back to the issue of the Union which Ludlow’s fart interrupted: “When all had well laughed they Concluded by art / That Parliaments of late wear subject to a fart / Yet they better likte the

tricke of the Chollicke / Then the former blast of the Powder Catholique / And thus the parliament, in  
mens opinion / Hath turnde to a fart the mater of union!” (Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 117, fol. 194r; cf.  
BL MS Sloane 1394, fol. 173v-74r).

### C1b Reader I was borne and cry'd

*Notes.* Like “The Parliament Fart” (“Downe came grave auntient Sir John Crooke”), this poem is occasionally ascribed to John Hoskyns, although generally it is without attribution. Many sources transcribe it immediately after “The Parliament Fart”, but the connection is by no means universal, and numerous sources transcribe one without the other. In some sources, only the first two lines are given. After 1649, the Roman allusions to the assassination of Julius Caesar, Romulus, and Flora would have lent the fart a certain republican cast.

#### “The Farts Epitaph”

Reader I was borne and cry'd

Crackt soe, smelt so & so dy'd

Like Julius Cesar was my Death

For he in Senate lost his breath<sup>1</sup>

And not unlike Intoom'd doth lye

The Noble Romulus<sup>2</sup> & I

And alsoe like to Flora fayer<sup>3</sup>

I make the Common-wealth mine Heyer

5

**Source.** Bodleian MS Tanner 306, fol. 256v

**Other known sources.** *Musarum Deliciae* 71; Bodleian MS CCC. 328, fol. 94v; Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 71, p. 4; Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 160, fol. 158v; Bodleian MS Sancroft 53, p. 56; BL Add. MS 15227, fol. 79v; BL Add. MS 30982, fol. 157v; BL MS Egerton 2421, fol. 2v; BL MS Harley 6918, fol. 34v; BL MS Harley 6931, fol. 35v; BL MS Lans. 674, fol. 18v; BL MS Sloane 1792, fol. 95r; BL MS Stowe 962, fol. 219r; St. John's MS S.32, fol. 7r; Beinecke MS Osborn b.197, p. 58; Folger MS V.a.97, p. 128; Folger MS V.a.162, fol. 86r; Folger MS V.a.170, p. 68; Huntington MS HM 116, p. 11; Rosenbach MS 239/27, p. 27; Rosenbach MS 1083/15, p. 113

### C1b

<sup>1</sup> *he in Senate...breath:* Julius Caesar was famously assassinated by the republican Brutus in the Senate.

<sup>2</sup> *Noble Romulus:* Romulus, the mythic founder of the Roman Republic, disappeared in a violent storm

and therefore lacked a tomb. It was believed he was taken to heaven by his father, Mars.

<sup>3</sup> *Flora fayer...Heyer*: the Romans believed Flora was once a wealthy courtesan in the early years of the Roman republic, and left her fortune to the people, making the Republic her heir on the condition they celebrate her birthday with feasts.

#### D. The Death of Robert Cecil (1612)

Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, James I's Lord Treasurer, Secretary and most powerful councillor, died on 24 May 1612. His death provoked a voluminous outpouring of libellous epitaphs that were countered by a smaller number of written defences in both verse and prose. The sheer multitude of libels shocked experienced observers like the newsmonger John Chamberlain (1.362, 364-65), while they clearly amused Cecil's factional enemies at court. Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton, sent one "prety Epitaphe" to the royal favourite Robert Carr, Viscount Rochester, commenting that "I have seldome seen the traces of a more unhappy pen and yet to deale plainly with your Lo if I should die in this instant I knowe not what one point to taxe of untruth or fiction" (PRO SP 14/70/21, 1 August 1612). The notoreity of the libellous attacks on Cecil also provoked John Donne into setting down some rather unorthodox thoughts on the poetic and moral utility of verse libels (77-79). These poems have been intelligently analyzed and contextualized by Pauline Croft ("Reputation") in a pathbreaking essay on Cecil's reputation. Croft's analysis draws attention to the set of interconnected and politically resonant charges and images that recur throughout the libellous epitaphs: the allegation, also made at the time of the events in question, that Cecil had engineered the downfall and execution of Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex, in 1601; his fiscal oppression of the realm as Lord Treasurer and Master of the Wards; his physical deformities (short stature and crooked back); and his alleged sexual corruption, potently symbolised for the libellers by the bodily decay and stench supposedly caused by a fatal dose of syphilis. The selection of poems below gathers together the twenty two surviving libels on Cecil (plus one libellous anagram), and the four extant verse defences that circulated in manuscript.

D0

## D1 Heere lies Hobbinoll our Shepheard while ere

*Notes.* This widely circulated poem on the death of Robert Cecil is often attributed to Walter Raleigh (e.g. Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 26 and Folger MS V.a.345). Croft ("Reputation" 49, 52, 62) discusses the poem and the question of authorship, and McRae discusses its style (Literature 35). The verse makes many of the standard charges against Cecil (e.g. fiscal and sexual corruption), but uniquely presents them in the guise of a sustained Spenserian pastoral conceit.

Heere lies Hobbinoll<sup>1</sup> our Shepheard while ere  
Who once a yeere duely our fleeces did sheere,  
To please us his curre he chaynde to a clogg  
And was himselfe after both Shepheard and dogg  
For oblation to Pan<sup>2</sup> his order was thus 5  
Himselfe gave a trifle and sacrificzde us  
And so with his wysedome this provident swayne  
Kept himselfe on the mountayne and us on the playne  
Where many a fine Hornepipe he tund'e to his Phillis  
And swetely sunge walsingham to Amarillis<sup>3</sup> 10  
Till Atropos<sup>4</sup> payde him, a pox on the drabbe<sup>5</sup>  
In spite of the tarbox,<sup>6</sup> he died of the scabbe.<sup>7</sup>

**Source.** BL MS Egerton 2230, fol. 34r

**Other known sources.** Raleigh, *Poems* 120; Osborne 89; "Poems from a Seventeenth-Century Manuscript" 40; Bodleian MS Aubrey 6, fol. 78v; Bodleian MS Eng. Poet. e.14, fol. 79v; Bodleian MS Eng. Poet. f.10, fol. 97v; Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 26, fol. 78r; Bodleian MS Tanner 299, fol. 12v; BL Add. MS 5832, fol. 169r; BL MS Harley 1221, fol. 74r; BL MS Harley 6038, fol. 18r; BL MS Harley 6947, fol. 11r; NCRO MS IL 4304; V&A MS D25.F.39, fol. 71r; Folger MS V.a.339, fol. 258r; Folger MS V.a.345, p. 110

- <sup>1</sup> *Hobbinoll*: shepherd and friend of Colin Clout in Edmund Spenser's *Shepherd's Calendar* and *Colin Clouts Come Home Againe*. The name was increasingly used by this period as a generic name for a shepherd or rustic.
- <sup>2</sup> *Pan*: again a Spenserian reference, but here referring to King James.
- <sup>3</sup> *Phyllis...walsingham...Amarillis*: Phyllis and Amarillis are two sisters in Spenser's *Colin Clouts Come Home Againe*, and here they stand for Cecil's two alleged lovers, Audrey, Lady Walsingham, wife of Sir Thomas Walsingham and Mistress of the Robes to Queen Anne (Croft, "Reputation" 58), and Catherine Howard, Countess of Suffolk, wife of Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk. Walsingham here is a pun, referring both to a popular Elizabethan tune and to Cecil's supposed lover Lady Walsingham.
- <sup>4</sup> *Atropos*: the one of the three Fates responsible for cutting the thread that ended men's lives.
- <sup>5</sup> *drabbe*: a slut, dirty woman, or whore.
- <sup>6</sup> *tarbox*: a container of salve shepherds carried to treat their sheep; here it alludes to the treatments Cecil was receiving from his doctors.
- <sup>7</sup> *scabbe*: a skin disease that commonly afflicts sheep, and here, in Cecil's case, syphilis.



## D2 Advance, advance my ill-disposed Muse

*Notes.* On 20 January 1613, James Carre sent a copy of this poem to the English diplomat William Trumbull. Carre informed Trumbull that this “libel on the life and death of the late Id. treasurer” had been “blazed abroad” by one Hessels, a servant of the Earl of Arundel and a “dangerous fellow, although a Protestant” (HMC Downshire 4.20; Croft, “Reputation” 62). Although the early parts of the poem allude to some of Cecil’s alleged financial exactions and oppressions, the bulk of the verse is an extended indictment of Cecil for his role in the downfall of Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex.

Advance, advance my ill-disposed Muse  
With uncouth stile and ill-disposed verse,  
Largly relate the ill-disposed use  
Of him that ties thee to bedeck his hearce:<sup>1</sup>  
With much evils then I may rehearse, 5  
And leave the rest for circumstance of evils  
To be debated not with man but Divells:  
It should not be ascribed to his skill  
That thorough his grace he gained estimation,  
But that it pleased to be his Maysters will 10  
To deeme him fitt a pillar for this nation  
And so he was but in an evil fashion,  
His timber sure was rotten at the first,  
And so did make his building be accurst.  
His deeds are written with an iron penn 15  
In gods black book the register of greifs,  
And sign’d and sealed with ten thousand men  
Whom he hath banisht from their good relieves,  
Leaving their goods to be the spoile of theives.  
By his abusive and ungodlie actions. 20  
His tricks, his plots, his nurceries of factions.

Monster of men, the worst of any evill  
 Gods by-marke shun'd by admonition.  
 His privie signat sealed for the divell,  
 Spoyler of orphanes leaft to his tuition.<sup>2</sup> 25  
 And everie good that was in his fruition,  
 Willing and wold he what he list commit,  
 Letting his passion overwhelme his witt.  
 One worke of darknes never be forgotten<sup>3</sup>  
 That was effected by a murthrous deed, 30  
 But let it live till everie one be rotten  
 That yet is yongest of his race and seede  
 For which one strok he caus'd 2000 weepe,  
 And everie drop that from that number came  
 Invokes revenge, dispaire, and endlesse shame, 35  
 On thee and thine. O were thy blood not mixt  
 Among the noble, honest, good, and just,  
 I should not feare what in my heart is fixt,  
 There dissipations by thy pois'ned dust.  
 Plowed, sowne, and reaped, in lascivious lust, 40  
 Packing and matching to uphold thy endes.  
 With divells, with anie either foes or freinds.  
 Still did thy envie waite at honours back  
 Choking desert with overweenig<sup>4</sup> pride  
 And still thy envie shot at honours wrack, 45  
 In semblance still that vertue was thy guide,  
 Forceing the best things to the worsers side.  
 Thyne eye durst look upon the eyes of heaven,  
 Thy heart was vexed when all things went even.  
 It is observed in thy generall ends 50  
 Thy bad condition in thy best estate,  
 Thy private treasons to entrap thy freinds,

And malice others even with publick hate  
 A dangerous pillar in so good a state  
 Whose over running witt and only excellence 55  
 Was envie, hate, and poisoned virulence.  
 The Syre deemed the child of reprobation  
 Brought a new forme of goverment in the state,  
 Plotting our peeres for refuse of the nation,  
 Forcing their vertues to contempt and hate 60  
 Their fortune sone was rul'd by evil fate:  
 That they which had their countries dearest places,  
 Should so be cheated of their princes graces.  
 The Arcane plots, and intricate desseignes  
 Are now in common with the vulgar eares, 65  
 Now the nefarious, hellish undermines  
 Are much bemoaned with a world of tears  
 Just like the losse of paris-garden beares.<sup>5</sup>  
 Who being dead uncased of their furr  
 Lyes bravely buried mongst the brauling curre. 70  
 Well, you are gone, it is no matter whether,  
 Your freinds may meet in Suffolke or in Kent,  
 My charitie doth wish you altogether,  
 That alters honor with so foule intent,  
 And thus my sprite against you all is bent, 75  
 Thinking you worthie of the vilest skernes  
 That suffred basenesse blow in honours hornes.

**Source.** "Poems from a Seventeenth-Century Manuscript" 44-50

**Other known sources.** BL MS Trumbull Misc. V, fol. 11r

<sup>1</sup> *bedeck his hearce*: epitaphs traditionally were pinned to funeral hearses.

<sup>2</sup> *orphanes leaft to his tuition*: the orphans in question were under Cecil's control as Master of the Wards.

<sup>3</sup> *worke of darknes*: this refers to the destruction of Essex, epitome of honour, and introduces the theme that dominates the rest of the poem.

<sup>4</sup> Scribal error; read "overweening".

<sup>5</sup> *paris-garden beares*: Paris Garden was a bear garden on the bank of the Thames in Southwark, where bears were baited for popular entertainment.

### **D3 Ah was there nott a time when one man swayed**

*Notes.* If in fact this verse was penned the week after Cecil's death, we can date it quite precisely to late May or very early June 1612. Although many of the libels discuss the cause of Cecil's death, this is the only one to note, correctly, that he suffered from scurvy, a disease that was responsible for some of the noxious symptoms that other libellers attributed to syphilis (Croft, "Reputation" 60-61).

Ah was there nott a time when one man swayed  
And rulde both king and people topsye-turvye  
Lett king and people now bee well apayde  
He is gone, but how? he dide last week of the scurvye.

**Source.** BL MS Egerton 2230, fol. 33v

D3

#### D4 Heere lieth Robbin Crookt back, unjustly reckond

*Notes.* This is one of two poems that develop parallels between the crooked-back Robert Cecil and the crooked-back late medieval tyrant Richard III. Croft ("Reputation" 55-56) discusses the political resonance of the Ricardian comparison. In one source, this libel is accompanied by a Latin translation (Folger MS V.a.103).

Heere lieth Robbin<sup>1</sup> Crookt back, unjustly reckond

A Richard the third, he was Judas<sup>2</sup>

In their lives they agree, in their deaths somewhat alter,

The more pittie the poxe<sup>3</sup> soe cousend the halter.

Richard, or Robert, which is the worse?

5

A Crookt back great in state is Englands curse.

**Source.** Bodleian MS Tanner 299, fol. 13r

**Other known sources.** Bodleian MS Malone 23, p. 4; Bodleian MS Eng. Poet. e.14, fol. 95v; Nottingham MS Portland PW V 37, p. 37; Folger MS V.a.103, fol. 20r; Folger MS V.a.160, p. 2; Huntington MS HM 116, p. 130

D4

<sup>1</sup> *Robbin*: commonplace contemporary diminutive of Robert.

<sup>2</sup> *Judas*: presumably an allusion to Cecil's alleged betrayal of Essex.

<sup>3</sup> *poxe*: syphilis.

## D5 Two R:R:rs twoe Crookebacks of late ruled Englands helme

*Notes.* This is one of two libels that compare the hump-backed Cecil to the hump-backed tyrant Richard III. For a discussion of the Ricardian motif in these libels, see Croft (*“Reputation”* 55-56).

Two R:R:rs twoe Crookebacks of late ruled Englands helme

The one spilte the Royall bloode,<sup>1</sup> the other Spoylde the Realme.

**Source.** BL MS Egerton 2230, fol. 69v

**Other known sources.** PRO SP 14/69/67:I (transcribed in Chamberlain 1.356 n. 34); *Newsletters from the Archpresbyterate of George Birkhead* 192

D5

<sup>1</sup> *spilte the Royall bloode*: allusion to Richard III’s alleged murder of the two princes in the Tower.

## D6 Robert E. of Salisbury. Libellous Anagram on Cecil

*Notes.* This anagram, which presumably circulated in London news circles, was mentioned in passing in a marginal note John Chamberlain added to a copy of the anti-Cecil poem “Two R:R:rs twoe Crookebacks of late ruled Englands helme”. “Burs” probably means “burse”, purse or shop, hence making a reference to Cecil’s role as Lord Treasurer.

Robert E. of Salisbury. The anagram wherof is a silie burs.<sup>1</sup>

**Source.** PRO SP 14/69/67:I (transcribed in Chamberlain 1.356, n. 34)

D6

<sup>1</sup> ‘Burs’ probably has a double meaning here. Literally it is ‘burse’, purse or shop, and thus a reference to Salisbury’s role as royal treasurer. But ‘burse’ was also contemporary slang for the scrotum.



## D7 The old Cicilian fox

*Notes.* The exact meaning of this short verse is difficult to pin down, though Croft (“Reputation” 57) briefly discusses representations of Cecil as a cunning and corrupt fox. It is probable that the foods mentioned are puns: butterbox was a slang term for a Dutchman (though it is not clear who, in particular, this might refer to); and Bacon may very well refer to Sir Francis Bacon.

The old Cicilian fox<sup>1</sup>  
Whose faults are yet not shaken  
Preferd his flemish butterbox  
before his side of Bacon.

**Source.** Beinecke MS Osborn b.197, p. 202

D7

<sup>1</sup> *fox*: refers to Cecil’s cunning.

## D8 The divell now hath fetcht the Ape

*Notes.* Parts of this poem are excerpted and discussed by Croft (“Reputation” 55, 60) and McRae (Literature 59-61).

The divell now hath fetcht the Ape  
Of crooked manners, crooked shape.<sup>1</sup>  
Great were his infirmities,  
But greater his enormities  
Oppression, lechery, blood, & pride  
He liv’d in; & like Herod<sup>2</sup> di’d.

5

**Source.** Bodleian MS Tanner 299, fol. 11r

D8

<sup>1</sup> *Crooked shape:* Cecil’s crooked back.

<sup>2</sup> *Herod:* according to the ancient historian Josephus, Herod the Great died in great agony, suffering grotesque symptoms similar to those that allegedly afflicted Cecil.

**D9 This Taper, fedd, & nurst with court-oyle**

*Notes.* This libel is discussed by Croft (“Reputation” 61) and McRae (Literature 69-70).

This Taper,<sup>1</sup> fedd, & nurst with court-oyle,  
Made great, & mighty by rapine<sup>2</sup> & spoile  
Of ruined subjects; which did shine of late  
And flashed with glorie thorough the state,  
Unable now to spredd more light about,  
Like a lampe dying, stanke, & went out.

5

**Source.** Bodleian MS Tanner 299, fol. 11r

**Other known sources.** BL MS Egerton 2230, fol. 34v

D9

<sup>1</sup> *Taper*: candle.

<sup>2</sup> *rapine*: plunder.

**D10 He nowe is deade, from whome men fledd**

*Notes.* The target of this verse is not made fully explicit, but the poem's allegation that its subject died of syphilis, and its placement in Bodleian MS Tanner 299 in a section dominated by libels on Cecil, suggests the late Lord Treasurer is the intended victim.

He nowe is deade, from whome men fledd

As from the sickness

But justice lives, and to him gives

His due with quickness

Pittie his prayse, in these oure dayes

Shoulde be forgotten

Noe, lett that Jewe, bee still in viewe

Though he bee rotten,

Lett noe disgrace in any case

or spight forgett him

That whilst he stood in place so good

Noe worth could gett him

For all his freinds he had base ends

To which he usd'e them

And having donne, when they were gone

He soe abusde them

But yet his wench, gave him the French<sup>1</sup>

Before the parting

For which he is deade, and wrapt in leade<sup>2</sup>

To sure for starting.

Now lett the rest, so high he blest

To have like places

Soe nobly live, that men them give

Noe such disgraces.

5

10

15

20

**Source.** BL MS Egerton 2230, fols. 34v-35r

**Other known sources.** Bodleian MS Tanner 299, fol. 11v

D10

<sup>1</sup> *French:* common slang term for syphilis in this period.

<sup>2</sup> *wrapt in leade:* the bodies of the rich were encased in lead to contain the stench of decay during funerals that often occurred some time after death.

## D11 Falshoods Jewell

*Notes.* Croft (*“Reputation”* 49) discusses part of this verse compendium of attacks on Cecil.

Falshoods Jewell,  
Mischeifes fewell,  
Now is wasted;  
Trecheries burden,  
Lecheries guerdon<sup>1</sup> 5  
Hath he tasted.

Deceits commander,  
Abuses defender  
Scarsely repented;  
Oppressions praiser, 10  
Taxations raiser,  
Death hath prævented.

The kings abuser,  
The Parliaments misuser  
Hath left his plotting: 15  
The Queenes deceiver,  
The princes bereaver  
Is now a rotting

The Counsells curber, 20  
The states disturber  
Dyed unwilling;  
The Countries scourger,  
The Citties Cheator  
Of many a shilling.

Bawds best rewarder, 25  
Queanes<sup>2</sup> most regarder,  
Both did attend him;  
Both laid uppon him,  
Both sett uppon him,  
That soone did end him. 30

**Source.** Bodleian MS Tanner 299, fol. 11v

D11

<sup>1</sup> *Guerdon*: reward.

<sup>2</sup> *Queanes*: here means harlots, strumpets, rather than the more literal use of the word in stanza three.

## D12 O Ladies, ladies howle & cry

*Notes. Croft ("Reputation" 58, 61) quotes from and contextualizes parts of this poem.*

### "A Song"

O Ladies, ladies howle & cry,  
For you have lost your Salisbury.  
He that of late was your protection,  
He is now dead by your infection.<sup>1</sup>  
Come with your teares bedew his lockes, 5  
Death kild him not; it was the pockes.<sup>2</sup>

Lett Suffolke now, & Walsingham.<sup>3</sup>  
Leave their adulterous lives for shame:  
Or else their Ladships must know,  
There is noe helpe in Doctor Poe.<sup>4</sup> 10  
For though the man be very cunning,  
He canne not stay the poxe<sup>5</sup> from running.

And now these lecherous wretches all,  
Which plotted worthy Essex fall,<sup>6</sup>  
May see by this foule loathsome end, 15  
How foulie then they did offend.  
And as they all deserv'd this curse,  
Oh lett them all die soe, & worse.

And lett all, that abuse the King,  
Themselves to greatnes soe to bring, 20  
Be forc'd to travell to the bath,<sup>7</sup>  
To purge themselves of filthie froath:  
And when they back againe returne,  
Then lett the pockes their bowells burne.



Soe shall the King, & state be blest, 25  
And subjects all shall live in rest,  
All which long time have been abused  
By tricks, which divellish whores have used.  
But now the cheife is gone before,  
I hope to see the end of more. 30

**Source.** Bodleian MS Tanner 299, fols. 11v-12r

**Other known sources.** Folger MS V.a.345, p. 36 (first stanza only)

D12

<sup>1</sup> *infection*: syphilis.

<sup>2</sup> *pockes*: syphilis.

<sup>3</sup> *Suffolke...Walsingham*: Cecil's two alleged lovers, Audrey, Lady Walsingham, wife of Sir Thomas Walsingham and Mistress of the Robes to Queen Anne (Croft, "Reputation" 58), and Catherine Howard, Countess of Suffolk, wife of Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk.

<sup>4</sup> *Doctor Poe*: Leonard Poe, one of Cecil's physicians.

<sup>5</sup> *poxe*: syphilis.

<sup>6</sup> Cecil was frequently accused, both at the time and in the libellous epitaphs, of engineering the fall and 1601 execution of Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex

<sup>7</sup> *the bath*: Cecil died on his return journey from taking the waters at Bath.

**D13 You say that Malefacit was dead:**

*Notes.* Although Cecil is not explicitly identified in the poem, the sole extant copy is transcribed as part of a collection of anti-Cecil verse. The last line's reference to "stinking evill" also matches the much-repeated and politically resonant allegation that Cecil's final illness produced a foul bodily stench.

You say that Malefacit<sup>1</sup> was dead:

Some wicked Spirit brake the thread

I sweare thou wert a witty divell,

To flie from such a stinking evill.

**Source.** Bodleian MS Tanner 299, fol. 12r

D13

<sup>1</sup> *Malefacit*: literally The Evil Doer.

#### D14 Reader, if that desert may make the stay

*Notes.* Although Cecil is not explicitly identified in this poem, the sole extant copy is transcribed as part of a collection of anti-Cecil verse, and the charges made are common to many attacks on the late Lord Treasurer.

Reader, if that desert may make the stay;

Heere pause awhile, these read, passe on thy way.

This still speakes truth; God & the world doth know,

Hee heere enterr'd was (as these lines doe show)

Monster of nature,<sup>1</sup> earths unhappy treader,

Mens hatred, lawes corrupter, a seducing leader.

Honesties cutthroat, æquities suppressor,

Poore mens undoer, & the widdowes oppressor.

Villanous plotter, & Chaos of evill.

Religions scoffer, Charities foe, mischeifes nurse,

Then whom the world ne're had a worse.

Bawderies mouth, hells portion: but letting all passe,

Il'e say noe more, but 's God his belly was.<sup>2</sup>

Impartiall death was heerein just, & true,

In giving at last, though late, the devill his due.

5

10

15

**Source.** Bodleian MS Tanner 299, fol. 12v

D14

<sup>1</sup> *Monster of nature:* this refers to Cecil's physical deformity.

<sup>2</sup> *God his belly was:* i.e. he was a glutton.

## D15 Heere lyes interred wormes meate

*Notes.* The author of this “invictive Epitaph” (Crum H832) on Robert Cecil was identified at the time as the Welsh-speaking Shropshire poet Richard Edward John (Owen 4-5, citing *PRO STAC* 8/205/21, 22). This much-copied poem is discussed by McRae (Literature 61-62).

Heere lyes interred wormes meate

Robin<sup>1</sup> the little that was so greate

Not Robbin goodfellow,<sup>2</sup> nor Robbin-hood<sup>3</sup>

But Robbin the Divell that never did good<sup>4</sup>

He studied nothing but mischevous ends

Trickes for his foes, traynes<sup>5</sup> for his frends,

A cruell monster sent by fate

To devoure both cuntrye, king, and state

I care not, nor I cannott tell

Whether his soule be in heaven or Hell

Butt sure I am they have earthed the foxe<sup>6</sup>

That stunke alive, and dyde of the poxe.<sup>7</sup>

5

10

**Source.** BL MS Egerton 2230, fol. 33v

**Other known sources.** Osborne 87; “Poems from a Seventeenth-Century Manuscript” 40; Bodleian MS Ashmole 38, p. 182; Bodleian MS Ashmole 1463, p. 13; Bodleian MS Eng. Poet. f.10, fol. 97r; Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 155, p. 70; Bodleian MS Tanner 299, fol. 12r; BL MS Harley 6947, fol. 211r; V&A MS D25.F.39, fol. 71r; NCRO MS IL 4304; Folger MS V.a.339, fol. 258r

D15

<sup>1</sup> *Robin*: common diminutive or nickname for Robert.

<sup>2</sup> *Robbin goodfellow*: the mischeivous goblin of English folklore.

<sup>3</sup> *Robbin-hood*: the legendary English outlaw.

<sup>4</sup> Francis Osborne's printed version and some earlier manuscript copies have an interesting variant for this line, giving it as "But Robin th'Encloser of Hatfield wood" (Osborne 88; Croft, "Reputation" 52).

<sup>5</sup> *traynes*: deceits.

<sup>6</sup> *foxe*: referring here to Cecil's political cunning.

<sup>7</sup> *poxe*: syphilis.

## D16 Heere sleepes in the Lorde beeperperde with pox

*Notes.* The sole extant copy of this libel was included in a newsletter sent in August 1612 by Benjamin Norton to Thomas More, the agent in Rome for the English Archpriest, George Birkhead. Norton reported that “there bee a multitude of Epitaphes” attacking Cecil, and claimed this one was “one of the cleaneste” (Newsletters from the Archpresbyterate of George Birkhead 193).

Heere sleepes in the Lorde beeperperde with pox<sup>1</sup>  
a Ciciliane monster beegott of a fox<sup>2</sup>  
some caulde him crookebacke & some litle Robbin<sup>3</sup>  
hee bore on his backe a packe<sup>4</sup> like ower Dobbin<sup>5</sup>  
yett none coulde rule him, ride, or bestride him 5  
butt he beestrid many or els they beelyde him  
by crafte hee gott creditt, & honor by moneye  
much hee delighted in huntinge the Cunniye<sup>6</sup>  
but Rotten with ruttinge like sores in september  
hee died as hee lived wth a faulte in one member.<sup>7</sup> 10

**Source.** *Newsletters from the Archpresbyterate of George Birkhead* 193 (from Archives of the Archdiocese of Westminster, Series A, AAW A XI, no. 136, pp. 369-72)

### D16

<sup>1</sup> *pox*: syphilis.

<sup>2</sup> *fox*: Robert Cecil’s father, William Cecil, Lord Burghley was also widely credited with the cunning of a fox—he was, for instance, the courtier Fox in Spenser’s *Mother Hubberds Tale*.

<sup>3</sup> *Robbin*: diminutive of Robert.

<sup>4</sup> *a packe*: Cecil’s hump on his back.

<sup>5</sup> *Dobbin*: a horse, and also a diminutive nickname for Robin/Robert.

<sup>6</sup> *huntin' the Cunniye*: a lewd pun, literally meaning rabbit (coney) hunting, but here clearly also meaning sexual pursuit of women.

<sup>7</sup> *faul'te in one member*: presumably referring to the syphilitic infection of Cecil's genitals.

### D17 Heere Robbin rousteth in his last neast

*Notes.* This libel puns on the common contemporary diminutive of Robert, “Robin”, turning the attack on Cecil into an allusive bird and beast fable. Thus the robin’s red breast becomes the “bloody breast” of the man held responsible for the death of the noble Essex; the robin’s mating habits become Cecil’s alleged sexual transgressions; and the robin’s diet becomes symbolic of Cecil’s exactions and oppressions. The same “robin” pun was later used to attack obliquely the royal favourite Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset (see headnote to “The Sommers sun is sett”).

Heere Robbin rousteth in his last neast,

The Robbin with the bloody breast.

Companion he would be to none,

His wont it was to sitt alone.

Still once a yeare he chang’d his henne,

And some accuse him with the Wrenne.<sup>1</sup>

The man,<sup>2</sup> from whom alive he fledd,

With mosse he strove to cover dead.

When crouching he began to sing,

Wee knew the weather, he would bring.

The cunning Spinner haunted hee,

The warie ant, the working bee;

The harmelesse worme he made his meat,

And now the wormes this Robbin eat.

5

10

**Source.** Bodleian MS Tanner 299, fol. 13r

D17

<sup>1</sup> *Wrenne*: the extension of the robin’s sexual tastes across the species line may allude to the allegation of Cecil’s sexual relationship with Catherine Howard, Countess of Suffolk. Although James I had tried to heal the rift by brokering marriage alliances, the Howards and the Cecils had been bitter factional



rivals at court.

<sup>2</sup> *The man*: possibly Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex.

### D18 At Hattfeilde neere Hartforde there lyes in a coffin

*Notes.* Croft (“Reputation” 53, 55, 59) discusses and contextualizes a number of the charges levied in this libel on Cecil. Many of the charges—physical deformity, political cunning and deception, sexual transgression and loathsome disease—are common to the attacks on Cecil. This poem’s damaging charge of religious hypocrisy, however, is less common and deepens the impact of this powerful evocation of court corruption.

At Hattfeilde<sup>1</sup> neere Hartforde there lyes in a coffin  
A harte griping Harpie;<sup>2</sup> of shape like a Dolphin<sup>3</sup>  
Whose plotts and whose projects<sup>4</sup> did all of them tende  
To cousin<sup>5</sup> the king, and the state to offend  
His mynes, and his countermynes,<sup>6</sup> and his bravadoes<sup>7</sup> 5  
Were all to endanger by close Ambuscadoes<sup>8</sup>  
With tricks and devises of legerdemaine  
He playde like a juggler with France England Spayne  
He fayned religion and zealous affection  
Yet favored the Papists and gave preists protection 10  
By swearing, protesting, and damnable lyes  
He stole the kings favour still blinding his eyes  
But yet though he had all the slights of a fox<sup>9</sup>  
He coulede nott prevent her that gave him the pox<sup>10</sup>  
Twixt Suffolk and Walsingham of<sup>11</sup> did he jorney<sup>12</sup> 15  
To tilte att the one place, at the other to tourney<sup>13</sup>  
In which hot encounter he gott such a blowe<sup>14</sup>  
That he coulede nott be cured by Atkins nor Poe<sup>15</sup>  
Noe nor the rare Frenchman<sup>16</sup> that easde his owne maister  
Coulede doe him noe good with his bath<sup>17</sup> nor his plaister 20  
For this his disease was given by a freinde  
And therefore had reason to keepe itt to his end.

**Source.** BL MS Egerton 2230, fol. 34r-v

**Other known sources.** “Poems from a Seventeenth-Century Manuscript” 42; Bodleian MS Firth d.7, fol. 156r; Bodleian MS Tanner 299, fol. 11r; Huntington MS HM 198, 2.126

D18

<sup>1</sup> *Hattfeilde*: Hatfield House, Cecil’s grand residence in Hertfordshire, built in the early seventeenth century, and the Lord Treasurer’s final resting place.

<sup>2</sup> *Harpie*: mythological winged monster.

<sup>3</sup> *Dolphin*: Croft (“Reputation” 55) notes that dolphins were “always depicted heraldically as curved”. Thus “Dolphin” here alludes to Cecil’s crooked back.

<sup>4</sup> *projects*: this term may have an additional meaning here. Projects were controversial financial schemes that ceded royal powers to private entrepreneurs who would then supposedly raise revenue for both their own personal profit and the royal coffers. Cecil presided over many such projects as Lord Treasurer.

<sup>5</sup> *cousin*: i.e. cozen.

<sup>6</sup> *mynes...countermynes*: plots and counter-plots.

<sup>7</sup> *bravadoes*: boasts.

<sup>8</sup> *Ambuscadoes*: ambushes.

<sup>9</sup> *slights of a fox*: allusion to Cecil’s cunning.

<sup>10</sup> *pox*: syphilis.

<sup>11</sup> *of*: probable scribal error; read “oft”.

<sup>12</sup> *Twixt Suffolk...journey*: a pun on the names of the English county, Suffolk, and the famous Norfolk pilgrimage site, Walsingham. Cecil had allegedly had affairs with both Audrey, Lady Walsingham, wife of Sir Thomas Walsingham and Mistress of the Robes to Queen Anne (Croft, “Reputation” 58), and Catherine Howard, Countess of Suffolk, wife of Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk.

<sup>13</sup> *Tilte...tourney*: bawdy use of the language of the joust to describe sexual intercourse.

<sup>14</sup> *blowe*: wound in the joust; and here the syphilitic infection acquired during sexual intercourse.

<sup>15</sup> *Atkins nor Poe*: Henry Atkins and Leonard Poe were well-known doctors who treated Cecil during his last illness.

<sup>16</sup> *rare Frenchman*: Theodore de Mayerne, a famed Swiss-French court physician who attended James I (Cecil's "maister") and examined Cecil in 1611.

<sup>17</sup> *bath*: Cecil died on his return journey from taking the waters at Bath.

### D19 Passer by know heere is interrd

*Notes.* In a fascinating and politically aggressive appropriation of anti-libel discourse, this verse on Cecil at first seems to diminish the allegations against the Lord Treasurer by repeating the commonplace charge that libellers are “base detractors”. The poem then, however, continues on both to repeat those charges and, in an extended pun at the end, to add a distinctive twist to one of the most commonly made allegations.

Passer by know heere is interrd

The little great<sup>1</sup> that so was feard

who in his life none durst think evill

but being dead is said a divell

And monstrous Crimes laid to his charg

5

by base detractors, who at larg

did set them forth to his infamy

As a taper<sup>2</sup> of the Comonwealth touchd with sodomy<sup>3</sup>

An usurer, subtle and ful of trechery

And least of al his monstrous lechery

10

Why put the case twere al as they do say

[*illegible: ms torn*] gone the right way

And hath no doubt a place of heaven

at least if penitents may be forgiven

for he oft was knowen with zeal devine

15

To go a pilgrimag to our ladies shrine

At Walsingham and neare staid by the way

Save nowe and then in Suffolk lay.<sup>4</sup>

**Source.** BL MS Harley 6947, fol. 211r

D19

<sup>1</sup> *the little great*: Cecil was both a powerful man (“great”) and of small physical stature (“little”). The same juxtaposition is made in the poem “Heere lyes Salisbury that little great comaunder”, and more sympathetically in Samuel Daniel’s “If greatnes, wisdom, pollicie of state”.

<sup>2</sup> *taper*: candle. The libel “This Taper, fedd, & nurst with court-oyle” also describes Cecil as a taper.

<sup>3</sup> *sodomy*: this is the only extant verse on Cecil that explicitly makes this allegation.

<sup>4</sup> *And hath...lay*: the last six lines of the libel develop a resonant and multi-layered pun to deliver the widely-repeated charge that Cecil had been the lover of both Audrey, Lady Walsingham, and Catherine Howard, Countess of Suffolk. The pun hints at Cecil’s possible religious unorthodoxy by presenting him as a Catholic penitent who performed penance for his sins by making the pilgrimage to the famous late medieval shrine of Our Lady of Walsingham.

## D20 Heere lyes Salisbury that little great comaunder

*Notes.* Croft (“Reputation” 55, 61, 65) discusses and contextualizes several parts of this poem. Like the author of “Passer by know heere is interrd”, the poet here casually attributes attacks on Cecil to “the Vulgar”, before going on himself to attack Cecil, in this case in the guise of ostensibly praising his charitable activities.

Heere lyes Salisbury that little great<sup>1</sup> comaunder  
On whome Mallice it selfe cannot fasten a slander  
Though Crookeback the Vulgar did terme him in sight  
There weere more beside him that are not upright  
Hee was just to king James as hee was to the old queene<sup>2</sup> 5  
Did many good deeds that never were seene  
He humbled the rich, made much of the poore  
Hee would father the orphanes,<sup>3</sup> and ferritt the whoore  
Betweene married folkes if ther fell any strife  
To doe for the husband hee dealt with the wife 10  
Thee widdowe hee kept, and oft in the yeare  
Good turnes hee did Virgins that cost him full deere  
I meane not her honor, for shee was noe mayde  
By her wee confesse hee soundly was paid<sup>4</sup>  
A gamster hee was their never was fairer 15  
Yet hee plaid most with old cards and had ever a sharer  
Hee was bitter foe, but hee was a sweet frend  
When any hee loved, hee loved to an end  
By way of prevention offences to shunn  
Hee would pnish offences before any weere done, 20  
To the good of the state, hee was a mayne stay  
Till Poe<sup>5</sup> with his Sirrope<sup>6</sup> did squirt him away  
Don Leonard<sup>7</sup> great Scorpio<sup>8</sup> that governs the tayle<sup>9</sup>  
The cullions<sup>10</sup> and members<sup>11</sup> both female and male

A sonn<sup>12</sup> hee hath left us, though noebodie mynd him 25  
 And a doughter<sup>13</sup> for goodnes that comes not behind him  
 Thus heere lyes his lordship interr'd as you see  
 And noe doubt but his Soule is where it should bee  
 If pray for the dead you cannot with hope  
 Yet say Lord have mercy on Beeston and Cope.<sup>14</sup> 30

**Source.** Bodleian MS Malone 23, pp. 65-66

**Other known sources.** Huntington MS HM 198, 2.125

D20

<sup>1</sup> *little great*: Cecil was both a powerful man (“great”) and of small physical stature (“little”). The same phrase is used in line 2 of the Cecil libel “Passer by know heere is interr’d”, and more affectionately in line 5 of Samuel Daniel’s “If greatnes, wisdom, pollicie of state”.

<sup>2</sup> *old queene*: Elizabeth I.

<sup>3</sup> *father the orphanes*: alludes to Cecil’s work as Master of the Court of Wards.

<sup>4</sup> *soundly was paid*: i.e. contracted syphilis.

<sup>5</sup> *Poe*: Leonard Poe, one of Cecil’s physicians.

<sup>6</sup> *Sirrope*: syrup; presumably here a medicine. If the syrup is a syphilis treatment then it might refer to the commonly used decoctions of guaiacum wood that could be drunk by the patient.

<sup>7</sup> *Don Leonard*: Poe.

<sup>8</sup> *Scorpio*: astrological sign, whose application to Poe is unclear.

<sup>9</sup> *tayle*: in contemporary bawdy usage, tail can mean either the posterior or both the male and female genitalia.

<sup>10</sup> *cullions*: testicles.

<sup>11</sup> *members*: genitals.



<sup>12</sup> *sonn*: William Cecil, created Viscount Cranborne in 1605, succeeded his father as 2nd Earl of Salisbury in 1612.

<sup>13</sup> *doughter*: Cecil's daughter Frances, married in 1610 to Henry Clifford, the son of the Earl of Cumberland.

<sup>14</sup> *Beeston and Cope*: Sir Hugh Beeston and Sir Walter Cope, both members of Cecil's inner circle. Cope wrote and circulated a manuscript *Apology* for Cecil that vigorously defended the Lord Treasurer's reputation (see Croft, "Reputation" 65).

## D21 Heere lyes great Salisbury though little of Stature

*Notes.* Croft (“*Reputation*” 49-50) discusses and contextualizes the charges of financial oppression and mismanagement that are a central feature of this libel.

Heere lyes great Salisbury though little of Stature<sup>1</sup>  
A Monster<sup>2</sup> of mischeif Ambitious of Nature:  
A States man that did Impoverish the Crowne  
Sould Mylles & lands & Forrests cut downe.<sup>3</sup>  
His care for the commons his country none feeles  
With trickes & with traps & with privye Seales<sup>4</sup>  
King cuntrye & commons doe mourne & lamente  
For he is gone to hell to raise the devills Rente.

5

**Source.** NCRO MS IL 4304

D21

<sup>1</sup> *great Salisbury though little of Stature*: several poems play on the contrast between Cecil’s political greatness and his small physical stature. See, for instance, line 2 of “Passer by know heere is interrred”, the opening line of “Heere lyes Salisbury that little great comaunder”, and line 5 of Samuel Daniel’s “If greatnes, wisdom, pollicie of state”.

<sup>2</sup> *Monster*: refers to Cecil’s crooked back.

<sup>3</sup> *Sould...cut downe*: this line charges Cecil, somewhat unfairly, with selling off and spoiling the royal lands.

<sup>4</sup> *privye Seales*: a controversial form of prerogative finance that raised revenue by forced loans. Croft (“*Reputation*” 49-50, n.22) notes that the “collection of privy seals was at the forefront of attention early in 1612”.

## D22 Heere lyeth our great Lord Treasurer of late

*Notes.* This cryptic poem twists on the final half-line, which punctures the official mourning for Cecil's death. In its only known source, a single manuscript sheet, it is transcribed along with three more straightforward libels.

Heere lyeth our great Lord Treasurer of late

Deere to his Countrye deere to his Kinge:

Quietus est<sup>1</sup> in Heaven we may conceyte,

All things being justly weighed but no such thing:

His friends say most unworthy he doth dye

of this one age, they say so, soe saye I

though they lye

5

**Source.** NCRO MS IL 4304

D22

<sup>1</sup> *Quietus est*: "he is quit"; legal term, typically used to mark the settling of accounts.

### D23 You that reade passing by

*Notes.* This poem by William Herbert, 3rd Earl of Pembroke, is one of four extant verses defending Cecil that circulated in manuscript. In both the Chetham and Clifton manuscripts, Pembroke's poem is transcribed together with another defence of Cecil, Samuel Daniel's "If greatnes, wisdom, pollicie of state". Croft ("Reputation" 66) discusses Pembroke's poem and prints it in full.

"The Earle of Penbrockes Memoriall for the earle of Salsiebury deceased"

You that read in passinge by

Robert Earle of Salisbury

know that in soe short<sup>1</sup> a storie

Thou canst never fyend such glorie

All Statte secretts on him laide

Hee the staff of Treasure<sup>2</sup> swayd

Gave his maister all the gaine

of the wardes<sup>3</sup> reserved the paine

Governd all with so cleare hands

as most mallice silence standes

And who snarles<sup>4</sup> wilbe soone

founde doggs barekinge att the moone

This Tombe hath his bonnes possest

Heven and frends hould deare the rest

5

10

**Source.** Nottingham, Clifton MS CL LM 24

**Other known sources.** *Dr Farmer Chetham Manuscript* 2.188; Pitcher 173; NCRO MS IL 4296;

D23

<sup>1</sup> *short*: an affectionate allusion to Cecil's small physical stature.

<sup>2</sup> *staff of Treasure*: symbol of the Lord Treasurer's office.

<sup>3</sup> *wardes*: Cecil was Master of the Wards.

<sup>4</sup> *And who snarles*: i.e. the libellers.

## D24 If greatnes, wisdome, pollicie of state

*Notes.* This is one of four extant poems defending Cecil that circulated in manuscript, and in both the Chetham and Clifton manuscripts it is paired with the Earl of Pembroke's similarly laudatory piece, "You that reade passing by". The Chetham manuscript attributes the poem to Samuel Daniel, and on the basis of this ascription, a handful of stylistic parallels, and evidence of a patronage relationship between Cecil and Daniel, John Pitcher has argued compellingly in favour of this attribution (175-7). Croft ("Reputation" 66-67) discusses the politics of the poem, while Pitcher (174) lists and analyses the variants between the Chetham and Clifton copies of the poem, arguing that the Clifton version, which we have reproduced, is "distinctly superior" (173).

"By another his freind"

If greatnes wisdome pollicie of state  
or place or riches could preserve from fate  
Thou hadst not left the companie of men  
who wert both Englands purse & England pen.<sup>1</sup>

Greate little lord<sup>2</sup> whoe only didst inheritt  
Thy Fathers<sup>3</sup> goodnes honers and his spiritt  
But death that equalls Scepters with the spade  
the with thy fathers bones to slepp hath layed

In good tyme for thy self tho for the statte  
Most wish thy life hath borne thy fathers date<sup>4</sup>  
And could the parsea<sup>5</sup> heare or be prepaired  
with prayers unfeyned thy lif had longe been spard

All now wee cann is to bewayle thy herse  
not sing thy praise that cannot stand in verse  
Twill fill great volumes for thy noble partes  
Men writ not in hard stone but in theyr hartes

5

10

15

**Source.** Nottingham, Clifton MS CL LM 24

**Other known sources.** *Dr Farmer Chetham Manuscript* 2.189; Pitcher 173; BL Add. MS 69883B, fol. 66r

D24

<sup>1</sup> *England purse & England pen:* Cecil was both Lord Treasurer and Secretary of State.

<sup>2</sup> *Greate little Lord:* Cecil was both a powerful man (“great”) and of small physical stature (“little”). The same phrase is used in line 2 of the Cecil libel “Passer by know heere is interrd”, and in the opening line of “Heere lyes Salisbury that little great comaunder”. Here the juxtaposition is affectionate.

<sup>3</sup> *Fathers:* William Cecil, Lord Burghley, Elizabeth I’s Secretary, Lord Treasurer and Master of the Wards.

<sup>4</sup> *thy fathers date:* William Cecil, Lord Burghley, lived from 1520 to 1598; Robert Cecil lived a significantly shorter life, from 1563 to 1612.

<sup>5</sup> *parcea:* the Fates.

## D25 Oh that such wisdom that could steere a state

*Notes.* This poem, one of four extant defences of Robert Cecil, is discussed and partly quoted in Croft ("Reputation" 64).

Oh that such wisdom that could steere a state,  
Should now bee valued at so cheape a rate!  
The burden that this one so easely bore  
Was deemed waight enough for thousands more  
As Envy blusht in all that understoode 5  
Who from a crime surmised<sup>1</sup> his fame redeemd  
So nobly, that it now for vertue seem'd,  
Fate of our age! See how this dead man ly's  
Bitten and stung by Court and Cittie flyes<sup>2</sup>  
His wisdomes questioned, and now all can find 10  
And scoff at to greate vices in his mind.  
Att this greate Pillars fall when all thus laugh,  
Dreads not the whole world the nexte Epitaph

**Source.** Folger MS V.a.103, fol. 5r-v

**Other known sources.** Bodleian MS Eng. Poet. e.14, fol. 96r; Nottingham MS Portland PW V 37, p. 9

D25

<sup>1</sup> *a crime surmised*: probably a reference to Cecil's alleged role in engineering the destruction of Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex.

<sup>2</sup> *Court and Cittie flyes*: Cecil's critics and libellers.



**D26 When that rich soul of thine (now Sainted) kept**

*Notes.* This poem, one of four extant verses concerned to rebut the libels that circulated after the death of Robert Cecil, is attributed in the only known source to Richard Corbett. Although Corbett wrote several forceful anti-libels in response to subsequent scandals, his modern editors do not include this poem among his works. Like a number of other anti-libels, the poem uses stereotypical images of libellers as base, envious liars with no respect for justice or religion, to magnify the fame and virtue of the libellers' victim.

“Antidotum Cæcilianum”

When that rich soul of thine (now Sainted) kept  
His seate on earth, my humble muse nere slept  
Out of the sweet content where in shee dwelt  
To sing thy worth, the effects whereof were felt  
But now since death hath freedom given to thee 5  
To see thy prayse made others flattery  
And that each mouse on the dead lyon leapes  
And every riming pen forgd matter heapes  
On thy bright fame, casting thereon base durt  
Uppon thy honourd herse winding more hurt 10  
To thee then death or Hel could doe, I may  
And must be bold (or sin) this truth to say  
Each evidence thy foes bring speaks thy prayse  
For what can more thy fame and glory rayse?  
Then to be raild at by the worst of men? 15  
Such as are outlawes live not in the ken  
Of Justice or religion, but base slaves  
Whose rimes and sins make their owne nests their graves  
Twas meet thy vertues eminent and high  
Should not unenvyed live, unslandred dy, 20  
For then we mighte have feared thou hadst not been

So absolute a man, Now it is seen,  
Even by those many shaddowes envy throwes,  
That thy worth was substantial, not showes.

**Source.** Folger MS V.a.345, p. 107

D26

## D27 Ould Sarum now is dead Younge Salisburie lyves

*Notes.* In the only known source, this poem immediately follows a text of the Earl of Pembroke's sympathetic epitaph for Cecil, "You that reade passing by".

Ould Sarum<sup>1</sup> now is dead Younge Salisburie<sup>2</sup> lyves  
soe Crafte<sup>3</sup> to pryde what he enjoyed gyves  
interred thone, thother lives in hate  
cause thould Foxe<sup>4</sup> made our hopes unfortunate<sup>5</sup>  
Twas his false crafte when nought was done amisse  
by him<sup>6</sup> whose thoughts never dreampte of Fall of his:  
But since tis thus our Comforte is this one  
nowe all that viperous brood is deade and gone  
Salisburye stood in Suffolke<sup>7</sup> wote ye not whie;  
That Suffolke now might stand for Salisburye.<sup>8</sup>

5

10

**Source.** NCRO MS IL 4296

D27

<sup>1</sup> *Ould Sarum*: Robert Cecil. Sarum is the ecclesiastical name for Salisbury.

<sup>2</sup> *Younge Salisburie*: Robert Cecil's son William Cecil, Viscount Cranborne, succeeded his father as Earl of Salisbury in 1612.

<sup>3</sup> *Crafte*: Cecil's fox-like cunning.

<sup>4</sup> *thould Foxe*: another reference to Cecil's cunning.

<sup>5</sup> *made our hopes unfortunate*: although the meaning of this phrase and of the following two lines is not entirely clear, they seem to refer to Cecil's alleged engineering of the fall and destruction of Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex.

<sup>6</sup> *him*: Essex.

<sup>7</sup> *stood in Suffolke*: a bawdy pun alluding to Cecil's alleged sexual relationship with Catherine Howard, Countess of Suffolk.

<sup>8</sup> *Suffolke now might stand for Salisbury*: the exact meaning of the last line is difficult to pin down, although it is probable that Suffolk here refers to Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk, one of the chief courtiers who stood to gain new office from Cecil's death.

### E. Attacks on the Scots

This selection of verse attacks on the Scots who had followed James VI into England documents some of the many anxieties and resentments the king's countrymen provoked south of the border. As such, the libels provide important evidence of the broader context to the better-known complaints against the Scots aired in the early Jacobean House of Commons during the 1604-10 and 1614 sessions. All the libels, for instance, dwell to a greater or lesser degree on the material rewards that numbers of Scotsmen had reaped by royal gift—and, it seemed to observers, at English expense—since 1603. Two of the longer surviving verses explore this theme through extended satirical accounts of the sartorial transformation of coarsely dressed Scotsmen into silk-bedecked dandies, compellingly illustrating contemporary perceptions of the connections between clothing and national and social distinction. Some of the same sartorially focused ethnic and socio-economic disdain was expressed in a now lost ballad on James I's coronation which, according to John Aubrey, included the lines, “And at the erse of them marched the Scottish peerer / With lowzie shirts, and mangie wrists, went pricking-up their eares” (2.4). Two other poems—including the widest-copied of the anti-Scots collection—comment on a series of violent clashes between Englishmen and Scots that occurred during the spring and early summer of 1612, and that significantly heightened ethnic tensions both at court and on the London streets. Firth (“Ballads” 113-16, and “Ballad” 22-24) was the first historian to take note of at least some of these anti-Scots verses, and Akrigg (48-55) offers a brief overview of English resentments of “The Hungry Scots” that allows us to put these poems in context. But neither the libels, nor the incidents they document, have yet been analyzed in detail.

## E1 They beg our goods, our lands, and our lives

*Notes.* On 13 June 1612 Abraham Williams sent the English diplomat William Trumbull a copy of this “foolish” libel that he had found in circulation in the Dutch town of Middelburg (HMC Downshire 3.315). Williams’s version—and all the others but one—runs to four lines. The exception, which we give below, was transcribed by the newsmonger John Chamberlain on a scrap of paper that also included libellous material on Robert Cecil. The additional two lines in Chamberlain’s version are very similar to lines 5-8 of the nearly contemporaneous libel “Now doe your selves noe more so deck”, which was written during the last week of June. Chamberlain’s scrap of paper cannot be definitively dated, and thus we cannot determine which libeller lifted the lines from the other. The libel, both with and without the final couplet, makes a series of general and specific charges against the Scots. The specific charges refer to four violent clashes between Englishmen and Scots, three of which took place during the spring and early summer of 1612. Most of the incidents quickly became notorious and collectively contributed to a dangerous escalation of ethnic tension at court and in London. Francis Osborne’s 1658 history of the Jacobean court quotes the four-line version of the libel—noting that these “homely verses...were everywhere posted” (70-71)—and then glosses the poem by narrating the events that lay behind it. Three of the incidents are also widely reported in contemporary newsletters. The events, listed in the order they appear in the libel, were as follows: (1) an incident in March 1612 at the races in Croydon in which a Scot, William Ramsay, struck Philip Herbert, Earl of Montgomery, on the face (“They whip our Nobles”); (2) an incident at a feast for the Duc de Bouillon in May 1612 during which the Scots courtier James Maxwell quarrelled with James Hawley of the Temple, yanking at Hawley’s earring and making him bleed (“They pinch our Gentry”), a slur which almost resulted in a duel (“send for the benchers”); (3) an incident in which a Scotsman, Murray, and his servants killed a London sergeant (“They stab our sergeants”); (4) finally, and most notoriously, in May 1612, the shooting by assassins hired by the Scots Catholic Robert Crichton, Earl of Sanquhar, of John Turner, an English fencing master who, a number of years previously, had poked out Sanquhar’s eye in swordplay (“pistoll our fencers”).

### “Upon the Scottes”

They beg our goods, our lands, and our lives,<sup>1</sup>  
They whip our Nobles<sup>2</sup> and lie with their wives,<sup>3</sup>  
They pinch our Gentry,<sup>4</sup> and send for the benchers,<sup>5</sup>  
They stab our sergeants,<sup>6</sup> and pistoll our fencers.<sup>7</sup>

Leave of proud Scotts thus to undo us,

5

Least we make you as poore as when you came to us.

**Source.** Chamberlain 1.356 (from PRO SP 14/69/67:I)

**Other known sources.** *HMC Downshire* 3.315; Osborne 70-71; Bodleian MS Malone 23, p. 4; Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 26, fol. 1r; BL MS Egerton 2230, fol. 70r; BL MS Harley 3991, fol. 126v

E1

<sup>1</sup> *They...lives*: the opening line of the libel focuses on generalized grievances against the Scots, but a contemporary audience could probably have supplied specific examples. The 1608 grant of Sir Walter Raleigh's lands at Sherborne to the Scots favourite Robert Carr, for instance, was widely known and, thanks to Raleigh's own semi-public letter on the loss of his estate, widely resented.

<sup>2</sup> *whip our Nobles*: William Ramsay's striking of the Earl of Montgomery at the Croydon races.

<sup>3</sup> *lie with their wives*: this does not seem to document a specific incident, but probably registers contemporary gossip as well as conforming to an image of the Scots as rapacious consumers of English property and threats to English honour.

<sup>4</sup> *pinch our Gentry*: James Maxwell's assault on James Hawley.

<sup>5</sup> *send for the benchers*: Maxwell and friends' calling out of Hawley's fellow lawyers for a duel to settle their dispute.

<sup>6</sup> *stab our sergeants*: Murray's murder of the London sergeant.

<sup>7</sup> *pistoll our fencers*: the murder of the fencer John Turner by assassins in the pay of Lord Sanquhar.

## E2 Now doe your selves noe more so deck

*Notes.* This poem refers to the Sanquhar-Turner murder case of May-June 1612. On Tuesday, 23 June 1612, Robert Carlyle and James Irwin, the assassins commissioned by Robert Crichton, Earl of Sanquhar to murder the fencer John Turner, were tried and convicted for the crime. They were hanged early in the morning of Thursday 25 June on a gallows in Fleet Street (Chamberlain 1.362). Our poem's reference to "scotts" (plural) being hanged "Just att Whitefriars gate" (the Whitefriars was just off Fleet Street), indicates that the verse was celebrating Carlyle's and Irwin's imminent executions and was probably written sometime between their trial and their hanging. Sanquhar himself was tried on Saturday 27 June and executed "before the coort gates" two days later (Newsletters from the Archpresbyterate of George Birkhead 172). Lines 5-8 of this libel are very similar to the closing couplet in the Chamberlain transcription of the poem "They beg our goods, our lands, and our lives".

Now doe your selves noe more so deck

In such greate pompe and state

For scotts must hanged bee by th' neck

Just att Whitefriars gate

Therefore beeware, and take good heede

5

Though you doe thus undoe us

Least that you live in greater neede

Then when you first came to us

God long preserve us, our Royall king

And grante him long to live

10

And save us all from pistoling<sup>1</sup>

Which Scotts beegin to give:

**Source.** BL MS Egerton 2230, fol. 70v

E2

<sup>1</sup> *pistoling*: Turner was shot to death with a pistol.



### E3 If either lotteryeyes or lottes

*Notes.* The first lottery run by the Virginia Company to raise money for their fledgling colony was held from March to July 1612 (see Johnson). It is highly probable that this poem was first circulated some time during those few months, a period in which the lottery-and especially its final drawing-commanded significant public attention in London, and in which the wave of Anglo-Scots violence documented in “They beg our goods, our lands, and our lives” was triggering a spike in anti-Scots sentiment at court and in the capital. The American colony and anti-Scots sentiment had been yoked together before. In Jonson, Chapman and Marston’s 1605 *Eastward Ho*, Captain Seagull wishes that “a hundred thousand” of the Scots were in Virginia, “for we are all one countrymen now, ye know; and we should find ten times more comfort of them than we do here” (3.3.42-45).

#### “De Scoto-Britannis”

If either lotteryeyes or lottes

Could rid us of these rascall Scotts;

Who would not venter then with thankes;

Although hee drew nothinge but blankes?<sup>1</sup>

But since Virginia made the toombe<sup>2</sup>

For us, to make these rogues more roome;

Let them be gulld<sup>3</sup> that list to bee;

Virginia getts no more of mee.

5

**Source.** Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 26, fol. 1r

E3

<sup>1</sup> *blankes*: losing lots.

<sup>2</sup> *Virginia made the toombe*: the fledgling settlements in Virginia witnessed high mortality rates during these early years.

<sup>3</sup> *gulld*: deceived.

#### **E4 Myene of Gold some say their's found**

*Notes.* This short, undated poem may refer to rumours of a gold mine north of the border. The libel's depiction of Scottish poverty is entirely commonplace—and essential to the charge that the Scots who had accompanied James VI into England had come to plunder English wealth.

A Myene of Gold some say their's found

In Scotland; that's a wonder.

To see noe money above ground

And yett to fynde some under.

**Source.** Bodleian MS Malone 23, p. 120

**Other known sources.** Bodleian MS Douce f.5, fol. 34v; BL Add. MS 22118, fol. 9v; Folger MS V.a.319, fol. 26r

E4

## E5 Well met Jockie whether away

*Notes. This undated verse is one of two satirical attacks on the Scots' alleged consumption of English wealth that focuses on the sartorial transformation of beggarly Scotsmen into finely dressed courtiers.*

Well met Jockie<sup>1</sup> whether away

Shall we two have a worde or tway<sup>2</sup>

Thow was so lousie the other day

How the devill comes thow so gay

Ha ha ha by sweet St. An<sup>3</sup>

5

Jockie is growne a gentle man.

Thy shoes that thou worst when thow went'st to plow

Were made of the hyde of a Scottish cow

They are turnd into Spanish leather now

Bedeckt with roses<sup>4</sup> I now not how.

10

Ha ha ha &c.

Thy stockings that were of a northerne blew

That cost not past 12d<sup>5</sup> when they were new

Are turnd into a silken hew

Most gloriouslye to all mens vew

15

Ha ha ha &c

Thy belt that was made of a white leather thonge

Which thow & thy father ware so longe

Are turn'd to hangers<sup>6</sup> of velvet stronge

With golde & pearle embroydred amonge

20

Ha ha ha

Thy garters that were of the Spanish say<sup>7</sup>

Which from the taylor thow stollst away

Are now quite turnd to silke they say  
With great broad laces fayre & gay 25  
Ha ha ha.

Thy doublet & breech that were so playne  
On which a louse could scarce remayne  
Are turnd to sattin god a mercie brayne  
That thou by begging couldst this obtayne 30  
Ha ha ha

Thy cloake which was made of a home spun thread  
Which thou wast wonte to flinge on thy bed  
Is turnd into a skarlet red  
With golden laces aboute thee spread 35  
Ha ha ha.

Thy bonnet of blew which thou wor'st hether  
To keep thy skonce<sup>8</sup> from winde & wether  
Is throwne away the devill knowes whether  
And turn'd to a bever hat & feather. 40  
Ha ha ha.

Westminster hall was coverd with lead  
And so was St. John<sup>9</sup> many a day  
The Scotchmen have begd it to buy them bread  
The devill take all such Jockies away. 45  
Ha ha ha.

**Source.** V&A MS D25.F.39, fols. 88v-89r

**Other known sources.** PRO SP 14/191/6

<sup>1</sup> *Jockie*: diminutive of John (Jack)—as in the 1604 libel on John Whitgift “The prelats pope”—and, in this case, an ethnic nickname for a Scotsman.

<sup>2</sup> *tway*: two.

<sup>3</sup> *St. An*: St. Andrew, patron saint of Scotland.

<sup>4</sup> *roses*: a knotted, rose-shaped ribbon worn on the shoe.

<sup>5</sup> *12d*: twelve pence (or one shilling).

<sup>6</sup> *hangers*: loops on which a sword would hang from a belt.

<sup>7</sup> *say*: a fine-textured woollen cloth.

<sup>8</sup> *skonce*: head.

<sup>9</sup> *Westminster hall...St. John*: these lines possibly refer to an actual case involving the selling off of lead from London buildings. The identity of St. John’s is unclear; however, it could be an allusion to the Priory Church of St. John of Jerusalem in Clerkenwell, that had been dismantled in stages since the dissolution of its monastic order in the sixteenth century.

## E6 When Scotland was Scotland and England it selfe

*Notes.* This is one of two satirical attacks on the Scots that focuses on the sartorial transformation of coarsely dressed Scotsmen into silken-backed courtiers. Although the poem is undated, two allusions help to narrow down, at least provisionally, the earliest date of composition to c.1613-14. Lines 23-24, for instance, closely echo the opening two lines of the summer 1612 libel, “They beg our goods, our lands, and our lives”. There is, however, one significant difference. Here the Scots “begin to get our fair wives”, rather than merely “lie” with Englishmen’s wives. This may allude to the December 1613 marriage of the Scot Robert Carr with Frances Howard who, before her September 1613 annulment, had been married to the English noble Robert Devereux, 3rd Earl of Essex. In addition, stanza three of this poem has “Jocky...caper as high as an Earle”, which may allude to the first elevations of Scotsmen to English earldoms late in 1613, when Lodowick Stuart became Earl of Richmond, and Robert Carr Earl of Somerset. Using the poem as a frame through which to explore English attitudes to Carr, Bellany (Politics 70) places the libel’s sartorial politics in the context of fears of status transgression and ambition at the Jacobean court.

### “On the Scots”

When Scotland was Scotland and England it selfe  
Then England was troubled wth no Scottish elfe  
But since bonny jocky<sup>1</sup> in England bare sway  
The English are vanquisht the Scots goe their way  
with begging with begging &c

5

For now every Scotshman, that was lately wont  
To weare the cow hide of an old Scottish runt  
His bonny blew bonnet,<sup>2</sup> is now layd aside  
In velvet and scarlet proud Jocky must ride  
A begging a begging &c

10

His py’de motly jerkin<sup>3</sup> al threadbare and old  
Is now turnd to scarlet and ore lac’t with gold  
His straw hat to bever, his hat band to perle  
And Jocky can caper as high as an Earle.

A begging. &c 15

You quarreling gallants looke wel to your hands  
Least by fighting and brawling you forfet your lands<sup>4</sup>  
For then be assured as soone as 'tis spyed  
To get them, abegging proud Jocky wil ride  
A gallop a gallop &c 20

I think if the divel of hel could be got  
That Jocky would beg him or some other Scot,  
They beg al our money lands livings & lives  
Nay more they beginne to get our fayre wives  
With begging &c 25

Our beggers on ten toes do trot up and downe  
From doore to doore begging, in every towne  
But jocky wel mounted on horseback on pride  
To Court like a courtier a begging must ride  
A gallop &c 30

Theres n'ere an English begger that carryes a scrip<sup>5</sup>  
But often for begging tasts wel of the whip<sup>6</sup>  
But Jocky for whoring and playing the knave  
Nay almost for treason his pardon can have<sup>7</sup>  
with begging &c 35

God save our king James and keep him from evil  
And send al such Scotch men away to the devil  
Or els into Scotland there stil to remaine  
send home with a vengeance these scots men agane  
A gallop a gallop a gallop a gallop 40

Source. Folger MS V.a.345, pp. 287-88

E6

<sup>1</sup> *jocky*: diminutive of John (Jack)—as in the 1604 libel on John Whitgift “The prelats pope”—and, in this case, an ethnic nickname for a Scotsman.

<sup>2</sup> *blew bonnet*: the blue bonnet or cap was a distinctive sartorial marker of Scottishness.

<sup>3</sup> *jerkin*: jacket.

<sup>4</sup> *forfet your lands*: lose your lands to the Crown as a penalty, and have those lands then given by the Crown to a Scots courtier. The most famous Englishman to forfeit his lands to the Crown, and subsequently to a Scot, was Walter Raleigh, whose Sherborne estate was granted to Robert Carr late in 1608.

<sup>5</sup> *scrip*: small bag carried by beggars.

<sup>6</sup> *whip*: beggars and vagrants were routinely whipped as punishment.

<sup>7</sup> *his pardon can have*: this may refer to specific cases of Scots pardoned for punishable offences. According to Osborne (82-83), the Scotsman Murray who killed a London sergeant (see “They beg our goods, our lands, and our lives”) was pardoned while his servant accomplices were hanged.



## E7 The King hee hawkes, and hunts

*Notes.* This poem's complaints are too generalized to allow us to argue a precise date of composition with any confidence. The attack on the Scots in the penultimate line might link the poem to the others from c.1612-1614 collected in this section, but we cannot yet demonstrate that link persuasively.

The King hee hawkes, and hunts;

The lords they gather coyne;

The Judges doe as they weere wont;

The lawyers they purloyne.

The clergie lyes a dyeing;

The commons toll the Bell;

The Scotts gett all by lyeing;

And this is Englands knell.

5

**Source.** Bodleian MS Malone 23, p. 121

E7

## F. The Essex Nullity, the Somerset Marriage and the Death of Overbury (1613-1614)

The poems in this section react to and re-present some of the most notorious events in the history of the Jacobean court. On 17 May 17 1613, Frances Howard, daughter of the King's Lord Chamberlain, Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk, and, since 1606, the wife of Robert Devereux, 3rd Earl of Essex, submitted a formal request (or "libel") to a specially assembled commission of churchmen and lawyers, in which she asked the commissioners to annul her marriage. Her petition claimed that although the Earl of Essex "hath had, and hath power and ability of body to deal with other women, and to know them carnally", with her he was unable to "have that copulation in any sort which the married bed alloweth" (qtd. in Lindley 81). The marriage was unconsummated and thus, by ecclesiastical law, was not a marriage at all. As the nullity commissioners weighed the merits of the case, court gossips and London newsmongers discovered that the unhappy Countess was planning a second marriage once the first was broken, a marriage that would have massive political implications for the structure and balance of Jacobean court politics. For the talk was that Frances Howard was to marry Robert Carr, Viscount Rochester and, for several years, the intimate favourite of King James I. This marriage would tie the increasingly politically ambitious favourite to the powerful Howard faction, signalling a shift in Carr's hitherto anti-Howard political leanings, and providing the Howards with a massively increased opportunity to influence royal policy in both domestic and foreign affairs. These political stakes made the nullity proceedings dangerously controversial, compounding several problematic legal and moral concerns raised by the case. Concerned by the nullity's political implications, but seizing on plausible legal and moral difficulties, several commissioners, led by Archbishop of Canterbury, George Abbot, opposed granting Frances Howard's petition, threatening to bring the hearings to a halt. To save the process, James himself intervened in late July, postponing the nullity case and then adding bishops to the commission who would break the deadlock in Frances Howard's favour. When the commission reconvened in September 1613, a positive verdict was virtually guaranteed and, on 25 September, Frances Howard was granted her nullity. In preparation for his marriage to the daughter of one of the great aristocrats of the realm, Robert Carr was elevated in November 1613 to the Earl of Somerset. A few weeks later, on 26 December, the favourite and the former

wife of the Earl of Essex were married in a spectacular and exorbitantly expensive court wedding.

The libels written on and around the nullity and the Carr-Howard marriage compellingly reveal the moralized anger with which many contemporaries greeted the events. In a brilliant, eloquent and detailed reading of these poems, David Lindley has argued that the libels' vitriolic attacks on Frances Howard—their allegations of whoredom and sexual insatiability, and their intimations of demonic witchcraft—are best understood as projections of commonplace misogynistic stereotypes onto a woman whose decision to seek a nullity of her marriage had so blatantly violated patriarchal ideals of submissive femininity. But these libels and their charges also have broader political resonances: a number implicate royal and episcopal authority in the moral transgressions sanctioned by the nullity verdict; while others lament the symbolic assault on ancient nobility and honour in the nullity's humiliation of Robert Devereux and consequent elevation of the comparatively socially obscure Robert Carr. The final two poems in this section allude to an event that would in retrospect become an essential part of the nullity story. In mid-September 1613, shortly before the nullity was granted, Sir Thomas Overbury died in the Tower of London. Overbury, once a close friend and advisor to Robert Carr, had quarrelled with the favourite over his relationship with Frances Howard and her family and, for his pains, in April 1613 had been tricked into offending the king and sent to the Tower for contempt of royal authority. At the time, Overbury's death aroused little pity—one of the poems' contempt seems to have been a fairly typical reaction and only a few whispers of foul play—some of which are documented in the other Overbury verse included in this section. Two years later, however, evidence emerged to suggest that Overbury had been murdered. The ensuing criminal investigation and murder trials would constitute and generate the most significant court scandal of the age, which would culminate with the trials and convictions of the Earl and the Countess of Somerset as accessories to Overbury's murder.

Some of the verses in this section (and in section H on the Overbury murder scandal) have been published before—in a small selection of poems edited by Sanderson and in the appendix to Beatrice White's narrative of the Overbury scandal (220-27). The verses are discussed and contextualized in Lindley's *Trials of Frances Howard*, which reads them primarily through the prism of gender, and in Bellany's *Politics of Court Scandal*, which reads them in multiple

intersecting moral, social, gender and political contexts.

F0

### F1 A page a knight a Vicount, and an Earle [1613 version]

*Notes.* This poem was written shortly after Frances Howard's marriage to Robert Carr in December 1613. After the 1615 revelations of the couple's involvement in the murder of Thomas Overbury, the last line of the poem was adapted to reflect the new charges against the Countess (see 'A page, a knight, a viscount and an Erle'). The Rawlinson version of the 1613 poem is printed and discussed by Lindley (178), while Bellany (Politics 98, 149) comments briefly on the relationship between the 1613 and 1615 versions.

A page a knight a Vicount, and an Earle<sup>1</sup>  
was matched Lately to an English girle  
But such A one as nere was seene before  
A mayde, a wyfe, a Countesse and A whore

**Source.** Bodleian MS Ashmole 38, p. 116

**Other known sources.** Bodleian MS Rawl. D. 1048, fol. 64r

F1

<sup>1</sup> *A page...an Earle:* Robert Carr came to the Court of James I in England as a page to the Earl of Dunbar, was knighted in 1607, made Viscount Rochester in 1611, and Earl of Somerset in 1613.

## F2 Letchery did consult with witcherye

*Notes.* This scathing attack on the Essex nullity brands Robert Carr and Frances Howard as sexual transgressors, suggests Frances Howard might have used witchcraft to render the Earl of Essex impotent, and charges that the commissioners who voted to grant the nullity collaborated in an act of “impietye” in order to win office and favour. Lindley (118) prints and very briefly discusses this poem.

Letchery did consult with witcherye<sup>1</sup>

how to procure frygiditye<sup>2</sup>

upon this ground a course was found

to frame unto a nullatye

And gravitye<sup>3</sup> assuming lenytye

gave strength to this impietye

hoping thereby a way to spye

to rise to further dignitye

But whats the end both foe and frend

cry shame on such austerytye

And booke and bell<sup>4</sup> do dam to Hell

the Lord and Ladyes lecherye

5

10

**Source.** Bodleian MS Rawl. D. 1048, fol. 64r

**Other known sources.** Folger MS V.a.339, fol. 187v

F2

<sup>1</sup> *witcherye*: libellers in both 1613 and 1615 alleged that Frances Howard had caused her husband’s sexual impotence with spells or sorcery. During the first phase of the nullity hearings, the Countess’s supporters had suggested that Essex’s curiously selective impotence—he was supposedly unafflicted in the arms of other women—was the result of a witch’s curse.

<sup>2</sup> *frygiditye*: Essex’s impotence.

<sup>3</sup> *gravitye*: the lawyers and bishops who voted to grant the nullity.

<sup>4</sup> *booke and bell*: here means something like “the Church” or “the Christian religion”. The phrase derives from the traditional ritual of ceremonial excommunication involving the closing of a book, the ringing of a bell and the quenching of a candle (thus the usual phrase “bell, book and candle”).

### F3 Were itt nott a brutish crueltye

*Notes.* This is one of several attacks on Frances Howard, made both in 1613-14 and 1615, which depict the Countess as a wandering ship. The metaphor allowed the libeller not only to play with crude nautical innuendoes (the “straight and long” masts, etc.), but also to pun on the Countess’s sexual wanderings between titled men as voyages to different parts of the English country. Bellany (Politics 155) briefly analyzes the political implications of this poem’s depiction of female sexual insatiability.

Were itt nott a brutish crueltye

To barr a ladye of Anullitye

That can gett nothing of her man<sup>1</sup>

Yet craves as much as two men can

There is a ladye in this land

5

Because shee was nott truely mand

Would over all the countryes range

To seeke her selfe a better change

When Essex<sup>2</sup> could not give content

To Rochester<sup>3</sup> her course was bent

10

When shee lett no occasion slipp

To gett a mast<sup>4</sup> unto her shipp

A mast she had both straight and long

Butt when itt prov’d not fully strong

To Sommersett<sup>5</sup> she quicklye hide

15

To trye what fortune would betyde.

**Source.** BL MS Egerton 2230, fol. 69v

F3

<sup>1</sup> *That can...man:* allusion to the alleged sexual impotence of Frances Howard’s first husband, Robert Devereux, 3rd Earl of Essex.



<sup>2</sup> *Essex*: Robert Devereux, 3rd Earl of Essex; the pun alludes to the English county of Essex.

<sup>3</sup> *Rochester*: Robert Carr was made Viscount Rochester in 1611; the pun alludes to the town of Rochester in Kent.

<sup>4</sup> *mast*: clearly here and in the following line a bawdy pun—the question of erection had been central to the nullity commissioners' discussion of Essex's impotence.

<sup>5</sup> *Sommerset*: Robert Carr was elevated to the Earldom of Somerset the month before he married Frances Howard; the pun alludes to the English county of Somerset.

#### F4 From Katherins dock there launcht a pinke

*Notes.* Like “*Were itt nott a brutish cruelty*”, this libel on Frances Howard frames its vicious attack on the Countess’s sexual transgressions through a series of geographical and bawdy puns worked around the central metaphor of the Countess as a wandering boat. There are two versions of this poem. The shorter version was written around the time of Frances Howard’s second marriage, to the Earl of Somerset, in December 1613. A longer version (‘*from Cathernes docke theer launcht A pritty Pinke*’) was composed during the Overbury murder scandal of 1615-16. Both Lindley (117-18) and Bellany (Politics 154) discuss this 1613-14 version.

From Katherins dock<sup>1</sup> there launcht a pinke<sup>2</sup>

Which sore did leake,<sup>3</sup> yet did nott sinke

Ere while shee lay by Essex<sup>4</sup> shore

Expecting rigging, yards,<sup>5</sup> and store,

Butt all disasters to prevent

With winde in poepe<sup>6</sup> shee sayl’d to Kent

Att Rochester<sup>7</sup> shee anchor cast

Which Canterbury<sup>8</sup> did distaste

Butt Winchester with Eelyes<sup>9</sup> helpe

Did hale a shore this Lyons whelpe<sup>10</sup>

Weake was shee sided,<sup>11</sup> and did heele<sup>12</sup>

Butt Sum-ar-sett<sup>13</sup> to mend her keele,<sup>14</sup>

And stopp her leake,<sup>15</sup> and sheath her port<sup>16</sup>

And make her fitt for any sporte:

5

10

**Source.** BL MS Egerton 2230, fol. 71r

**Other known sources.** “Poems from a Seventeenth-Century Manuscript” 60; *Dr Farmer Chetham Manuscript* 2.121; Bodleian MS Ashmole 38, pp. 135 and 136; Bodleian MS Don. c.54, fol. 23r; Bodleian MS Firth d.7, fol. 151r; Bodleian MS Malone 19, p. 94; Bodleian MS Rawl. D. 1048, fol. 64v; Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 26, fol. 18r; Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 160, fol. 163r; BL Add. MS 34218, fol. 165r; BL Add. MS 61944, fol. 77v; BL MS Harley 1221, fol. 96v; BL MS Harley 6038, fol. 28v; BL MS Harley 6057, fol. 13v; BL MS Harley 7316, fol. 4r; BL MS Sloane 2023, fol. 60v; Nottingham MS

F4

- <sup>1</sup> *Katherins dock*: a multi-layered pun, this refers both to St. Catherine's dock on the River Thames in London, an area of town that Lindley (118) notes was "notorious for brewhouses and taverns, and therefore a haunt of prostitutes", and to Frances Howard's mother, Catherine Howard, Countess of Suffolk, from whose "dock", rump or vagina, Frances was born (launched).
- <sup>2</sup> *pinke*: sailing ship.
- <sup>3</sup> *leake*: leakiness was a common metaphor for female sexual insatiability, and lack of bodily control.
- <sup>4</sup> *Essex*: Frances Howard's first husband, Robert Devereux, 3rd Earl of Essex; and the English county.
- <sup>5</sup> *yards*: a bawdy pun, yard being both a spar on a mast and common slang for a penis.
- <sup>6</sup> *winde in poope*: literally with wind blowing astern the boat, but probably with bawdy innuendo here.
- <sup>7</sup> *Rochester*: both the town in Kent, and Robert Carr, Viscount Rochester since 1611.
- <sup>8</sup> *Canterbury*: both the town in Kent, and George Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury and an opponent of the Essex nullity.
- <sup>9</sup> *Winchester...Eelyes*: Thomas Bilson, Bishop of Winchester, and Lancelot Andrewes, Bishop of Ely, both voted to grant Frances Howard a nullity.
- <sup>10</sup> *Lyons whelp*: literally a lion's cub, but in this case also having several nautical overtones. A royal ship the "Lion's Whelp" was in service by at least 1603, and shortly thereafter was seized by its crew in a mutiny led by the future Barbary Coast pirate John Ward (Vitkus 25, 29); a "whelp" is also a nautical term referring to projections attached to the capstan; and, in the 1620s at least, "whelp" was also used as a name for a small boat.
- <sup>11</sup> *sided*: in nautical terms, the boat had weak timbers on its side. The last four lines of this poem describe the refitting of the boat, using language with clear bawdy innuendo that turns the refitting into a marital taming of the sexually loose Countess.
- <sup>12</sup> *heelee*: a ship that heels leans to one side.
- <sup>13</sup> *Sum-ar-sett*: "some are set", and Somerset; both the county and Robert Carr, who was elevated to the Earldom of Somerset shortly before marrying Frances Howard.
- <sup>14</sup> *keele*: the timber on the underside of the boat.

<sup>15</sup> *stopp her leake*: plug the leak in the bottom of the boat, and halt the Countess's leakiness, her sexual wandering and lack of bodily control.

<sup>16</sup> *sheath her port*: port has two nautical meanings, the left hand side of a boat (facing forward) or, as better fits the bawdy humour here, a hole in the side of a boat for loading and unloading goods or from which to fire cannon.

## F5 Essex bird hath flowen hir cage

*Notes.* A common variant of this bawdy poem includes only the final four lines of this slightly longer version, while one collection includes a version consisting only of the opening couplet. Lindley (117) and Bellany (Politics 169) discuss and contextualize this verse.

Essex bird<sup>1</sup> hath flowen hir cage,

And's gone to Court to ly with a Page.<sup>2</sup>

She was a lady fyne of late,

She could not be entred shee was soe streight.<sup>3</sup>

But now with use<sup>4</sup> she is soe wyde

5

A Car<sup>5</sup> may enter on every side.

**Source.** Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 26, fol. 17v

**Other known sources.** CCRO MS CR 63/2/19, fol. 11r; Folger MS V.a.162, fol. 50v; Folger MS V.a.345, p. 290; Houghton MS Eng. 686, fol. 34r

F5

<sup>1</sup> *Essex bird*: Frances Howard, wife of Robert Devereux, 3rd Earl of Essex.

<sup>2</sup> *Page*: Robert Carr had arrived at the Court of James I in England as a page to the Earl of Dunbar.

<sup>3</sup> *She...streight*: this line refers to Frances Howard's virginity, that was assessed by the nullity commissioners through a physical examination performed by a panel of matrons. The examination found her still to be a virgin; this poem, along with a number of other commentators at the time, is clearly unconvinced.

<sup>4</sup> *use*: i.e. sexual activity.

<sup>5</sup> *Car*: a carriage; Robert Carr.

## F6 Lady changed to Venus Dove

*Notes.* Lindley (116-17) correctly notes that this verse is a relatively sympathetic reflection on the marriage of Frances Howard and Robert Carr. At the very least, the poem appears to concede implicitly both Frances Howard's allegation that her first husband had in fact been impotent, and her claim that she had remained a virgin. One version of this poem (Folger MS V.a.103) consists of only the last four lines.

Lady changed<sup>1</sup> to Venus Dove<sup>2</sup>  
Gently guid your Car of love<sup>3</sup>  
Lett your sport both night, and day  
Be to make your Carr<sup>4</sup> away  
Make it knowne you meet at last 5  
A christmas Car-all<sup>5</sup> that surpast.  
Plants<sup>6</sup> enough may hence ensue  
Some-are-sett<sup>7</sup> where none ere grewe  
Some-are-sett, and some are layd  
But if none stand, God morrowe Mayde.<sup>8</sup> 10

**Source.** Bodleian MS Malone 23, pp. 10-65

**Other known sources.** "Poems from a Seventeenth-Century Manuscript" 58; Bodleian MS Don.c.54, fol. 23r; Bodleian MS Eng. Poet. e.37, p. 62; Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 26, fol. 18v; BL Add. MS 34218, fol. 162v; BL MS Egerton 2230, fol. 69r; Hatfield House, Salisbury MS 140, fol. 123r (transcribed in HMC Salisbury 24, Addenda 1605-1668, 231); Nottingham MS Portland PW V 37, p. 142; Folger MS V.a.103, fol. 68r; Rosenbach MS 1083/15, p. 139

F6

<sup>1</sup> *changed*: "chained" is a common variant.

<sup>2</sup> *Venus Dove*: the dove was the bird sacred to Venus, goddess of love.

<sup>3</sup> *guid...love*: emblems of Venus sometimes depicted her riding on a chariot (car) pulled by doves. Here

the poet imagines Frances Howard as a dove guiding the chariot of love, an image that, through the pun on car/Robert Carr, clearly refers to her relationship with her new husband.

<sup>4</sup> *Carr*: the pun on Robert Carr and car i.e. carriage or chariot, continues.

<sup>5</sup> *christmas Car-all*: a Christmas carol, and Robert Carr, whose marriage to Frances Howard was performed on 26 December 1613.

<sup>6</sup> *Plants*: the promise of fecundity stands in contrast to the barrenness of Frances Howard's unconsummated marriage with Essex, "where none ere grewe".

<sup>7</sup> *Some-are-sett*: "some are set" (i.e. some are ready) and Somerset. The point is that Somerset is ready to perform his sexual and procreative duties as a husband, again in stark implied contrast to Essex.

<sup>8</sup> *if none stand...Mayde*: clearly a bawdy allusion to the problem of male impotence—Carr's ability to consummate the marriage and to procreate depends on his ability to achieve an erection. If, like Essex, Carr cannot perform, then Frances Howard will awake from her wedding night still a "Mayde".

## F7 Henrie, raysed Brandon

*Notes.* The one extant copy of this short verse survives in the commonplace book of William Davenport, of Bramhall, Cheshire. Bellany (Politics 177) briefly discusses the poem as one of several contemporary representations of James I's motivations for the social and political elevation of Robert Carr.

Henrie, raysed Brandon<sup>1</sup>  
James, Carre<sup>2</sup> uppon my lyfe  
the one married the Kinges sister<sup>3</sup>  
the other Essex wyffe.<sup>4</sup>

**Source.** CCRO MS CR 63/2/19, fol. 11r

F7

<sup>1</sup> *Henrie, raysed Brandon:* Henry VIII raised his friend and favourite Charles Brandon to be Duke of Suffolk in February 1514.

<sup>2</sup> *James, Carre:* James raised his favourite Robert Carr to Earl of Somerset in November 1613.

<sup>3</sup> *married...sister:* Brandon married Mary Tudor, sister of Henry VIII and dowager Queen of France, in 1515.

<sup>4</sup> *Essex wyffe:* in December 1613, Robert Carr married Frances Howard, whose marriage to Robert Devereux, 3rd Earl of Essex, had been annulled the previous September.



## F8 Brave hardie Carre-man that with thy bastinado

*Notes.* This short poem addresses a series of potentially troubling ethnic and social inversions and transformations—Robert Carr’s transition from a Scotsman to a titled Englishman, and from a socially obscure “Carre-man” or cart-driver to an Earl; and Robert Devereux, 3rd Earl of Essex’s loss of social, aristocratic and masculine symbolic capital in the wake of Carr’s marriage to Essex’s former wife. The one hitherto identified variant of this poem addresses its target as “Brave worthy carter”, making the identification of Robert Carr less certain while at the same time rendering the theme of social transformation more obvious.

Brave hardie Carre-man<sup>1</sup> that with thy bastinado,<sup>2</sup>  
Redeemst thy shoulders from the Scottish strappado<sup>3</sup>  
Take thow the Earle-dome,<sup>4</sup> give the Earle the carte,<sup>5</sup>  
He a dull coward, thow a valliant hearte.

**Source.** V&A MS D25.F.39, fol. 71v

**Other known sources.** BL MS Egerton 2230, fol. 69v

F8

<sup>1</sup> *Carre-man*: Robert Carr is here identified as a car-man, or cart-driver, thus typing him (somewhat unfairly) as socially base.

<sup>2</sup> *bastinado*: a cudgel or a cudgelling. In this case, the reference is almost certainly a bawdy allusion to Carr’s sexual prowess.

<sup>3</sup> *Scottish strappado*: the strappado is a form of torture in which the victim is pulled up by a rope around the hands and then let drop, wrenching out the shoulders. Carr’s freeing of his shoulders from the Scottish strappado almost certainly refers to his escape from his merely Scottish identity following the acquisition of an English earldom.

<sup>4</sup> *Earle-dome*: the earldom of Somerset, bestowed on Carr in November 1613.

<sup>5</sup> *give...the carte*: the derogation of the Earl of Essex, whose failings have allowed Carr to displace him, and have forced him to drive or ride in the socially base cart.

## F9 The fayre and famous mayde is gone

*Notes.* The only surviving version of this opaque, scabrous poem is transcribed among a collection of libels on Frances Howard and Robert Carr, suggesting that at least one contemporary might have believed that the “fayre and famous mayde” in question was the Countess of Essex. While some allusions in the verse may seem to support this identification, several others—including the arresting final couplet—do not. On balance, it seems fair to conclude that this poem originated with another scandalous marriage, though which one is now very difficult to determine. We include it here as an example of how a seventeenth-century reader could appropriate a libel from one context and apply it to another.

The fayre and famous mayde is gone

And stolne a marryage all a lone

Some say that seeme to know the truthe,

She was ashamed to wedd a youth

For she knew well what did belonge

5

Unto a man; els they her wronge

And was Limbde naked to the twist<sup>1</sup>

I would the paynter there had Kist

Butt now my Lordes the noble teller<sup>2</sup>

Putts downe their hoers in a seller

10

Why? you would none; yett loe hee rights her

In spight of those that most did spight her

see how his thinne nose droppes rose nobles<sup>3</sup>

What wantes in crownes in wordes hee doubles

The Irish coyne in bagges runnes sweatinge

15

To this rich weddinge gott by cheatinge

The Goodly house and landes in Kent

All to this danty wench is ment

And all his suites worke for his darkinge

What thinke you his leane chappes starveling?

20

But soft? we lost the lovely bride

She and her mate to bed are hied

She in her lovers armes girt round

Where must bee lost what hee never found

Most happy bee his chance for hee

25

Injoyes her now from hedd to knee

from lippe to hippe from side to side

And that which hee found woman wide

full fruitfull prove Shee as her grandame

To bring a Sonne though gott at randome

30

And glory youth that hast pervailed

Since many mist that were entayled

And when thow art amidst her cranny<sup>4</sup>

Wish well to Watson and trelany<sup>5</sup>

**Source.** “Poems from a Seventeenth-Century Manuscript” 70-2

F9

<sup>1</sup> *Limbde...twist*: painted (limned) naked to the waist (the “twist” is the junction of the thighs with the body).

<sup>2</sup> *teller*: counter of money, probably here referring to one of the four Tellers of the Exchequer.

<sup>3</sup> *rose nobles*: gold coins issued in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

<sup>4</sup> *cranny*: literally, notch or crevice; here clearly a bawdy reference to sexual penetration.

<sup>5</sup> *Watson and trelany*: Watson and Trelawney. The allusion here is obscure—Thomas Watson was a Jacobean Teller of the Exchequer, and if this Watson is indeed him, then the allusion would fit with earlier lines on the “noble teller” and on the receipt and spending of money.

## F10 Tis painefull rowing gainst the bigg swolne tide

*Notes.* This rich verse from 1613-14 powerfully explores many of the politico-moral anxieties raised by the Essex nullity and the marriage of Frances Howard to Robert Carr. It appears, however, to be the only libel from this period that suggests either that Sir Thomas Overbury's death was suspicious or that it was closely connected to the events of the Essex nullity. Bellany (Politics 6, 71, 177) and McRae (Literature 48-49) offer differing but essentially complementary readings of the poem.

Tis painefull rowing gainst the bigg swolne tide  
Nor dare wee say why Overburye dide<sup>1</sup>  
I dare not marry least when I have layde  
Close by my wife seven yeare shee prove a mayde<sup>2</sup>  
And that her greatness or the law consent 5  
To prove my weapon insufficient<sup>3</sup>  
Some are made greate by birth some have advance  
Some clime by witt some are made greate by chance  
I know one made a lord for his good face<sup>4</sup>  
That had no more witt then would bare the place. 10

**Source.** BL MS Egerton 2230, fol. 69r

F10

<sup>1</sup> *why Overburye dide:* Sir Thomas Overbury died a prisoner in the Tower of London in September 1613. At the time, his death was widely attributed to natural causes; two years later, it was determined to have been the result of poison administered by his prison keeper on the orders of Frances Howard and Robert Carr.

<sup>2</sup> *I dare not...mayde:* allusion to the marriage of Robert Devereux, 3rd Earl of Essex to Frances Howard, from 1606-1613, which was nullified on the grounds—fraudulent to many observers—that the marriage had never been consummated.

<sup>3</sup> *prove...insufficient:* prove me sexually impotent.

<sup>4</sup> *one made...face*: Robert Carr, favourite of James I, who was elevated to the earldom of Somerset in November 1613.

### F11 Heere lyes one nowe not worth despising

*Notes.* John Rous, the Suffolk parson, ardent consumer of news and ambivalent collector of libels, received a copy of this poem in April 1633 with an attribution to “Sir W. R.”, possibly Sir Walter Raleigh (70, 72). The poem’s hostility to Overbury, and lack of any allusion to the charge he had been murdered, fits with a composition date after Overbury’s death in September 1613 but before the September-October 1615 revelations that he had been poisoned.

“Upon Sir Thomas Overburie who dyed in the Tower”

Heere lyes one nowe not worth despising

Who Persian-like worshipt the Sunne ryseing<sup>1</sup>

Who Courtier-like embrac’d the brave

Nowe Lazarus-like lyes in his grave

Who Stoicke-like contemn’d a wife<sup>2</sup>

5

God sheild heereafter it breed noe strife

Nowe read his fate though hee weere brave & bold

Yet Like a Jewe was bought, and sold<sup>3</sup>

O burie him, burie him quoth the higher power<sup>4</sup>

Least hee poyson court cittie, and tower

10

And was it not sinne to burie him then

Who liveing stunck<sup>5</sup> in the face of Men.

**Source.** Bodleian MS Malone 23, p. 6

**Other known sources.** Rous 72; BL Add. MS 22959, fol. 49r

F11

<sup>1</sup> *Persian-like...ryseing*: refers to Overbury’s alliance and friendship with the rising royal favourite (the “Sunne”) Robert Carr.

<sup>2</sup> *contemn’d a wife*: Overbury was the author of a stereotypically misogynistic poem against marriage, “A Wife”, first printed early in 1614, but possibly known earlier in manuscript copies. Overbury’s

rejection of marriage is here compared to the philosophical practice of stoicism.

<sup>3</sup> *Like a Jewe...sold*: this presumably refers at least in part to Overbury's alleged fiscal corruption (the taking of bribes, etc.). The Jewish comparison probably works because of the contemporary anti-semitic association between Jews and corrupt fiscal practices.

<sup>4</sup> *the higher power*: could refer either to James I or to divine providence.

<sup>5</sup> *stunck*: this may well simply refer generally to Overbury's moral corruption, but it may also extend the "jew-like" comparison of an earlier line by deploying the anti-semitic myth that Jews gave off a peculiar and offensive stench (Shapiro 36-7).

### G. The Addled Parliament and the Death of Northampton (1614)

The poems in this section all describe or react to the events of June 1614. On Friday 3 June, as a rancorous and unproductive meeting of Parliament drew to its close, John Hoskyns, the lawyer, poet and MP for Hereford, delivered a speech containing highly intemperate remarks against James I's Scottish courtiers. The speech suggested that a wise king would long since have expelled the Scots from England, and went on, in a reckless allusion to the thirteenth-century Sicilian Vespers revolt against the Angevins, implicitly to threaten an ethnic bloodbath if the Scots remained (Chamberlain 1.538; Jansson 422-23). The King dissolved Parliament on 7 June and, over the next few days, had Hoskyns and several other MPs arrested and imprisoned for this and other potentially seditious speeches made during the parliamentary session. Lionel Sharpe and Sir Charles Cornwallis, from whom Hoskyns claimed he had received his Sicilian Vespers speech, soon joined the MPs in the Tower. Most of the imprisoned were freed over the course of the next few weeks and months, but Hoskyns, Sharpe and Cornwallis remained incarcerated until June 1615. Hoskyns had already played a significant role in Jacobean libellous politics, presiding over the group composition of the infamous "Parliament Fart" libel of 1607 (see Section C); and he would later compose a six-line meditation on the dangers of hearing a "Princes Secrecy" (Colclough 385), and a libel on the fall of Francis Bacon ("Great Verulam is very lame, the gout of goe-out feeling"). During his imprisonment in the Tower, Hoskyns wrote six poems about his plight (Colclough 382). Most are conventionally petitionary or pious, but two contain a sharper political critique of the constraints on free speech in Jacobean England, and have been included in the current selection alongside a mocking verse on the rash of imprisonments in the aftermath of the parliamentary dissolution.

A week after Parliament was dissolved, the influential Privy Councillor and Lord Privy Seal, Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton, died. The one extant epitaph on Northampton repeats long-standing rumours of crypto-popery (see "The great Archpapist Learned Curio") that would be revived again in 1615-16 when the Earl was posthumously implicated in the scandal surrounding the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury.



G0

## G1 The Court's full of newes

*Notes.* This verse mocks four of the men imprisoned in the Tower of London in the aftermath of the 1614 Parliament: Lionel Sharpe, John Hoskyns and Sir Charles Cornwallis, arrested for their roles in devising and delivering Hoskyns' 3 June speech in the Commons attacking Scottish courtiers; and Sir Walter Chute, a minor courtier and MP, who had offended the King in a speech of 1 June. In some sources, the final four lines of this poem are transcribed as a discrete text, and headed (in one) "Of 4. clapt up in the Tower" (Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 26). The newsmonger John Chamberlain enclosed a transcription of a variant version of the final six lines of the poem in an October letter to Isaac Wake, noting that "yt is not the least of theyre punishments" that they "are flouted by waggish witts with a rime" (Chamberlain 1.556-57).

The Court's full of newes,  
London's full of rumours;  
Fower men in the tower  
Of eight severall humours:  
Sharpe the divine<sup>1</sup> is soberly mad  
Hoskings the lawyer<sup>2</sup> is merrily sad  
Cornwallis the Ledger,<sup>3</sup> popishlie precise,  
And Chuit the Carver<sup>4</sup> is foolishlie wise.

5

**Source.** BL MS Sloane 2023, fol. 60v

**Other known sources.** Chamberlain 1.557; "Poems from a Seventeenth-Century Manuscript" 26; Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 26, fol. 2r

## G1

<sup>1</sup> *Sharpe the divine*: Lionel Sharpe, cleric and former chaplain to the late Prince Henry.

<sup>2</sup> *Hoskings the lawyer*: John Hoskyns, lawyer and MP.

<sup>3</sup> *Cornwallis the Ledger*: Sir Charles Cornwallis, former Ambassador to Spain and Treasurer to Prince Henry, and close ally of the suspected crypto-papist Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton.

<sup>4</sup> *Chuit the Carver*: Sir Walter Chute, Carver to the King, and MP for East Retford, Nottinghamshire.

## G2 Mee thought I walked in a dreame

*Notes.* This widely-circulated allegorical dream poem by John Hoskyns was written during his year-long imprisonment in the Tower after the dissolution of the 1614 Parliament. Versions of the poem vary in length, up to a maximum of twenty stanzas. The most commonly copied variant, however, is the six-line version “The worst is tould the best is hide”, included as a discrete text below. Some copies of both the long and short versions attribute the verse to Hoskyns’ wife. Colclough offers a brief but acute reading of the poem’s politics in his article on Hoskyns and seventeenth-century manuscript culture (382-84). Colclough notes the thinly-veiled allegorical presentation of the “pathetic spectacle of three generations of Hoskyns’s family—his mother, his pregnant wife, and his son—lamenting in front of the cave in which he is kept prisoner”; and draws attention to the “cutting analysis”, articulated in the voice of Hoskyns’ wife, “of the reasons for Hoskyns’s punishment and the problems in the political realm that it reflects” (383).

### “A Dreame”

Mee thought I walked in a dreame  
betwixt a caves mouth & a streame,<sup>1</sup>  
upon whose banckes sate full of ruth,  
three as they seem’d, but foure in truth.

For drawing nere I did behold  
a Widowe<sup>2</sup> fourscore winters old,  
a wife with childe,<sup>3</sup> a little Sonne<sup>4</sup>  
but foure yeares old, all foure undone

Out of the caves mouth cutt in stone  
a Prisoner lookes, whom they did moane,  
he smild (they sigh’d) then smote his brest,  
as if hee meant, god knowes the rest.

The widow cry’d, looking to heaven  
Oh Phœbus<sup>5</sup> I thought I had seaven  
like Niobe<sup>6</sup> doe now contest

5

10

15

lend this thy light this sonne my best.

Taught for to speake & live in light  
now bound to silence & to night  
why is he closd up in this cave  
not basely bredd, nor borne a slave.

20

Alas this cave hath tane away  
my staffe, & all his brothers stay:  
Let that be least, that my gray haire  
goe to the grave (alas) with teares.

I greive for thee Daughter, quoth she,  
thee & that boy, that babe unborne,  
yours though not his, yet others three  
he loved as his, but now forlorne.

25

Tis not the rule of sacred hest<sup>7</sup>  
to kill the old one in the nest;  
as good be killed as from them hidd,  
they die with greife (ô god forbidd)

30

True quoth the boy, for Tom my page  
did finde a birds nest, & we tried,  
& put the old one in a cage,  
then my poor birds, poore birds they died.

35

My Father nere was soe unkinde  
Who lett him then to speake his mynde,  
to speake to men & not to misse  
oh Mother, say, who can doe this?

40

Then quoth the Wife, tis Cæsar's<sup>8</sup> will,  
Cæsar can hate, Cæsar can kill.

the worst is tolld, the best is hidd:  
Kings know not all, oh would they did.

He Cæsars title then proclaymed<sup>9</sup> 45  
undoubtedly, when others ayred  
at broken hope of doubtfull state:  
soe true a man what King can hate.

Cæsar; in person & in purse, 50  
he serv'd when better men did worse.  
he sware men unto Cæsar's lawes<sup>10</sup>  
by thousands, when false hearts did pause.

He frawd & violence did withstand,  
& helpt the poore with tongue & hand: 55  
but for the cause he now lies here  
the cuntry knowes his soule is cleare.

Why is he now silent & sadd  
Whose words make<sup>11</sup> & many gladd;  
well could he love, ill could he fayne, 60  
it was his losse, it is my gaine.

If Kings are men, If Kinges have wives,  
& know ones death may cost two lives,  
then were it noe unkinglie part  
to save two lives in me, poore heart. 65

What if my husband once have err'd?  
men more to blame are more;<sup>12</sup>  
he that offends not doth not live;  
He errd but once, once king forgive.

Cæsar to thee I will resort, 70

long be thy life, thy wrath but short:  
this prayer good successe may take,  
if all doe pray for whom he spake.

With that they wept, the waters swelld,  
the sunne grew darke, the darke caves yelld,  
it brake my sleepe, I did awake,  
& thought it was my heart that brake.

75

Thus I my wofull dreame declare,  
hoping that noe such persons are;  
I hope none are, but if there be,  
god help them pray, pray god with me.

80

**Source.** BL Harley MS 6947, fols. 252r-53r

**Other known sources.** Osborn 206; Bodleian MS Ashmole 36-37, fol. 213r; Bodleian MS Ashmole 781, p. 129; Bodleian MS Malone 19, p. 71; Bodleian MS Rawl. B. 151, fol. 103r; BL Add. MS 4130, fol. 92v; BL Add. MS 4149, fol. 211r; BL Add. MS 21433, fol. 145v; BL Add. MS 25303, fol. 162r; BL MS Harley 6947, fol. 252r

## G2

<sup>1</sup> *caves mouth & a streame*: the cave is the Tower of London; the stream, perhaps, the Thames.

<sup>2</sup> *a Widowe*: Hoskyns' mother.

<sup>3</sup> *a wife with childe*: Hoskyns' pregnant wife.

<sup>4</sup> *a little Sonne*: Hoskyns' son Benedict

<sup>5</sup> *Phæbus*: god of the sun.

<sup>6</sup> *Niobe*: Niobe's boasts about the large number of her children (seven sons, seven daughters) provoked Apollo and Artemis into slaughtering them all.

<sup>7</sup> *hest*: behest; injunction.

<sup>8</sup> *Cæsar's*: Caesar here is James I.

<sup>9</sup> *Caesars title then proclaymed*: allusion to Hoskyns' loyalty to the Stuart claim to succession in 1603.

<sup>10</sup> *he sware men unto Cæsar's lawes*: probable allusion to Hoskyns' duties as a lawyer.

<sup>11</sup> *make*: probable scribal error; read "make me".

<sup>12</sup> *men more to blame...preferr'd*: in William Davenport's copy of the six-line version of this poem (which includes this stanza as the last four lines), he inserts a marginal note identifying these "men more to blame" as "Lord Howard chamb: / Lord Somersett et multis aliis" (i.e. Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk, Lord Chamberlain (until July 1614), and Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset, the royal favourite). We treat the six-line version as a separate poem: see "The worst is tould the best is hide".



### G3 The worst is tould the best is hide

*Notes.* This six-line extract from “*Mee thought I walked in a dreame*” was so widely circulated that it deserves to be considered as a separate poem in its own right.

The worst is tould the best is hide  
Kyngs know not all I would they did  
What if my husband once have erdd,  
Men more to blame are more preferrd.<sup>1</sup>  
He that offends not doth not lyve  
Hee erde but once, once Kyngge forgive.

5

**Source.** CCRO MS CR 63/2/19, fol. 3r

**Other known sources.** Bodleian MS Ashmole 781, p. 131; Bodleian MS CCC 327, fol. 23v; Bodleian MS Eng. Poet. e.14, fol. 88v; Bodleian MS Malone 16, fol. 20r; Bodleian MS Sancroft 53, p. 52; BL MS Egerton 923, fol. 11r

G3

<sup>1</sup> *Men more to blame...preferrd:* in transcribing the poem, William Davenport inserts here the marginal note: “Lord Howard chamb: / Lord Somersett et multis aliis” (i.e. Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk, Lord Chamberlain (until July 1614), and Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset, the royal favourite).

#### G4 Sonne Benjamin, whil'st thou art yong

*Notes.* As with “*Mee thought I walked in a dreame*”, John Hoskyns composed this poem during his year-long imprisonment in the Tower following the dissolution of the 1614 Parliament. Addressed to Hoskyns’ son, the poem, like the dream allegory, reflects on the political constraints on free speech that had landed Hoskyns in prison. The poem circulated in both Latin and English versions.

“Hoskins (imprison’d) to his sonne”

Sonne Benjamin,<sup>1</sup> whil'st thou art yong,  
And hast not yet use of thy tongue;  
Make it thy slave, whil'st thow art free;  
Curb it, least it imprison thee.

**Source.** Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 26, fol. 2v

**Other known sources.** Osborn 203; Bodleian MS Ashmole 36-37, fol. 213r; Bodleian MS CCC.327, fol. 23v; Bodleian MS Malone 19, p. 149; Bodleian MS Rawl. B. 151, fol. 103r; Bodleian MS Rawl. D. 727, fol. 94v; Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 117, fol. 16r; BL Add. MS 4130, fol. 93r; BL Add. MS 10309, fol. 148r; BL Add. MS 21433, fol. 147r; BL Add. MS 25303, fol. 163r

G4

<sup>1</sup> *Benjamin*: other copies read “Benedict”.

**G5 Here lyes my Lord of Northampton, his Majestie's erwig**

*Notes.* Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton, privy councillor and Lord Privy Seal, died 15 June 1614. The charges of corrupt counsel and crypto-poperie levelled in this mock epitaph were of long standing and would continue to dog Northampton in the years after his death (see, e.g., “The great Archpapist Learned Curio”, and the discussion of Northampton’s reputation in Bellany, *Politics 182-191*, 204-06).

Here lyes my Lord of Northampton, his Majestie's erwig,<sup>1</sup>  
With a Papisticall bald crowne, & a Protestant perewigg.<sup>2</sup>

**Source.** *Dr Farmer Chetham Manuscript 2.196*

G5

<sup>1</sup> *erwig*: earwig; in contemporary usage, an ear whisperer, flatterer, or court parasite.

<sup>2</sup> *perewigg*: periwig; wig.

## H. The Overbury Murder Scandal (1615-1616)

The courtier and poet Sir Thomas Overbury died in September 1613, a prisoner in the Tower of London. His death was widely noted but little lamented at the time (see Section F), and was typically attributed to natural causes, though opinion as to the exact cause varied. Two years later, however, in September 1615, King James received information suggesting that Overbury had in fact been poisoned. Genuinely disturbed by the evidence, James authorized a thorough investigation into the circumstances of Overbury's death. Within weeks, the Overbury murder case had triggered the most sensational court scandal of the age. The opening spate of interrogations had identified Overbury's keeper Richard Weston as the principal actor in the poisoning, and had connected Weston to a series of accessories, including Sir Gervase Elwes, Lieutenant of the Tower, Sir Thomas Monson, Elwes's court patron, and Anne Turner, widow of a fashionable London doctor. But, far more sensationally, the evidence had also led to the alleged architects of the murder plot, none other than the royal favourite, Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset, and his wife Frances Howard, whose marriage late in 1613 had provoked a significant outpouring of libellous scorn (see Section F). Politically weakened by the rise of George Villiers as a new royal favourite, Somerset was unable to stall the murder investigation, and by mid-October 1615 the Somersets were under arrest and widely assumed to be guilty of Overbury's death. Weston, Turner, Elwes, and an apothecary called James Franklin, were all tried, convicted and hanged for Overbury's murder between mid-October and early December 1615. Monson was brought to stand trial twice in late November and early December, but on both occasions had his trial postponed. After many delays and complex political manoeuvrings, the Earl and Countess of Somerset were tried and convicted in late May 1616 for their parts in Overbury's death. Both were sentenced to death, but both were spared by the king, and remained prisoners in the Tower until their release early in 1622.

Reflecting on the affair twenty years later, Sir Simonds D'Ewes noted that "This discontent gave many satirical wits occasion to vent themselves into stingy libels; in which they spared neither the persons, families, nor most secret advowtries of that unfortunate pair", the Earl and Countess of Somerset (*Autobiography* 1.87). The libels are in fact but one element in a rich array of contemporary comment on the scandal that circulated in manuscript and in print to

a geographically broad and socially diverse audience, giving the Overbury affair a publicity that was to prove highly threatening to the moral authority of the court. Most of the libels take as their primary target either Robert Carr or Frances Howard, neither of whom was openly attacked in the printed pamphlets on the scandal. A few poems attack both the Somersets at once, and a few others deal with the scandal as a whole, touching briefly on some of the other alleged murderers. Another small group of poems focuses primarily on Overbury. Some of these poems circulated both scribally and as printed epitaphs published in the front material to successive editions of Overbury's poem *A Wife*, from 1616 on.

Both Lindley's and Bellany's recent scholarly studies of the scandal use libels extensively. Lindley focuses chiefly on the libels against Frances Howard, reading them for the most part in the context of Jacobean gender ideologies as fixated on the Countess's transgressive womanhood. Bellany (*Politics*) uses libels to explore the mechanisms of early Stuart news culture that helped publicize the Overbury affair, and to describe and interpret the multiple political meanings embedded in contemporary representations of the scandal.

Several of the libels published here were printed in the appendix to White's narrative history of the Overbury scandal, and in Sanderson's short collection of "Poems on an Affair of State".

H0

## H1 There was an ould ladd rode on an ould padd

*Notes.* This poem is one of two ballads on the Essex divorce and the Overbury affair set to well-known contemporary tunes. While no explicit evidence of musical performance survives, the significant number of variants and corruptions suggest that oral transmission may have played some role in the ballad's circulation. Both Lindley (99) and Bellany (Politics 103-06, 155-56, 165, 237) discuss various elements of the ballad's political significance. Knowles ("Crack Kisses" 146) also comments on the depiction of Essex's sexuality in a segment of the poem.

"A proper new ballett to the tune whwpe doe mee no harme good man or the Cleane Contrary way  
which you plese as your voice and lyne can best agree"<sup>1</sup>

There was an ould ladd rode on an ould padd<sup>2</sup>

Unto an old Punke<sup>3</sup> a wooinge

Hee layd the ould Punke uppon an ould trunke

O there was a good ould dooinge

There was an ould mayd scarce swete as they sayde

5

In a place that I dare not to mension

She in an odd humor lay with a presumer<sup>4</sup>

O there was an odd invention

The Punk and the mayd they sunge and they sayd

That marriage was a servility

10

If marry you must for Change of lust

O well fare a tricke of nullity<sup>5</sup>

There was a Madam a did study to frame a

Devise to draw upp a perpuse<sup>6</sup>

She drew itt so narrow a Carr<sup>7</sup> might go through

15

O there was a slender sluce.

Her Earle<sup>8</sup> did appoint her they say such a jointure<sup>9</sup>

As was of noe validity

Above twice in a night hee could her noe right  
 O ther was a strange frigidity 20

But when as her Earle had an other girle  
 His wimble<sup>10</sup> could pierce her flanke  
 His nagg proved able by Changing his stable  
 O there was a quo ad hanc.<sup>11</sup>

This dame was inspected butt fraud interjected 25  
 A mayd of more perfection<sup>12</sup>  
 Whome the Midwives dooe handle while the Knight houlds the kandle  
 O there was Cleere inspection

Now all forrein writers Cry out of there miters  
 That allow this for a virginity 30  
 And talke of erection and wante of ejection  
 O there was sound divinity<sup>13</sup>

There was a young Lord<sup>14</sup> asumed on his word  
 Hee would bee a Parliament maker  
 Butt see how thinges alter hee feareth the halter<sup>15</sup> 35  
 O ther was an Undertaker<sup>16</sup>

Hee had a swete freind<sup>17</sup> that hee did Commend  
 To the keepinge of sweete ser Gervius<sup>18</sup>  
 They Gavie him a Glister<sup>19</sup> his belly did blister  
 O there was a swete peece of service 40

This freind denyd and Could not abide  
 A mach that hee Sayd would Shame us<sup>20</sup>  
 Betwixt this Matron and this grave pateron  
 O Patterne of Ignoramus<sup>21</sup>

Now West and thorne and turner<sup>22</sup> dooe turne 45

And say that theise plotts were fraudes

They may say ther pleasure toe thinke itt hard mesure

O Knaves and Punkes and bawdes

finis quoth Sir Thomas Person Knight of the sonne

Im Printed in Paules Church yard att the signe of the yellow Bande and Cuffes by Adam Arsnik Robart  
Roseaker and are to bee sould att the signe of Andromada Liberata in Turnebull streete<sup>23</sup>

**Source.** “Poems from a Seventeenth-Century Manuscript” 66-68

**Other known sources.** Bodleian MS Firth d.7, fol. 164r; BL Add. MS 15891, fol. 245v; BL Add. MS 74734, item K; CCRO MS CR 63/2/19, fol.14v; V&A MS D25.F.39, fol. 97v

## H1

<sup>1</sup> *A proper...agree*: the two tunes given as options were “Whoop! do me no harm good man” and “The Clean Contrary Way”, both of which were commonly known at the time, and both of which were used for libels written in the 1620s. Simpson (109, 777-780) has transcriptions of both tunes.

<sup>2</sup> *padd*: horse.

<sup>3</sup> *Punke*: whore.

<sup>4</sup> *presumer*: “perfumer” is a variant.

<sup>5</sup> *nullity*: a nullification of a marriage by a church court—referring here to the nullity of the marriage of Frances Howard and Robert Devereux, 3rd Earl of Essex in 1613, which enabled Frances Howard to marry Robert Carr.

<sup>6</sup> *perpuse*: BL Add. MS 15891 reads “prepuse” (i.e. prepuce, a term for the foreskin). In this context, however, the term seems more applicable to the female genitalia. One slur on Frances Howard was that she was able to fake the physical symptoms of virginity at the nullity hearing in 1613, despite her assumed adulterous relationship with Carr.

<sup>7</sup> *Carr*: Robert Carr, royal favourite and Earl of Somerset.

<sup>8</sup> *Her Earle*: Robert Devereux, 3rd Earl of Essex. Frances Howard’s petition for nullity claimed that Essex was unable to consummate their marriage.

<sup>9</sup> *jointure*: a sexual pun on the settlement made on a wife by a husband to provide for her widowhood



if she should survive him.

<sup>10</sup> *wimble*: a gimlet, boring tool, with an obvious bawdy meaning here.

<sup>11</sup> *quo ad hanc*: as a face-saving compromise at the beginning of the nullity proceedings, Essex claimed to be sexually impotent only towards Frances (“quo ad hanc”). Hence his ability to “pierce” the “flanke” of “an other girle”.

<sup>12</sup> *This dame...perfection*: as part of the nullity hearings, Frances Howard was inspected by a panel of midwives for the physical evidence of her virginity. Those who could not believe that the Countess was a virgin rumoured that another girl had been fraudulently substituted for the inspection.

<sup>13</sup> *Now all forrein...divinity*: this stanza attacks the bishops who sat on the nullity commission: both for finding Frances Howard still a virgin, and for their embarrassing discussion of the mechanics of Essex’s sexual dysfunction.

<sup>14</sup> *young Lord*: Carr.

<sup>15</sup> *halter*: hangman’s rope.

<sup>16</sup> *Parliament maker...Undertaker*: an allusion to Carr’s alleged role in attempting to manipulate the 1614 Parliament (“undertaking”, in contemporary parlance).

<sup>17</sup> *swete freind*: Overbury, Carr’s longtime political counsellor and freind.

<sup>18</sup> *ser Gervius*: Sir Gervase Elwes, Lieutenant of the Tower of London, later convicted as an accessory in Overbury’s murder.

<sup>19</sup> *Glister*: clyster; an enema. Overbury was allegedly finished off by a poisoned enema.

<sup>20</sup> *This friend...Shame us*: Overbury virulently opposed the Carr-Howard marriage.

<sup>21</sup> *Ignoramus*: the verdict returned by a Grand Jury in a case where the evidence is insufficient to support an indictment. The term may refer more specifically to the eponymous lawyer of George Ruggles’ university play, *Ignoramus*, first performed in 1614. As a tale of opposition to marriage (see note 20) and sexual intrigue the allusion to the play may be intended to comment upon the events leading up to Overbury’s murder, or might be intended to shed light upon the case itself, as a satire upon the quiddities of contemporary legalese. The possibility that the play was readily associated with the affair seems strong since “Ignoramus” also makes an appearance in another libel concerning Overbury (see “from Cathernes docke theer launcht A pritty Pinke”).

<sup>22</sup> *West and thorne and turner*: this is clearly a scribal corruption; cf. BL Add. MS 15891, which has “Weston and Thorne & Turner”. Weston is Richard Weston, tried and convicted as principal in

Overbury's murder. Turner is Anne Turner, confidante of Frances Howard, tried and convicted as an accessory to Overbury's murder. Thorne makes no sense in this context, and is perhaps best read as a corruption of Forman (CCRO MS 63/2/19 has "Weston & Former & Turner"). Forman was Simon Forman, the magician-astrologer to whom Frances Howard and Anne Turner had allegedly turned for love potions and sexual inhibitors. He died in 1612.

<sup>23</sup> *Im Printed...streete*: this mock imprint apes those typically found on printed ballads. Aside from "Paules Church yard", the centre of the London book trade, all the details in the imprint are allusions to elements of the Overbury scandal. The "signe of the yellow Bande and Cuffes" alludes to Anne Turner's supposed invention of the controversial fashion for starched yellow ruffs; "Arsnik and Roseaker" were two of the poisons allegedly used on Overbury; "Andromeda Liberata" was the title of George Chapman's poem written in defence of the Somerset marriage; and "Turnebull streete" was a street in London noted for its bawdy houses.

## H2 In England there lives a jolly Sire

*Notes.* This poem is one of two surviving libellous ballads on the Essex divorce and Overbury murder. The only known copy of this ballad survives in a manuscript compiled by Nicholas Oldisworth, Overbury's nephew, which is entirely devoted to the Overbury affair. Oldisworth's note claims he found his copy among the possessions of Overbury's father, Sir Nicholas Overbury, in 1640. The ballad is analyzed by Lindley (116), Bellany (Politics 103-06, 162-63, 169-170, 177, 237), and McRae (Literature 63-65).

“A ballad to the tune of O the wind, the winde, and the Raine”<sup>1</sup>

In England there lives a jolly Sire,<sup>2</sup>

Come listen to mee, and you shall heare:

Hee made our King's<sup>3</sup> good grace a fire

To serve's owne Turne for other guere.<sup>4</sup>

Hee made our king's, &c. To serve's own Turn, &c

5

Hee leapt from the chimney to the chamber,<sup>5</sup>

Come listen to mee, and you shall heare

How this jolly Sire began to clamber,

And serve his Turne for other geare.

How this jolly Sire, &c. And serve his Turne, &c

10

For a Viscountship<sup>6</sup> hee hoysed saile:

Come listen to mee, and you shall heare

How the Cowe of fortune fill'd his paile,

To serve his Turne for other gueare.

How the cow of fortune, &c. To serve his &c

15

The chambelayn's Office<sup>7</sup> breaking winde,

Come listen to mee, and you shall heare,

Hee had a Nose, the hole to finde,

To serve his Turne for other geare.

Hee had a nose, &c. To serve his Turne for &c 20

Somerset's earldom's<sup>8</sup> ale drunke out,

Come listen to mee, and you shall heare,  
Hee was the malt, that made newe Growt,<sup>9</sup>  
To serve that Turne, and other geare.

Hee was a Round in St George's ladder,<sup>10</sup> 25

Come listen to mee, and you shall heare,  
Yea, hee helpt to blow the Councel's<sup>11</sup> bladder,  
To serve's owne Turne for other guere.

When hee was at this Huffe of pride,

Come listen to mee, and you shall heare, 30  
Hee wanted a hackney<sup>12</sup> for to ride,  
And to serve his Turne for other geare.

Hee lighted upon a lusty filly,<sup>13</sup>

Come listen to mee, and you shall heare,  
Shee had a Marke underneath her belly, 35  
That serv'd his Turne with other geare.

This colt came of a kicking race,

Come listen to mee, and you shall heare,  
A Cecillian ape taught her damme to pace<sup>14</sup>  
And to serve his Turne for other guere. 40

A tougher Jade<sup>15</sup> was n'er bestridden,

Come listen to mee, and you shall heare,  
Sheel yerke and bound when shee is ridden,  
And serve the Turne for other geare.

Yet ever gentle to her rider,

Come listen to mee, and you shall heare: 45

She was brought to the block<sup>16</sup> before He tryd her,  
And serv'd the Turne for other guere.

Speedy shee is, and of great force,

Come listen. &c.

50

Shee never mett so stoute a Horse,

As could serve her Turne for other geare.

But if dispos'd, devoyd of anger,

Come listen, &c

Shee could make him tame, & ride with a hanger,<sup>17</sup>

55

Her Turne unserv'd for other geare.

Though I have praisd Her, shee is faulty

Come.

Shee has some Tricks, are counted naughty,

Yet serve her Turne, &c.

60

In her foal-age shee began to wince.

Come, &c

And hath beene a striker<sup>18</sup> ever since.

Which serves her Turne, &c.

Resty<sup>19</sup> shee is. Her taile<sup>20</sup> was burn'd.

65

Come, &c.

With a hott iron cramm'd, as Butter's churnd.

To serve her Turne, &c.

Her dock<sup>21</sup> and heeles have Mangie<sup>22</sup> & scratches,

Come &c.

70

Her tinderbox is full of french matches<sup>23</sup>

To serve to burne some other's geare.

Her rider, hee prickt her upp & downe.

Come, &c.  
 To city, sub-urbe, and country-towne, 75  
 And serv'd her Turne, &c

from Hammersmith to Pater noster,<sup>24</sup>  
 Come, &c.  
 And fryers black<sup>25</sup> black deedes did foster,  
 To serve their Turnes, &c. 80

But now they both have caught the crampe.<sup>26</sup>  
 Com.  
 And cannot bee currant till Tyburn<sup>27</sup> shall stampe  
 The print of justice under their Eare.  
 And cannot bee currant, &c. The print of &c. 85

This ballad was found in Sir Nic: Overbury's study, 1640

**Source.** BL Add. MS 15476, fols. 91r-92r

## H2

<sup>1</sup> *O the winde...the Raine*: this tune is not as easy to identify as those for “There was an ould ladd rode on an ould padd”. The refrain suggests that the tune might be the same one used for the song in Shakespeare’s *Twelfth Night* with the refrain “with hey, ho, the wind and the rain” (5.1.376-395). Duffin (448-450) discusses the Shakespeare song and hazards an informed guess about the tune.

<sup>2</sup> *jolly Sire*: Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset.

<sup>3</sup> *our King's*: James I's.

<sup>4</sup> *guere*: gear; genitals.

<sup>5</sup> *chimney to the chamber*: Carr's ascent from (supposed) social obscurity to a position as a Gentleman of the King's Bedchamber.

<sup>6</sup> *Viscountship*: Carr was made Viscount Rochester in March 1611.

- <sup>7</sup> *The chambelayn's Office*: Carr was appointed Lord Chamberlain in the summer of 1614, succeeding his father-in-law, Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk.
- <sup>8</sup> *Somerset's earldom's*: Carr was made Earl of Somerset in December 1613.
- <sup>9</sup> *Growt*: grout ("The infusion of malt before it is fermented, and during the process of fermentation" (*OED*)).
- <sup>10</sup> *St George's ladder*: Carr was made a Knight of the Garter (the Order of St. George) in May 1611.
- <sup>11</sup> *the Councel's*: Carr was made a Privy Councillor in April 1612.
- <sup>12</sup> *hackney*: a horse; here, a woman.
- <sup>13</sup> *lusty filly*: i.e. Frances Howard.
- <sup>14</sup> *A Cecillian ape...pace*: alluding to the charge, widely repeated in libels on Robert Cecil's death (see Section D), that Frances Howard's mother, Catherine Howard, Countess of Suffolk, had been Cecil's lover.
- <sup>15</sup> *Jade*: a worn-out horse, or a lewd woman.
- <sup>16</sup> *brought to the block*: literally referring to the sale of horses, but here alluding to Frances Howard's alleged sexual adventures before she met Carr.
- <sup>17</sup> *hanger*: loop from which either a sword or riding crop could be hung.
- <sup>18</sup> *striker*: has a double meaning here; a horse that kicks, or a promiscuous woman.
- <sup>19</sup> *Resty*: restive.
- <sup>20</sup> *taile*: the horse's tail, and Frances Howard's genitals or buttocks.
- <sup>21</sup> *dock*: rump.
- <sup>22</sup> *Mangie*: mange, a skin disease.
- <sup>23</sup> *tinderbox...french matches*: she has syphilis ("the French pox").
- <sup>24</sup> *Hammersmith to Pater noster*: alludes to locations either of Carr's and Frances Howard's sexual rendezvous or to their sites of plotting against Overbury. Anne Turner had a house on Paternoster Row in the City of London.

<sup>25</sup> *fryers black*: Blackfriars in London. Frances Howard had a residence there.

<sup>26</sup> *caught the crampe*: have been arrested.

<sup>27</sup> *Tyburn*: one of the major sites of public execution in early Stuart London.



### H3 From Roberts coach to Robins carr

*Notes.* Like several poems composed around the time of the Essex nullity and Somerset marriage, this libel from 1615-16 depends on an extended pun on Robert Carr's surname, as a "car", cart or carriage. Other versions of the poem (e.g. Rosenbach MS 1083/16) contain only the first fourteen lines. A variant of lines 13-14 of this version are also appended to the transcription of the libel "I.C.U.R." in BL Add. MS 30982: "Thou Carr to 4 feirst beasts didst trust / Pride, envie, murther, wanton lust".

From Roberts coach to Robins carr<sup>1</sup>

Franke,<sup>2</sup> flings, and climes, and travells farr

And Tom<sup>3</sup> attempts the carr<sup>4</sup> to staye

Whom Weston<sup>5</sup> whippes out of the way

Moone, sunne, and many a starr beesyde

5

Lends Franke there light, her carr to guide<sup>6</sup>

Olde Venus<sup>7</sup> with her borrowed light

Finds beasts, and riders passing right

Att length an Elvish<sup>8</sup> trick is showne

That Franke, and carr, are overthrowne,

10

The Turner,<sup>9</sup> and then quickly spye

Where coaches creepe and carrs doe flye.

To four fierce beasts this race did trust

Call'd pride, ambition, murder, lust;

Woonder all men, is itt nott strange

15

Tyme should make so greate a change

Of Gods wrath it is a token

That the greatest Carr is broken

Sinn did loade itt, honnor top't itt

Tyme disclos'de itt, vengeance cropt itt.

20

**Source.** BL MS Egerton 2230, fol. 71v

**Other known sources.** CCRO MS CR 63/2/19, fol. 11v; V&A MS D25.F.39, fol. 98v; Rosenbach MS 1083/16, p. 13

### H3

<sup>1</sup> *From Roberts...carr*: Frances Howard's (perceived) social fall from the wife of Robert Devereux, 3rd Earl of Essex, to the wife of the (supposedly) low-born Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset. The social derogation is implied by the social distinction between an aristocratic coach and a humbler car, cart or carriage.

<sup>2</sup> *Franke*: Frances Howard.

<sup>3</sup> *Tom*: Sir Thomas Overbury.

<sup>4</sup> *carr*: a continued pun on Robert Carr's name.

<sup>5</sup> *Weston*: Richard Weston, Overbury's keeper in the Tower, convicted as the principal in his murder.

<sup>6</sup> *her carr to guide*: the language here and the allusion to Venus in the following line may refer to emblems of Venus that sometimes depicted her riding on a chariot (car) pulled by doves. Frances Howard "guides" the "Car of love" in the 1613-14 libel "Lady changed to Venus Dove".

<sup>7</sup> *Venus*: goddess of love, the planet also known as the evening and morning star, and a symbol of vengery.

<sup>8</sup> *Elvish*: referring to Sir Gervase Elwes, Lieutenant of the Tower of London, convicted as an accessory to Overbury's murder, and whose initial testimony sparked the investigation into Overbury's death.

<sup>9</sup> *Turner*: Anne Turner, confidante of Frances Howard, convicted as an accessory to Overbury's murder.

#### H4 Robbin of Essex all in a rage

*Notes.* The last line of this epigram suggests that, despite its similarity to poems on the Essex nullity and Somerset marriage (see Section F), it was probably written after the revelation of the Somersets' complicity in Overbury's murder.

Robbin of Essex<sup>1</sup> all in a rage  
Turn'd over his wife<sup>2</sup> to Robin the Page.<sup>3</sup>  
And shee agayne for the pleasant evill,  
Turn'd him over to the devill.

**Source.** Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 26, fol. 18r

H4

<sup>1</sup> *Robbin of Essex:* Robert Devereux, 3rd Earl of Essex.

<sup>2</sup> *his wife:* Frances Howard.

<sup>3</sup> *Robin the Page:* Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset, who came to the Jacobean court in England as a page to George Home, Earl of Dunbar.

## H5 A page, a knight, a viscount and an Erle

*Notes.* This poem is an adaptation of an earlier version written shortly after Frances Howard's marriage to Robert Carr in December 1613 ("A page a knight a Vicount, and an Earle [1613 version]"). After the 1615 revelations of the couple's involvement in the murder of Overbury, the last line of the poem was adapted to reflect the new charges against the Countess. The Bodleian MS Rawl. D 1048 version of the 1613 poem is printed and discussed by Lindley (178), while Bellany (Politics 98, 149) comments briefly on the relationship between the 1613 and 1615 versions. In at least two sources this poem is joined (as the second stanza) to "Heere lyes hee that once was poore" (Bodleian MS Malone 23; CCRO MS CR 63/2/19); however, in most cases it is treated as a discrete poem.

A page, a knight, a viscount and an Erle<sup>1</sup>  
All foure weare wedded to one lustfull girle  
A match well made, for shee was likewise foure  
A wife a witch, a murderer, and a whore.

**Source.** BL MS Egerton 2230, fol. 70v

**Other known sources.** *Cort verhael van het grouwelick* (Dutch translation) B3v; "Poems from a Seventeenth-Century Manuscript" 62; Bodleian MS Ashmole 38, p. 116; Bodleian MS Don. c.54, fol. 23r; Bodleian MS Malone 19, p. 38; Bodleian MS Malone 23, p. 7; Bodleian MS Rawl. D. 1048, fol. 64r; Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 160, fol. 163r; Bodleian MS Tanner 465, fol. 96v; BL Add. MS 44963, fol. 40r; BL MS Sloane 1489, fol. 9v; CCRO MS 63/2/19, fol. 11r; Folger MS V.a.162, fol. 62v; Folger MS V.a.262, p. 262

H5

<sup>1</sup> *A page...an Erle:* Robert Carr came to the Court of James I in England as a page to George Home, Earl of Dunbar, was knighted in 1607, made Viscount Rochester in 1611, and Earl of Somerset in 1613.

## H6 Heere lyes hee that once was poore

*Notes.* In at least one source this poem—supposedly an “Epitaph” on Robert Carr, but presumably written in the expectation of his execution in 1615 or 1616 rather than after his death in 1645—is joined (as the first stanza) to “A page, a knight, a viscount and an Erle” (Bodleian MS Malone 23); however, in most cases it is treated as a discrete poem. The poem is analyzed by Lindley (189) and Bellany (Politics 166).

### “An Epitaph”

Heere lyes hee that once was poore  
Then rich, then great, then lov'd an whore.<sup>1</sup>  
Hee woed, then wedd: and in conclusion  
His love and whore, was his confusion.

**Source.** Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 26, fol. 18r

**Other known sources.** Bodleian MS Malone 23, p. 7; BL MS Egerton 2230, fol. 70v; CCRO MS CR 63/2/19, fol. 11r; V&A MS D25.F.39, fol. 99r

H6

<sup>1</sup> *whore*: Frances Howard.

## H7 When Carr in Court a Page at first began

*Notes.* This libel, analyzed by Lindley (160-1) and Bellany (Politics 169), is an adaptation of Epigram 4, “In Getam”, printed in Book 5 of Thomas Bastard’s *Chrestoleros* (107). Like the libel, Bastard’s original is in essence an attack on the violation of an ideally static social order by the rise of obscure men—Geta is by origin a weaver—to status and dignity. Knowles (“Crack Kisses” 147) argues that “the ‘swelling’ here can be read as sexual as much as titular”.

“On Sir Robart Carr Earle of Sommersett”

When Carr in Court a Page<sup>1</sup> at first began

Hee swell’d and swell’d into a Gentleman;

And when a Gentleman<sup>2</sup> and bravely dight;

Hee swell’d and swell’d till Hee became a Knight:<sup>3</sup>

At last forgetting what Hee was at first,

Hee swelld into an Earle,<sup>4</sup> and then Hee burst.

5

**Source.** Folger MS V.a.103, fol. 68r

**Other known sources.** Bodleian MS Malone 19, p. 151; Nottingham MS Portland PW V 37, p. 142; Folger MS V.a.162, fol. 63v; Rosenbach MS 239/27, p. 66

H7

<sup>1</sup> *Page*: Carr arrived at the Jacobean court in England as a page to George Home, Earl of Dunbar.

<sup>2</sup> *Gentleman*: Carr was appointed Gentleman of the Bedchamber in December 1607.

<sup>3</sup> *Knight*: Carr was knighted in December 1607.

<sup>4</sup> *Earle*: Carr became Earl of Somerset in November 1613.

## H8 The Sommers sun is sett

*Notes.* This poem is either a revision of a non-political verse, or else an attempt to make that verse more blatant. The more oblique lines (albeit transcribed in a series of poems on Carr and Howard) read: “Our Somer Sun is sett / and winter is come on / The Robin Redbreast leaves to chirpe / because his voice is gone” (Bodleian MS Rawl. D 1048). The poem is briefly discussed by Bellany (Politics 166).

The Sommers sun is sett

And will shyne out noe more

This sommersett did gett

By marryeing of an whore.<sup>1</sup>

**Source.** Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 26, fol. 17v

**Other known sources.** *Cort verhael van het grouwelick* (Dutch translation) B3v; Bodleian MS Rawl. D. 1048, fol. 64v; BL MS Sloane 1489, fol. 9v

H8

<sup>1</sup> *whore*: i.e. Frances Howard.

## H9 I.C.U.R

*Notes.* This poem is occasionally attributed to Sir Walter Raleigh (e.g. Bodleian MS Eng. Poet. e.14). In one version two extra lines are appended: “Thou Carr to 4 feirst beasts didst trust / Pride, envie, murther, wanton lust” (BL Add. MS 30982). The poem’s visual gimic requires the reader to sound out the initials that constitute every third line. Thus I.C.U.R. is “I see you are”. The same technique is used in a 1640 libel against Archbishop William Laud (“U.R.I.C. poore Canterbury, in a tottring state”). The poem is discussed by Bellany (Politics 105, 166).

I.C.U.R.<sup>1</sup>

good monseieur Car<sup>2</sup>

about to fall

U.R.A.K.<sup>3</sup>

as most men say

5

& thats not all

U.O.Q.P.<sup>4</sup>

with a nullity<sup>5</sup>

that shameles packe<sup>6</sup>

S.X.Y.F.<sup>7</sup>

10

whose wicked life

hath broke thy backe.

**Source.** BL MS Harley 6038, fol. 28r

**Other known sources.** Raleigh, *Poems* 121; Bodleian MS Don. c.54, fol. 22v; Bodleian MS Eng. Poet. e.14, fol. 49r; Bodleian MS Firth d.7, fol. 152r; Bodleian MS Rawl. D. 1048, fol. 64v; Bodleian MS Sancroft 53, p. 48; BL Add. MS 15227, fol. 42v; BL Add. MS 15476, fol. 1r; BL Add. MS 30982, fol. 22r; BL MS Harley 1221, fol. 91r; BL MS Sloane 1489, fol. 9v; CUL Add. MS 4138, fol. 47r; CCRO MS CR 63/2/19, fol. 13r; V&A MS D25.F.39, fol. 97r; Folger MS V.a.162, fol. 35r; Rosenbach MS 1083/16, p. 172

H9

<sup>1</sup> I.C.U.R: “I see you are”.



<sup>2</sup> *Car*: Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset.

<sup>3</sup> *U.R.A.K.*: “You are a kae (i.e. a jackdaw)”. In Aesop’s fables, the jackdaw has borrowed feathers. In this context, the allusion refers to Carr’s acquisition of other men’s fortunes, lands and wife, a charge made more explicitly in the libels “Poore Pilote thou hast lost thy Pinke” and “The wealth he gott to make his meanes greate”.

<sup>4</sup> *U.O.Q.P.*: “You occupy” (“occupy” having the connotation of sexual possession).

<sup>5</sup> *nullity*: i.e. the 1613 nullity of the marriage of Frances Howard to Robert Devereux, 3rd Earl of Essex.

<sup>6</sup> *packe*: a low person; here Frances Howard.

<sup>7</sup> *S.X.Y.F.*: “Essex’s wife” (i.e. Frances Howard).

## H10 Poore Pilote thou hast lost thy Pinke

*Notes.* This is one of a number of poems, composed both in 1613-14 and 1615-16, that depict Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset, and his wife, Frances Howard, as respectively the master or pilot of a boat (a “pink”), and as the boat itself. This libel is discussed by Lindley (161-62), Bellany (Politics 169), and McRae (Literature 54-55).

Poore Pilote thou hast lost thy Pinke<sup>1</sup>

And by her leake<sup>2</sup> downe to the bottome sinke,

Thy lands bee gone, alas they weare not thyne

Thy house likewise, another sayes is myne

Then wheare’s thy witt, alas tis 2 yeares dead<sup>3</sup>

And wher’s thy wife, another did her wedd.<sup>4</sup>

Art thou a man or butt the simple part

Nothing thyne owne butt thy aspyring hart.

Rawley thy howse,<sup>5</sup> Westmerland thy lands<sup>6</sup>

Overburye thy witt, Essex thy wife demands,

Like Æsops gey,<sup>7</sup> each bird will pluck a feather

And thou strip’t nak’t exposed to winds an weather

Butt yet thy freinds to keepe thee from the coulde

Have mud’e<sup>8</sup> the upp in London’s strongest houlde.<sup>9</sup>

5

10

**Source.** BL MS Egerton 2230, fol. 72r

**Other known sources.** “Poems from a Seventeenth-Century Manuscript” 64; Bodleian MS Don. c.54, fol. 22v; Bodleian MS Malone 23, p. 6; Bodleian MS Rawl. D. 1048, fol. 64r; Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 26, fol. 17v; BL MS Sloane 2023, fol. 58v; CCRO MS CR 63/2/19, fol. 11r; V&A MS D25.F.39, fol. 98v

H10

<sup>1</sup> *Pilote...Pinke*: the pilot is Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset; the pink, or boat, is Frances Howard, Countess of Somerset.

- <sup>2</sup> *leake*: the pun here depends on the association of “leakiness” with female sexual incontinence.
- <sup>3</sup> *witt...dead*: Carr’s “wit” is Sir Thomas Overbury, murdered in the Tower in 1613.
- <sup>4</sup> *wife...wedd*: refers to Frances Howard’s first marriage to Robert Devereux, 3rd Earl of Essex.
- <sup>5</sup> *Rawley thy howse*: Carr had received the house and estate at Sherborne—which had been confiscated from Sir Walter Raleigh after his conviction for treason in 1603—as a royal gift in 1608. Carr sold the estate back to the Crown when James I decided to grant it to his eldest son, Henry. After Henry’s death in 1612, Carr purchased Sherborne back from the Crown.
- <sup>6</sup> *Westmerland thy lands*: late in 1613, James I granted Carr substantial lands in the north-east of England that had been taken by the Crown from the Earls of Westmoreland in 1569.
- <sup>7</sup> *Æsops gey*: an allusion to Aesop’s fable of the jackdaw dressed in borrowed feathers.
- <sup>8</sup> *mud’e*: mewed, confined.
- <sup>9</sup> *London’s strongest houlde*: the Tower of London.

## H11 The wealth he gott to make his meanes greate

*Notes.* The sole extant copy of this attack on Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset, is in the commonplace book of William Davenport of Bramhall, Cheshire (CCRO MS CR 63/2/19). The poem draws heavily from “Poore Pilote thou hast lost thy Pinke” and alludes to the final line from the 1613 version of “A page, a knight, a viscount and an Erle”. The fact that the libel notes that Carr’s “Ladie” was “before” described as “whore, wfy, widdowe, wiche”, suggests that Davenport himself might have penned this poem, alluding in the process to the 1613 poem transcribed earlier in his commonplace book. Bellany (Politics 102, 177) discusses this poem’s authorship and its representation of Carr.

The wealth he gott to make his meanes greate  
not from his purchase came, but Kingelye seate<sup>1</sup>  
the land his late made Lordship did possese  
was Westmorelands & Raweleys knowne distress<sup>2</sup>  
the honore that his Lordship did inheritte  
was Herefords purchase<sup>3</sup> not his proper merritte  
the Spouse he had to grace his nuptiall bedd  
was Essex wyfe without a maidenheadd.<sup>4</sup>  
she was the Ladie kyld his leacherouss Iche  
before described, whore, wyfe, widdowe, wiche,  
the witte whereby he gotte all but his wyffe  
was his poore Knight,<sup>5</sup> whome he bereft of lyffe  
this wyfe undide what all those did before  
and left him Lorde of nothings but a whore.

5

10

**Source.** CCRO MS CR 63/2/19, fol. 11v

H11

<sup>1</sup> *Kingelye seate*: i.e. by the King’s gift.

<sup>2</sup> *Westmorelands & Raweles*: James I gave Carr land confiscated by the Crown from the Earls of

Westmoreland (in north-east England) and from Sir Walter Raleigh (in Sherborne, Dorset).

<sup>3</sup> *Herefords purchase*: the exact meaning of this allusion is unclear. Robert Devereux, 3rd Earl of Essex, was also 4th Viscount Hereford, and Carr (as the next couplet makes clear) took Essex's wife. If this couplet also refers to Essex, it is not clear what else Carr was supposed to have taken from him. Another reading, however, would see "Hereford" as a mistake for "Hertford". Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford (d.1621), was the son of the attainted Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset, so this couplet could refer to the Earldom of Somerset granted to Carr in November 1613.

<sup>4</sup> *the Spouse...maidenheadd*: referring to Carr's marriage to Frances Howard after the nullity of her marriage to Robert Devereux, 3rd Earl of Essex. During the nullity hearings, Frances Howard had been physically inspected to prove her virginity; few, however, believed her chaste.

<sup>5</sup> *poore Knight*: Sir Thomas Overbury.

## H12 Why how now Robine? discontented quite

*Notes.* The sole extant copy of this savagely vitriolic poem on Carr survives in William Davenport's commonplace book (CCRO MS CR 63/2/19). Lindley (189-190) explores the poem in his analysis of the contemporary images of Frances Howard seducing Robert Carr into corruption and crime, while Bellany (Politics 167, 175, 237) discusses the poem's depictions of Carr, Overbury, the betrayal of friendship, and the need for violent retribution.

Why how now Robine?<sup>1</sup> discontented quite  
hath greatness with the playd the skytische Jayde<sup>2</sup>  
hath fortune kyste thee, & now doth she byte  
and of her alter thee her footstoole make  
hath she taught the to shew a tumblinge cast 5  
and raysed thee highe to breake thy neck at last.  
O noe I wronge her twas not shee that threwe  
thee on thy necke or was thy ruins cause  
but lustfull leacher twas thy self that drewe  
thy selfe into confutions Jawes 10  
when thou didst first touch that vyle castol<sup>3</sup> vyce  
thy wronge stylde Countess,<sup>4</sup> Englands Cokeatryce.<sup>5</sup>  
what new strange maddness did possese thy mynde  
what Franticke humor haunted thee, what fitte?  
that thou to launch noe other place could fynd 15  
but there where thou wert shewer thy barke<sup>6</sup> to splytt  
had the whole Ocean but one dangerouse shelfe  
and wouldst thou neades runn there and ground thy selfe.  
did Englands fruitfull bosome yeald such store  
of vertuose plants, and trulye noble stemes 20  
and yett must thou neades couple with a whore  
to gaine base dross, despicinge pretiouce Jemes  
loosinge thy share in heaven and earth and all

to tast a bitt which tasted was with galle  
 And yett did honor give the so deare a frend<sup>7</sup> 25  
 whose love streames towards thee soe much did flowe  
 that he foreseinge thy sadd fall, did spend  
 his braynes deepest dryft to stopp thy overthrowe  
 O, yett couldst thou conspire to cutt his throate  
 who was thy greatness, trewest Antydote.<sup>8</sup> 30  
 And thorroughe his harte did digge the out awaye  
 with poysons pickaxe to injoye thy lust  
 who was a maine cheefe pillar which didde staye  
 thee on that throwne from which thou now art thrust  
 And who spent all his wisdome to the dreggs 35  
 to keepe thy state upright uppon itt leggs  
 and yett couldst thou betraye him, O vyle fact  
 whose horred stayne can never be out worne  
 how worthie for it arte thou to be ract  
 and pecemayle in some fearefull Engine torne 40  
 that men maye saye behould shuch was his ende  
 that for his whores sake murthered his derest frend  
 ye therefore Impe & dyinge lett thy goste  
 carrie thy Countess with itt quicke to hell  
 that when shee arivethe at the Sulphrie coste 45  
 Shee to the fynds the tragedie maye tell  
 divills, not men are fitte to heare this murther  
 it is foule, O then, cease pen and wryte no further.

**Source.** CCRO MS CR 63/2/19, fol. 12r

H12

<sup>1</sup> *Robine*: diminutive for Robert.

<sup>2</sup> *Jayde*: jade; a horse.

<sup>3</sup> *castol*: unclear.

<sup>4</sup> *Countess*: Frances Howard.

<sup>5</sup> *Cokeatryce*: cockatrice; a serpent and/or a whore.

<sup>6</sup> *barke*: boat.

<sup>7</sup> *so deare a frend*: Sir Thomas Overbury, who was believed to have opposed Carr's liaison with Frances Howard.

<sup>8</sup> *Antydote*: antidote. Here the meaning is that Overbury's counsel counteracted the dangers inherent in Carr's ascent to power.



### H13 From Car a Carter surely tooke his name

*Notes.* The poem's puns on "Carr" and "car" or "cart" can be found in a number of other libels on Robert Carr composed in 1613-14 and 1615-16. The pun functions in all these poems to mock the favourite's supposed lowly social origins. Here, however, the pun is also used as a vehicle to imagine the much hoped-for execution of Robert Carr for Overbury's murder.

From Car a Carter surely tooke his name

Or from a Carter surely Car first came

Sith Car & Carter then soe well agree

Let none them part till they at Tyburne<sup>1</sup> bee

Where Car with Carter when you there doe find

Take ter from Carter, but leave Car behind.<sup>2</sup>

5

**Source.** Rosenbach MS 1083/16, p. 13

**Other known sources.** Sanderson 60

H13

<sup>1</sup> *Tyburne*: London's main venue of public execution, to which the condemned would ride in a cart.

<sup>2</sup> *leave Car behind*: i.e. leave him hanging.

#### H14 Dazal'd thus with hight of place

*Notes.* The scribal history of this poem is examined by Pebworth (“Sir Henry Wotton’s ‘Dazel’d Thus, with Height of Place’”). Bellany (Politics 166-67) explores the poem’s analysis of Somerset’s fall in the context of other representations of the fallen favourite.

“Upon Somersets fall”<sup>1</sup>

Dazal’d thus with hight of place,

Whilst our hopes our witts beguile,

No man marks the narrow space

’Twixt a prison, & a smile.

Then since fortunes favours fade,

5

You that in her armes doe sleep,

Learn to swimm & not to wade;

For, the hearts of Kings are deep.

But, if greatnes be so blind,

As to trust in tow’rs of aire,

10

Let it be with goodness lin’d

That, at least the fall be faire.

Then, though darkn’d, you shall say,

When friends fail, & Princes frown,

Vertue is the roughest way,

15

But proves at night a bed of down.

**Source.** BL MS Sloane 1925, fols. 30v-29v<sup>2</sup>

**Other known sources.** Pebworth; Wotton 522; Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 147, p. 97; Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 166, p. 83; Bodleian MS Tanner 465, fol. 61v; BL Add. MS 25707, fol. 185v; BL Add. MS 69968A, fol. 30v; BL Add. MS 72439, fol. 148r; BL MS Harley 1221, fol. 110v; BL MS Harley 6038, fol. 44r; BL MS Lans. 777, fol. 64v; BL MS Sloane 1446, fol. 76v; Rosenbach MS 239/23, fol. 95v

- <sup>1</sup> *Upon Somersets fall*: the poem is not universally linked in contemporary copies to Somerset's fall.
- <sup>2</sup> Due to a fault in the binding of this manuscript, the text begins on fol. 30v and ends on fol. 29v.

## H15 If ever woe possest a stubborn heart

*Notes.* This rare poem, written in the voice of the imprisoned Robert Carr, dwells on two widely discussed themes in contemporary discussion of Carr's spectacular fall from power: his betrayal of his friend, Overbury; and the dangerous consequences of his rapid elevation out of a naturally lowly social status. The collector's attribution of the verse to Carr himself is almost certainly mistaken. Carr would never have referred to his rank at birth as "meane"; and, unlike the repentant voice in this poem, he stuck fast to his claim of innocence in Overbury's murder.

"By Ld Carr: Earle of Somerset: his owne verses:"

If ever woe possest a stubborn heart  
If punishment bee dew to bad deserte  
If ever greife or sorrow man hath croste  
Lay all on mee, I have deserv'd the moste

Let all the world complain upon my name  
Let all the world reporte nought but my shame  
Let all the world beare these my words in mynde  
That to my friend<sup>1</sup> Like Judas proved unkinde

5

I that on Earth had all I could desire  
I that like Phaieton<sup>2</sup> did above all aspire  
Have nothinge els to comfort my sad mones  
But thus to tell my greife to wrathlesse stones.<sup>3</sup>

10

Lett all my friends beare theis my words in minde  
Bee not like mee to your best friend unkinde  
Beare this same proverbe allwayes in your view  
for to my greife I finde it to be trewe.

15

Hee that begins to Clyme & climes but slowe  
Can catch small harme though hee fall nere so lowe  
But hee that when hee clymes a mayne<sup>4</sup>

Hee fales so lowe hee nere can rise againe 20

Thus I advertise all before I dye

Hee must needs fall to lowe that clymes to hye.

I that was rich in state though meane in birth

Ame now the meanest creature one the earth.

The world condemns mee for my monstrous deed 25

And that which makes my heart with sorrowe bleed

Is this, that more besides poore wretched I

for this offence in ths strong hold must lye.<sup>5</sup>

Oh had I lyven poorely as at first

But twas for honour that my minde did thirst 30

Honor I aym'd at and I hitt the white<sup>6</sup>

first from a Page the Kinge made mee a knight

From thence I stept into a Vicounts place

And beinge Earle I reaped this fowle disgrace<sup>7</sup>

Then did I thinke my fate coulde never fall 35

And like a gamster<sup>8</sup> then I threw at all

But then the Lord that doth disclose all crimes

That ere hath bin committed in these tymes

Hee did disclose this plott that Hell invented

The which till now my heart hath nere relented 40

Mercy O Lord I crave for my fowle sinne

A penitent soule I know much mercy wynnes

Let not thy angry browe gainst mee be bent

For with a fervent heart I do repent.

**Source.** Morgan MS MA 1057, pp. 190-91

<sup>1</sup> *my friend*: Sir Thomas Overbury.

<sup>2</sup> *Phaieton*: Phaeton, son of the sun-god Phoebus, whose rash request to be allowed to drive the chariot of the sun for a day almost led to disaster. Contemporaries commonly compared James I's reckless young favourites to Phaeton.

<sup>3</sup> *stones*: i.e. the stones of Carr's cell in the Tower of London.

<sup>4</sup> *a mayne*: amain; at full speed, violently.

<sup>5</sup> *more besides...must lye*: presumably a reference to Carr's wife, Frances Howard, imprisoned with him in the Tower of London, but possibly also a reference to the other suspects—Sir Robert Cotton and Sir Thomas and Sir William Monson—still in custody during the spring and early summer of 1616.

<sup>6</sup> *the white*: an archery target.

<sup>7</sup> *first from a Page...disgrace*: these three lines rehearse Carr's *cursus honorum*, familiar from many other libels. He arrived at James I's Court in England as a page to George Home, Earl of Dunbar; was knighted by the king in 1607; made Viscount Rochester in 1611; and elevated as Earl of Somerset in November 1613.

<sup>8</sup> *gamster*: gamester; gambler.

## H16 A bird ill hatchd, from out a Cuckowes nest

*Notes.* The final four lines of this poem on Frances Howard are transcribed, in the only known source, as a separate poem, marked off from the preceding lines in the source by a horizontal line. In context, however, they are difficult to read independently, and are almost certainly part of the poem, possibly representing a late addition to an existing text, tacked on in November 1615 when rumours surrounding Frances Howard's pregnancy were most prevalent. Bellamy (Politics 169, 237) contextualizes the poem's depiction of the social derogation implied by Howard's second marriage, and its evocation of her execution.

A bird ill hatchd, from out a Cuckowes<sup>1</sup> nest

flew from her mate, unto a pages brest.<sup>2</sup>

Inconstant bird, and moste Adulterous girle

To take a page, and leave a worthy Earle.

But nowe her wings are limed,<sup>3</sup> staid is her flight.

Within a place whilome blackfriers<sup>4</sup> hight.

soe as att Randome, shee noe more muste flie:

Unles ambitiously, she mount on hie,

Some few degrees; and soe against her will

A sodaine full<sup>5</sup> maie chance the bird to kill

But nowe her Courses, Smith<sup>6</sup> doth overlooke

Till shee Receave her sentence from a Cooke<sup>7</sup>

Whoe mortall breakfasts liberally imparts

To such as poyson honest men with tarts.<sup>8</sup>

This bird some saie with yong one is growne bigg<sup>9</sup>

Beleeve whoe list, moste hold it but a figg.<sup>10</sup>

But if it proove and she in Childbed die

Whoe Poycind others, killd her selfe saie I.

5

10

15

**Source.** "Poems from a Seventeenth-Century Manuscript" 62

- <sup>1</sup> *Cuckowes*: a cuckoo is noted for laying its eggs in other birds' nests. This may be an allusion to the poor sexual reputation of Frances Howard's mother, Catherine, Countess of Suffolk, the rumoured mistress of Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury.
- <sup>2</sup> *flew...pages brest*: allusion to the 1613 nullity of Frances Howard's first marriage to Robert Devereux, 3rd Earl of Essex, and her subsequent marriage to Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset, who had arrived at James I's English court as a page to George Home, Earl of Dunbar.
- <sup>3</sup> *limed*: covered with birdlime, a sticky substance used to catch small birds. This refers to Frances Howard's arrest and imprisonment.
- <sup>4</sup> *blackfriars*: Frances Howard was held for a time at a house in Blackfriars.
- <sup>5</sup> *full*: probable scribal error; read "fall".
- <sup>6</sup> *Smith*: Frances Howard was held in the custody of Sir William Smith.
- <sup>7</sup> *Cooke*: Sir Edward Coke, Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench and lead investigator and prosecutor of the Overbury murder case.
- <sup>8</sup> *poyson...tarts*: the murderers had allegedly sent Sir Thomas Overbury gifts of tarts, laced with poison.
- <sup>9</sup> *with yong one...growne bigg*: Frances Howard in fact was pregnant at the time of her arrest—her daughter was born in December 1615.
- <sup>10</sup> *a figg*: a lie. All kinds of rumours about the pregnancy—including that it was faked—were rife in London in November 1615.



## H17 She with whom troops of bustuary slaves

*Notes.* This ambitious attack on Frances Howard as the quintessence of darkness, a sorceress and sexual transgressor, borrows the character of the Neapolitan witch and whore Canidia from Horace's "Epodes" and "Satires". Bellany explores the poem's depiction of witchcraft and sexual transgression in his analysis of the Overbury scandal's multiple political meanings (Politics 150, 176, 230).

"Supposed to be made against the Lady Frauncis Coun: of Somerset"

She with whom troops of bustuary<sup>1</sup> slaves  
(Like legions) sojourn'd still a mounst the graves;  
And there laid plotts which made the silver moone  
To fall in labour many times to soone:

Canidia now draws on.

5

She that in every vice did soe excell,  
That she could read new principles to hell;  
And shew the fiends recorded in her lookes  
Such deeds, as were not in their blackest books:

Canidia now draws on.

10

She that by spells could make a frozen stone,  
Melt and dissolve with soft affection:<sup>2</sup>  
And in an instant strike the factours dead  
That should pay duties to the marriage bedd:<sup>3</sup>

Canidia now draws on.

15

She that consisted all of borrow'd grace,  
Could paint her hart as smoothly as her face;  
And when her breath gave wings to silken words,  
Poysons in thoughts conceite, and murthering swords:

Canidia now draws on

20

She that could reeke within the sheets of lust,  
And there be searcht,<sup>4</sup> yet passe with out mistrust;  
She that could surfle<sup>5</sup> upp the waies of sinne,  
And make strait posternes<sup>6</sup> where wide gates had beene:

Canidia now draws on.

25

She that could cheate the matrimoniall bedd  
With a false stamp, adulterate maidenhead;  
And make the husband thinke those kisses chast,  
Which were stale panders to his spouses wast:

Canidia now draws on.

30

Whose brest was that Aceldama<sup>7</sup> of bloud,  
Whose virtue still became the cankers food;  
Whose closet might a Golgotha<sup>8</sup> be stil'd,  
Or else a charnell where dead bones are pil'd:

Canidia now draws on.

35

Whose waxen pictures fram'd by incantation,  
Whose Philters, Potions for loves propagation  
Count Circe,<sup>9</sup> but a novice in the trade,  
And scorne all Drugs that Colchos<sup>10</sup> ever made;

Canidia now draws on.

40

Oh lett no bells be ever heard to ring,  
Lett not a chime the nightly houres sing;  
Lett not the lyrik larke salute the day,  
Nor Philomele<sup>11</sup> tune the sad darkes away:

Canidia still draws on.

45

Lett croking ravens, and death boading owles,  
Lett groning mandraks,<sup>12</sup> and the ghastly howles  
Of men unburied bee the fatall knell

To ring Canidia downe from earth to hell;

Canidia still draws on

50

Let wolves and tygers howle, lett serpents cry,

Let basilisks<sup>13</sup> bedew their poysoning eie;

Let Plutos dogg<sup>14</sup> strech high his barking note,

And chaunt her dirges with his triple throate:

Canidia still draws on.

55

Under his burthen lett great Atlas<sup>15</sup> quake,

Lett the fixt earths unmoved center shake;

And the faire heavens wrappt as it were with wonder

That divells dy, speake out their loudest thunder:

Canidia still draws on.

60

Noe longer shall the pretty marigolds

Ly sepulchred all night in their owne folds;

The rose should florish, and throughout the yeare

No leafe nor plant once blasted would appeare:

Were once Canidia gone.

65

The strarres wold seeme as glorious as the moone,

And she like Phœbus<sup>16</sup> in his brightest noone;

Mists, clouds, vapours, all would passe a way,

And the whole yeare bee as an Halcyon day:

Oh were Canidia gone.

70

**Source.** BL MS Sloane 1792, fols. 2v-4r

**Other known sources.** Bodleian MS Malone 23, p. 8; BL MS Harley 3910, fol. 26r; Nottingham MS Portland PW V 37, p. 135; Folger MS V.a.103, fol. 66r; Huntington MS HM 198, 1.33

- <sup>1</sup> *bustuary*: pertaining to funeral pyres.
- <sup>2</sup> *She that by spells...affection*: some reports alleged that Frances Howard had used love potions to seduce Robert Carr.
- <sup>3</sup> *strike the factours...bedd*: many reports suggested that Frances Howard had used witchcraft to render her first husband, Robert Devereux, 3rd Earl of Essex, sexually impotent.
- <sup>4</sup> *searcht*: during the 1613 proceedings to nullify her first marriage, Frances Howard was inspected by a panel of midwives to prove that she was still a virgin and that her marriage had never been consummated.
- <sup>5</sup> *surfle*: to cover up, paint over (usually with cosmetics). The implication is that Frances Howard used magical assistance to fake the signs of virginity.
- <sup>6</sup> *posternes*: posterns; private doors.
- <sup>7</sup> *Aceldama*: the field of blood (Acts 1.19).
- <sup>8</sup> *Golgotha*: graveyard.
- <sup>9</sup> *Circe*: a witch in Homer's *Odyssey*.
- <sup>10</sup> *Colchos*: Colchis, or Medea; witch, poisoner and murderess.
- <sup>11</sup> *Philomele*: in classical mythology, Philomela was transformed into a nightingale.
- <sup>12</sup> *mandraks*: mandrakes; plants believed to emit a fatal cry when pulled from the ground.
- <sup>13</sup> *basilisks*: serpents whose gaze was fatal.
- <sup>14</sup> *Plutos dogg*: the three-headed Cerberus who guarded Hades.
- <sup>15</sup> *Atlas*: in myth, sentenced to hold up the heavens.
- <sup>16</sup> *Phæbus*: the sun.

## H18 from Cathernes docke theer launcht A pritty Pinke

*Notes.* This poem appears to be an adaptation and extension of a libel originally written around the time of the marriage of Robert Carr and Frances Howard in December 1613 (see “From Katherins dock there launcht a pinke”). Like other poems, this libel depicts Frances Howard’s alleged sexual transgressions through an extended series of puns based on the organizing metaphor of the Countess as a leaky, wandering boat. Bellany (Politics 155, 175) discusses this 1615 version of the poem in his analyses of representations of Frances Howard, Robert Carr and Sir Thomas Overbury.

### “On the Countess of Sommersett”

from Cathernes docke<sup>1</sup> theer launcht a pritty Pinke<sup>2</sup>  
Leake<sup>3</sup> she did often, butt did never sinke,  
in falling downe to Essex<sup>4</sup> pleasant shore  
long she exspected rigging, and yards<sup>5</sup> store  
but out of hope theer to obteine content  
with wind in Poope,<sup>6</sup> away she flyes for Kent  
and faine she would att Rochester<sup>7</sup> cast anchor  
but hideous dangers, and chill feares much blank her  
beside to Cross good Canterburyes<sup>8</sup> house  
and London<sup>9</sup> too, did cross the Ocean lawes  
yet winchester averd she might, and Ely<sup>10</sup>  
by scriptum est<sup>11</sup> would prove itt, did not he ly  
well wheer she would be, they tow tugd her thether  
Maugre<sup>12</sup> the sea, the Tide, the winde, the wether,  
them Som-are-sett<sup>13</sup> to Caulke, and fresh her beake<sup>14</sup>  
make yare<sup>15</sup> her geare<sup>16</sup> new yard<sup>17</sup> her, stop her leake  
and bravly furnisht now with all munition  
to sea she goes upon an expedition  
her Canvas spreading, when she was inclind too  
up she would fetch, whome ere she had a mind too

5

10

15

20

clap him a boord, take the best things he had  
 and in exchang give him some oreworne bad<sup>18</sup>  
 Manny a Gallant Top, foreyard, and mast<sup>19</sup>  
 her rude incounters layde in helpless wast  
 and now her beake comaunds what ere she please 25  
 without controule even over all the seas,  
 in triumph thus she revels, till debate  
 arose betweene his master and his mate<sup>20</sup>  
 the Pinke was tender sided and unsteady<sup>21</sup>  
 att every Gust to turne her keele<sup>22</sup> up ready 30  
 the mate diserning that, did sore distast her  
 his thoughts, her faults, discovers to the Master  
 forwarning him such tempest weer a bruing  
 as not to leave her brought apparant ruine  
 the master wholly on his Pinke enamour'd 35  
 into his head could have no counsell hamerd  
 still he would keepe her, like her, love her best  
 but doth in hart his honnest Mate detest  
 consults with his belov'd, a fitt time watches  
 when by a tricke they clapt him under hatches<sup>23</sup> 40  
 wheer fed with art composed Tart<sup>24</sup> he lay  
 tell att A port hole<sup>25</sup> he was made away  
 thus, Over-bury-ed<sup>26</sup> head and eares in water  
 wast not great pitty she should act this slaughter  
 this Treacherous practise Neptune<sup>27</sup> winnowed out 45  
 and vowed Just vengance all the seas aboute  
 the grudging winds with angry murmer swell  
 and sad disasters in blacke Stormes fortell  
 no rest, no refuge the proude Pinke wude have  
 tost, tumbled, rumbled on the boysterous wave 50  
 her ends, her frends prevailes not, nor her prayers

up she was cast att the black fryers stayres<sup>28</sup>  
 wher in requitall of his former Jadeing<sup>29</sup>  
 ransackt and rifled, mard & bard from trading  
 on Ground she sitts, and tho as yett she splitts not 55  
 crackt and halfe rackt, for sea againe shees fitt not  
 nay though her owners safly of should wind her  
 no man a live would ever venture in her  
 but her deare master close unto a mountaine  
 was driven A shore nigh Ignoramus fountaine<sup>30</sup> 60  
 from whence the stormes increasing, fury strooke him  
 downe to a Moore<sup>31</sup> wher now you may goe looke him.

**Source.** Huntington MS HM 198, 1.19-21

**Other known sources.** “Poems from a Seventeenth-Century Manuscript” 74; Bodleian Rawl. Poet. 84, fol. 68r

## H18

<sup>1</sup> *Catherines docke*: a multi-layered pun, this refers both to St. Catherine’s dock on the river Thames in London, an area of town Lindley (118) notes was “notorious for brewhouses and taverns, and therefore a haunt of prostitutes”, and to Frances Howard’s mother, Catherine Howard, Countess of Suffolk, from whose “dock, rump or vagina”, Frances was born (launched).

<sup>2</sup> *Pinke*: sailing ship.

<sup>3</sup> *Leake*: leakiness was a common metaphor for female sexual insatiability, and lack of bodily control.

<sup>4</sup> *Essex*: Frances Howard’s first husband, Robert Devereux, 3rd Earl of Essex; and the English county.

<sup>5</sup> *yards*: a bawdy pun, yard being both a spar on a ship’s mast and common slang for penis.

<sup>6</sup> *wind in Poope*: literally with wind blowing astern the boat, but probably with bawdy innuendo here.

<sup>7</sup> *Rochester*: both the town in Kent, and Robert Carr, Viscount Rochester since 1611.

<sup>8</sup> *Canterburyes*: George Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury, who had opposed the Essex nullity in 1613.

- <sup>9</sup> *London*: John King, Bishop of London, who had opposed the Essex nullity in 1613.
- <sup>10</sup> *winchester...Ely*: Thomas Bilson, Bishop of Winchester, and Lancelot Andrewes, Bishop of Ely; both bishops voted to grant Frances Howard a nullity.
- <sup>11</sup> *scriptum est*: literally, it is written; here refers to the Bishop of Ely's claim to find legal warrant to justify the nullity.
- <sup>12</sup> *Maugre*: in spite of.
- <sup>13</sup> *Some-are-sett*: some are set; and Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset.
- <sup>14</sup> *beake*: projection from the prow of a ship.
- <sup>15</sup> *make yare*: make ready.
- <sup>16</sup> *geare*: a bawdy pun; gear could mean both equipment and genitals.
- <sup>17</sup> *yard*: a bawdy pun; yard could mean both a spar for a mast and a penis.
- <sup>18</sup> *some oreworne bad*: syphilis.
- <sup>19</sup> *Top, foreyard, and mast*: all parts of a ship; all standing in here as bawdy puns for the men Frances Howard has seduced and conquered.
- <sup>20</sup> *master and his mate*: the master of the ship is Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset; his mate, Sir Thomas Overbury.
- <sup>21</sup> *tender sided and unsteady*: in nautical terms, the boat had weak timbers on its sides and sailed unsteadily; in sexual terms, Frances Howard was promiscuous and uncontrolled.
- <sup>22</sup> *keele*: in nautical terms, the timber on the underside of a boat; in sexual terms, the underside of Frances Howard's body.
- <sup>23</sup> *tricke...under hatches*: Carr was alleged to have engineered Overbury's imprisonment in 1613 by tricking him into refusing a royal order to assume an ambassadorship.
- <sup>24</sup> *art composed Tart*: the murderers sent the imprisoned Overbury tarts laced with poison.
- <sup>25</sup> *att A port-hole*: Overbury was allegedly finished off by a poisoned enema—the port-hole here is his anus.
- <sup>26</sup> *Over-bury-ed*: overburied. This pun on Overbury's name was quite widely made at the time.



<sup>27</sup> *Neptune*: god of the sea, and here probably flattering James I as the discoverer of the truth surrounding Overbury's death.

<sup>28</sup> *black fryers stayres*: stairs down to the Thames in London. Before being sent to the Tower, Frances Howard was placed under house arrest in the Blackfriars district.

<sup>29</sup> *Jadeing*: jading, playing the jade; and here probably meaning sexual promiscuity.

<sup>30</sup> *Ignoramus fontaine*: the meaning of this is not entirely clear. After a day confined in his chamber in Whitehall, Carr was moved to house arrest in the residence of the Dean of Westminster, and it may be that the Ignoramus fountain is associated with or near that house. For other possible connotations, however, see "There was an ould ladd rode on an ould padd", note 21.

<sup>31</sup> *a Moore*: in nautical terms, a mooring place, but alluding here to Carr's imprisonment in the Tower under the custody of the new Lieutenant, Sir George More.

## H19 Me thinks I see a lady sitt and mourne

*Notes.* This poem, copied in the commonplace book of John Holles, 2nd Earl of Clare (BL MS Harley 6383), invites readers to decode the thinly veiled contemporary identities of its Homeric characters. Lindley (190) prints the poem in full and places it in the context of other attacks on Frances Howard, noting the slight strains of sympathy for the widely calumniated Countess.

“A libell of the Countess of Summersett”

Me thinks I see a lady sitt and mourne

like Hellen,<sup>1</sup> whose hott lust sett fyer on Troy,

Paris<sup>2</sup> lyes wounded, Menelaus<sup>3</sup> doth scorne

his amorous spouse, and makes her grieffe his joy,

ould Tindarus<sup>4</sup> sitts mourning all in black,

Castor and Pollux<sup>5</sup> hide their heads with shame

on every side her Trojans go to wrack

and the wide world exclames on Hellens name

eache drunken Greeke makes her his tale of mirth

and with her shame fills every strumpets eares,

whylst shee poore soule sitts cursing of her birth

seasoning each word with sighs, each sighe with teares,

and to oblivious grave would gladly fly,

to steale away from the world's calumny.

5

10

**Source.** BL MS Harley 6383, fol. 78r-v

H19

<sup>1</sup> *Hellen*: wife of the Spartan Menelaus. Helen's elopement with Paris to Troy sparked the Trojan war. Here she represents Frances Howard, Countess of Somersset.

<sup>2</sup> *Paris*: the Trojan prince who stole Helen away; here, Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset.

<sup>3</sup> *Menelaus*: Helen's husband; here, Frances Howard's first husband, Robert Devereux, 3rd Earl of

Essex.

<sup>4</sup> *Tindarus*: Tyndareus, husband of Helen's mother, Leda; here, Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk, Frances's father.

<sup>5</sup> *Castor and Pollux*: Helen's brothers; here, referring to two of Frances Howard's brothers, perhaps the eldest brothers Theophilus and Thomas Howard.

## H20 Looke, and lament behould a face of Earth

*Notes.* These twinned answer-poems stage a debate on whether the king should execute or pardon Frances Howard for her part in the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury. Howard was convicted and sentenced to death in late May 1616; however, by mid-July James had decided to pardon her, and it is possible to read the “Petitio” as evidence of some of the arguments that might have swayed the king’s judgement. Lindley (187-88) prints the poems in full and briefly explores their arguments, while Bellany (Politics 242-43) explores the poems’ arguments in the context of discourse on justice and mercy during the Overbury affair.

### “Petitio”

Looke, and lament, behould a face of Earth,  
In bewtie heavenly, great in place, & birth.  
Nor is her soule in bewtie less excellinge,  
In whome soe manie Vertues have their dwellinge.  
Much Noble Nature, Bewtie, Charitie,  
Much in goodnes, witt, and pietie,  
Nor is the fayrest peece without a staine,  
In fayrest peeces spotts appeare most plaine.  
Sence of dishonour, in best myndes most stronge,  
Made her desire, t’avenge soe vile a wronge<sup>1</sup>  
By meanes unlawfull, which have given offence,  
To Lawe, to God, to Kinge; In recompence  
of one Soule lost, the Lawe hath taken fowre,<sup>2</sup>  
And this hath suffer’d much by Legall Powre.

God doth shew mercie for the fowlest thinge  
to penitents.<sup>3</sup> Doe thou soe Mightie Kinge.

5

10

15

### “Respontio”

It’s strange to se a face soe highe in birth,  
And heavenly, to converse soe much with earth,

Naye more with hell; her soule noe less excellinge  
 In what? In Vice where all these had their dwellinge.  
 Much brybinge, broakinge, Pride, & Infamie, 5  
 Much of her Mother,<sup>4</sup> new adulterie,  
 This ugly soule hath yet a fouler staine;  
 Though in foule soules, greate synns appeare least plaine.  
 Murther a Cryinge sin, in her more stronge,  
 for drawinge bosome frends,<sup>5</sup> into the wronge. 10  
 Then blame not God, nor kinge to take offence,  
 Nor yet our Lawes to take in recompence.  
 For owne<sup>6</sup> soule lost, soe lost, wer't foure tymes foure,  
 And this of all deserves strickt Legall power.  
 The Livinge Lorde still suffers in this thinge 15  
 Were't but for that. Proceede in Justice Kinge.

**Source.** BL Add. MS 25707, fol. 46r

**Other known sources.** CUL Add. MS 29, fol. 18r

## H20

<sup>1</sup> *Sence of...wronge*: the argument here is that Overbury's bitter attacks on Frances Howard wounded her honour and inspired her to kill him to avenge the insult.

<sup>2</sup> *the Lawe...fowre*: by May 1616, four conspirators had been hanged for their parts in Overbury's murder: Richard Weston, Anne Turner, Sir Gervase Elwes and James Franklin.

<sup>3</sup> *penitents*: Frances Howard was the only one of the accused murderers to confess her guilt and show penitence during her trial.

<sup>4</sup> *Mother*: Catherine Howard, Countess of Suffolk, widely scorned as a woman of ill-repute, and rumoured to have been the mistress of Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury.

<sup>5</sup> *bosome frends*: presumably an allusion to Frances Howard's confidante, Anne Turner, who was hanged for her part in the murder conspiracy.

<sup>6</sup> *owne*: one.

## H21 Anagram on Frances Howard

*Notes.* Contemporaries enjoyed anagramming, sometimes claiming to find hidden truths buried in the letters of a person's name. Most early Stuart anagrams tend towards the humorous or complimentary, but several libellous anagrams survive in miscellanies, commonplace books and news diaries: sometimes prefacing or appended to libellous poems; sometimes standing alone (see Bellamy, *Politics* 106-07). The two extant anagrams inspired by the Overbury affair were collected by Sir Simonds D'Ewes, who thought them "not unworthy to be owned by the rarest wits of this age" (*Autobiography* 1.87).

"Anagram"

Francis Howard: } Car findes a whore.

**Source.** Folger MS V.a.162, fol. 37v

**Other known sources.** D'Ewes, *Autobiography* 1.87; Bodleian Malone MS 19, p. 53; BL Harley MS 646, fol. 26r

H21

## H22 Anagram on Sir Thomas Overbury

*Notes.* In the only known source of this anagram, it is transcribed alongside the more popular “*Libellous Anagram on Frances Howard*”.

Thomas Overburie - O! O! a busie murther.

**Source.** BL Harley MS 646, fol. 26r

**Other known sources.** D’Ewes, *Autobiography* 1.87

H22



## H23 Sir you are one of those, who dare commend

*Notes.* A number of poems commending Overbury were composed and circulated in 1615 and 1616 in the wake of the scandal surrounding the revelations of the true circumstances of his death. Many of these commendatory epitaphs include libellous attacks on Robert Carr and Frances Howard, but we can also read the idealized Overbury conjured in these verses as a kind of yardstick against which contemporaries measured Carr and found him wanting. Three of the four Overbury poems collected here circulated both in manuscript and in printed form in the 1616 editions of Sir Thomas Overbury His Wife. This poem, however, survives only in this fragmentary transcription that seems unquestionably incomplete.

“To a friend of Sir Tho: Overburyes”

Sir you are one of those, who dare commend

A worthy though a lamentable friend;

Your tongue is so triumphant, when it saies

Any thing in dead Overburyes praise,

That wee could wish you alwayes might survive

If but to keepe his Epitaphe alive.

5

Oh, you doe nobly to maintaine the Truth:

If<sup>1</sup> second you. Sir Thomas was a youth

That had a Mint of Witt, a mint of money,

And master was of both that gathred honey

From others gall, and made himselfe good sport

To see how he was envyed in the Courte;

That lovd King James, because King James lovd him<sup>2</sup>

And for noe other reason. that sawe dmime<sup>3</sup>

In maters of selfe profitt and selfe honnor,

That where hee mett a whore, cryd out upon her,

Although shee were a Ladie, or a Countesse,<sup>4</sup>

That did not scatter but well place his Counties,<sup>5</sup>

That with his manlike Beauty, as he went,

10

15

Ravisht beholders; that held nought mispent 20  
Or to relieve the Poore or grace the Church;  
That oft would plundge into a willing lurch  
Rather then lett the mighty and the strong  
Doe their weake lille<sup>6</sup> harmelesse Neighbours wrong  
That knew what twas to bee a favorit, 25

**Source.** Folger MS V.a.170, pp. 321-2

H23

<sup>1</sup> *If*: probable scribal error; read “I”.

<sup>2</sup> *King James lovd him*: the opposite, in fact, was true.

<sup>3</sup> *dmime*: probable scribal error; read either “dimme” or “himme”.

<sup>4</sup> *That where...Countesse*: these lines allude to Overbury’s attacks on Frances Howard as he tried to dissuade Robert Carr from contemplating marriage with her.

<sup>5</sup> *Counties*: possibly “Counters”.

<sup>6</sup> *lille*: little.

## H24 Once dead and twice a live; death could not frame

*Notes.* This poem is one of three commendatory epitaphs on Overbury that circulated simultaneously in print and manuscript. In the printed version, first published in the 1616 edition of *Sir Thomas Overbury His Wife*, the author is identified as “Jo. Fo.”—perhaps the playwright John Ford, author of a now lost book on the Overbury case.

### “On Sir Tho Overbury”

Once dead and twice a live; death could not frame  
a death, whose sting could kill his fame  
he might have lived, had not the life which gave  
life to his life, betraid him to his grave<sup>1</sup>  
if greatnes could consist in being good 5  
his goodnes did add titles to his blood.  
only unhappie in his lives last fate,  
in that he liv'd so soone and die<sup>2</sup> so late;  
alas, where to should men oppressed trust  
when innocence cannot protect the Just? 10  
his error was his fault, his truth his end,  
noe enimie his ruine but his frend  
cold frendshipp, where hott vows are but a breath  
to guerdon<sup>3</sup> poore simplicity with death:  
was never man that felt the sence of greife 15  
soe Overbury'd<sup>4</sup> in a safe believe  
believe? o cruell slaughter! tymes unbred  
will say, who dies that is untymely dead,  
by treachery of lust, or by disgrace  
in frendship twas but Overburyes case, 20  
which shall not more commend his truth then prove  
theire guilt whoe were his opposites in love  
rest happy men; and in thy spheare of awe

behold how Judgstice swaies the sworde of law  
to weed out those whose hands inbrew'd in blood  
Cropt off thy youth and flouer in the bud  
sleepe in thy peace, thus happie hast thou prov'd  
thou might'st dide more knowne, not more belov'd.

25

**Source.** Folger MS V.a.162, fol. 14v

**Other known sources.** Overbury 2¶1v

H24

<sup>1</sup> *had not...grave*: this slightly convoluted passage refers to Overbury's betrayal by his friend Robert Carr. The theme of false friendship is taken up later in the poem, and is common in writings on the Overbury affair.

<sup>2</sup> *die*: probable scribal error; read "died".

<sup>3</sup> *to guerdon*: to requite; to reward.

<sup>4</sup> *Overbury'd*: i.e. over buried. This pun on Overbury's name was quite common.

## H25 Hadst thou lik other Sirs and knights of worth

*Notes.* This poem is one of three commendatory epitaphs on Overbury that circulated both in manuscript and as part of the prefatory verse printed in the 1616 editions of Sir Thomas Overbury His Wife. The most copied of the three, this piece is accepted as the work of Richard Corbett.

### “On Sir Thomas Overbury”

Hadst thou lik other Sirs and knights of worth  
Sicknd and died, bene strecht out and laid forth  
After thy funerall sermon taken earth  
And left noe deed to praise thee, but thy birth  
Then Overbury by a pass of the heires 5  
Thou mightst have tyded henc in two-houres teares  
Then had we worne thy spring of memorie  
Noe longer then thy friend did rosemarie<sup>1</sup>  
Or when the doale<sup>2</sup> was dealing for thy sake  
And thou hadst sunck in thin owne wine and cake<sup>3</sup> 10  
But since twas so ordeined and thought fitt  
By them who knew thy truth and thy witt  
Thou shouldst be poysond; death hath don thee grace  
Rackt thee above the region of thy place  
For none heares poyson nam'd, but makes reply 15  
What Prince was that, what statesman that did die  
In this thou hast outliv'd an Elegie  
Which were to narrow for posteritie:  
And the ranck poyson which did seem to kill  
Working afresh in some historians quill 20  
Shall now preserve thee longer ere thou rott  
Then could a poeme mixt with Antidote  
Now needst thou trust noe herauld with thy name  
Thou art the voice of justice and of fame

Whilst som detesting their owne conscience strive 25  
 To pay the use and interest of lives  
 Enough of time and if it pleas the law  
 Enough of blood<sup>4</sup> for naming bloud I saw  
 He that writes more of thee must writ of more  
 Which I affect not, but referre men ore 30  
 To Tyburne,<sup>5</sup> wher they may define  
 What life of man is worth by valuing thine

**Source.** Folger MS V.a.97, p. 20

**Other known sources.** Corbett 18; Overbury A2v; Bodleian MS Ashmole 47, fol. 112r; Bodleian MS Firth d.7, fol. 138r; Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 117, fol. 261v; BL Add. MS 10309, fol. 152r; BL MS Egerton 2230, fol. 72v; BL MS Harley 6931, fol. 65v; BL MS Sloane 1792, fol. 74r; BL MS Stowe 402, fol. 24r; Folger MS V.a.125, fol. 14r; Folger MS V.a.319, fol. 22v; Folger MS V.a.322, p. 49; Folger MS V.a.345, p. 106; Rosenbach MS 239/22, fol. 49v

## H25

<sup>1</sup> *spring of memorie...rosemarie*: sprigs of rosemary, the herb of remembrance, were carried by mourners at funerals (“spring” is probably a scribal error).

<sup>2</sup> *doale*: dole; funerary gifts given to the poor.

<sup>3</sup> *wine and cake*: allusion to the funeral meal.

<sup>4</sup> *Enough of blood*: Corbett is suggesting that enough people had already been hanged for Overbury’s murder. This might well be read as an appeal for the King to show mercy towards the Somersets.

<sup>5</sup> *Tyburne*: one of London’s chief sites of execution. Two of the four Overbury murderers to be hanged were executed at Tyburn.

## H26 Hesperides, within whose gardens grow

*Notes.* This relatively innocuous epitaph on Overbury is one of three that circulated both in manuscript and in the 1616 edition of *Sir Thomas Overbury His Wife*. In the published version, the author is identified as “R. Ca.,” whom White (221) tentatively identifies as the Cornishman Richard Carew.

### “On Sir Thomas Overbury”

Hesperides,<sup>1</sup> within whose gardens grow

Apples of gold, may well thy loss deplore,

For in those gardens they could never show

A tree so faire, and of such fruitfull store.

Grace was the roote, and thou thyself the tree,

Sweet Councel<sup>2</sup> were the berries grew on thee.

5

Wit was the branch that did adorne the stocke

Reason the leaf upon those branches spred.

Under thy shadow did the Muses flocke,

And by the as a Mantle covered.

10

But what befell, O too much out of kinde

For thou wast blasted by a West-on<sup>3</sup> winde.

**Source.** BL Add. MS 15227, fol. 27r

**Other known sources.** Overbury 2¶2r

H26

<sup>1</sup> *Hesperides*: the mythic guardians of the golden apples.

<sup>2</sup> *Council*: poems written on Overbury in 1615-16 idealized him as the perfect virtuous counsellor.

<sup>3</sup> *West-on*: a pun on “western” and the surname of the man convicted as principal in Overbury’s

murder, his keeper Richard Weston.



## H27 The house of the Howards

*Notes.* This poem—which celebrates (somewhat prematurely) the fall of the Howard family at Court—does not explicitly dwell on the Overbury case. William Davenport, however, transcribed the libel as part of his materials on the Overbury affair (CCRO MS CR 63/2/19); and, indeed, there was much talk in 1615-16 that Lord Treasurer Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk, consistently rumoured to be complicit in the Overbury murder, would soon follow his daughter, Frances, and his son-in-law, Robert Carr, into disgrace.

The house of the Howards

Is now growing towards

    Theire wonted declining

For that generation

Nere had moderation

5

    In theire sunne shining.

For when they are greate

They imprison and beate

    To make themselves awfull;

Yet ever and anone

10

Fate drives them upon

    Some instance unlawfull;

From whence itt doth arise

That wee see with oure eyes

    Theire quick revolution

15

They wax and they wayne

And that is the payne

    Of theire absolution.<sup>1</sup>

**Source.** BL MS Egerton 2230, fol. 70r

**Other known sources.** BL MS Harley 1221, fol. 74v; BL MS Harley 6038, fol. 18v; BL MS Harley 7316, fol. 5r; CCRO MS CR 63/2/19, fol. 10v

H27

<sup>1</sup> *absolution*: it is just possible that the choice of a word from the Roman Catholic penitential system is a deliberate allusion to the Howard family's reputation for crypto-popery.

## H28 Here under lyes a Counsellor of State

*Notes.* The last line of this poem may allude to the Essex nullity of 1613, making it probable that this is an epitaph for Thomas Bilson, Bishop of Worcester (1596-97) and of Winchester (1597-1616), who died in June 1616, and who had been instrumental in securing the nullity of the Essex marriage. Bilson had been closely allied to Robert Carr and, at Carr's behest, was made a privy councillor in the summer of 1615. His support for the nullity was long remembered—contemporaries mocked his son, for instance, as "Sir Nullity Bilson". The sole extant copy of this poem is attributed to "RB".

Here under lyes a Counsellor of State,  
a Deep Divine; a stout & Grave prelate;  
a Bishopp, & an Alchymist; who ist  
He is not, and in him is veriefied  
this truth, that all things must be Nullified.

5

**Source.** BL MS Harley 6038, fol. 14r

H28

## I. The Execution of Raleigh (1618)

Sir Walter Raleigh was beheaded in Westminster Palace Yard on 29 October 1618. Raleigh had been sentenced to death for treason in 1603 (see Section B) but had languished for over a decade in the Tower of London until the temporary reversals in court politics following Somerset's fall paved the way for his release in March 1616. By August 1616, Raleigh had obtained a royal commission to command an expedition to Guiana and, a year later, he sailed west once again. The voyage, intended to bring riches to the impoverished English Crown, was an unmitigated series of disasters and mis-steps, culminating in an attack on the Spanish settlement at San Tomé. Under pressure from the Spanish ambassador Gondomar, James I had an arrest warrant issued for Raleigh on his return to England in June 1618. Unable to defend himself effectively or to pull off a planned escape to France, Raleigh was escorted back to London and recommitted to the Tower of London in August. The King appointed a six-man commission to investigate whether Raleigh had struck a secret and treasonous deal with the French, and to assess both the charges arising out of the Guiana fiasco and the incriminating reports of his behaviour since his return to England. Having weighed the new charges, the commissioners concluded that the only legal ground for executing Raleigh now was the sentence passed on him in 1603. On 28 October Raleigh was taken to the court of King's Bench, where the sentence of death was formally reissued. As Lord Chief Justice Montagu asserted, "new offences have stirred up His Majesty's justice, to remember to revive what the law hath formerly cast upon you" (qtd. in Trevelyan 543).

The following day, before a large crowd gathered to watch him die, Raleigh delivered a spellbinding and transformative final performance. During a brilliantly devised, forty-five-minute long, "last dying speech", Raleigh successfully repudiated the charge that he had made a deal with France, denied he had ever spoken disloyally of the king, and defended his conduct on the Guiana voyage. He refuted several allegations made by his kinsman Lewis Stukeley, who had escorted him to London after his return from Guiana, but also ostentatiously extended Stukeley his forgiveness. Raleigh also attempted to defuse two long-standing suspicions, asserting that he had neither engineered nor gloated at Essex's fall and execution in 1601, and insisting, in a compelling display of piety, that he was no atheist. In effect, Raleigh took control

of the meaning of his own execution and the shaping of his posthumous reputation, refusing to play the prescribed role of abject penitent submitting to a blameless royal authority (Beer 82-108). Copies of Raleigh's final speech and accounts of his scaffold demeanour circulated widely in newsletters and separates, and neither the printing of an official royal declaration on the case, nor the publication of a self-defence by Stukeley, managed to reverse the impact of Raleigh's vivid self-fashioning.

The poetry composed on Raleigh's death was profoundly shaped by the brilliance of his scaffold performance. Even those poems that remain critical of Raleigh's career and refuse to absolve him of all the charges that dogged him are forced to admit that Raleigh had died well. The majority of the poems lean towards a mostly positive assessment of the old Elizabethan and in them we can witness a key stage in Raleigh's transformation from a complex and controversial figure of dubious repute into the straightforwardly heroic icon of martial Protestantism that he would become in the anti-popish and anti-Spanish underground literature of the 1620s.

Many but not all of the poems collected below have been printed in Michael Rudick's recent edition of Raleigh's verse (Raleigh, *Poems* 181-205). Rudick also includes a number of printed epitaphs and poems copied out in the margins of printed books that we, given our focus on the manuscript culture of early Stuart libels, have chosen not to publish here.

## I1 Raleigh in this thy selfe thy selfe transcends

*Notes.* A longer version of the title, in another source, states that this is “advise” on the occasion of Raleigh “preparing for Guaiana 1617” (BL MS Cotton Titus c.7). Silvanus Scory was a client of Raleigh’s friend and fellow prisoner in the Tower, Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland.

“Sylvanus Scory to Sir Walter Raleigh”

Raleigh in this thy selfe thy selfe transcends.

When howerly tastinge of a bitter Challice.

Sereninge<sup>1</sup> the sad faces of thy frends.

Thou smilest at fortunes minions and her Mallice.

Hold thee firme heere, cast ancor in this port.

5

Heere art thou safe till death enfranchise thee

Heere neither harme nor feare of harmes resort.

Heere though enchaind thou livest in liberty.

Nothinge in earth hath permanent abode.

Nothinge shall languish under sorrow still.

10

The fates have set a Certayne period.

As well to those that doe as suffer ill.

**Source.** Bodleian MS Smith 17, p. 124

**Other known sources.** Raleigh, *Poems* 189; BL MS Cotton Titus c.7, fol. 94r

I1

<sup>1</sup> *Sereninge*: making calm.

## I2 Young witts are soone seduced and alwaies apt

*Notes.* Internal evidence suggests this verse dates from the period before Raleigh's return to England from Guiana in 1618. The poem is also one of the first libels to attack the new royal favourite, George Villiers, Marquis of Buckingham, identifying him here with the pro-Spanish, pro-Catholic forces at court.

“The poore souldiers feare turned into policie”

Young witts are soone seduced and alwaies apt

to neglect danger till they be intrapt

Our Phaeton forsakes old Phœbus race<sup>1</sup>

Anchises will not tread Eneas<sup>2</sup> trace

Ah, Ah my hart doth pant to heare and see

5

The devilish plott of Spanish trechery

Now doth the Buckingham<sup>3</sup> with recreation

not affect the nimrodes<sup>4</sup> of our nation

Our Fauns persued by currs that thirst for blood

Jesuits, Friers, monkes, that damned brood.

10

Alas poor Watt,<sup>5</sup> thy hands to short to shunn

by turning them whom thou canst not outrunn

God preserve thee and we to doe thee good

Will trie our strength, and spend our dearest blood

Doe not sacrifice to Baal<sup>6</sup> nor crave a bull<sup>7</sup>

15

But scorne the terrors of a Popish gull.

Swime with the Dolphin if thou art soe bent

Our hope is almost with expecting spent

Hast to thy shelter know this thy doome

Few freinds abroade close enemies at home.

20

**Source.** Bodleian MS Rawl. D.1048, fol. 76v

<sup>1</sup> *Our Phaeton...race*: Phaeton, the son of Phoebus (Apollo, the sun god), drove the chariot of the sun off its usual course. The story of Phoebus and Phaeton was often used in Jacobean political poetry to depict disorder and misgovernment. It is possible that the allusion refers here to the young favourite Buckingham's dangerously growing influence on the course of political affairs. For a more certain use of the myth to criticize Buckingham's power, see "From such a face whose Excellence".

<sup>2</sup> *Anchises...Eneas*: Aeneas, the mythical Trojan founder of Rome, was the son of Anchises. This line may allude to the incident in Book 2 of Virgil's *Aeneid* in which Anchises at first refuses to abandon Troy, before changing his mind and being carried from the ruined city by his son. The specific political allusion here is harder to grasp, but should generally be taken as a criticism of royal failure to follow the specifically anti-Spanish policies advocated in the poem and personified by Raleigh.

<sup>3</sup> *Buckingham*: George Villiers, appointed Earl of Buckingham in 1617, and Marquis of Buckingham early in 1618.

<sup>4</sup> *nimrodes*: Genesis 10.9 describes Nimrod as "a mighty hunter before the Lord". Here Nimrod serves as a figure of Protestant militarism.

<sup>5</sup> *Watt*: Walter Raleigh.

<sup>6</sup> *sacrifice to Baal*: perform idolatrous worship to a false God (i.e. submit to the false religion of "popery").

<sup>7</sup> *bull*: papal document.



### I3 Even such is tyme, which takes in trust

*Notes.* This poem, accepted as the work of Raleigh, exists in many manuscript sources, and clearly contributed to the vogue for epitaphs on him. This self-penned epitaph is an adaptation of the last stanza of an earlier Raleigh poem, titled in one copy “S.W.R. On his Mistresse Serena” (Raleigh, *Poems* 112-14; Trevelyan 174, 546).

“Sir Walter Raleigh’s Epitaph on his owne death. Novemb: 1618”

Even such is tyme, which takes in trust

Our youth, our joyes, and all wee have.

And payes us but with age & dust,

Within the darke & silent grave:

When wee have wandred all our wayes,

Shuttes up the story of our dayes.

And from which death, & grave, & dust,

The Lord will rayse mee up I trust.

5

**Source.** Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 26, fol. 2r

**Other known sources.** Raleigh, *Poems* 80, 133; Raleigh, *Prerogative* 66; *Trevelyan Papers* 3.154; Bodleian MS Ashmole 230, fol. 343v; Bodleian MS Ashmole 1463, p. 13; Bodleian MS Don. c.54, fols. 3v, 11r; Bodleian MS Eng. Hist. c.272, p. 50; Bodleian MS Eng. Poet. c.50, fol. 31v; Bodleian MS Rawl. C. 986, fol. 15r; Bodleian MS Rawl. D. 383, fol. 140r; Bodleian MS Rawl. 859, fol. 85v; Bodleian MS Rawl. 1334, fol. 29v; Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 26, fol. 69v; Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 208, fol. 3r; Bodleian MS Tanner 82, fol. 244r; Bodleian MS Tanner 299, fol. 28v; BL Add. MS 10309, fol. 141r; BL Add. MS 18044, fol. 153v; BL Add. MS 30982, fols. 21v, 148v; BL Add. MS 43410, fol. 163v; BL Add. MS 52585, fol. 56v; BL Add. MS 73086, fol. 18r; BL MS Harley 1574, fol. 2r; BL MS Lans. 777, fol. 64r; BL MS Sloane 1842, fol. 117r; Doctor Williams’s Library MS Jones B.60, pp. 267, 282; NLS MS 2060, fol. 2r; NLW MS 5390D, p. 336; St. John’s MS S.32, fol. 34v; Folger MS V.a.418, fol. 4v; Houghton MS Eng. 628, p. 385; Rosenbach MS 1083/16, p. 109

#### I4 Essex thy death's reveng'd, Lo here I lie

*Notes.* Explicitly sceptical of the stated legal grounds for Raleigh's execution, this poem nevertheless presents Raleigh's death, like that of Robert Cecil in 1612, as just punishment for both men's factional pursuit and eventual destruction of Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex.

##### "On Sir Walter Rawleigh"

Essex<sup>1</sup> thy death's reveng'd, Lo here I lie  
Att whose blood shed thy innocence may cry,  
Now Rawleigh quitts, I died not (as all see)  
So much to satisfy the law, as thee.  
Thou hadst an other foe,<sup>2</sup> hee went before,  
The French undid us both,<sup>3</sup> but him the whore.  
My soules just greife is this; The world will please  
To say wee two died of the same disease.

5

**Source.** Bodleian MS Eng. Poet. e.14, fol. 95v

**Other known sources.** Raleigh, *Poems* 20; Nottingham MS Portland PW V 37, p. 37; Folger MS V.a.103, fol. 20v

#### I4

<sup>1</sup> *Essex*: Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex, executed for treason in 1601.

<sup>2</sup> *an other foe*: Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, widely assumed to have engineered Essex's fall and execution (see Sections A and D).

<sup>3</sup> *The French undid us both*: Raleigh was investigated in 1618 for supposed treasonous ties to the French; Cecil was alleged to have died of syphilis, colloquially known as the "French" or "French pox" (see Section D). The pun on "French" governs the last three lines of the poem.

## **I5 Heere lyes the man whose death and life**

*Notes.* This poem's ambivalence is shared by many other contemporary assessments of Raleigh and, like many of them, registers the positive impact of Raleigh's scaffold performance.

Heere lyes the man whose death and life  
Left in the world an endles strife  
Twixt Shame & Honor, Hate & Love  
Which of their Powers should greatest prove  
In Rawleighs Name each had his turne  
That in his life, this in his Urne.

5

**Source.** Doctor Williams's Library MS Jones B.60, p. 274

**Other known sources.** Raleigh, *Poems* 195

I5

## I6 Heare heddlesse heedlesse matchlesse Rawly lies

*Notes.* This epitaph is best read as another essentially ambivalent assessment of Raleigh that nevertheless registers the impact of his good death on the scaffold.

“An Epitaph on Sir Walter Raleigh”

Heare heddlesse heedlesse matchlesse Rawly lies  
who by deaths stroke gott life, that never dies  
his body was the store house of good parts  
and quintessence he was of armes and artes  
Time wronged him but he more wronged time<sup>1</sup>  
His right for wronge payes the deserts of crime.

5

**Source.** Folger MS V.a.339, fol. 252v

**Other known sources.** Raleigh, *Poems* 195; Bodleian MS Ashmole 781, p. 151; Bodleian MS Eng. Hist. c.272, p. 51

I6

<sup>1</sup> *Time...time*: this somewhat opaque line captures the ambivalent tone of the poem. Raleigh was both a victim and a villain; his death may have been for the wrong reasons, but it was nevertheless deserved (“Essex thy death’s reveng’d, Lo here I lie”).

## **I7 Of Raleighes life and death the sum of all to tell**

*Notes.* In one source, the scribe transcribes this ambivalent poem as the final two lines of the far more positive “Beholde Brave Raleigh here interr’d” (BL MS Cotton Titus c.7).

Of Raleighes life and death the sum of all to tell  
none ever livde so ill, that seem’d to dye so well.

**Source.** Folger MS V.a.418, fol. 5v

**Other known sources.** Raleigh, *Poems* 191; BL MS Cotton Titus c.7, fol. 93r

## 18 Who best did Calculate the life of man

*Notes. This curious epigram is built upon an error. Although Raleigh's exact date of birth has not been established, biographers typically date it sometime between 1552 and 1554, which would mean that Raleigh was, at the most, only sixty-six years of age at the time of his execution.*

“An Epigram of Sr Walter Rawely beheaded at 74 years of his age”

Who best did Calculate the life of man  
found threscore & ten years made up his span  
If more then to survive, be, to be dead  
Life lost not Raweley when he lost his head

**Source.** PRO SP 14/103/61x (fol. 99r)

**Other known sources.** Raleigh, *Poems* 192

## 19 Hope flattered thee though lawes did life convince

*Notes.* In its only known source, this poem follows “Who best did Calculate the life of man”.

“An other”

Hope flattered thee though lawes did life convince<sup>1</sup>

Yet thou might'st dy in favour of thy prince

His mercy & thy liberty<sup>2</sup> at last

did sealle beleife, and make opinion fast

In truth, when time had puld thee out of jayle

And newe hopes had sett againe newe saille

As many of this world as held free will

Thought thou wert safe, & had'st escapt thy ill

But nowe wee see, that thou wert bay'ld by fate

To live or dy, as thou could'st serve our state

And then wert lost, when it was understood

Thou might'st doe harme, but could'st not doe more good.

5

10

**Source.** PRO SP 14/103/61x (fol. 99r)

**Other known sources.** Raleigh, *Poems* 192

I9

<sup>1</sup> *lawes did life convince*: allusion to Raleigh's sentence of death for treason in 1603.

<sup>2</sup> *thy liberty*: Raleigh's release from the Tower in 1616.

## I10 Heere lyes a treasure in this pitte

*Notes.* This dispassionate assessment is one of several poems on Raleigh to explore the dubious benefits of his reputation for “wit”.

Heere lyes a treasure in this pitte  
the wonder of his tyme for witte.  
butt to small purpose did itt serve  
his witt could nott his head preserve:  
his living was below'd of none,  
yett most men did his death bemone:  
heaven hath his soule, the world his fame,  
the grave his corps, stukelye<sup>1</sup> his shame.

5

**Source.** Bodleian MS Eng. Hist. c.272, p. 51

**Other known sources.** Raleigh, *Poems* 197; Bodleian MS Aubrey 6, fol. 79r; Houghton MS Eng. 1278, item 10

I10

<sup>1</sup> *stukelye*: Lewis Stukeley, the Vice-Admiral of Devon and Raleigh's kinsman, who escorted Raleigh to London after his return from Guiana and who then gave evidence against him on their arrival. Stukeley was widely attacked at the time for betraying his kinsman.



### I11 O had thy name bene causer of thy death

*Notes.* The only extant copy of this verse is in the commonplace book of William Davenport of Bramhall, Cheshire, where it is one of a handful of libels attributed to “E.K.” or “Ed. Kel.”. The poem was transcribed by Davenport alongside other news items on Raleigh’s Guiana voyage and execution.

“Off the Lyffe & Death of Sir Waterr Rawleye Knight. made by Ed. Kel. 1618”

O had thy name<sup>1</sup> bene causer of thy death  
or had thy harte growne aged with thy yeares  
then had thou yett injoyed now wished breath  
or drencht in honor wee had spared these teares  
but Neptunes<sup>2</sup> feare, thou wouldste with him contend 5  
agreed with Ulcane<sup>3</sup> he should be thyne Ende  
Once livedst thou great, beloved but small  
yet great ones did thee greatlye use  
now greatlye loved, beinge not at all  
who cann thy fates in this excuse 10  
fortune then used thee as her game  
beinge as unconstant as thy name<sup>4</sup>  
Some men mistaken, cald the Machevylle<sup>5</sup>  
it was thy witt that that suspicion bredd 15  
some demed thee Atheist, childe of wordlye wille  
which now good Cristian calle thee beinge dead  
thy last confession<sup>6</sup> made them trulye sorrie  
wich earst desired to have reade thy fatall storie.  
Englands great Generall,<sup>7</sup> gave thee lyffe  
which thou injoyedst to see him deade, 20  
Croakte Lorde of factions, bread that stryffe.<sup>8</sup>  
havinge thee & others, then misledd  
tow thinges thou didste, now causers off thy ruthe<sup>9</sup>

against thy Kinge, thy wisdome & thy truth  
to world, to witt, to valoure, & to welth  
thou badest farewell, as vaine & transitorie  
on Earth thou foundste noe harborrowghe of healthe  
havige bent thy course unto a higher glorie  
the gracious porte thou chooise for glorious gaine  
was trust in him,<sup>10</sup> who for thy soule was slayne.

25

30

**Source.** CCRO MS CR 63/2/19, fol. 14v

I 11

- <sup>1</sup> *thy name*: perhaps an allusion to the frequent puns on Raleigh's name as "Raw Lie" (see Section A).
- <sup>2</sup> *Neptunes*: god of the sea; but potentially also an allusion to a contemporary figure threatened by Raleigh's power.
- <sup>3</sup> *Ulcanne*: Vulcan, god of fire; possibly an allusion to a contemporary plotting Raleigh's destruction.
- <sup>4</sup> *unconstant as thy name*: again, probably referring either to the "Raw Lie" pun on Raleigh's surname, or to the pun on his first name as "Water".
- <sup>5</sup> *Machevylle*: Machiavel; a follower of Machiavelli's amoral political counsel. One poet had branded Raleigh a "Machiavell" for his plotting to bring down Essex in 1601 (Trevelyan 338).
- <sup>6</sup> *last confession*: Raleigh's reputation-restoring scaffold-speech, which repudiated the charges of Machiavellism and atheism.
- <sup>7</sup> *Englands great Generall*: Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex.
- <sup>8</sup> *Croakte Lorde...stryffe*: in transcribing the poem, William Davenport inserts here a marginal note identifying the crooked lord of factions as "Lord of Salisburie" (Robert Cecil), who was widely alleged to have manipulated Essex's enemies in order to destroy him.
- <sup>9</sup> *tow thinges...thy ruthe*: in transcribing the poem, William Davenport inserts here the marginal note, "his conspiracie against the Kinge with Cobbam & Graye and uppon the Iland voaydge for not [*illegible word*] upp to his generall with his shippinge. the Earle of Essex beinge generall". The "conspiracie against the Kinge" was the offence for which Raleigh was convicted of treason in 1603 (see Section B). Raleigh's conduct during Essex's 1597 "Islands Voyage" infuriated many of Essex's commanders, some

of whom demanded that Raleigh be executed for contravening the chain of command. These disputes are described by Trevelyan (296-309).

<sup>10</sup> *him*: Christ.

## I12 What Worlds of people hath death conquered

*Notes.* This relatively rare epitaph on Raleigh is collected, in each known manuscript source, with other pieces on the same subject.

What Worlds of people hath death conquered

Since he first aynd to take away thy head?

And yet, for all his toyle, & Broken strength,

he gloryes to have gotten thee at length,

more then all them; his wonted Sythe & dart,

because thou knewst them well, he layd apart;

and with a Battell Axe,<sup>1</sup> on purpose edgd,

he steales behind, and Cheates thee of thy head.

A Coward Conquest, to redeeme thy shame,

If thou be'st valiant, come, & meete his fame.

5

10

**Source.** BL Add. MS 33998, fol. 96v

**Other known sources.** Raleigh, *Poems* 198; Bodleian MS Eng. Poet. c.50, fol. 31v

I12

<sup>1</sup> *Battell Axe*: i.e. the executioner's axe.

### I13 Beholde Brave Raleigh here interr'd

*Notes.* This poem is transcribed in a manuscript collection devoted to Raleigh's life and death, where it is attributed to "Sir A[rthur] Thr[ockmorton]", Raleigh's brother-in-law. In another source, the scribe combines this poem with the ambivalent couplet "Of Raleighes life and death the sum of all to tell" (BL MS Cotton Titus c.7).

"An Epitaphe by Sir A. Thr:"

Beholde Brave Raleigh here interr'd  
Whose Virtue, Vallor, Learning, Witt  
Our greate rare Queene<sup>1</sup> raysde and preservde  
All buryed in a place unfitt<sup>2</sup>  
which earth nor envie can make die  
but live with all eternity  
take this remembrance from thy Brother<sup>3</sup>  
Sith he may give thee now no other.

5

**Source.** Folger MS V.a.418, fol. 5r

**Other known sources.** Raleigh, *Poems* 191; BL MS Cotton Titus c.7, fol. 93r

I13

<sup>1</sup> *Queene*: Elizabeth I.

<sup>2</sup> *buryed in a place unfitt*: Raleigh was buried in St. Margaret's Church, Westminster, close to the site of his execution.

<sup>3</sup> *Brother*: i.e. brother-in-law.

**I14 The Divell longe deceaved hath, Watt Raleighs wit with evell**

*Notes.* This poem is one of a series of laudatory epitaphs on Raleigh, in a volume devoted to accounts of his life and death.

The Divell longe deceaved hath, Watt Raleighs wit with evell  
yet at his death it seems to me, he hath deceavd the divell

**Source.** Folger MS V.a.418, fol. 5v

**Other known sources.** Raleigh, *Poems* 191

I14

### I15 This stone can not inclose thy fame

*Notes.* This poem is another in a series of laudatory epitaphs on Raleigh, collected in a volume devoted to accounts of his life and death.

This stone can not inclose thy fame  
but hence twill break forth like a flame  
and light the world with thy great deeds  
some cald thee Atheist in there Creeds  
whose sayings all proove most untrue  
saint like from earth thy spirrit flew  
into the hands of glorious Tryne<sup>1</sup>  
more bright then lampe thou there dost shine  
and for thy name twill live in spight  
of envious tongues and all there might  
Then cease brave Raleigh to deprave  
and let him have a quiet grave.

5

10

**Source.** Folger MS V.a.418, fol. 5v

**Other known sources.** Raleigh, *Poems* 192

I15

<sup>1</sup> *Tryne*: Trine; the Trinity.

**I16 Thou seest my tombe, Grey haire lye in this grave**

*Notes. This poem adopts Raleigh's voice and, unlike most of the epitaphs, engages with the circumstances of the failed Guiana expedition of 1617-18.*

“Upon Sir Walter Rawleigh”

Thou seest my tombe, Grey haire lye in this grave  
first a Comannder in my end a slave  
to unhappy mens base Butcher,<sup>1</sup> to that wretch  
eyes saw my one much honer'd body stretch.<sup>2</sup>

My thoughts perswaded mee Mars Larum bell<sup>3</sup>  
his sword should mount mee, by the Axe I fell  
wast for grand treason, neere demand for what  
for my division hath decided that

5

Yet while I liv'd I prayd till that dire stroake  
the passage of my breath and Conditt<sup>4</sup> broake  
God save the Kinge if I wrongd Spanish lawes<sup>5</sup>  
with them, Right and religion pleade my cause

10

Lett not falce malice my true project spott  
some have adventur'd (was not blanke their lott)<sup>6</sup>  
for the weste Indies from the highest Kinge<sup>7</sup>  
not from the west, all rich promotions springe

15

Companions, of Sticks you gott a towne<sup>8</sup>  
I gott a blocke,<sup>9</sup> and therewith gott a Crowne  
of purest Gould<sup>10</sup> (was the whole voyage lost)  
No twas to my preferment to your Cost

20

Kicke not my urne heele Judge mee thats most just



(in lieu of oare)<sup>11</sup> Adventurers take my dust  
the Lord will reunite, this earth doth keepe  
mee slumbringe, dreame yee that my name doth sleepe

**Source.** BL MS Harley 6057, fol. 50v

**Other known sources.** Raleigh, *Poems* 196

I16

<sup>1</sup> *base Butcher*: the executioner.

<sup>2</sup> *body stretch*: reference to the posture of the body before beheading.

<sup>3</sup> *Mars Larum bell*: the god of war's alarm bell.

<sup>4</sup> *Conditt*: conduit; i.e. the neck and throat.

<sup>5</sup> *Spanish lawes*: referring to Raleigh's alleged offences against the Spanish on the Guiana expedition.

<sup>6</sup> *some have adventur'd...weste Indies*: allusion to the fact that the adventurers who accompanied Raleigh to Guiana contributed £30 to £50 each to the costs of the expedition. In effect, therefore, they invested in the voyage's financial success (i.e. the discovery of gold). Since the voyage failed to find gold, the adventurers' investment was like a "blanke...lott" in a lottery.

<sup>7</sup> *highest Kinge*: God.

<sup>8</sup> *a towne*: perhaps an allusion to the capture of the town of San Tomé in Guiana, which had been a mere stockade twenty years earlier.

<sup>9</sup> *a blocke*: i.e. the executioner's block.

<sup>10</sup> *Crowne of purest Gould*: the crown of salvation and, perhaps, more daringly, a martyr's crown.

<sup>11</sup> *oare*: ore; i.e. the precious metals that the voyagers had hoped to find.

## I17 Great heart, who taught thee so to dye

*Notes.* In one source this epitaph on Raleigh is attributed to “Mr Cicill” (Beinecke MS Osborn b.197); in another, to “A. B.” (NLS MS 2060); in another, to “Captaine Kinge” (i.e. Samuel King) (Bod. MS Eng Hist c.272); and in one more to John Hoskyns (e.g. WCRO 865/500). (On its authorship, see Raleigh, *Poems* 193).

### “Upon Sir Walter Rauleigh’s Death”

Great heart, who taught thee so to dye,

Death yielding thee the Victory?

Where tookst thou leave of life? If there,

how couldst thou be so free from feare?

But sure thou dyedst & quitt’dst the state

of flesh & Bloud, before that fate?

I saw in every stander by

pale death, life onely in thy Eye;

Farewell, Truth shall thy story say,

We dyed, thou onely liv’dst, that day.

5

10

**Source.** BL Add. MS 33998, fol. 96v

**Other known sources.** Raleigh, *Poems* 193; Bodleian MS Eng. Hist. c.272, p. 51; Bodleian MS Eng. Poet. e.14, fol. 98v; Bodleian MS Rawl. D. 954, fol. 35r; Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 26, fol. 69v; Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 209, fol. 10r; Bodleian MS Tanner 306, fol. 251r; BL Add. MS 33998, fol. 96v; BL Add. MS 58215, fol. 42r; BL MS Cotton Titus c.7, fol. 95r; BL MS Harley 791, fol. 49r; BL MS Harley 7332, fol. 215r; BL MS Lans. 777, fol. 64r; NLS MS 2060, fol. 2r; St. John’s MS S.32, fol. 40v; WCRO MS 865/500; Beinecke MS Osborn b.197, p. 47; Folger MS V.a.103, fol. 3v; Folger MS V.a.125, fol. 7v; Folger MS V.a.262, p. 55; Folger MS V.a.308, fol. 128v; Folger MS V.a.418, fol. 5r; Folger MS V.b.43, fol. 32r; Houghton MS Eng. 1278, item 10; Rosenbach MS 239/27, p. 357; Rosenbach MS 1083/17, fol. 71v

## I18 Two kinsmen wrastlinge, who shold have the fall

*Notes.* This poem uses an extended wrestling metaphor to depict Raleigh's betrayal by his kinsman Lewis Stukeley, who gave evidence to the authorities after escorting Raleigh to London in 1618.

“On Sir Walter Rawleighe his death”

Two kinsmen<sup>1</sup> wrastlinge, who shold have the fall

the state stood by, threw up the foote ball

Both mett, tooke hold, one coller thinkes to slipp<sup>2</sup>

the other slilye gott him on the hipp

Ne're foyled him, but ere he came to ground

5

to save him selfe & foyle his freind meanes found

Whil'st one cleane strength to fetch him o'er did lacke

the other footes him & layes him on his backe

O for a righteous Judge, peoples good voice

and after age sentence; t'is better choice

10

To dye with glorye, then to live with shame

Rawleigh hath lost his head, and Stukeley his fame

**Source.** Bodleian MS Don. d.58, fol. 6r

**Other known sources.** Raleigh, *Poems* 194

I18

<sup>1</sup> *Two kinsmen:* Raleigh and his kinsman and purported betrayer Lewis Stukeley.

<sup>2</sup> *coller thinkes to slipp:* possible allusion to Stukeley's thwarting of Raleigh's alleged attempt to escape to France.

## I19 Fly Fame, report, that all the world may knowe

*Notes.* Aligning Raleigh with the English nation against a diabolic Spanish enemy, this poem is a good example of the posthumous reinvention of Raleigh as a Protestant “Patriot” hero, that would become standard in much 1620s’ anti-Spanish polemic.

### “Upon Sir Walter Raleighe”

Fly Fame, report, that all the world may knowe,  
England hath loste a freind, esteemed a foe.  
For as some would it, but alack they fayld;  
Faythfull he proved, yet faithlesse they prevayled.  
They wisht they sayd him false, and falsely prov’d  
Their ground was hate: Spayne and the devill moov’d

5

Tell where thow comest, Raleigh my freind is dead:  
Not myne alone, but all true English bredd.  
But how deservedly, lett wise men judge.  
And sure hee’le fynde desert much lesse then grudge  
His well-wisht welfare to his natyve soyle,  
Wofull destrucion to him did recoyle.

10

A Knight, a Captaine, and a souldyer bould,  
as Hee by treacherie never soe was sould.  
A Judas wish,<sup>1</sup> not kisse, did him betray:  
Butt cursed hee, that could not say him nay.  
Whoe thoughe offended, might hee still have lyved  
In soveraigne favor, nowe of life bereaved.

15

But being deade, thy fame shall never dy:

But Raleigh’s name shall lyve eternally.

20

**Source.** Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 26, fol. 70r

**Other known sources.** Raleigh, *Poems* 198

119

<sup>1</sup> *A Judas wish*: probably a reference to Stukeley's betrayal of Raleigh.

**I20 I will not weepe for twere as great a sin**

*Notes. This is accepted as the work of Henry King.*

“On the Death of Sir W. Rawley”

I will not weepe for twere as great a sin  
To shed a teare for thee, as to have binne  
An Actor in thy death: thy life and age  
Was but a various scene on fortunes stage.  
With whom thou tugg’st and strov’st even out of breath. 5  
In thy longe toyle nere master’d untill death.  
And thou despight of traynes<sup>1</sup> and cruell witt  
Thou didst at once subdue malice and it.  
I doe not then so blacke thy memorie  
To say I doe lament or pittie thee. 10  
Were I to choose a subject to bestow  
My pittie on, he should be one as low  
In spirit as desert, that durst not dye,  
But rather were content by slaverie  
To purchase life; or would I pittie those 15  
Thy most industrious and freindly foes,  
That when they thought to make thee scandalls story  
Wing’d thee with swifter flight for heaven and glory:  
They that by cuttinge of some wither’d dayes  
Which thou couldst spare, for to ecclipse thy prayse 20  
Yet gave it brighter, made thy aged fame  
Appeare more white and fayre, then foule thy shame;  
And did promote an Execution  
Which but for them, Nature and age had donne.  
Such poore cheape thinges as these were onely borne

To live on Pittyes Almes to meane for scorne.

**Source.** BL Add. MS 22603, fols. 49v-50r

**Other known sources.** King 66; Raleigh, *Poems* 202; Bodleian MS CCC. 328, fol. 63r; Bodleian MS Eng. Poet. e.30, fol. 25r; Bodleian MS Malone 22, fol. 16r; Bodleian MS Rawl. D 954, fol. 35r; Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 209, fol. 9v; BL Add. MS 58215, fol. 24r; BL Add. MS 62134, fol. 12r; BL MS Harley 3910, fol. 28r; BL MS Harley 6057, fol. 35r; BL MS Lans. 777, fol. 65v; Folger MS V.a.125, fol. 7r; Folger MS V.a.319, fol. 23v; Folger MS V.a.322, p. 50; Rosenbach MS 239/22, fol. 50v

I20

<sup>1</sup> *traynes*: trains, plots.

## I21 Cease bootless teares, weepe not for him whose Death

*Notes.* Although the allusion to Samson in the final couplet positions Raleigh in the increasingly familiar role of militant Protestant hero, this poem, like “I knew thee but by fame and thy brave deedes” makes a claim to Raleigh’s significance as a writer.

Cease bootless teares, weepe not for him whose Death

made way to Heaven; for her that sent him breath,

Long liv’d hee Captive; now at Libertie

this world of woos turnd to felicitie

What, is hee gon: No, wee enioye him still

5

That learned worke,<sup>1</sup> (the Laurell of his quill)

shall live and blaze his fame, those only dye

That have no record to posteritie.

The end, the Life, the Eveninge crownes the Day

his Night surpast his morning every way,

10

For Samson like,<sup>2</sup> Dyinge hee vanguisht more

then all his life time hee had done before:

**Source.** Morgan MS MA 1057, p. 94

**Other known sources.** Raleigh, *Poems* 194; PRO SP 46/64, fol. 163

I21

<sup>1</sup> *That learned worke:* Raleigh’s *The History of the World* (1614).

<sup>2</sup> *Samson like:* Samson died as he pulled down a building upon himself, slaughtering numerous Philistines in the process. “And Samson said, Let me die with the Philistines. And he bowed himself with all his might; and the house fell upon the lords, and upon all the people that were therein. So the dead which he slew at his death were more than they which he slew in his life” (Judges 16.30).



## I22 If spite be pleasd, when that her object dead

*Notes.* This poem's depiction of Raleigh's destruction as a cause solely for the satisfaction of spite, malice and envy, implicitly challenges the official justification for Raleigh's execution.

"Another on his Death"

If spite be pleasd, when that her object dead  
or mallice pleasd when it hath bruised the head  
or envie pleasd when it hath what it would  
Then all her pleasd for Raleighs blood is coold  
Which were it warme & active would orecome  
And strike the first two blind the other dombe.

5

**Source.** Bodleian MS Ashmole 781, p. 151

**Other known sources.** Raleigh, *Poems* 196

I22

### I23 Once he was Grace it selfe

*Notes.* This poem survives in the news diary of William Whiteway of Dorchester. He ascribes it to a local man, the “Poet Laureate of Dorchester”, R[ichard] Beech.

Once he was Grace it selfe  
And could make others gracious.  
Envie that crooked Elfe<sup>1</sup>  
Thought that life was to spatious.

And therefore did confine him  
Into a narrower place<sup>2</sup>  
Where she meant to assigne him  
The dregs of all disgrace.

5

But vertue then provided  
Sorting his Fortunes so  
That they should be divided,  
Some good with bad to goe.

10

And in despight of Envies face,  
To live and dy, grac't in disgrace.

**Source.** BL MS Egerton 784, fol. 5v

**Other known sources.** Whiteway 23

I23

<sup>1</sup> *crooked Elfe*: possibly an allusion to the crook-backed Robert Cecil, blamed here for engineering Raleigh's fall in 1603.

<sup>2</sup> *confine...narrower place*: reference to Raleigh's imprisonment in the Tower in 1603.

## I24 I knew thee but by fame and thy brave deeds

*Notes.* The appearance of a comet—Halley’s comet, in fact—in English skies during November 1618 was widely interpreted by contemporaries as a providential sign forecasting the coming of war or the death of kings. So great and so politicized was the speculation, that James I composed a poem downplaying the comet’s significance (“You men of Britaine, wherefore gaze yee so”).

“On Sir Walter Raleigh who was beheaded a little before the appearance of the Commett”<sup>1</sup>

I knew thee but by fame and thy brave deedes,  
Those spoke thee loude; For wheare trew worth exceedes,  
It can not sleepe in Lethe.<sup>2</sup> Who could but know  
Thee for the Muses Freind, and Spaines Arch Foe?  
Mee thinks the old Heroes weighed with thee, 5  
Homer<sup>3</sup> was out or they of meane degree;  
Of witt and, Valour, Hee to patternes sett;  
In thee both weare, and both more strongly mett:  
Thou shamd’st his art, and spite of Rule or Fashion  
Mad’st practise out goe speculation. 10  
And yett thou hadst so much Mortalletye  
To dy; though not with out a prodegy.<sup>4</sup>  
For thou (our Sunn) being sett, and darke Night come  
An upstart starr would needes supply thy roome,  
And lende that light wee mist; yet ’twould not bee, 15  
It shone bright, but not halfe so bright as thee:  
It shone, but being outvied, itt streight was done,  
As though a Meteor could out shine the Sunne.  
Oh that I could tune out so full a straine,  
As might become thy Ellegy. In vaine 20  
I wishe itt. Englandes Muse Raleigh is deade  
And blow spilt the balme of that rare heade.

**Source.** Folger MS V.a.103, fol. 6v

**Other known sources.** Raleigh, *Poems* 200; Nottingham MS Portland PW V 37, p. 14

I24

<sup>1</sup> *Commett*: Halley's comet was visible in English skies in November 1618, indeed not long after Raleigh's execution.

<sup>2</sup> *Lethe*: the river of hell whose waters induce forgetfulness.

<sup>3</sup> *Homer*: the ancient Greek epic poet. The libel is comparing Raleigh favourably to the heroes depicted in Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.

<sup>4</sup> *prodegy*: prodigy; i.e. the comet.

## I25 All earthlie things by Water knowe

*Notes.* This poem's connection to Raleigh depends on the probable contemporary pronunciation of Walter as "Water".

All earthlie things by Water knowe

All earthlie things do ebb and flowe

This my end; all ages after

may learne to live and die by water.

**Source.** PRO SP 46/64, fol. 163

**Other known sources.** Raleigh, *Poems* 195

I25

### J0. The Lake-Roos Affair (1617-1620)

These five poems arise from the series of tawdry scandals surrounding Lady Mary Lake (née Ryder), her husband, the royal Secretary Sir Thomas Lake, and their daughter Anne, wife of William Cecil, Lord Roos. The scandals were the consequence of the February 1616 marriage between Anne Lake and William Cecil, a match that began badly and never recovered. Within months of the wedding, the bride and her mother were rumoured to be blackmailing Roos into signing over property to his in-laws. Reports suggested that the two women threatened to charge Roos with impotence and then sue for an embarrassing nullity of the marriage. Late in 1617, after Roos had cut his losses and decamped abroad, Anne and her mother charged that Frances Cecil, Countess of Exeter, the youthful bride of Roos's grandfather Thomas Cecil, Earl of Exeter, had carried on an affair with Roos and had attempted to poison his aggrieved wife. The Earl and Countess of Exeter appealed to the King who, in the spring of 1618, sent the case to the Star Chamber. Nearly a year later, in February 1619, Star Chamber found Sir Thomas and Lady Mary Lake, Anne, and her brothers guilty of defaming the Earl and Countess of Exeter and of suborning witnesses and forging evidence. All were sent to the Tower and heavily fined. Anne confessed her crime in late June 1619 and was released early the following month. Her mother was more stubborn: she was finally released from the Tower during the following year, but not until May 1621 did she make her formal confession and submission in Star Chamber. Both women were widely vilified at the time—joining Frances Howard and Anne Turner as Jacobean icons of monstrous femininity—and many of the charges lodged in the libels are repeated in contemporary correspondence on the case. The scandal has not been systematically investigated, but Gardiner (3.189-194) provides a generally reliable narrative overview, while the articles in the 2004 edition of the *DNB* on Lord and Lady Roos and on the Countess of Exeter offer fresh perspectives on the affair. Bellany (*Politics* 252-54) considers the political significance of the scandal as a replay of some of the themes of the Overbury affair and offers brief analyses of the surviving libels.

## J1 Waste not a signe that courtlye Rosse should fall

*Notes.* The single surviving copy of this obscene attack on Anne Cecil, Lady Roos, survives in the commonplace book of William Davenport of Bramhall, Cheshire. The charge that Lady Roos wore fake pudenda or pubic hair is repeated in Francis Osborne's unpublished 1650s' play *The True Tragicomedy Formerly Acted at Court* (see Bellany, *Politics* 275).

“A Lybell uppon the Ladie Rosse”

Waste not a signe that courtlye Rosse should fall  
when that her Mirkine<sup>1</sup> lost his Coronall<sup>2</sup>  
what tricke in dancinge could the devill produce  
to fitte her too a haire and make it loose  
Twas no Caper.<sup>3</sup> for she hath ofte bene boulder  
when she advancte her legge on one mans shoulder  
Sure some crosse poynte:<sup>4</sup> for in open waye<sup>5</sup>  
her Mirkine nere was foundered or made straye  
who had the harder chance I praye you reade  
the Page that founde or she that lost her bearde.

5

10

**Source.** CCRO MS CR 63/2/19, fol. 20r

J1

<sup>1</sup> *Mirkine*: merkin. The exact meaning of the term is a little vague here; in contemporary usage, a merkin could be the female pudenda, a fake vagina, or fake pubic hair.

<sup>2</sup> *Coronall*: crown; here, presumably, pubic hair.

<sup>3</sup> *Caper*: an energetic type of dance.

<sup>4</sup> *crosse poynte*: a dance step.

<sup>5</sup> *in open waye*: here implying sexual intercourse.

## J2 There is a close Prisoner in the Tower

*Notes. This rare poem mixes topical allusions with conventional strains of misogyny.*

### “Of the Lady Lake”

There is a close Prisoner in the Tower

A woe-to-man<sup>1</sup> who brought him to a bower.

Of sinnes deep Lake to droune in gulph of fraud

A caterpillar<sup>2</sup> with fell-foule venome daub’de

That crops the fruite of blooming faire delight

Of falce worlds witt, gott by wealth meritts spight

She Rideing loves for Ryder<sup>3</sup> was her name

Her horse Arme-strider metteld<sup>4</sup> for the same

But now saies Fate wee have orday’nd it soe

For Rydeing fast, a foote pace she shall goe.

5

10

**Source.** Bodleian MS Smith 17, p. 113

J2

<sup>1</sup> *A woe-to-man*: a woman and a trouble to man. This and the following line repeat James I’s assessment that Lady Lake had been the fount of the conspiracy against Roos and the Exeters. According to the King, Lady Lake was the serpent in the Garden who first seduced Eve (Lady Roos) into sin, and then dragged Adam (Sir Thomas Lake) into the mire (Birch 2.136).

<sup>2</sup> *caterpillar*: common term for a corrupt and rapacious person.

<sup>3</sup> *Ryder*: Mary Lake was the daughter of William Ryder, a former Alderman and Lord Mayor of London.

<sup>4</sup> *metteld*: metalled; shod.



### J3 Heere lyes the breife of badnes vices nurse

*Notes.* William Davenport's copy of this stinging attack on the imprisoned Lady Mary Lake is headed "An Ephetaphe put uppon the Ladie Lakes Dore" (CCRO MS CR 63/2/19).

"Encomium infamissime et infande Cuiusdam Mulieris ignote"<sup>1</sup>

Heere lyes the breife<sup>2</sup> of badnes vices nurse

The badge of usurie the clergies curse,

The staine of weomen kind, tradsmens decay

The patroness of prid, Extortions highway

The forge of slaunder, and each vile action

Frend to Romes whore,<sup>3</sup> Spy to the Spanish faction<sup>4</sup>

A bitch of Court, a comon stincking snake<sup>5</sup>

Worse then all these, Heere Lyes the Ladie Lake.

5

**Source.** Bodleian MS Malone 23, p. 5

**Other known sources.** Bodleian MS Ashmole 36-37, fol. 70r and 145v; Bodleian MS Firth d.7, fol. 153r; Bodleian MS Smith 17, p. 113; BL MS Harley 791, fol. 59r; CCRO MS CR 63/2/19, fol. 20r; Folger MS V.a.345, p. 285; Huntington MS HM 116, p. 174

J3

<sup>1</sup> *Encomium...ignote*: In praise of a certain unknown, infamous, unspeakable woman.

<sup>2</sup> *breife*: variants include "breast", "bride" and "prize".

<sup>3</sup> *Romes whore*: the Church of Rome, identified in Protestant polemic as the Whore of Babylon.

<sup>4</sup> *Spy to the Spanish faction*: Sir Thomas Lake was often linked at this time with the pro-Spanish Court faction.

<sup>5</sup> *snake*: James I compared Lady Lake to the serpent in the Garden of Eden (Birch 2.136).

#### J4 Greedie, Envious, malicious proud unstable

*Notes.* In the only known source, this poem immediately follows a copy of the more widely circulated “Heere lyes the breife of badnes vices nurse”.

Greedie, Envious, malicious proud unstable

Suborner, Plotter, no waies tractable<sup>1</sup>

Forger of Mischeifes, vertues onely Foe

Usurers Mynion Contriver of woe

The nurse of vice, I will not say a whore

Lyes nowe demancd<sup>2</sup> confin’d with in the tower<sup>3</sup>

A place too good for such a one to take

Who list to knowe her, tis the Ladie Lake.

5

**Source.** Bodleian MS Malone 23, pp. 5-6

J4

<sup>1</sup> *tractable*: the scribe also inserts “warrantable”, as though considering an alternative reading.

<sup>2</sup> *demancd*: not in the *OED*, but perhaps an anglicized version of the French verb *demancher*, to dislocate.

<sup>3</sup> *tower*: Mary Lake was imprisoned in the Tower of London from 1619 to 1620.

### J5 Say, no man living would vouchsafe a verse

*Notes.* In the only known source, this poem immediately follows “Heere lyes the breife of badnes vices nurse”, and, as the pun in the last line makes clear, it is evidently on the same subject.

Say, no man living would vouchsafe a verse  
when thou art dead, to hang uppon thy heirse.<sup>1</sup>  
or that the Tyburne poet<sup>2</sup> should refuse  
in thy bad cause, to interest his muse.  
thinking, thy bawdy story in a Ballet 5  
would be distastfull to ech herbwives pallet.  
yet sure on earth, thy fame should longer dwell  
then that of scoares of women that live well  
now you came you are in that place<sup>3</sup>  
I wish for more imbellishing your raise<sup>4</sup> 10  
You match with her, that lyke hath never met  
till you came there, to find out S.<sup>5</sup>  
who had the reputation, to be worst  
ere this came from hells lake where she was nurst. 15

**Source.** Bodleian MS Ashmole 36-37, fol. 70r

J5

<sup>1</sup> *hang uppon thy heirse*: epitaphs were commonly pinned to funeral hearses.

<sup>2</sup> *Tyburne poet*: allusion to ballad makers who churned out poems and songs on criminals.

<sup>3</sup> *that place*: the Tower of London.

<sup>4</sup> *raise*: race.

<sup>5</sup> *S.*: Probably Somerset; hence a reference to the murderess Frances Howard, Countess of Somerset, still imprisoned in the Tower (see Sections F and H).

## K. “Fortune’s wheel”: Reflections on the Jacobean Era

The poems in this section are unusual in the context of this edition, and in many respects stretch the generic category of “libel”. Both are relatively long—the first just under 500 lines—and unfocused. Moreover, they lack the personal vitriol that we generally associate with the libel, just as they lack the epigrammatic form which the libel most commonly adopts. Indeed it is significant that the second of the two is labelled “A Satire”, since it attempts to apply the practices and structures of Elizabethan verse satire, rather than those of the libel, to the representation of Jacobean politics. Given these points of difference, it is perhaps significant that both poems exist only in one (and the same) manuscript. Hence these poems did not achieve anything like the wide circulation enjoyed by many early Stuart libels; in fact, given their length and the associated difficulties involved in dissemination, we might fairly assume that this was never the intention of their respective authors.

Yet these points of difference also make the poems particularly interesting. Unlike most other libels, these poems have a sense of history unfolding across a period of years, and as a result offer valuable reflections on the notable developments of the Jacobean era. Not only do they plot the era’s spectacular rises and falls, they also attempt to make sense of these facts of history: invoking codes of morality and speculating on matters of political causation. The first of the poems, “Fortunes wheele. or Rota fortunæ in gyro”, is particularly interesting in this regard. Here, the complex machinations of Jacobean politics consistently frustrate any efforts to derive order and structure out of the facts of history. The neat medieval model of the wheel of fortune is simply inadequate as an explanatory tool. And the poet seems well aware of this; indeed the poem combines discourses of sin and anti-Catholicism with a consistently knowing and ironic tone.

K0

## K1 Some would complaine of Fortune & blinde chance

*Notes.* This poem presents a survey of Jacobean politics that is more detailed and thorough than any other piece in this edition. Written towards the end of James's reign (probably early in 1623), it looks back across the era, narrating the rises and falls of individuals and factions. Although it is not a straightforward polemic, in the manner adopted by most libels, the writer is clearly influenced by the events surrounding the 1621 Parliament, and the poem makes some pointed references to the sufferings of the "Countrie". The poem is discussed in McRae, "Political Satire".

"Fortunes wheele. or Rota fortunæ in gyro"

Some would complaine of Fortune & blinde chance  
that durst their handes to heaven up advance  
and cry, O God, which madest the glorious sunn  
What hath poore England against Religion done?

That all her goodnes topsie turvie lies  
derided geerde att, wrong'de by Contraries.

That such a mightie learned Prince<sup>1</sup> should see  
how grossely men of honor blinded bee.

That persons mounted upp to greatnes durst,  
unto their wealth & Princes favour trust:

Abuseinge both with pride and wantonnes,  
which makes them stupid in forgetfullnes.

For though they sawe the downefall of the rest,  
Yet worse and worse continued they unblest.

I saie, some would complaine of Fortune nowe  
but I will plainer be, & tell you howe  
this wheele of Fortune is turn'de round aboute  
and soe the cause shall put you out of doubtte.

As when the Prophett Balaam<sup>2</sup> did strive

5

10

15

to make proud moab<sup>3</sup> against Judah thrive 20  
 And soe by God was curste for such a deede<sup>4</sup>  
 Which meerelie did from avarice proceede  
 He yet desisted not,<sup>5</sup> but founde away  
 their soules to sinne, as captive to betray  
 And unto Baal peor<sup>6</sup> did them bringe 25  
 to bee a wonder, and a ravishinge.  
 The beautie of the Lande came naked to them  
 and with their false embraces did undoe them.  
 Thus plaid the devill with our English courte  
 for firste he to the Romanes made resorte. 30  
 I meane the Pope & conclave of that sect  
 who soon a hellish stratagem<sup>7</sup> project.  
 Grudginge that our Religion shoulde soe flourish  
 or England constantlie the truth to nourish.  
 Thus they contrive with some strange powder blowe 35  
 into the aire, the Parliamente to throwe;  
 That with a whirlwinde, terror might appall  
 Gods worde professed, Courtlie state, & all.  
 But faileinge with base Balaam in this<sup>8</sup>  
 and fretted in blinde rage his ayme to misse, 40  
 He falls to contraries, readeinge a booke  
 from whence he strange alluringe lessons tooke  
 of pride, luste, avarice, & wretched hate  
 Which in fewe yeares dismembred Englands state.  
 For presentlie the kinge affects his peace<sup>9</sup> 45  
 proposinge nothinge but delights increase,  
 And as the kinge gives way, each one pretends  
 to honor him, though out of private endes.  
 Thus swarmes the Courte with youthfull gallants brave  
 and happie he, who can the kinges love have. 50

The kinge againe remembers Daniells storie  
and such admitts of, as becomes his glorie.<sup>10</sup>

Yet all they doe is to resolve this doubt  
that Fortune's wheele is quicklie turn'de aboute.

Monntgomery<sup>11</sup> ledd this dance of greatnes firste  
but wiselie fearinge with the same to burste,  
He gave it over, & with true reclayme  
tooke out a shafte at honestie to ayme.

55

For when the frye of Scotts had turn'de their capps  
to goulden bonnetts,<sup>12</sup> and outfac'de mishapps  
with outward bravery by makeinge knights  
and grewe to Courte it in the statelie sightes,  
Then with the rest some English had the grace  
in the kinges chamber to receive a place.<sup>13</sup>

60

But some have blamed Fortune for his sake  
that he the time of Fortune did not take.<sup>14</sup>

65

I might have nam'de Lorde Cobham,<sup>15</sup> litle Gray,<sup>16</sup>  
Raleighe,<sup>17</sup> and others, who contriv'de the waye  
of Essex fall-: <sup>18</sup> For after all those smiles

See, see, howe Fortunes hate, their trust beguiles

70

They as delinquents by the law are founde  
and in the tower caste upon good grounde,  
And in the Tower dye: but Raleighs fate  
makes us amased, him unfortunate.

For after fowerteene yeares, release he had,<sup>19</sup>  
but see, his libertie prov'de too too badd.

75

For in a voyage all his hopes miscarried  
and Gondomars complaint<sup>20</sup> him stranglie married  
to ougsome<sup>21</sup> death whereby he lost his head,<sup>22</sup>  
bewailed of his foes that sawe him dead.

80

Thus Contraries doe still resolve this doubt  
that Fortune's wheele is quicklie turnde aboute.

Northumberland?<sup>23</sup> Northumberland was greate,  
by native excellence, and honors seate  
And yet the kinge, from whom greatnes doth flowe  
most willinglie him greater made then soe.

85

For first he sitts at that high sacred table<sup>24</sup>  
where, to advise the Councell, he is able.  
Then of East Marches is Lorde Waden<sup>25</sup> still  
tho nowe the kingdome feares noe forraine ill.

90

In the third place, he many places guides  
Haveinge the Cuntrey at Commande besides.  
And last of all the Captaine of the bande  
of Pentioners,<sup>26</sup> before the kinge doth stande  
But somethinge blocked upp his handsome walke  
and men at randon durste against him talke.

95

Till in the tower he as prisoner lyes<sup>27</sup>  
and many yeares greate affliction tryes:  
Yet out att last he comes,<sup>28</sup> confyn'de to places  
where he must nowe expecte more princelie graces.

100

unconstant tymes, what contraries bee these?  
but sure it shewes, that men did God displease;  
And God doth showe, for to resolve this doubt  
that Fortunes wheele is quickly turn'de aboute.

Nowe little Cecill,<sup>29</sup> too too greate doth growe  
rydinge to Windsore with a pompous showe:  
He workes himselfe an Earle,<sup>30</sup> with some smale charge  
and doth his house and famylie enlarge.

105

He rules the state, makinge the king beleeve  
he can his wants and greevances relieve:

110



Thus he invents a newe device of honor,<sup>31</sup>  
 Yet not soe greate, as when the Prince his Banner  
 advanced is within a martiall feilde  
 a Baronett, to Bannerett doth yeilde.<sup>32</sup>  
 But after all this flourish-: to accompt 115  
 he suddenlie is called, wich doth surmounte  
 his former Items: soe, he somms the rest  
 and findes a call for mercie is the best  
 Thus death cleers his greate scoore, but men growe wilde,  
 and with uncertaine rumors are beguilde.<sup>33</sup> 120  
 As if he amy'de at pollicies of state,  
 and still to be reputed fortunate,  
 without a thought of faire Religions corse  
 Soe they, cry'de out, Badd lief, hath death farre worse  
 Oh God: if this the end of greatnes bee, 125  
 God send me honest lief, with povertie:  
 But all wee talke of still, resolves this doubt  
 that Fortunes wheele is quicklie turn'de aboute.

Nowe steppes a faction upp, through princelie grace  
 which they with manglinge doe almost deface, 130  
 Convertinge it to their owne state and pride  
 with many foule enormities beside.  
 Thus Suffolke<sup>34</sup> bringeth in our handsome Carr<sup>35</sup>  
 and he uprightlie doth walke, but went to farr  
 For after Suffolk, honors did obtaine 135  
 with the Courte-title of Lorde Chamberlaine:<sup>36</sup>  
 And that Northampton was Lord Privie seale<sup>37</sup>  
 thus with the state they presentlie doe deale.  
 Lorde Walden (Suffolks sonne) must Captaine bee  
 Of Pentioners,<sup>38</sup> and their attendance see.

His other sonnes unto the Prince resorte  
 and many are his favorites in Courte.  
 Northampton liveth Lorde of all the Portes<sup>39</sup>  
 and chief Commander of the Princes fortes.<sup>40</sup>  
 The yonger Mounson is vice-admirall;<sup>41</sup> 145  
 the elder they did, master Falkoner call.<sup>42</sup>  
 A Dallison the ordinance doth keepe:<sup>43</sup>  
 and Ellois cannot long in quiet sleepe  
 untill he paie 2000 pound at least  
 to have the Towers high Comand<sup>44</sup> increaste: 150  
 wich made suspicion many doubts to caste  
 as if their greatnes they woulde holde so fast,  
 That nether Queene, nor any of her freindes  
 should once prevent them in their private endes.<sup>45</sup>  
 But Suffolke moveinge in a proper sphere 155  
 is not contente soe fairlie to appeare:  
 But will have Somersett Lor Chamberlaine<sup>46</sup>  
 and he himselfe in office of more gaine,  
 Great Englandes Treasurer<sup>47</sup> and thus they live  
 to have both Court and Citie honor give. 160  
 By this tyme, Cooke (from the Attorney) growes  
 to be chiefe Justice:<sup>48</sup> thus he proudlie showes  
 himselfe at last a Councillor of state  
 till Fortune made them all unfortunate:  
 I think of purpose to resolve this doubt 165  
 that Fortunes wheele is quicklie turn'd aboute.  
  
 For Sommersett must love Essex faire wife<sup>49</sup>  
 by wich his deerest servant lost his life.<sup>50</sup>  
 losse upon losse, all things grow cleane contrary  
 and thus our sinfull times themselves doe vary.

Northampton still suspected, stranglie dies<sup>51</sup>  
 and in his passion, to our Ladie cryes,<sup>52</sup>  
 Because he had contriv'd the wanton meane  
 wich made brave Somersett act such a sceane  
 But he is youthfull, pardon him in this 175  
 for woemens love, goe many thinges amisse.  
 Amisse said I? yea luste doth soe exceede,  
 that it doth death to Overbury breede.  
 For wich (by way of true digression)  
 nothings succedes but strange confusion. 180  
 The Lorde and Ladie are by equall Peers  
 founde guiltie and condemn'de:<sup>53</sup> (lawe nothings cleers)  
 And soe comitted to the towers charge  
 as interdicted not to goe at large.  
 Thire ministers and panders hanged dye;<sup>54</sup> 185  
 and knighted Ellwis, the like doome doth trye.<sup>55</sup>  
 The Munsons likewise are to Tower sent,<sup>56</sup>  
 but at their fall men made a merrymente.  
 When all is done, Suffolke & Suffolks wife  
 disgraced live for this their daughters life: 190  
 And from disgrace, doe to more mischief fall  
 for suddenlie, the kinges accompts him call  
 unto a reckoninge, which he cannot finde  
 and so arrerages caste him behinde.<sup>57</sup>  
 untill a prisoner he is likewise caste 195  
 and in the tower with the other faste.<sup>58</sup>  
 The use of all is to resolve this doubt  
 that Fortunes wheele is quicklie turnde aboute.  
 For after thies affrightinge tymes of bloode  
 even such as in the Courte more firmelie stode

subjected were to ruinous extremes,  
 and accidents: which like a Rivers streames  
 runne ore his banke.- The Queene did sober sitt  
 markeinge the course of Fortunes wanton Fitt,  
 untill she dyed,<sup>59</sup> lamented of us all. 205  
 (thus Princes answere muste, when god doth call.)  
 For soe she sawe the Prince her eldest sonne  
 pluckt like untimelie fruite,<sup>60</sup> wich newe begunn  
 to apple on the tree. Oh fearefull storie  
 that we so suddenlie should loose our glory. 210  
 But blessed might, where Hymen did soe shine  
 and brought such honor to the Palatine.<sup>61</sup>  
 yet see, what times have done? the crowned Queene  
 besides her lives escape hath changes seene.  
 Then by mischance doth Arabella flye, 215  
 and sent a prisoner in the Tower doth dye:<sup>62</sup>  
 Att wich her cousen Shrewsbury<sup>63</sup> doth storme  
 and for undecencies (wich wrought her harme)  
 must to the Tower goe, and their is still:<sup>64</sup>  
 for such greate women talke at randome will. 220  
 Then falls Lord Cooke out with his wife;<sup>65</sup> or shee  
 cannot soe well with his lawe talke agree:  
 But howsoe're, from the Tribunall seate  
 He quicklie is throwne downe:<sup>66</sup> not halfe soe greate  
 as once he was. O wondrous change of times 225  
 unfitt (indeede) for thies poore idle rymes.  
 Then comes a Secretarie to the stake  
 I neede not name him: yet Sir Thomas Lake<sup>67</sup>  
 muste with the rest, the curse of Fortune trye  
 For, for his daughter he contriv'de a lye.<sup>68</sup> 230  
 But when the reckoninge is up better caste

all men exclayme; sayinge, what soe is paste  
Upon thies Lordes, be dangerous woemens sinne  
whoe still unto the men, theire woe begin.  
But I doe saie, T'is to resolve this doubt 235  
that Fortunes wheele, is quicklie turnde aboute.

Our noble James sitts wondringe at thies things  
Yet with the constancie of other kinges  
derides them all: and soe at further leasure  
inventas devices to mainteyne his pleasure. 240

But firste he stepps to act a monarches parte  
and to the Comforte of each English harte  
In the Starrchamber sitts in supream sight<sup>69</sup>  
and like a sun, dispelling vapours quite  
prevents the bablinge lawier, where he stands 245  
keepeinge the Judge from fowleinge of his hands.

he still preserves the Statutes of the crowne  
preserves the weaker from the greater frowne:  
yea, to the Contrys honor, and faire joy,  
doth punish all who durst her peace annoy. 250

But yet he must his favorites embrace  
supposeinge still to alter soe the case:  
noe question he doth meane, that all were well,  
did not the issue, the Contrarie tell.  
As I suppose still, to resolve this doubt 255  
that Fortunes wheele, is quicklie turnde aboute.

Young Villiers<sup>70</sup> nowe stepps forth, awhile obscur'de,  
but at the last, is of the kinge assur'de:  
whoe thus farre did him love, that for his porte  
the people as petitioners resorte, 260  
thronginge aboute his dore in everie place

yea, noble men are glad to have the grace  
 of faire admittance; but a thousand moe  
 returne unspoken with, & homewarde goe.  
 within three yeares, wee Marquess him salute<sup>71</sup> 265  
 and noe man dare the matter so dispute.  
 But hee, two greatest offices doth keepe,<sup>72</sup>  
 and many times in the kings chamber sleepe.<sup>73</sup>  
 Hee still, the glorious starr of England shines  
 resemblinge splendand gould, wich fire refines 270  
 And Commett like appeares with wondrous streames,  
 yea as a Commett spreadeth forth his beames.  
 For with himselfe, he bringes his mother in  
 his brothers, sisters, cousins;<sup>74</sup> who begins  
 to shewe themselves advanc'de soe well, soe soone 275  
 as this their sun affordes light to the moone  
 yea, for his sake, and for the Princes pleasure  
 the alteracion doth exceed all measure:  
 Yet all the doe, is to resolve this doubt  
 that Fortunes wheele, is quicklie turn'de aboute. 280

Oulde Egerton, surrender must the Seale,<sup>75</sup>  
 and the<sup>76</sup> noe other reason will reveale  
 but the kinges pleasure; yet they promise faire  
 to leave an Earledome, to his onelie heire.<sup>77</sup>  
 Oulde Admirall must goe noe more to Sea;<sup>78</sup> 285  
 nor Cooke (as Justice) heare the lawiers plea.<sup>79</sup>  
 Suffolke must not sitt as Lorde Treasurer<sup>80</sup>  
 but all the right, unto the kinge transferr:  
 Worcester, though that he boast of princilie bloode  
 noe longer maister of the Stable stode, 290  
 but must resigne, the king doth thinke it meete,

and soe Lorde privie seale, they doe him greete.<sup>81</sup>  
 Lorde Wallingford must maister be noe more  
 of that high Courte of wardes;<sup>82</sup> nor stand before  
 the Prince in office of soe greate accounte 295  
 wich soone is knowne his reckoninge to surmount.  
 The Secretaries they are changed too,<sup>83</sup>  
 and all thinges turn'de aboute with much adoe  
 For Bacon (but Attorney) steppeth in<sup>84</sup>  
 & doth his greatnes with such grace begin 300  
 that quicklie he is keeper, Chancellor,  
 a viscount statelie, & high Councillor.<sup>85</sup>  
 The maister of the horse is Buckingham  
 & Englands Lord high Admirall by name,<sup>86</sup>  
 yea named is the kinges delight and joy 305  
 how o'er his mother, like a Countess coye<sup>87</sup>  
 doth with the rest abandon whom shee knew  
 before, shee to such supream greatnes grewe.  
 Lord Chamberlaine the noble Pembroke is,<sup>88</sup>  
 & to his greife sees manie things a misse. 310  
 for presentlie doth Montague stepp upp  
 and with the rest, tastes of ambitions cupp:  
 for, from Recorder, he chiefe Justice sitts<sup>89</sup>  
 & highlie lookes with strange and loftie fitts.  
 Then from the Citie Cranfielde changeth aire 315  
 and to the Courte doth handsomelie repaire:<sup>90</sup>  
 yea is soe well accepted for his skill  
 that the kinge grace him, in his fortunes will;  
 yet all this change, is to resolve this doubt  
 that Fortunes wheele is quicklie turn'de aboute. 320  
  
 O God, what mixtures are amongst us wrought?

& men of honor topsie turvie brought:  
 Her's grieffe that any should deserve soe ill,  
 Hers gladnes, that the kinge suppress them will,  
 but of their faults I will not speake at all, 325  
 I onelie knowe, who prosper did, or fall.  
 Cranfeild is maister of the wardes,<sup>91</sup> & bringes  
 a just accomte; with manie other things  
 Fulk Grevill is Lorde Brooke, & soe it stands  
 his office is transposde to others hands.<sup>92</sup> 330  
 Naunton, & Calvert, Secretaries bee<sup>93</sup>  
 but somethinge is amisse; for wee doe see  
 Naunton suspended, which makes manie sorie<sup>94</sup>  
 but kinges (with God) doe in their mercy glory.  
 The Kings Attorney Yelverton did prove 335  
 worthie the Cities, and the Contries love,  
 yet he is tardie founde: for he doth trye  
 a sentence in Starrchamber, & doth lie  
 a Tower prisoner close, & close againe.<sup>95</sup>  
 For all's not well when kings doe once complaine, 340  
 of faulty subiects, yet be not mistaken  
 that honest men should alwaies be forsaken.  
 Not an inferior officer I name  
 who changed are for somethinge worthie blame.  
 nor how the kinge is not soe pleas'de, but may 345  
 condemne the rest, who dare his will gainesay.  
 my poore pretences still resolve this doubt  
 that Fortunes wheele is quicklie turn'de aboute.  
 By this tyme Europe hurried is in armes,<sup>96</sup>  
 but what have I to doe with warrs alarmes, 350  
 I homeward came unto our contrey peace



& finde a Spanish faction to increase.

for great king James, would not have us complaine

that he intendes to match the Prince with Spaine<sup>97</sup>

Thus Buckingham, & Arundell<sup>98</sup> combyne

355

and manie others to the secte incline.

The kinge Earl Marshall Arundell doth make<sup>99</sup>

and welcomes all who doe him not mistake.

Thus Gundomar<sup>100</sup> doth boast himselfe what he hath done

and how the Lordes unto his side are wonne.

360

Thus doe the papists moste presumptuous growe

not doubtinge of Religions overthrowe.

But that the kinge doth love his god indeede

and will by noe meanes such suspicion breede

Thus doe the Cuntries all amased stande,

365

& hearts are fearefull made throughout the lande

Thus manie foule enormities creepe in

and men without impunitie doe sinne.

For under couler of the kinges displeasure

noe man dares talke of things above their measure.<sup>101</sup>

370

Yet when the Prince perceiv'de this discontente

he cheeres them upp with name of parliamente,<sup>102</sup>

wich giveth warmth unto their frozen joyntes

as if, our God the remedie appointes.

For soberlie doe men express their minde

375

against the Spanish match, in manie a kinde.<sup>103</sup>

one of incestuous mariages doth write

& would gainesay the Pope to his despite.

Another preacheth against the unequall yoake

with Infidell. another strikes a stroocke

380

at Spanish crueltie, from that true tale

wherein a Friar could noe whit prevaile

with a poore Indian; who deneyd to goe  
to heaven, if Spaniards thither went alsoe.

Another would not bee to England debter 385  
but to the marquesse writes a prettie letter.<sup>104</sup>

Another (to mocke Gondymar) doth crye  
to reade, & hearken to Vox Populi.<sup>105</sup>

Another makes, some thinke with English boaste  
a book the call Sir Walter Rawleighs ghoste.<sup>106</sup> 390

Another: yea, a many others saye  
o fearefull tymes, that ere wee sawe this daie  
But all is done for to resolve this doubt  
that Fortunes wheele is quickly turn'de aboute.

Yet God be thanked, nobly at the laste 395  
the kinge remembers what is done & paste  
And he doth call a Parliament<sup>107</sup> indeede,  
at wich, a many storme, & many bleede.  
For Monoples are rent in sunder quite,<sup>108</sup>  
and Francis Mitchell is noe more a knight<sup>109</sup> 400  
Mompesson flyes,<sup>110</sup> and manie Pattents fall  
and true complaints are heard amongst them all.  
A manie foule enormities are righted  
and blinded Justice is made nowe quikesighted.

For Englands loftie Chancellor is founde 405  
a foule delinquent,<sup>111</sup> and on speciall grounde  
Is to the Tower as a prisoner sente:  
nor cares the state, who showe their discontente.  
And yet he scapes not soe. for some sharpe witts  
(in their full charged & disordered fitts) 410  
observe it thus. that once a Clergie man  
(when Queene Elizabeth her raigne began)

kept the greate seale (one Doctor Heath by name)  
and gives it unto Bacon of good fame.<sup>112</sup>

But wise kinge James, from Bacon takes the same, 415  
of purpose to prevent all future shame,  
and to a Clergie man gives it againe<sup>113</sup>

regardinge not who murmur or Complaine:  
And they do reason yeelde. & with a trice  
that the greate Seale, is a pure pearle of price 420  
which in a supream throne must dailie shine,  
and therefore is not fitt to be left with swine;<sup>114</sup>

Well, let them passe: But god shall have the praise  
whoe such a Daniell for us all did raise;  
to vex the Judges, who meant to beguile, 425  
and would Susanna's chastitie defile.<sup>115</sup>

But all concludes, solucion of this doubt  
that Fortunes wheele is quicklie turn'de aboute.

Yet for all this men will noe warninge take,  
nor naturall infirmitie forsake. 430

The kinges chiefe Justice must a Courtier bee  
and Montague doth to the same agree:<sup>116</sup>

But will not change, except supreamely seated,  
and soe he is Lorde Treasurer created:  
with character of Vicounte in greate state 435  
supposinge that his honors breed noe hate.

But some doe laugh outright, and some doe smile  
to marke how Fortune doth this man beguile.

For whie? before he warme is in his seate,  
faults are founde out intollerably greate, 440  
and he deposed is:<sup>117</sup> yet doth the kinge  
another way unto him Comforte bringe:

and of the Councell makes him Præsident<sup>118</sup>  
 wich diverse Courtiers thought a merriment.  
 For Cranfeilde presentlie stepps in the place<sup>119</sup> 445  
 not careinge for the others strange disgrace  
 soe that the kinge be pleas'de. But nether he,  
 nor yet the kinge, can nowe well pleased bee.  
 For whie? the busines of the Parliamente  
 doth his greate majestie much discontente, 450  
 And therefore like a kinge of worthie glorie  
 scornes to insert itt, in heerafter storry  
 that he affronted was:<sup>120</sup> Thus he resolves  
 to Crosse them all; and soe the same disolves.<sup>121</sup>  
 Then like poore deare, unhearded from the rest 455  
 some fewe are chased, as he thinketh best:  
 Cooke is to prison sente,<sup>122</sup> in pitteous case  
 and quite undone, without a speciall grace.  
 Phillips and Marlory,<sup>123</sup> with diverse other  
 who could not their true zeale to England smother 460  
 ar singled out, to beare afflictions crosse  
 thus all things turne unto the Countries losse.  
 For still the kinge doth want; must be supplide  
 and sends unto the rich on everie side,<sup>124</sup>  
 getting greate sommes: and greater then is thought 465  
 could ever by such pollicie be wrought.  
 But whether this doth out of kindnes growe  
 I may not, will not, dare not, cannot showe.  
 All yet concludes solucion of this doubt  
 that Fortunes wheele is quicklie turn'de aboute. 470  
  
 Oh wondrous world: a mapp of inconstante fashions;  
 O tymes of sinne, soe full of frantike passions?

O strange unheard-of changes in a state,  
 Soe full of pride, lust, avarice, and hate.  
 where is Religions puritie? where is  
 Gods worde? a touchstone to trye what's is amisse. 475  
 But triall is soone made: For all can say  
 the people (as the Jewes) nowe runn astraye:  
 yet noe man is reform'de; who lives upright  
 is ether foole, or mad man in despight. 480  
 This makes a sadd colleccion of thinges  
 wich as ill newes terror and sorrowe bringes.  
 For in one yeare, to add unto the rest  
 thies accidents noe good harte can digest.  
 The Kinges Embassadors retorne in vaine,<sup>125</sup> 485  
 and may without their remedie complaine.  
 a hopefull yeare is turn'de to dearth and wante<sup>126</sup>  
 and country blessings fall out verie scante.  
 The voyage of Argier did badly thrive,<sup>127</sup>  
 and yet the souldiers doe retorne alive. 490  
 Our great Archbishop kills a man by chance<sup>128</sup>  
 and many censures, att the mischiefes glance.  
 A battaile by the staarrs is fought at Corck<sup>129</sup>  
 and setteth superstitious witts on worke.  
 The Crowes of Barkshire doe likewise the same<sup>130</sup> 495  
 and men run forward with prodigious fame.  
 Great fiers,<sup>131</sup> Court, and Citie doe affright  
 and in the Contrey makes a piteous sight.  
 The kinge himselfe doth scape a dangerous fall<sup>132</sup>  
 and strange mishapps: yet blesseth God for all. 500  
 The heavens doe three sunnes<sup>133</sup> at one time showe  
 yet who the secretts of the heavens knowe?  
 The Earl of Barkeshire doth as desperate dye

as he a Crossebowes strength would foundlie trye.<sup>134</sup>

I could saie more: but men besotted are 505

and for the particulars doe search too farre

to lay some imputacion on another,

but their own sinnes the caste behinde and smother

Thus dare the saie, the Clergie are soe badd

from whom all good example should be hadd. 510

That other men be Covetous and proude

as if to live like worldlinges were allowde.

But I doe saie, Tis to resolve this doubt

that Fortunes wheele is quicklie turn'de aboute.

**Source.** Bodleian MS Eng. Poet. c.50, fols. 1r-7r

## K1

<sup>1</sup> *mightie learned Prince*: James VI and I.

<sup>2</sup> *Balaam*: Balaam was hired by the King of the Moabites, Balak, to curse the Israelites; however, his oracles in fact blessed Israel and cursed its enemies (Numbers 22-24).

<sup>3</sup> *proud moab*: probably Balak, ruler of the Moabites, who is referred to as “Moab” in Numbers 22.3-4.

<sup>4</sup> *And soe...deede*: presumably again referring to Balak rather than (as the syntax suggests) Balaam.

<sup>5</sup> *He yet desisted not*: presumably referring to the Moabites’ continued efforts to undermine Israel; as narrated in Numbers 25.1-5, the Israelites mixed sexually and spiritually with the Moabites, thus provoking the wrath of God.

<sup>6</sup> *Baal peor*: false god of the Moabites (Numbers 25.3).

<sup>7</sup> *hellish stratagem*: introducing a narrative of the Gunpowder Plot, 1605.

<sup>8</sup> *But faileinge...in this*: presumably referring back to Balak’s, and the Moabites’, unsuccessful reliance on Balaam; the latter is probably described as “base” because he lacked the spiritual insight of his ass (Numbers 23.22-34).

- <sup>9</sup> *For presentlie...peace*: in 1604 James declared an end to the long-running war with Spain.
- <sup>10</sup> *The kinge...glorie*: probably an allusion to Daniel 1, in which King Nebuchadnezzar, having conquered Israel, commands that the most handsome and talented youths of the nobility be brought to his court. Daniel is one of these, and after being educated in court ways he and his Israelite companions prove to be the wisest and best informed among the courtiers.
- <sup>11</sup> *Monntgomory*: Philip Herbert, Earl of Montgomery, one of James's early favourites.
- <sup>12</sup> *turn'de...bonnetts*: cf. the charges of sartorial transformation in "Well met Jockie whether away".
- <sup>13</sup> *in the kinges...place*: Herbert became a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber in 1603.
- <sup>14</sup> *the time...take*: while the poet tries to represent his career as a failure, Herbert in fact remained in favour throughout James's reign (though he was never as prominent as some subsequent favourites).
- <sup>15</sup> *Lorde Cobham*: Henry Brooke, Lord Cobham, implicated in the 1603 "Main" or "Cobham's" Plot to overthrow James and place Arabella Stuart on the throne.
- <sup>16</sup> *Gray*: Thomas Grey, involved in the 1603 "Bye" or "Priest's" Plot against James.
- <sup>17</sup> *Raleighe*: Sir Walter Raleigh, arrested with Brooke in 1603 for suspected conspiracy.
- <sup>18</sup> *others...Essex fall*: while Brooke, Grey and Raleigh all opposed Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex, the poem gestures here towards a wider conspiracy (see Section A).
- <sup>19</sup> *For after...release he had*: Raleigh was eventually released in 1616.
- <sup>20</sup> *Gondomars complaint*: Don Diego Sarmiento, Count of Gondomar, the powerful Spanish ambassador in London, reputedly obtained James's promise that if Raleigh attacked Spaniards on his final voyage to America, James would ensure his execution.
- <sup>21</sup> *ougsome*: ugly.
- <sup>22</sup> *lost his head*: Raleigh was executed in 1618 (for poems on his death, see Section I).
- <sup>23</sup> *Northumberland*: Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland.
- <sup>24</sup> *that high sacred table*: i.e. the Privy Council.
- <sup>25</sup> *Waden*: i.e. "warden".
- <sup>26</sup> *Captaine...Pentioners*: Percy was made a privy councillor and Captain of the Band of Gentlemen

Pensioners in 1603.

<sup>27</sup> *Till...lyes*: though he protested his innocence, Percy was implicated in the Gunpowder Plot, tried in the Star Chamber in 1606, fined £30,000 and imprisoned indefinitely in the Tower.

<sup>28</sup> *Yet out...he comes*: Henry Percy was released from the Tower in 1621.

<sup>29</sup> *little Cecill*: Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury (see Section D).

<sup>30</sup> *workes himselfe an Earle*: Cecil became Earl of Salisbury in 1605.

<sup>31</sup> *newe device of honor*: the Order of Baronets was instituted in 1611.

<sup>32</sup> *a Baronett...yeilde*: a banneret was an ancient title conferred for valiant deeds done in the King's presence on the field of battle; on the institution of the Order of Baronets, precedence was given to these over bannerets.

<sup>33</sup> *but men...beguilde*: reference to the libelling that followed Cecil's death (see Section D).

<sup>34</sup> *Suffolke*: Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk.

<sup>35</sup> *Carr*: Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset, Jacobean favourite c.1607-c.1616.

<sup>36</sup> *Lorde Chamberlaine*: Thomas Howard was appointed Lord Chamberlain at the beginning of James's reign, and held the position until his appointment as Lord High Treasurer of England in 1614.

<sup>37</sup> *Northampton...seale*: Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton, was appointed Lord Privy Seal in 1608.

<sup>38</sup> *Lorde Walden...Pentioners*: Theophilus Howard, 2nd Earl of Suffolk and 2nd Baron Howard de Walden, succeeded his father as Captain of the Band of Gentlemen Pensioners.

<sup>39</sup> *Northampton...Portes*: Henry Howard was appointed Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports in 1604.

<sup>40</sup> *and chief...fortes*: probably still referring to Howard's role as Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, since this office included responsibility for garrisons and soldiers within the ports.

<sup>41</sup> *The yonger...vice-admirall*: Sir William Monson, younger brother of Sir Thomas Monson, was appointed Admiral of the Narrow Seas in 1604. An associate of the Howards, Monson was briefly imprisoned on suspicion of involvement in the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury.

<sup>42</sup> *the elder...Falkoner call*: Sir Thomas Monson, Master Falconer to James.

<sup>43</sup> *A Dallison...keepe*: Sir Roger Dalyson, Master of the Ordnance.



- <sup>44</sup> *Ellois...Comand*: Sir Gervase Elwes, an associate of Henry Howard and Sir Thomas Monson, paid £1400 in 1613 to secure the position of Lieutenant of the Tower. He was later executed for his role in the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury.
- <sup>45</sup> *That nether Queene...endes*: Queen Anne consistently opposed the Howard faction, but with limited effect.
- <sup>46</sup> *Somerset Lor Chamberlaine*: Carr was appointed Lord Chamberlain in 1614.
- <sup>47</sup> *Great Englandes Treasurer*: Thomas Howard was appointed Lord High Treasurer of England in 1614.
- <sup>48</sup> *Cooke...Justice*: Sir Edward Coke was reappointed Attorney-General in 1603, promoted to Chief Justice of Common Pleas in 1606, and transferred (unwillingly) from Common Pleas to become Chief Justice of King's Bench in 1613.
- <sup>49</sup> *For Sommersett...wife*: introducing a narrative of the scandal surrounding the Essex nullity (see Section F).
- <sup>50</sup> *deerest...life*: reference to Sir Thomas Overbury, friend and counsellor of Carr, who opposed Carr's proposed marriage to Frances Howard, and was murdered in the Tower at Howard's behest (see Section H).
- <sup>51</sup> *Northampton...dies*: Henry Howard died in June 1614 after a botched operation on a tumour in his thigh, still suspected (as he had been throughout his life) of Catholicism.
- <sup>52</sup> *in his passion...cries*: Henry Howard acknowledged his Catholic faith in his will.
- <sup>53</sup> *The Lorde...condemn'de*: Carr and Frances Howard were tried and convicted in May 1616 by the Peers of England convened as a special court of the Lord High Steward. Both were sentenced to die, but both were spared.
- <sup>54</sup> *Thire ministers...dye*: reference to three people executed for their roles in the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury: James Franklin, a cunning-man and apothecary who helped procure the fatal poisons; Anne Turner, a friend and confidante of Frances Howard; and Richard Weston, Overbury's keeper in the Tower. Like much contemporary comment, the poem suggests that the agents are paying for the sins of their patrons.
- <sup>55</sup> *Ellwis...trye*: Sir Gervase Elwes, also executed for the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury.
- <sup>56</sup> *The Munsons...sent*: both Thomas and William Monson were imprisoned on suspicion of involvement in the murder of Overbury; however, both were eventually released without a completed

trial.

<sup>57</sup> *for suddenlie...behinde*: in 1618 Thomas Howard was suspended from his office as Lord High Treasurer and accused of embezzling state funds.

<sup>58</sup> *untill a prisoner...faste*: Howard and his wife, Catherine, were briefly imprisoned in the Tower.

<sup>59</sup> *untill she dyed*: Queen Anne died in 1619.

<sup>60</sup> *Prince...fruite*: Prince Henry died in 1612.

<sup>61</sup> *Hymen...Palatine*: allusion to the 1613 marriage of Princess Elizabeth to Frederick, Elector Palatine of the Rhine.

<sup>62</sup> *Arabella...doth dye*: Arabella Stuart, cousin of James, was imprisoned in the Tower in 1611 after her marriage to William Seymour, to which the King objected. She died in 1615.

<sup>63</sup> *her cousen Shrewsbury*: Mary Cavendish, Countess of Shrewsbury, aunt of Arabella Stuart.

<sup>64</sup> *must to the Tower... goe*: Mary Cavendish was committed to the Tower on suspicion of having aided Arabella Stuart in her flight after her marriage, charges which Cavendish refused to answer. Contrary to the poem's claims, however, she was free by the time of her husband's death in 1616.

<sup>65</sup> *Then falls...wife*: Coke and his wife, Lady Hatton, had a notoriously stormy relationship. Their most public confrontation came in 1616-17, when Coke tried to marry their fourteen-year-old daughter to John Villiers, the elder brother of George Villiers, future Duke of Buckingham, without the consent of either the daughter or her mother.

<sup>66</sup> *He quicklie...downe*: Coke fell from favour in the summer of 1616, after a series of political missteps and legal quarrels with both the King and the Lord Chancellor, Thomas Egerton, and was dismissed from the office of Lord Chief Justice later in the year.

<sup>67</sup> *Secretarie...Lake*: Sir Thomas Lake, appointed Secretary of State in 1616.

<sup>68</sup> *for his daughter...lye*: when Lake's daughter was involved in a bitter property dispute with the family of her deceased (and, at the time of his death, estranged) husband, Lake was implicated with her in a defamation case, which brought about his imprisonment and political downfall (see Section J).

<sup>69</sup> *In the Starrchamber...sight*: probably an ironic reference to James's 1616 Star Chamber speech, in which he rebutted Coke's ideas on the relation between royal power and the law.

<sup>70</sup> *Young Villiers*: George Villiers, royal favourite from c.1616, and Duke of Buckingham from 1623.

<sup>71</sup> *Marquess him salute*: Villiers was created Earl of Buckingham in 1617 and Marquis of Buckingham

in 1619.

<sup>72</sup> *two greatest...keepe*: presumably the offices of Lord High Admiral (held from 1619) and Master of the Horse (held from 1616).

<sup>73</sup> *many times...sleepe*: reference to Buckingham's position (from 1615) as a Gentleman of the Bedchamber, and possibly also alluding to rumours of a sexual relationship between the King and his favourite.

<sup>74</sup> *he bringes...cousins*: cf. libels on Buckingham's family (see Section L).

<sup>75</sup> *Oulde Egerton...Seale*: Sir Thomas Egerton, Lord Ellesmere, the long-serving Lord Keeper, retired from that office in March 1617, shortly before his death.

<sup>76</sup> *the*: read "they".

<sup>77</sup> *leave an Earledome...heire*: Egerton was promised an earldom while on his deathbed; his only son, John, was created Earl of Bridgewater shortly afterwards.

<sup>78</sup> *Oulde Admirall...Sea*: Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham, retired as Lord High Admiral in 1619, aged 83, to make way for Buckingham.

<sup>79</sup> *nor Cooke...plea*: as noted above, Coke lost his position as Chief Justice in 1616 and did not regain it after his September 1617 restoration to the Council.

<sup>80</sup> *Suffolke...Treasurer*: Thomas Howard was suspended from his office in 1618. (This repeats material from earlier in the poem.)

<sup>81</sup> *Worcester...greete*: Edward Somerset, Earl of Worcester, served as Master of the Horse from 1601, and became Lord Privy Seal in 1616.

<sup>82</sup> *Lorde Wallingford...wardes*: William Knollys, Viscount Wallingford (and, from 1626, Earl of Banbury), suffered due to his connections with the Howards, and was forced to resign the mastership of the Court of Wards in 1618.

<sup>83</sup> *The Secretaries...too*: there were two secretaries of state. In 1618, Sir Robert Naunton succeeded Sir Ralph Winwood, who died in office; in 1619, Sir George Calvert replaced Sir Thomas Lake, after the latter's fall from power.

<sup>84</sup> *Bacon...steppeth in*: Francis Bacon, appointed Attorney-General in 1613, rose rapidly under Buckingham's patronage.

<sup>85</sup> *keeper, Councillor*: Bacon was appointed to the Privy Council in 1616, Lord Keeper in 1617, Lord

Chancellor in 1618, and Viscount St. Albans in 1621.

<sup>86</sup> *The maister...name*: Buckingham became Master of the Horse in 1616 and Lord High Admiral in 1619.

<sup>87</sup> *his mother...coye*: Buckingham's mother, Mary Villiers, was created Countess of Buckingham in 1618.

<sup>88</sup> *Lord Chamberlaine...Pembroke is*: William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, was Lord Chamberlain from 1615 to 1628.

<sup>89</sup> *for presentlie...sitts*: Sir Henry Montagu (Earl of Manchester from 1626) resigned his position as Recorder of the City of London in 1616 in order to succeed Sir Edward Coke as Chief Justice of the King's Bench.

<sup>90</sup> *from the Citie...repaire*: Lionel Cranfield, a successful London merchant, was appointed Lord Treasurer and Earl of Middlesex in 1622.

<sup>91</sup> *Cranfeild...wardes*: Cranfield rose under Buckingham's patronage. He was appointed Master of the Court of Wards in 1619 and held that position at the time this poem was written; however, he was impeached, and fell from power, in 1624.

<sup>92</sup> *Fulk Grevill...hands*: Sir Fulke Greville was made Baron Brooke in 1621, shortly after resigning his position as Chancellor of the Exchequer.

<sup>93</sup> *Naunton...Secretaries bee*: in 1618, Sir Robert Naunton succeeded Sir Ralph Winwood, who died in office; in 1619, Sir George Calvert replaced Sir Thomas Lake, after the latter's fall from power. (This repeats material from earlier in the poem.)

<sup>94</sup> *Naunton suspended...sorie*: Naunton, who presumably appealed to the poet on account of his reputation for anti-Catholicism, was removed from his post early in 1623.

<sup>95</sup> *The Kings Attorney...close againe*: Sir Henry Yelverton, Attorney-General from 1617, was brought down by his ambivalent stance on monopolies. His failure to defend monopolies with the full rigour of the law might in part explain the poem's comment that he is "worthie the Cities, and the Contries love"; however, his lenience also led to his own 1620 Star Chamber trial on the grounds of having passed a charter to the City of London containing unauthorized provisions. In a subsequent House of Lords examination Yelverton, summoned from the Tower, confirmed his status as an anti-Buckingham hero by launching a scathing attack on the favourite, comparing his relationship with James to that between Hugh Spencer and Edward II. He was fined heavily for this outburst.

<sup>96</sup> *Europe hurried is in armes*: the Thirty Years' War began in 1618.

- 97 *he intendes...Spaine*: reference to the planned Spanish match (see Section N).
- 98 *Arundell*: Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel.
- 99 *The kinge...make*: Arundel was appointed Earl-Marshal of England in 1621.
- 100 *Gundomar*: Count of Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador, widely feared for his influence at court at the time of the Spanish match negotiations.
- 101 *under couler...measure*: allusion to two royal proclamations “against excesse of Lavish and Licentious Speech of matters of State”, issued in 1620 and 1621 (*Stuart Royal Proclamations* 1.495-6, 1.519-21).
- 102 *he cheeres...parliament*: the much-anticipated parliament of 1621, discussed in the poem’s following stanza, was the first since the Addled Parliament of 1614.
- 103 *For soberlie...kinde*: although not all of the three individuals referred to in the following lines are traceable, they are clearly among the numerous preachers and polemicists who risked imprisonment by speaking out against the Spanish Match c.1620-22.
- 104 *Another...letter*: reference to Thomas Alured’s letter of advice to Buckingham, that circulated widely as a manuscript separate in the early 1620s, and was printed in 1642 as *The coppie of a letter written to the Duke of Buckingham concerning the match with Spaine*.
- 105 *Another...Vox Populi*: reference to Thomas Scott’s pamphlet *Vox populi, or Newes from Spayne* (1620).
- 106 *Another...ghoste*: reference to “Vox Spiritus or Sir Walter Rawleighs Ghost”, an anti-Spanish tract written by Thomas Gainsford which was circulating in manuscript from 1621.
- 107 *Parliament*: the 1621 Parliament.
- 108 *For Monopoles...quite*: attacks on monopolies and patents dominated the 1621 parliament (see Section M).
- 109 *Francis Mitchell...knight*: Sir Francis Michell, appointed in 1618 to a commission intended to uphold a patent on gold and silver thread, became a target of the 1621 parliament on account of his perceived harshness and corruption. In 1621 he was tried in the House of Lords and was subsequently degraded from knighthood.
- 110 *Mompesson flies*: Sir Giles Mompesson, a commissioner for gold and silver thread and also for licensing inns, fled the country in order to avoid facing charges in the 1621 Parliament.

- 111 *Chancellor...delinquent*: Bacon was impeached by the Parliament for accepting bribes from suitors.
- 112 *once a Clergie man...fame*: although Queen Elizabeth kept the great seal herself on her accession, the duties of the office were performed by Sir Nicholas Bacon, who assumed the post of Lord Keeper in place of the existing Lord Chancellor and Archbishop of York, Nicholas Heath.
- 113 *But wise...again*: after confessing to corruption, the great seal was taken from Francis Bacon, and he was succeeded as Lord Keeper by Bishop John Williams.
- 114 *lefte with swine*: i.e. punning, like many contemporary poems, on Bacon's name.
- 115 *such a Daniell...defile*: allusion to a story from Daniel 13 (placed in the Apocrypha in the Authorized Version). When Susanna rejects the advances of two elders, they accuse her of illicit relations with a young man. The young Daniel saves her by exposing discrepancies in the men's testimony.
- 116 *The kinges...agree*: Sir Henry Montagu, previously Chief Justice of the King's Bench, became Lord High Treasurer (a court position), and Viscount Mandeville, in 1620.
- 117 *before he warme...deposed is*: at Buckingham's insistence, Montagu resigned the lord-treasurership in 1621, to make way for Lionel Cranfield.
- 118 *of the Councill...Præsident*: Montagu was made President of the Council soon after resigning the lord-treasurership.
- 119 *Cranfeilde...the place*: Lionel Cranfield replaced Montagu as Lord Treasurer.
- 120 *scornes...affronted was*: on 30 December 1621 James tore from the journals of the House of Commons the controversial Protestation, concerning the liberties and rights of parliament.
- 121 *the same dissolves*: in the first week of 1622 James dissolved parliament.
- 122 *Cooke...sente*: Coke, who emerged as a key intellectual spokesman for the Commons in the 1621 session, was punished more severely than any other parliamentarian, spending nearly seven months of 1622 in the Tower.
- 123 *Phillips and Marlory*: William Mallory and Sir Robert Phelips were among those members of the 1621 Parliament who were sent to the Tower after the dissolution. Phelips had been vocal in attacks on Spain.
- 124 *For still...everie side*: as no subsidy had been voted in the 1621 Parliament, James immediately called for a benevolence (a kind of forced loan).

- 125 *The Kinges...in vaine*: though James employed ambassadors to sue for peace on the continent on numerous occasions, this probably refers to his failed attempts in early 1622 to secure toleration for the French Protestant Huguenot communities.
- 126 *a hopefull yeare...wante*: the harvest of 1622 was poor.
- 127 *The voyage...thrive*: in 1620 a fleet sailed to Algiers, seeking restitution of English ships and sailors taken by pirates. The voyage was largely unsuccessful.
- 128 *Our great...chance*: George Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury, killed a gamekeeper in a hunting accident in 1621.
- 129 *A battaile...Corck*: reference to a much-commented upon portentous event from the autumn of 1621, in which flocks of starlings fought around the Irish city of Cork.
- 130 *The Crowes...same*: presumably another event in which a bird-battle was interpreted as a portent.
- 131 *Great fiers*: bird portents were connected by some to the outbreak of fires. A significant fire occurred in Chancery Lane in December 1621.
- 132 *The kinge...fall*: James fell from his horse in January 1622.
- 133 *The heavens...sunnes*: Simonds D'Ewes notes in his diary entry for 13 February 1622 that three suns were seen in the sky in Shropshire, "the like of which was in Richard the seconds time. God forbid the like consequents as succeeded them" (*Diary* 65).
- 134 *The Earl...foundlie trye*: Francis Norris, Earl of Berkshire, committed suicide early in 1622 by shooting himself with a crossbow (i.e. "fondly", or foolishly, testing the strength of the weapon).

## K2 Bridewell I come be valient muse and strip

*Notes.* This poem adapts existing conventions of satiric poetry for the purposes of political comment. It constructs a socially-coded voice at the outset, the speaker positioned as one looking up at those in the court, and risking the whips of Bridewell for his efforts. Thereafter, it assumes a heavily ironic tone, considering the corruptions that could never possibly stain England. Although it lacks the detail and specificity of the preceding poem, it valuably articulates general concerns of the time, especially those affecting the Church.

### “A Satire”

Bridewell<sup>1</sup> I come be valient muse and strip  
ride naked in despite of Bridewells whip.

Goe to the Court let those above us knowe  
they have their faults as well as we belowe.

Goe tell the great ons, their greatnes of blood  
is but false greatnes, their greatnes understood.

5

The Noble are the virtuous, honour from mudd  
and clay is base, those greatest that are good.

Some have heigh place by birth, some lands advance  
Some climbe by witt, some are made great by chance

10

I know a man made lord for his good face  
whoe scarce had witt for to supplie that place.<sup>2</sup>

another loth that name to undertake  
must needs be lorded for his ladies sake.<sup>3</sup>

a third that could not such promotion gett  
a thousand find to be a Baronett.<sup>4</sup>

15

a fourth not mov'd with an ambitious spright  
was well content to be a common knight.<sup>5</sup>

Honors a hackney,<sup>6</sup> offices for Gould  
like common jades in faires are bought and sould.

20

Let none despaire. asses and fooles inherit



Fortune advanceth more then witt or meritt  
 all this in forraine states I see, with us  
 none are advanced but the virtuous.  
 England thou art not soyld with spotts like these 25  
 thou art not given to flattery, pride, nor ease  
 Thy Ladies there with there one lords doe lie  
 thy Court is chaster then a nunnery.  
 mariage is there not made a slipperie knott  
 of fast and loose, but in the generall lott 30  
 she that doth draw a blank, an eunuch wedd<sup>7</sup>  
 is as well pleas'd to keepe her meaden head  
 as if she had mett with Hercules stronge flame  
 as a lawfull prize to rob her of the same  
 She dares not blase her lust to breath the fame 35  
 She had rather loose her pleasure then her name.  
 There is noe fashion? all with them is union  
 they speake one truth and are of one religion  
 Theire foxes suck not out the poore lambes blood  
 nor private ends are made the publick good. 40  
 But all are for the generall all agree  
 like bells and bagpipes in one hermonie.  
 The sacred seate of justice Joves Rare throne  
 is not infected with corruption.  
 The judges cannot err nor slip aside 45  
 where righteous angells are their daylie guide.  
 the seales are just, noe bribes corrupt the lawes  
 justice eies noe man but lookes on the cause.  
 Has't thou a suite requireth equitie?  
 Committ it to the righteous Chancery.<sup>8</sup> 50  
 Thou shal't not find it there last halfe soe longe  
 as thy Buffe Jerkin<sup>9</sup> that is tough and stronge.

Nor shall find alminacks<sup>10</sup> weare out of date  
 before that courte doe sentance thy debate  
 Thy beard shall not turne gray nor state be reard 55  
 or gag'd or spent before thy cause be heard.  
 Ther's noe such triflinge, these dispatches goe  
 faster then mills, when stubborne winds doe blow.  
 The racks ride not soe fast as doth the cause<sup>11</sup>  
 pegasus<sup>12</sup> goes slowlie to the swift paced lawes. 60  
 Conscience provokes their speed, before thou spend  
 a double fee thy cause is at an end.  
 Looke heigher muse & cast a modest eie  
 into the Churche and veiwe her puretie  
 is she defil'd with superstition<sup>13</sup> 65  
 or antique shapes of old devotion  
 is ceremonie impos'd to sanctetie  
 or onely urg'd to teach conformitie  
 doe any climbe up to the pulpitts steares  
 more by their purse then by their zealous prayers 70  
 O god forbidd but pulpitts should be free  
 from flatteringe falshood, pride and simony.<sup>14</sup>  
 dare any bribe the usher or the page  
 for the next advowson<sup>15</sup> of a vicarage:  
 dares any preach against a vitious life 75  
 and be the first will kis his neighbours wife  
 Does profitt at a Bishops conscience knock  
 and bidd him sheere the sheepe and pine the flock.  
 whoe flatters less; Doe cleargie men agree?  
 to make a baude of their devinetie? 80  
 ah noe o noe our reverend Churchmen dare  
 boldly tell absalon of his longe haire<sup>16</sup>  
 These tent<sup>17</sup> the wounds like Surgeons to the quick

not skinn it ore to gett a Bishoprick  
 michah dares tell Samaria of her crimes<sup>18</sup> 85  
 what plauges shall follow these Idolatrous times  
 the mountaines cleane & rocks melt with fier<sup>19</sup>  
 Sion<sup>20</sup> thy shames are like a purple flood  
 for thou wert Built on ruine and on blood.  
 thy head and rulers for reward doe judge 90  
 michah saith clients doe for justice trudge  
 and unregarded pas<sup>21</sup> salem<sup>22</sup> shall be  
 a chaos made of all deformitie.  
 and Sion that did once all pleasure yeald  
 shall be plowed up and made a desart feild. 95  
 I know our michah would say more then this  
 But what needs michah when noe sion is.  
 The sonne doth teach the lesser lamps to shine  
 and from his flame the drawe a soule devine.  
 Our torches and our candles doe shine bright 100  
 because the doe pertake of phoebus<sup>23</sup> light.  
 veiw you our lesser lamps & doe not cease  
 till thou hast prest our justices of peace.  
 the common people feare these mightie men  
 that will not sell a statute for a hen 105  
 nor from the right and truth one jott decline  
 for a fatt capon or a bottle of wine.  
 a loade of coale will starte his conscience warme  
 for two hee'le keepe his neighbours from all harme.  
 these are just magistrates for if they know 110  
 a robbery that was done a yeare agoe  
 by one that had a horse of colour gray  
 if you and I doe chance to ride that way  
 upon like colourd steeds the yeare after day

the felonie was donne and this foule fact 115  
 it will be made to appeere to be our act  
 and by the wisdom of the bench decreed  
 we were the men did act this wicked deed.  
 here is true justice, these are happy states  
 that governed are by such wise magistrates 120  
 I'll leave them now & if my sonne & heire  
 by chance doe slip into a justice chaire  
 this precept from his father let him marke  
 a foolish justice needs a cunninge cleare.  
 when that the bodie of the tree doth grow 125  
 straight & upward the branches still are soe  
 England thy head and members all are straight  
 though all things ballanst by uneven waight.  
 mercie and peace in thee together kisse  
 let all the world envie thy happy blisse 130  
 and let those better wits envie my layes  
 that had the fortune to singe Englands praise  
 judge right for if you judge amisse the blame  
 is not the writers but the readers shame.

**Source.** Bodleian MS Eng. Poet. c.50, fols. 30r-31r

K2

<sup>1</sup> *Bridewell*: London prison for whores and vagabonds, to which a commoner might expect to be committed for unlawful criticism of the state.

<sup>2</sup> *Some have...that place*: these lines are copied directly from a poem on the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury (“Tis painefull rowing gainst the bigg swolne tide”). The second couplet, in both poems, refers to Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset.

<sup>3</sup> *another...ladies sake*: this reference is unclear.

<sup>4</sup> *a third...Baronett*: possibly John Holles, who became Baron Holles of Haughton in 1616 after

making a payment to the Crown of £10,000 (ten times what the poem suggests). He became first Earl of Clare in 1624, after paying a further £5000.

<sup>5</sup> *a fourth...common knight*: this reference is unclear.

<sup>6</sup> *hackney*: presumably meant here in the sense of a “horse kept for hire” (OED I.2).

<sup>7</sup> *she that doth...wedd*: allusion to the case of Frances Howard, who sued for a nullity of her marriage in 1613, claiming that her husband, Robert Devereux, 3rd Earl of Essex, was impotent (see Section F).

<sup>8</sup> *Has't thou...Chancery*: the Court of Chancery was supposed to operate on laws of conscience and equity, thereby moderating the rigour of the common law.

<sup>9</sup> *Buffe Jerkin*: a military jerkin (jacket) of buff-leather.

<sup>10</sup> *alminacks*: annual books of tables, containing a range of information and forecasts.

<sup>11</sup> *The racks...cause*: unclear; possibly using “rack” in the now obsolete sense of a horse’s gait, in which the two feet on each side are lifted almost simultaneously, and the horse is left entirely without support between the lifting of one pair and the landing of the other (OED).

<sup>12</sup> *pegasus*: winged horse of classical mythology.

<sup>13</sup> *defil'd with superstition*: like much religious critique of the times, the poem here identifies elements of popery infiltrating the English Church.

<sup>14</sup> *simony*: the buying or selling of ecclesiastical preferments; or, more generally, traffic in sacred things.

<sup>15</sup> *advowson*: right of presentation (to an ecclesiastical office).

<sup>16</sup> *absalon...haire*: Absalom’s luxurious growth of hair, cut annually, is mentioned in 2 Samuel 14.26; here it serves as an image of unchecked pride.

<sup>17</sup> *tent*: probe (surgically).

<sup>18</sup> *michah...crimes*: the prophet Micah railed against the sins of Samaria, the ancient capital of Israel.

<sup>19</sup> *fier*: a gap in the manuscript perhaps indicates the scribe’s recognition of a missing line.

<sup>20</sup> *Sion*: Zion, the hill in Jerusalem which became the centre of Jewish life and worship; here, continues the poem’s alignment of Israel and England.

<sup>21</sup> *pas*: probably read “pass.”

<sup>22</sup> *salem*: another name for Jerusalem.

<sup>23</sup> *phoebus*: the god of the sun, or the sun personified; here used as an image of the King.

## **L. King and Favourite: James, Buckingham and the Villiers Clan (c.1617-1623)**

King James I met George Villiers, the younger son of a minor Leicestershire gentleman, during the royal summer progress of 1614. The King was quickly entranced and, by the end of the year, the court newsmongers had acknowledged Villiers as one of the King's new favourites. Villiers's rise at court was orchestrated in part by a loose coalition of courtiers resentful at the personal and political dominance of James's chief favourite Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset. By the end of 1614, Villiers had received court office as a "cupbearer" to the King—a position without formal power but with tremendous potential for the wielding of informal power through guaranteed access to the royal person. In April 1615, Villiers was knighted and created a Gentleman of the Bedchamber, one of the most critical court offices for controlling access to and patronage from the King. Through the spring and summer of 1615, Somerset and his supporters struggled fiercely to shore up their influence with the King against Villiers and his backers. But when Somerset was implicated in the Overbury murder in the autumn of 1615 (see Section H), Villiers's triumph as favourite seemed assured.

George Villiers would remain, until his murder in 1628, the preeminently powerful courtier of the age, exercising increasing and unparalleled formal and informal political influence. One measure of his power can be seen in his rapid accumulation of titles, honours and offices. In January 1616, he became Master of the Horse; in April 1616, a Knight of the Garter, and in August 1616, Viscount Villiers and Baron Whaddon. In January 1617, Villiers was created Earl of Buckingham, and the following month he was formally admitted to the King's Privy Council. In January 1618, he was elevated again, this time to Marquess of Buckingham, and a year later he replaced Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham, as Lord Admiral. In May 1620, he concluded a spectacular marriage with Katherine Manners, daughter of the Earl of Rutland, and, finally, in May 1623 he was elevated to the highest ranks of the English peerage as Duke of Buckingham.

Yet this dizzying accumulation of title and office tells only a fraction of the story. The years from 1616 to 1628 were the Buckingham era: no area of royal policy, domestic or foreign, was untouched by his influence; court politics and court patronage were firmly, if never

uncontestedly, under his control; and, most remarkably, he established and maintained strong emotional bonds and close working relationships not only with James I, but also with James's son and heir Charles, allowing Buckingham to become favourite to not one but two English kings. Unsurprisingly, Buckingham also became a centre of political controversy, both at court and in parliament. The favourite was a subject of widespread popular debate, fascination and speculation, acquiring over the years a distorted but potent reputation as a cynosure of corruption and vice. This reputation was created in and shaped by the news media of the day, and especially by the escalating numbers of verse libels that, by the mid- and later-1620s, increasingly came to focus on the favourite's sins as an explanation for the troubles of the age.

This section collects a series of verses written c.1617-1623 that focus on two of the most troubling aspects of the Buckingham ascendancy: his personal relationship with King James I, the very foundation of his power; and the rewards reaped by his extended family as a result of his relationship with the King. Historians continue to debate the exact nature of James I's emotional ties to his favourites, agreeing on little else beside the evident fact of his intense love for, and passionate relationships with, both Buckingham and his predecessor Somerset. While Buckingham's most learned recent biographer has little doubt that the relationship between King and favourite was sexually consummated (Lockyer 22), other scholars remain unconvinced. The libel evidence does not allow us to resolve these knotty and crucial biographical problems, but it does allow us to track contemporary perceptions of the relationship between King and favourite, and to attempt to gauge the political significance of the anxieties that the relationship raised. This section includes the most widely-circulated royal statement on Buckingham's worth—three distinct English translations of James I's Latin poem celebrating (and defending) Buckingham's appointment as Lord Admiral—and the two verses that most explicitly alleged a homosexual relationship between the King and his "Ganymede" favourite. Both "Ganymede" poems date from the early 1620s, a period in which anxiety and speculation about the possibly sexual relationship between James and Buckingham may have become widespread for the first time. (A verse rebutting these and other libels—"Withold thy fiery steeds great God of light"—is included in Section N.) In addition to these two poems, we include a related poem adapted from the same source as one of the "Ganymede" verses, a



widely-circulated, somewhat cryptic, epigram on the hunter King's love for "Buck-in-game", and a song that focuses less on James's immoral relationship with his favourite, than on his morally questionable relationships with some of the young men surrounding Buckingham at his court.

The remaining two poems in this section focus on the second troubling aspect of the Buckingham ascendancy: the largesse, in titles, offices, advantageous marriages, lands and gifts, doled out to Buckingham's kindred by a besotted monarch.

L0

## L1 Above in the skies shall Gemini rise

*Notes.* John Chamberlain, our only source for this verse, included a transcription in his 8 February 1617 newsletter to Sir Dudley Carleton. Having noted Buckingham's recent appointment as a Privy Councillor, and the talk that, "His brother Christofer is come to be of the bed-chamber", Chamberlain commented that, "I cannot but commend that Lords goode disposition in dooing goode to his kindred and frends: though some riming companions do not forbear to taxe him for it, as one by way of a prognostication sayes" (2.52).

Above in the skies shall Gemini<sup>1</sup> rise,  
And Twins the court shall pester,  
George<sup>2</sup> shall call up his brother Jacke<sup>3</sup>  
And Jacke his brother Kester.<sup>4</sup>

**Source.** Chamberlain 2.52

### L1

<sup>1</sup> *Gemini*: the constellation of the twins, Castor and Pollux.

<sup>2</sup> *George*: George Villiers, Earl of Buckingham, royal favourite.

<sup>3</sup> *Jacke*: John Villiers, Buckingham's older brother, later elevated as Viscount Purbeck, was appointed a Groom of the Bedchamber and Master of the Robes to Prince Charles in 1616.

<sup>4</sup> *Kester*: presumably an abbreviated version of Christopher Villiers's name. Christopher—often referred to as Kit—Villiers was Buckingham's younger brother, and was later created Earl of Anglesey. His appointment to a Bedchamber office, reported in Chamberlain's letter, was perhaps the occasion for the libel.

## L2 Now let us rejoyce sing Peans all

*Notes.* This poem is one of three circulating translations of James I's Latin verse on Buckingham's appointment as Lord Admiral, "Buckinghamus (Io) maris est praefectus et idem" (James VI and I 2.176). Buckingham was originally appointed in October 1618, as a partner to the current Lord Admiral, Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham, but assumed sole responsibility as Lord Admiral in January 1619. As the poem notes, Buckingham already held the position of Master of the Horse, to which he had been appointed in 1616. In manuscript sources the poem is occasionally transcribed in both Latin and English versions, and is occasionally (but not always) attributed to James. The other translations are "O Joyfull newse for Buckingham is nowe" and "Io to Buckingham great Admiral".

Now let us rejoyce sing Peans<sup>1</sup> all

For Buckingham is now made Admirall

And he that rules the horse<sup>2</sup> our strength by land

Our strength by sea the Navy doth command:

Soe in the heavenly Courte that selfe same God

Neptune<sup>3</sup> I meane that with his three tooth'd Rod<sup>4</sup>

Brought forth the horse<sup>5</sup> doth with the same appease

The raging fury of the boysterous seas<sup>6</sup>

Why then should any grudge that favour graces

The merritt of one person with two places

Since it is soe amongst the states of heaven

Where none dare doubt but things are carried even.

5

10

**Source.** BL MS Egerton 2725, fol. 37v

**Other known sources.** *James VI and I* 2.176; BL MS Harley 791, fol. 49r; BL MS Harley 1221, fol. 74v; BL MS Harley 6038, fol. 18v; BL MS Harley 7316, fol. 6v; John Rylands MS Eng. 410, fol. 27v; Houghton MS Eng. 1278, item 10

- <sup>1</sup> *Peans*: paeans; songs of praise (originally hymns to Apollo, “Io paean”).
- <sup>2</sup> *he that rules the horse*: referring to Buckingham’s office as Master of the Horse.
- <sup>3</sup> *Neptune*: god of the sea.
- <sup>4</sup> *three tooth’d Rod*: Neptune’s three-pointed spear or trident.
- <sup>5</sup> *Brought forth the horse*: in myth, Neptune was the creator of the first horse.
- <sup>6</sup> *with the same appease...boysterous seas*: Neptune calmed the sea as his horses pulled his chariot across the waves.

### L3 O Joyfull newse for Buckingham is nowe

*Notes.* This poem is one of three scribally-circulating translations of James I's Latin Poem on Buckingham's 1618-19 appointment as Lord Admiral, "Buckinghamus (Io) maris est praefectus et idem" (James VI and I 2.176). In the chosen source, the heading appears to have been cropped; however, a date, "December 1618", survives. Like the other two translations—"Now let us rejoyce sing Peans all" and "Io to Buckingham great Admiral"—this verse alludes to the fact that Buckingham was already Master of the Horse (appointed 1616) at the time he was created Lord Admiral.

O Joyfull newse for Buckingham is nowe  
both maister of the horse and frothie mayne  
soe Neptune<sup>1</sup> is to whome the Trytons<sup>2</sup> blowe  
both master of the horse, & wavier plaine<sup>3</sup>  
to Jove<sup>4</sup> the great thus earthly Kinges you see  
in goverment Joves mutators<sup>5</sup> bee.

5

Noe sure this dubble office is but one  
for as at spurres the horse doth rone apace  
soe hoys the seales<sup>6</sup> the shippe is quickely gonn  
& ferret lyke performes a spedie race  
& as the Ryder by his awfull bitte<sup>7</sup>  
commands the coursers<sup>8</sup> motions at his will  
soe doth the stereman at the Rudder sitte  
& guide the shipp by Mathematicke skill  
A horse is but a shipp on solydde grounde  
& beares his maister where he list him guide  
A shippe is but a horse on seas profounde  
her maister beringe where he makes her slyde  
and thoughte that this a duble office bee  
the Owners harte & tounge in one agree.

10

15

20

**Source.** CCRO MS CR 63/2/19, fol. 18r

**Other known sources.** BL Add. MS 15227, fol. 2r

L3

<sup>1</sup> *Neptune*: god of the sea.

<sup>2</sup> *Trytons*: mythic sea creatures whose trumpets calm the sea.

<sup>3</sup> *both master...wavie plaine*: Neptune was both god of the sea and god of horses—he was held to have created the first horse, for instance.

<sup>4</sup> *Jove*: king of the gods.

<sup>5</sup> *mutators*: probable scribal error; read “imitators”.

<sup>6</sup> *hoyse the seales*: i.e. hoist the sails.

<sup>7</sup> *bitte*: bit; “mouthpiece of a horse’s bridle” (*OED*).

<sup>8</sup> *coursers*: horse’s.

#### L4 Io to Buckingham great Admiral

*Notes.* This poem is another of the three circulating translations of James I's Latin poem on Buckingham's appointment in 1618-19 as Admiral of the Fleet, "Buckinghamus (Io) maris est praefectus et idem" (James VI and I 2.176). (The other two are "Now let us rejoyce sing Peans all" and "O Joyfull newse for Buckingham is nowe".) As the poem notes, Buckingham already held the position of Master of the Horse, to which he had been appointed in 1616. Whereas the translation "Now let us rejoyce sing Peans all" is attributed in more than one source to James, it is perhaps more likely that this version is the work of another, unknown translator. The version in Bodleian MS Douce f.5 omits the final couplet, but is otherwise essentially the same.

Io<sup>1</sup> to Buckingham great Admiral,  
Io to Buckingham the man  
That rules the horse, now rules the ocean.  
Nor is it fitt, but hee that rules the deepes  
Should rayne and checke the foaminge steedes he keeps.<sup>2</sup>  
Nor let this doubled power cloud any browe  
Since the hie powers this president<sup>3</sup> allowe.

5

**Source.** "Poems from a Seventeenth-Century Manuscript" 84

**Other known sources.** Bodleian MS Douce f.5, fol. 36v

L4

<sup>1</sup> *Io*: an exclamation of praise or thanksgiving, used in James I's Latin original.

<sup>2</sup> *hee that rules...steedes he keeps*: i.e. like the sea god Neptune, who ruled the sea and a team of horses.

<sup>3</sup> *president*: precedent.

## L5 Listen jolly gentlemen

*Notes.* We cannot yet establish an exact composition date for this song about King James I and his merry men. Anthony Weldon (84-85), writing in the 1640s, dates the beginning of the King's fondness for court fooleries performed by some of the men mentioned in this libel—Finet, Zouche, Goring and Milliscent—to the period of Villiers's first ascent at court (early 1615). Other details in the libel—particularly allusions to masquing—and the continued presence of these men both as participants in court entertainments and as members of the Buckingham circle, suggest a plausible composition date of some time around 1619 or 1620. Knowles ("To 'scourge the arse'" 82-83) comments tellingly both on the poem's depiction of the "court masque as a homosocial if not homoerotic form", and on the possibility that the musical performance of the song might possibly "undermine the satiric potency". See, too, McRae (Literature 45-46) and P. Hammond (140).

Listen jolly gentlemen

Listen and be merrie

A word, or two faine would I speake

To the praise of old king harry<sup>1</sup>

But hee would sware, and he would stare

5

And lay hand on his dagger

And would swive<sup>2</sup> while hee was a live

From the Queene unto the begger

Then lett him alone he's dead and gone

And wee have in his place

10

Our noble king of him letts sing

God save King James his grace

With hey derrie downe downe &c<sup>3</sup>

King James hath meat, king James hath men

King James loves to be merry

15

King James too is angrie nowe and then

But it makes him quickly wearie

hee dwells at Court where hee hath good sport



Att Christmes hee hath danceing<sup>4</sup>  
In the summer tyde abrode will hee ryde<sup>5</sup> 20  
With a guard about him pranceing  
With a hey downe downe &c.

Att Royston and newmarket<sup>6</sup> hele hunt till he be leane  
But hee hath merry boys that with masks, and toyes  
Can make him fatt againe 25  
Nedd Zouch,<sup>7</sup> Harrie Riche,<sup>8</sup> Tom Badger<sup>9</sup>  
George Goring,<sup>10</sup> and Jacke Finett<sup>11</sup>  
Will dance a heate till they stincke of sweat  
As if the devill weere in it.  
With a hey downe &c. 30

But Jacke Maynard<sup>12</sup> Jacke Milliscent<sup>13</sup>  
Two Joviall boyes of the Rout  
For a maske or play beare the bell away<sup>14</sup>  
If Jacke Milliscent be not out  
Alas poore Jacke money didst thou lacke 35  
When thou wert out at Saxum<sup>15</sup>  
Thou wer't wont to have boldnes  
A pox on thy coldnes  
Was cause that thou did'st lacke some  
With a hey downe downe &c 40

There are Lords too cann daintely doe  
But they must have a wench by the hand  
And then they will too't, and lustily foot  
As long as they cann stand  
'Tis a lovely grace to dance with a lasse 45  
When a man may kisse, and court  
But to dance with A man like a puritan<sup>16</sup>

Tis a drie and ugly sport

With a hey downe downe &c.

And nowe that you<sup>17</sup> who the madd boyes bee

50

That make King James soe merry

Why keeps his grace such a foole, or an asse

As Archie or Tom Derrie<sup>18</sup>

But fooles are things for the pastime of kings

Fooles still must be about them

55

Soe must Knaves too, where ever the goe

They seldome goe without them

With a hey downe downe &c.

Of the graver sort, I will make noe report

Theire Noses abide noe Jeast

60

With poore officers too, Ile have nothing to doe

Onely one among the rest

'Tis the brave Knight Marshall,<sup>19</sup> hee is not partiall

In the place bestowed on him

For your whores and your knaves

65

And your merry drunken slaves

Cry a plague, and a pox upon him

With a hey downe downe &c.

Before I have done, of the kings brave sonne<sup>20</sup>

I should sett forth the praise

70

England never had a more likelier ladd

To prolonge our happie daies.

But I made this songe

And it must not be longe

For good king James his sake

75

God blesse King James his kingdome, and Realme

And soe an end Ile make

With a hey downe downe &c.

**Source.** Bodleian MS Malone 23, pp. 19-22

**Other known sources.** Bodleian MS Malone 19, p. 87; BL Add. MS 29879, fol. 26r

## L5

<sup>1</sup> *old king harry*: King Henry VIII.

<sup>2</sup> *swive*: have sex.

<sup>3</sup> *With hey derrie downe downe*: by the eighteenth century at least, this refrain was in common ballad usage. Simpson (172-76) prints and discusses the late seventeenth- and eighteenth-century tune “Derry Down” that probably accompanied ballads with this refrain.

<sup>4</sup> *Att Christmes...danceing*: alluding to the dancing and masquing held at court during the Christmas season.

<sup>5</sup> *summer tyde...hee ryde*: James and the court would usually progress out of London during the hotter summer months.

<sup>6</sup> *Royston and newmarkett*: James had hunting lodges at Royston and Newmarket.

<sup>7</sup> *Nedd Zouch*: Sir Edward Zouche, Knight Marshall. Weldon (84-85) alleges that Zouche used “to sing bawdy songs, and tell bawdy tales” to the King. Chamberlain (2.129) reports that Zouche performed in a play for James at Theobalds in January 1618.

<sup>8</sup> *Harrie Riche*: Sir Henry Rich, Viscount Kensington and later Earl of Holland, appointed Captain of the Guard in 1617. Chamberlain has reports of Rich’s masquing activities from February 1617 and January 1620 (2.56, 2.282).

<sup>9</sup> *Tom Badger*: Sir Thomas Badger. Chamberlain has reports of his masquing and other court theatrical performances in February 1617, January 1618, and January 1620 (2.56, 2.129, 2.282).

<sup>10</sup> *George Goring*: Sir George Goring, client of the favourite Buckingham. Chamberlain has reports of his masquing and other court theatrical performances in February 1617, January 1618, and January 1620 (2.56, 2.29, 2.282). Weldon (84-85) lists Goring with Zouche and Finet as one of the “chiefe and Master Fools” at James’s court; he was the “master of the game for Fooleries” who staged mock piggy-back

tilts and “antick dances” for the King’s delectation.

<sup>11</sup> *Jacke Finett*: Sir John Finet, assistant Master of Ceremonies at James I’s court. Weldon (84-85) asserts that Finet, one of James’s “chiefe and Master Fools”, composed the “bawdy songs” that Edward Zouche would sing to the king. Chamberlain (2.131) reports in January 1618 that Finet had spoiled an interlude at James’s palace at Theobalds by singing “a certain song...of such scurrilous and base stuffe that it put the King out of his goode humor, and all the rest that heard it”.

<sup>12</sup> *Jacke Maynard*: John Maynard, who was noted for his dancing in the Twelfth Night masque for January 1619, performed in a masque for the French ambassador a year later, and actually composed at least two masques in 1623-24 (Chamberlain 2.200, 2.282, 2.527, 2.577). Chamberlain thought him “a very proper man but that he is extreme poreblind” (2.200).

<sup>13</sup> *Jacke Milliscent*: Sir John Milliscent. In his bitter assessment of James I’s taste for fooleries and the men who satisfied it, Anthony Weldon noted that “Sir John Milliscent (who was never known before) was commended for notable fooling, and so was he indeed the best extemporary foole of them all” (85).

<sup>14</sup> *beare the bell away*: to be the best. Chamberlain’s report on the 1619 Twelfth Night masque noted that John Maynard “beares away the bell for dauncing” (2.200).

<sup>15</sup> *Saxum*: probably an allusion to Sir John Crofts’ house at Saxham Parva, close to James’s hunting retreat at Newmarket, and a site of frequent court visits (see, e.g., Chamberlain 2.288, 2.417, 2.424).

<sup>16</sup> *puritan*: term for the “hotter sort of Protestant”, here used in its original pejorative sense.

<sup>17</sup> *you*: “you see” is a better reading.

<sup>18</sup> *Archie or Tom Derrie*: Archie Armstrong was a well-known court jester or fool; Tom Derry was presumably another “professional” fool.

<sup>19</sup> *Knight Marshall*: Sir Edward Zouche.

<sup>20</sup> *kings brave sonne*: Prince Charles.

## L6 The Kinge loves you, you him

*Notes.* This undated epigram exists in a number of different forms, each of which varies in satiric force. While one compiler, in fact, appears to have read the poem as panegyric, and attributed it to Buckingham's client Richard Corbett (Bodleian MS Eng. Poet. e. 97), another version focuses the hints of sodomy in the "buck-in-game" pun by proclaiming at the end of the poem that the king loves the favourite "Solely, for your looke" (Bodleian MS Ashmole 47). McRae (Literature 170-71) discusses the Corbett attribution and the variant readings of the poem, while P. Hammond (148) analyzes the poem in the context of other allegations concerning James and Buckingham's homosexual relationship, noting contemporary usage of hunt imagery as sexual metaphor.

### "To Buckinghame"

The Kinge loves you, you him

Both love the same

You love the kinge, hee you

Both buck-in-game.

In game the king loves sport

Of sports the buck

But off all men why you,

Why see the luck.

**Source.** Folger MS V.a.162, fol. 35v

**Other known sources.** *Wit Restor'd* 58; Bodleian MS Ashmole 47, fol. 53r; Bodleian MS CCC 328, fol. 47v; Bodleian MS Eng. Poet. e.97, p. 92; Bodleian MS Hearne's Diaries 66, p. 164; Bodleian MS Malone 19, p. 37; BL Add. MS 30982, fol. 7v; NLW MS 5390D, p. 162; Folger MS V.a.162, fol. 35v; Folger MS V.a.170, p. 248; Rosenbach MS 239/27, p. 194; Rosenbach MS 1083/16, p. 246

L6

## L7 Arme, arme, in heaven there is a faction

*Notes.* This poem depicts the moral and political disorder that plagues the court of Jove, king of the gods, as a result of the King's sexual infatuation with the Trojan boy Ganymede. According to the Greco-Roman myth, Jove, obsessed with the boy's beauty, had assumed the form of an eagle and stolen Ganymede up to Olympus where he made the boy his cupbearer. The poem's reimagining of the myth is in fact a coded depiction of the consequences of James I's rumoured homosexual relationship with his youthful favourite Buckingham, who had held his first court office as royal cupbearer. Neither internal evidence nor copyists' annotations allow us to date the poem with absolute precision, but c.1619-1622 is probably about right. The sexual and court politics of the poem have been discussed by a number of critics and historians: B. Smith (202-03), Perry (1075-77), Knowles ("To 'scourge the arse'" 85-86), P. Hammond (143-46), and Bellany (Politics 255-57). One copy of the poem (Rosenbach MS 239/27) describes it as a "song", but there is no evidence either of an assigned tune or of actual musical performance.

### "The Warres of the Gods"

Arme, arme, in heaven there is a faction

And the Demy-Gods

Now are bent for Action;

They are at Odds

With him that rules the Thunder<sup>1</sup>

5

And will destroy

His white fac't Boy<sup>2</sup>

Or rend the heavens asunder.

Great Jove that swaies the emperiall Scepter

With's upstart<sup>3</sup> Love

10

That makes him drunke with Nectar<sup>4</sup>

They will remove;

Harke how the Cyclops<sup>5</sup> labour,

See Vulcan<sup>6</sup> sweates

That gives the heates

15

And forges Mars<sup>7</sup> his Armour.

Marke how the glorious starry Border

That the heavens hath worne,

Till of late in Order

See how they turne

20

Each Planets course doth alter,

The sun and moone

Are out of Tune

The spheares begin to faulter.

See how each petty starre stands gazinge

25

And would fayne provoke

By theyr often blazinge

Flame to this smoke:

The dogge starre burnes with ire,

And Charles his Wayne<sup>8</sup>

30

Would wondrous fayne

Bringe fuell to this fire.

Loves Queene<sup>9</sup> stood disaffected

To what shee had seene

Or to what suspected

35

As shee in spleene<sup>10</sup>

To Juno<sup>11</sup> hath protested

Her servant Mars

Should scourge the Arse,<sup>12</sup>

Jove's marrow<sup>13</sup> so had wasted.

40

The chast Diana<sup>14</sup> by her Quiver

And ten thousand maydes

Have sworne, that they will never

Spote in the shades,  
 Untill the heavens Creator 45  
     Be quite displac't  
     Or else disgrac't  
 For lovinge so 'gainst nature.

The fayre Proserpine<sup>15</sup> next whurries  
     In fiery Coach 50  
 Drawne by twelve blacke furies;  
     As they approach  
 They threaten without mercy  
     To have him burn'd  
     That thus hath turn'd 55  
 Love's pleasures Arse Verse.<sup>16</sup>

Slow pac'd Diana<sup>17</sup> he doth follow  
     Hermes<sup>18</sup> will make one  
 So will bright Apollo,<sup>19</sup>  
     Thetis<sup>20</sup> hath wonne 60  
 Rough Neptune<sup>21</sup> to this action  
     Æolus<sup>22</sup> huffes,  
     And Boreas<sup>23</sup> puffes  
 To see the Fates<sup>24</sup> protraction.

Still Jove with Ganymed lyes playinge, 65  
     Here's no Tritans<sup>25</sup> sound  
 Nor yet horses neighinge  
     His Eares are bound,  
 The fidlinge God<sup>26</sup> doth lull him  
     Bacchus<sup>27</sup> quaffes 70  
     And Momus<sup>28</sup> laughs  
 To see how they can gull him



**Source.** BL Add. MS 22603, fols. 33r-34r

**Other known sources.** “Poems from a Seventeenth-Century Manuscript” 128; Bodleian MS Eng. Poet. c.50, fol. 41v; Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 160, fol. 174r; Bodleian MS Tanner 306, fol. 261r; Brotherton MS Lt. q.44, fol. 43v; Beinecke MS Osborn b.197, p. 111; Rosenbach MS 239/27, p. 82

L7

- <sup>1</sup> *him that rules the Thunder*: i.e. Jove, king of the gods; and, by implication, James I.
- <sup>2</sup> *white fac't Boy*: Ganymede; and, by implication, Buckingham. The adjective “white-fac't” may imply the use of cosmetics.
- <sup>3</sup> *upstart*: alluding to Buckingham's relatively low social status.
- <sup>4</sup> *Nectar*: P. Hammond (144) glosses nectar as semen.
- <sup>5</sup> *Cyclops*: assistants in Vulcan's workshop.
- <sup>6</sup> *Vulcan*: god of fire whose workshop forges metal.
- <sup>7</sup> *Mars*: god of war.
- <sup>8</sup> *Charles his Wayne*: a cart-shaped group of seven stars in the Great Bear constellation. “Charles”, the name of James I's son, might have provoked certain political readings for contemporaries.
- <sup>9</sup> *Loves Queene*: Venus, goddess of love.
- <sup>10</sup> *in spleene*: in anger.
- <sup>11</sup> *Juno*: queen of the gods.
- <sup>12</sup> *scourge the Arse*: the poem here makes explicit its allegation of sodomy between King and favourite.
- <sup>13</sup> *marrow*: P. Hammond (145) glosses “marrow” as either semen or general sexual capacity. Marrow can also have the sense of vitality and bodily strength.
- <sup>14</sup> *Diana*: chaste goddess of the hunt, armed with bow and arrows.
- <sup>15</sup> *Proserpine*: Proserpina, queen of Hades.

- 16 *Arse Verse*: upside down.
- 17 *Diana*: a variant, “Saturne”, is perhaps a better reading (“Poems from a Seventeenth-Century Manuscript”).
- 18 *Hermes*: Roman Mercury, messenger of the gods.
- 19 *Apollo*: god of the sun.
- 20 *Thetis*: a sea goddess.
- 21 *Neptune*: god of the sea.
- 22 *Aeolus*: ruler of the winds.
- 23 *Boreas*: the North Wind.
- 24 *Fates*: the three Fates, who were believed to enforce the fate of both men and gods.
- 25 *Tritans*: mythic sea creatures whose trumpets calmed the waves. It might be possible to read this and the following line in the context of early 1620s’ anxieties that James I was neglecting naval and military readiness.
- 26 *The fiddling God*: unclear; both Hermes and Apollo were associated with the lyre, but seem unlikely candidates given their roles earlier in the poem.
- 27 *Bacchus*: god of wine.
- 28 *Momus*: god of mockery.

## L8 From such a face whose Excellence

*Notes.* This widely read, politically daring poem is an adaptation of the song “From a gypsy in the morning” performed towards the end of Ben Jonson’s masque *The Gypsies Metamorphosed* (Jonson 367-69). Jonson’s masque was first staged in the summer of 1621, and the libel was thus composed some time between then and, at the very latest, the early summer of 1623, when John Rous secured a copy having heard talk of the poem beforehand (BL Add. MS 28640). The authorship of this poem is uncertain. Various critics have attributed it to Alexander Gill, Ben Jonson himself, and William Drummond (to whom the verse is attributed in one source (Bodleian MS Eng. Poet. c.50)). Although there seems good cause to take Drummond’s candidacy very seriously, critical opinion is generally against it. The poem’s skilled and potent articulation of contemporary anxieties—about the possible homosexual relationship between James I and Buckingham; about the infiltration of the court by the dark forces of “popery” and Hispanophilia during a time of heightened concern about royal foreign policy towards Spain; and about the prevalence of fiscal and judicial corruption and general monarchical neglect—has attracted a significant body of critical and historical analysis. Important readings of the poem can be found in, P. Hammond (141-43); Bellany (Politics 258-260; and McRae (Literature 75-82).

### “The Five Senses”

#### 1. Seeinge

From such a face whose Excellence

May Captivate my Soveraignes sence

And make him Phœbus like his throne

Resigne to him younge Phaëton<sup>1</sup>

Whose skillesse and unsteaddie hand

5

May prove the ruine of a land

Unlesse great Jove downe from the skye

Beholding Earthes Calamitie

Strike with his hand that cannot err

The proud Usurping Charioter

10

And cure though Phœbus greive our woe<sup>2</sup>

From such a face that cann worke soe

Wheresoere thou hast a beeing  
Blesse my Sovereaine, and his seeing.

## 2. Heareinge

From Jeasts prophane, from flattering tongues 15  
From bawdy tales from beastly songs  
From after supper suits that feare  
A Parliament or Councells eare  
From Spanish treaties<sup>3</sup> that may wound  
Our Countries peace the gospell sound<sup>4</sup> 20  
From Jobs false frends<sup>5</sup> that would entice  
My Sovereaine from Heavens paradise  
From Prophetts such as Ahabs weere<sup>6</sup>  
Whose flatterings sooth my soveraignes eare  
His frownes more then his makers fearing 25  
Blesse my soveraine, and his heareinge.

## 3. Tastinge

From all fruite that is forbidden  
Such for which old Eve<sup>7</sup> was chidden  
From bread of Laborers sweat, and toyle  
From the widdowes meale, and oyle 30  
From the Canded<sup>8</sup> poyson'd baites  
Of Jesuites<sup>9</sup> and their deceipts  
Italian Salletts,<sup>10</sup> Romish druggs  
The milke of Babells proud whore<sup>11</sup> duggs  
From wyne that can destroye the braine 35  
And from the daingerous figg of Spaine<sup>12</sup>  
Att all banquetts, and all feasting  
Blesse my Sovereaine, and his tasting.

#### 4. Feelinge

From prick of Conscience such a sting  
As staines the Soule, heavens blesse my King 40  
From such a tribe<sup>13</sup> as may with drawe  
His thoughts from equitie, and lawe  
From such a smooth, and beardlesse Chinn  
As may provoke, or tempt to sinn  
From such a hand whose moyst palme may 45  
My soveraigne lead out of the way  
From things polluted, and uncleane  
From all thats beastly, and obsceane  
From what may sett his Soule a reeling  
Blesse my Soveraigne, and his feeling. 50

#### 5. Smellinge

Where Mirrhe, and frankinsence is throwne  
The altars built to Gods unknowne<sup>14</sup>  
Oh lett my Soveraigne never smell  
Such damn'd perfumes are fitt for hell  
Let noe such scent his nostrills staine 55  
From smells that poyson may the braine  
Heavens still preserve him, Next I crave  
Thou wilt be pleas'd great God to save  
My Soveraigne from a Ganimede<sup>15</sup>  
Whose whoreish breath hath power to lead 60  
His excellence which way it list  
O lett such lipps be never kist  
From a breath soe farr excelling  
Blesse my Soveraigne and his smelling.

On all the Sences

And just God I humblie pray 65  
That thou wilt take the Filme away  
That keeps my Soveraignes eyes from vieweing  
The things that wilbe our undoeing  
Then lett him Heare good God the sounds  
Aswell of Men, as of his hounds 70  
Give him a Taste and tymely too  
Of what his Subjects undergoe  
Give him a Feelinge of there woes  
And noe doubt his royall nose  
Will quickly Smell those rascalls forth 75  
Whose blacke deeds have ecclips't his worth.  
These found, and scourg'd for their offences  
Heavens blesse my Soveraigne, and his sences.

**Source.** Bodleian MS Malone 23, pp. 28-31

**Other known sources.** "Poems from a Seventeenth-Century Manuscript" 136; Bodleian MS Eng. Poet. c.50, fol. 25r; Bodleian MS Eng. Poet. e.37, p. 72; Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 26, fol. 72r; Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 117, fol. 23v; Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 160, fol. 14v; Bodleian MS Tanner 465, fol. 97r; BL Add. MS 22640, fol. 105r; BL Add. MS 23229, fol. 99r; BL Add. MS 25303, fol. 133r; BL MS Egerton 923, fol. 30r; BL MS Harley 367, fol. 153r; BL MS Stowe 962, fol. 144v; Brotherton MS Lt. q. 44, fol. 1r; NLS MS Advocates 19.3.8, fol. 47r; Nottingham MS Portland PW V 37, p. 197; St. John's MS S.32, fol. 31r; Folger MS V.a.275, p. 175; Folger MS V.a.276, part 2, fol. 40v; Folger MS V.a.339, fol. 25v; Folger MS V.a.345, p. 59; Folger MS X.d.235; Houghton MS Eng. 686, fol. 59v; Huntington MS HM 198, 1.30; Morgan MS MA 1057, p. 80; Rosenbach MS 239/27, p. 58; Rosenbach MS 1083/16, p. 85

L8

<sup>1</sup> *Phæbus like...younge Phaëton*: when Phoebus (Apollo), god of the sun, allowed his son Phaeton to drive the chariot of the sun for a day, the inexperienced Phaeton drove the chariot towards the earth before being struck dead by Jove. The myth was used commonly to articulate fears of the consequences

of King James placing power in the hands of youthful favourites.

<sup>2</sup> *And cure...our woe*: “And cure (though Phœbus greive) our woe” is a better reading.

<sup>3</sup> *Spanish treaties*: alluding, in particular, to the ongoing negotiations for a marriage alliance between England and Spain (see Section N).

<sup>4</sup> *the gospell sound*: the sound of preaching; i.e. Protestantism.

<sup>5</sup> *Jobs false frends*: Job’s three friends Eliphaz, Bildad and Zophar, who, in the biblical Book of Job, fail to comprehend the reasons for Job’s misfortunes.

<sup>6</sup> *Prophetts...Ahabs weere*: Ahab, the idolatrous King of Israel, took counsel from false prophets who promised him success in a campaign to take Ramoth-Gilead, while ignoring the warnings of the true prophet Micaiah (see 1 Kings 22; 2 Chronicles 18).

<sup>7</sup> *Eve*: who tasted of the forbidden fruit in the Garden of Eden.

<sup>8</sup> *Canded*: candied.

<sup>9</sup> *Jesuites*: the militant Roman Catholic order of the Society of Jesus, widely feared in Protestant circles as the agents of Counter Reformation.

<sup>10</sup> *Italian Salletts*: Italian salads; here meaning popish “poisons”. Italy was widely associated with poisoning in this period.

<sup>11</sup> *Babells proud whore*: the whore of Babylon, widely identified in Protestant polemic with the papacy.

<sup>12</sup> *figg of Spaine*: literally, a fig grown in Spain; here implying both Catholic and Spanish poison, and Catholic and Spanish influence.

<sup>13</sup> *tribe*: “bribe” is a better reading.

<sup>14</sup> *altars...Gods unknowne*: altars built to false gods; here implying Catholicism.

<sup>15</sup> *Ganimede*: the Trojan boy loved by Jove, king of the gods, and a common term in this period for a sodomite.

On all the Sences

And just God I humblie pray 65  
That thou wilt take the Filme away  
That keeps my Soveraignes eyes from vieweing  
The things that wilbe our undoeing  
Then lett him Heare good God the sounds  
Aswell of Men, as of his hounds 70  
Give him a Taste and tymely too  
Of what his Subjects undergoe  
Give him a Feelinge of there woes  
And noe doubt his royall nose  
Will quickly Smell those rascalls forth 75  
Whose blacke deeds have ecclips't his worth.  
These found, and scourg'd for their offences  
Heavens blesse my Soveraigne, and his sences.

**Source.** Bodleian MS Malone 23, pp. 28-31

**Other known sources.** "Poems from a Seventeenth-Century Manuscript" 136; Bodleian MS Eng. Poet. c.50, fol. 25r; Bodleian MS Eng. Poet. e.37, p. 72; Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 26, fol. 72r; Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 117, fol. 23v; Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 160, fol. 14v; Bodleian MS Tanner 465, fol. 97r; BL Add. MS 22640, fol. 105r; BL Add. MS 23229, fol. 99r; BL Add. MS 25303, fol. 133r; BL MS Egerton 923, fol. 30r; BL MS Harley 367, fol. 153r; BL MS Stowe 962, fol. 144v; Brotherton MS Lt. q. 44, fol. 1r; NLS MS Advocates 19.3.8, fol. 47r; Nottingham MS Portland PW V 37, p. 197; St. John's MS S.32, fol. 31r; Folger MS V.a.275, p. 175; Folger MS V.a.276, part 2, fol. 40v; Folger MS V.a.339, fol. 25v; Folger MS V.a.345, p. 59; Folger MS X.d.235; Houghton MS Eng. 686, fol. 59v; Huntington MS HM 198, 1.30; Morgan MS MA 1057, p. 80; Rosenbach MS 239/27, p. 58; Rosenbach MS 1083/16, p. 85

L8

<sup>1</sup> *Phæbus like...younge Phaëton*: when Phoebus (Apollo), god of the sun, allowed his son Phaeton to drive the chariot of the sun for a day, the inexperienced Phaeton drove the chariot towards the earth before being struck dead by Jove. The myth was used commonly to articulate fears of the consequences



of King James placing power in the hands of youthful favourites.

<sup>2</sup> *And cure...our woe*: “And cure (though Phœbus greive) our woe” is a better reading.

<sup>3</sup> *Spanish treaties*: alluding, in particular, to the ongoing negotiations for a marriage alliance between England and Spain (see Section N).

<sup>4</sup> *the gospell sound*: the sound of preaching; i.e. Protestantism.

<sup>5</sup> *Jobs false frends*: Job’s three friends Eliphaz, Bildad and Zophar, who, in the biblical Book of Job, fail to comprehend the reasons for Job’s misfortunes.

<sup>6</sup> *Prophetts...Ahabs weere*: Ahab, the idolatrous King of Israel, took counsel from false prophets who promised him success in a campaign to take Ramoth-Gilead, while ignoring the warnings of the true prophet Micaiah (see 1 Kings 22; 2 Chronicles 18).

<sup>7</sup> *Eve*: who tasted of the forbidden fruit in the Garden of Eden.

<sup>8</sup> *Canded*: candied.

<sup>9</sup> *Jesuites*: the militant Roman Catholic order of the Society of Jesus, widely feared in Protestant circles as the agents of Counter Reformation.

<sup>10</sup> *Italian Salletts*: Italian salads; here meaning popish “poisons”. Italy was widely associated with poisoning in this period.

<sup>11</sup> *Babells proud whore*: the whore of Babylon, widely identified in Protestant polemic with the papacy.

<sup>12</sup> *figg of Spaine*: literally, a fig grown in Spain; here implying both Catholic and Spanish poison, and Catholic and Spanish influence.

<sup>13</sup> *tribe*: “bribe” is a better reading.

<sup>14</sup> *altars...Gods unknowne*: altars built to false gods; here implying Catholicism.

<sup>15</sup> *Ganimede*: the Trojan boy loved by Jove, king of the gods, and a common term in this period for a sodomite.

## L9 From a Gipsie in the morneing

*Notes.* In the only known source of this poem, it is attributed to “B. Johnson”. While it is heavily based on a song in Jonson’s masque, *The Gypsies Metamorphosed* (Jonson 367-69), the poem translates Jonson’s prayer for the wellbeing of “our sovereign” into a prayer for “great Buckinghame”. The poem’s tone is inscrutable: it may be read as a sincere panegyric on Buckingham, or it may instead be taken as an ironic comment on the increasingly monarchical status assumed by the Duke (who had sponsored Jonson’s masque). The scribe’s appreciation of satire is evident throughout the manuscript in which this piece is found. Notably, a few pages after this poem there is a copy of the more popular appropriation of Jonson’s song, “From such a face whose Excellence”.

From a Gipsie in the morneing [m. note: “seeing”]

or a paire of Squirt<sup>1</sup> eyes turneing

From the goblyn & the Specter

From a drunckard though with Nectar

From a rampant smocke that yches

To bee puting on the breeches

Wheresoe’re they have a beinge

Blesse great Buckinghame & his seeing

5

From ymproper serious toyes [m. note: “heareing”]

From a Lawyers three part noies

From ympertinence lyke a drumme

Beate att dynner in the roome

From a tonge without a Fyle

All of phrases and noe style

From a Fiddle out of tune

As a Cuckoe is in June

From the Candlesticks of Loathburie<sup>2</sup>

or the lewd pure wines<sup>3</sup> of banbury<sup>4</sup>

Both the tymes & yeaes out weareing

10

15

Blesse great Buckingham his heareing	20
From birdlyme tarre & from all pitch	[m. note: "Feeling"]
From dyrtie doxes & theire ytch	
From the bristles of a hogge	
From the Ringworme of a dogge	
From the Court-shippe of a bryer	25
From St Anthonies old fyre <sup>5</sup>	
From a nedle pin or thorne	
From bad even or bad morne	
If hee bee druncke & a reelinge	
Blesse great Buckingham his feeleing	30
From a lousie tynkers sheete	[m. note: "Smelling"]
From stinking toes of Carriers Feete	
From a lady that doth breath	
worse above then underneath	
From the dyet & the knowledge	35
of the Studients in beares Colledge <sup>6</sup>	
From Tobacco with the type	
of the devills glister pipe <sup>7</sup>	
Or a stinke or stinkes excelling	
A Fishmonger and his dwelling	40
Blesse great Buckingham & his smelling	
From gapeing oysters & fryed fishe	[m. note: "Tasteing"]
From a Sowes baby in a dish	
From any portion of Swine	
From bad venison, & worse wine	45
From Ling <sup>8</sup> what Cooke soe ere yt boyle	
Or what else may keepe man fasteing	
Blesse great Buckingham his tasteing	

A recapitulacion

Blesse him to from all offences

in his sporte & in his sences

From a hare to crosse his waye

From a fall, or fowle day

Blesse him heaven, and grant him longe

To be the burthen of my songe

50

**Source.** St. John's MS S.32, fols. 27v-28v

L9

<sup>1</sup> *Squirt*: probable scribal error; read "squint".

<sup>2</sup> *Loathburie*: Lothbury; area of London associated with iron foundries.

<sup>3</sup> *wines*: probable scribal error; read "wives".

<sup>4</sup> *banbury*: town in Oxfordshire known for Puritanism.

<sup>5</sup> *St Anthonies old fyre*: St. Anthony's Fire is a term for erysipelas, a disease with symptoms including skin inflammation.

<sup>6</sup> *the Studients...Colledge*: i.e. the bears in the bear-garden.

<sup>7</sup> *glister pipe*: a tube for the delivery of an enema ("glister").

<sup>8</sup> *Ling*: a kind of fish.

## L10 Heaven blesse King James our joy

*Notes.* In the chosen source, this scabrous poetic assault on the favourite and his much-rewarded kindred is dated 1623. Knowles (“To ‘scourge the arse’” 77-78) analyzes the poem’s use of images of sodomy to “figure the profligate acquisition of rich matches and office”, while Cogswell (Blessed Revolution 47-48) contextualizes the poem’s bitter attack on Buckingham’s kin as evidence of the hatred the favourite’s pro-Spanish policies had aroused. This particular copy of the poem includes marginal notes identifying some, but not all, of the personages targeted by the libeller.

Heaven blesse King James our joy,

And charles his baby. [m.note: “The prince”]

Great George our brave viceroy [m.note: “Buckingham”]

And his fayre Lady.<sup>1</sup>

Old Bedlame buckingame,<sup>2</sup> [m.note: “George his mother”] 5

With her Lord Keeper.<sup>3</sup> [m.note: “Bishoppe Williams”]

Shee loves the fucking game

Hee’s her cunt creeper.

Thees bee they goe so gay,

In court and citty,

Yett no man cares for them,

Is not this pittie. 10

Thee fayre young Marchionesse,<sup>4</sup>

And Lady Feildinge,<sup>5</sup>

Kate for her worth heavens blesse 15

Su:<sup>6</sup> for her yeildinge.

Ned Villers hath a wife<sup>7</sup>

And shee’s a good one,

Buttler<sup>8</sup> leads an ill life,

Yett’s of the blood one 20

Theese be they, goe so gay

In court & citty,  
 And find grace in each place,  
 Or else t'were pittie.

Cranefeild<sup>9</sup> I make a vow; [m.note: "Lord treasurer"] 25  
 Not to bee partiall,  
 Nan<sup>10</sup> was us'd you know how, [m.note: "his wife"]  
 By the earle Marshall,<sup>11</sup> [m.note: "Arundell"]  
 Thy horne of honour<sup>12</sup> foole  
 Hee hath exalted 30  
 Tell no tales out of scoole  
 Least thou bee palted,<sup>13</sup>  
 These bee they, goe so gay  
 And keepe the mony,  
 Which hee can better keepe 35  
 Then his wifes cunny.

Old Abbott Anthony [m.note: "Sir Anthony Ashley"]  
 I thinke hath well done,  
 Since hee left sodomy,  
 To marry Sheldon.<sup>14</sup> 40  
 Shee hath a buttocke plumpe,  
 Keepe but thy tarse<sup>15</sup> whole,  
 And shee'le hold up her rumpe,  
 With her black arse hole.  
 These bee they, goe so gay, 45  
 In court & citty,  
 Yett the next spring, they must singe,  
 Thee Cookeoes ditty.<sup>16</sup>

And Vicecount Feildinge<sup>17</sup> too [m.note: "Sir Wllm Feildinge"]  
 Is a good fellowe 50

But indeed Tom Comptons<sup>18</sup> blew

Nose, doth looke yellowe

Will<sup>19</sup> hath the better way

Hee can indure all,

What need Tom care a straw?

55

Lincolne<sup>20</sup> can cure all.

These bee they, drinke & play,

In court still busy

They will supp at the cupp,

Till there braynes dizey.

60

Young Compton<sup>21</sup> might have had,

Wives by the dozen,

And yet the foole was madd

For George<sup>22</sup> his cosen

Maxwell<sup>23</sup> swares by his sale

65

Hee's not bee hindred,

They gett the divell & all,

That swive<sup>24</sup> the kindred.

Thes be they, goe so gay,

All the Ile over.

70

There is no greater foole,

Then the fond lover.

Kitt<sup>25</sup> was allmost forgott,

[m.note: "Kitt Villers"]

Damport<sup>26</sup> had hid him,

75

They two were at the pott,

While Wray out ridd him<sup>27</sup>

For at his elbowe stood

Bulching<sup>28</sup> with sherry

[m.note: "The drawer"]<sup>29</sup>

Cryng this breeds good blood

Hang wives, bee, merry.

80

Thes be they spend the day,  
I drinke & swivinge<sup>30</sup>  
Gentle Kitt learne more witt  
Then goe a wifinge.

Thee fidler was an asse, 85

Hee liv'd by scraping,

His lusty kindred was,

Not worth the japing.<sup>31</sup>

Nor yett in number sure

Could they come neere us, 90

Wee are the chast & pure,

Hell need not feare us.

These bee they, goe so gay

In court & citty,

Yett but few love us, 95

Thee more is the pittie.

Harke how the wagons crack

With there rich ladinge<sup>32</sup>

Doll<sup>33</sup> comes up with her packe,

Su's<sup>34</sup> fitt for tradinge. 100

Phill:<sup>35</sup> will no longer stay,

With her base baby

What dare the people say

When shees a lady

Thes be they, goe so gay 105

In court & citty

Would you have an office pray

You must bee thiss witty.



**Source.** Beinecke MS Osborn b.197, pp. 187-89

**Other known sources.** Bodleian MS Douce 357, fol. 16r; Bodleian MS Don.c.54, fol. 60v; Bodleian MS Rawl. D. 398, fol. 192r; Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 160, fol. 178v; Bodleian MS Tanner 306, fol. 257r; BL Add. MS 5832, fol. 206v; BL Add. MS 61683, fol. 74r; TCD MS 806, fol. 75r

L10

<sup>1</sup> *his fayre Lady*: in 1620, Buckingham married Katherine (Kate) Manners, daughter of the Earl of Rutland.

<sup>2</sup> *Bedlame buckingame*: the favourite's mother, Mary Villiers, who was created Countess of Buckingham in her own right in 1618. "Bedlame" here means "bedlam" or mad-woman. Other copies, however, have "bel-dame", which could mean either "old woman", or "hag" and "witch".

<sup>3</sup> *her Lord Keeper*: John Williams, who had been a chaplain to the Countess of Buckingham, was created Lord Keeper and Bishop of Lincoln in the summer of 1621.

<sup>4</sup> *fayre young Marchionesse*: the favourite's wife, Katherine (Kate) Villiers.

<sup>5</sup> *Lady Feildinge*: Susan Villiers, the favourite's older sister, had married William Feilding, Earl of Denbigh.

<sup>6</sup> *Su*: i.e. Susan Feilding.

<sup>7</sup> *Ned Villers hath a wife*: Sir Edward Villiers, the favourite's half-brother by his father's first marriage, married Barbara St. John.

<sup>8</sup> *Buttler*: Elizabeth Villiers, the favourite's half-sister by his father's first marriage, married Sir John Boteler.

<sup>9</sup> *Cranefeild*: Sir Lionel Cranfield, Earl of Middlesex and, from 1621 to 1624, Lord Treasurer.

<sup>10</sup> *Nan*: Cranfield married as his second wife Anne Brett, the favourite's cousin on his mother's side.

<sup>11</sup> *earle Marshall*: Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel, Earl Marshal.

<sup>12</sup> *horne of honour*: Cranfield's cuckold horns.

<sup>13</sup> *palted*: hit with missiles.

<sup>14</sup> *Sheldon*: Philippa Sheldon, who married the aged Sir Anthony Ashley in January 1622. Philippa was

the sister of Elizabeth Sheldon, who was married to Buckingham's brother Christopher (Kit) Villiers.

<sup>15</sup> *tarse*: penis.

<sup>16</sup> *Thee Cookeoes ditty*: the cuckoo was notorious for laying its eggs in other birds' nests; hence "cuckoo" was a term for "cuckold". Perhaps the implication is that, married to the aged sodomite Ashley, Philippa Sheldon was likely to stray, and any child she might conceive would thus be illegitimate.

<sup>17</sup> *Vicecount Feildinge*: Sir William Feilding, appointed Earl of Denbigh in September 1622, husband of the favourite's sister Susan.

<sup>18</sup> *Tom Comptons*: the favourite's step-father, Sir Thomas Compton, who married Mary Villiers c.1609.

<sup>19</sup> *Will*: either Sir William Feilding or, perhaps, Thomas Compton's brother, William Compton, Earl of Northampton.

<sup>20</sup> *Lincolne*: John Williams, Bishop of Lincoln and Lord Keeper, and alleged lover of Thomas Compton's wife, the Countess of Buckingham.

<sup>21</sup> *Young Compton*: probably Spencer Compton, son of William Compton, Earl of Northampton, and the favourite's cousin by marriage.

<sup>22</sup> *George*: i.e. the favourite Buckingham.

<sup>23</sup> *Maxwell*: perhaps Buckingham's friend Robert Maxwell, Earl of Nithsdale.

<sup>24</sup> *swive*: have sex with.

<sup>25</sup> *Kitt*: Sir Christopher Villiers, Buckingham's brother, created Earl of Anglesey in 1623.

<sup>26</sup> *Damport*: probably a contraction of Davenport; which Davenport, however, is unknown. It is possible that it could be the lawyer Humphrey Davenport, who was at this time connected with Henry de Vere, Earl of Oxford, later blamed for facilitating Edward Wray's elopement with Lady Elizabeth Norris.

<sup>27</sup> *Wray out ridd him*: Edward Wray, a Groom of the Bedchamber, eloped with Lady Elizabeth Norris in March 1622. Lady Norris, the daughter of the Earl of Berkshire, had, as Chamberlain reported, been "designed to Kit Villers" (2.429). Wray lost his court position as a result.

<sup>28</sup> *Bulching*: swelling, bulging.

<sup>29</sup> *drawer*: the server at the bar.

<sup>30</sup> *swivinge*: having sex.

<sup>31</sup> *japing*: to jape had a number of meanings that are plausible in this context, including “to deceive” and “to copulate”.

<sup>32</sup> *rich ladinge*: i.e. the wealth and lands the Villiers extended kindred has amassed thanks to George’s position at court.

<sup>33</sup> *Doll*: a nickname for Dorothy. The only plausible candidate among the Villiers extended kindred would be the favourite’s aunt on his mother’s side, Dorothy Beaumont, wife of John Hill, whose daughter Susan married Sir Edward Montagu, Viscount Mandeville, early in 1623.

<sup>34</sup> *Su’s*: either Susan Feilding or (more likely if Doll is Dorothy Beaumont) Buckingham’s cousin Susan Hill, who married Sir Edward Montagu, Viscount Mandeville, early in 1623.

<sup>35</sup> *Phill*: possibly Philippa Sheldon/Ashley, although the reference to her “base baby” is unclear.

### **M. Monopolies and Corruption: the 1621 Parliament**

The two sessions of the 1621 Parliament, the first for seven years, spanned a period of just under twelve months, from 30 January 1621 to 6 January 1622. One of the principal motivations behind James's decision to summon the Parliament, his desire to raise the funds necessary for a war that the King saw as possible but avoidable, proved relatively unproblematic. Indeed, many of the debates throughout the sessions were peaceable, and many of the proceedings routine. Yet there were also undeniable tensions throughout. Debates on freedom of speech strained relations between the King and Parliament, while a number of controversial parliamentary initiatives challenged policies and individuals associated with the monarch. As the libels concerned with this year demonstrate, many observers were fascinated by the apparent challenges posed by the Parliament to the King and his court. The spectacular falls of particular statesmen, such as Francis Bacon, might therefore be interpreted as signal instances of a righteous Parliament purging the nation of courtly corruption.

The single issue that most preoccupied newsmongers and libellers was the status of patents and monopolies. The use of patents had escalated throughout James's reign, providing the King with a convenient alternative to taxation, and an easy means of rewarding royal servants. In general, patents involved the farming out of certain judicial functions previously performed by state officials, such as the licensing of inns and alehouses. Patentees would typically pay the Crown for their patent, and levy licences and fines in order to profit from the arrangement. More specifically, patents of monopoly involved the grant, in exchange for a cash payment to the Crown, of a protected right to pursue a particular form or method of trade or industry. They became intertwined with the development of particular "projects", at a time when the English economy was diversifying rapidly (Thirsk). Arguably, the 1621 Parliament was prompted to pursue this issue as a result of a frustrating incapacity to comprehend economic conditions characterized by a scarcity of coinage (Russell 98-111). Once the matter had been raised, however, it led parliamentarians not only to tackle some crucial constitutional issues, but also to stretch the powers of parliament by reviving the process of impeachment. The pursuit of certain prominent monopolists stirred a frenzy of parliamentary activity and popular interest. Most notably, Sir Giles Mompesson had made many enemies through his energetic manipulation of

patents and monopolies. He was a commissioner for the licensing of inns; he was authorized to sell decayed timber from royal forests; and he was also engaged in the enforcement of a law that prevented any person from manufacturing gold and silver thread without a special licence. Another target of the parliamentarians, Sir Francis Michell, was also involved in enforcing the licences for gold and silver thread, as well as being a commissioner for the licensing of alehouses. The connections of such men with the court, and particularly with the leading dispenser of court patronage, George Villiers, Marquis (and future Duke) of Buckingham, informed much of the vitriol directed against them in popular political discourse.

In due course, the parliamentary investigations led to a man much more highly placed in the state, the Lord Keeper, Sir Francis Bacon. Though not directly involved in patents and monopolies, Bacon was implicated since he had acted as a legal referee, certifying the controversial patents for the licensing of gold and silver thread. To this alleged instance of corruption was added unrelated claims that he had accepted bribes in the course of his judicial work. While he appealed to his long-time patron, Buckingham, and also to James himself, Bacon found himself increasingly isolated as the Parliament employed the obsolete procedure of impeachment in order to bring about his downfall. The case provoked numerous libels. Some poems do little more than play on his name, exploiting the obvious potential for puns on hogs and preserved meat. Others target Bacon's relations with members of his household, interpreting his reputation for excessive generosity in political terms, and bringing into the public domain apparently longstanding rumours of homosexuality. Most interestingly, a number of the poems position the fallen Lord Keeper, either explicitly or implicitly, as an example of more widespread, even systemic, corruption. In this context, a long poem written in support of Bacon ("When you awake, dull Brittons, and behold") and the two responses it elicited ("What hatfull fury dipt thy raging Quill", "Blame not the Poet though he make such moane"), are particularly illuminating.

While the parameters of the first two subsections below are relatively transparent, the final subsection includes five somewhat miscellaneous poems under the heading "The Aftermath: reflections and assessments". These poems appear to date from late in 1621 (technically, therefore, while the Parliament was still in session), or from shortly afterwards, and in general adopt a detached and reflective stance towards the "rowlinge tumblinge Age" ("One worthy

Chancellour rendred up his place”). Some focus on John Williams, who replaced Bacon as Lord Keeper; others glance towards the projected Spanish Match, parliamentary discussion of which finally convinced James to dissolve the 1621 Parliament; one simply represents the life of the court, and the associated business of patronage, continuing apace (“The Kinge & the court desyrous of sport”). While these poems do not necessarily document a desire for an ongoing programme of reform, they articulate underlying tensions and concerns, which would surface more insistently in debate about the Spanish Match, and also in recurrent attacks on Buckingham.

M0

## Mi Attacks on Monopolists

### Mi1 You Justices & men of myghte

*Notes. This is the only known libel entirely devoted to the monopolist Sir Francis Michell. The poem's form—an admonitory lament in the voice of a fallen sinner—was popular in contemporary ballad literature. Like many libels written in song or ballad form, it is possible that this was sung, though evidence of performance is impossible to trace.*

“A lamentable newe Ballade expressing the Complaynte of Sir Frances Michell Knighte dwellinge in Pickthatche<sup>1</sup> lately Justice of Peace. To a scurvey tune.”

You Justices & men of myghte

You Constables that walke by nyghte

And all you officers more lowe

But marke my sudden overthrowe

And then by mee Example make

5

How you get goods, how bribes you take

For that has bine my discontente

And for like Acts you shall be shente<sup>2</sup>

Before this Parlamente I myghte

Have done all this, & yet no knighte<sup>3</sup>

10

But they are nowe so busy growne

Alas ouer Faults must all be knowne

No place nor hower can preserve

theyer lives from them that ill deserve

and this my storey may asseuer yee

15

If you bee badde theyle not endeuer yee

For though the kinge mee knyghthood gave

yet they presumed, to call me knave

and sayd that I deserved to dye  
For begginge a monopolie 20

Sir Giles Mompessone though hee were  
a kinsman to the Marques neere<sup>4</sup>  
was for this cause thrust out and chide  
Sum say shall hange but god forbidd<sup>5</sup>

For if yee should bee trussed upp<sup>6</sup> 25  
I am certeyne I shall tast that Cupe  
For I alas that discord bredde  
I put this sute into his heade

when firste this course was scand & tried  
and my faulte could not be denied 30  
with Lord have merceye on mee they  
did to the Tower mee streighte convey<sup>7</sup>

On Foote I then adjudged was  
alonge the streets with shame to passe<sup>8</sup>  
moore favor they the Serjeants<sup>9</sup> did 35  
For whilst I walkt, those Rascalls ridd

In this sorte as I walkte a longe  
those people all, which I did wronge  
Came laughing oute at my disgrace  
and yet I must not hide my face 40

A Fatt Alewife that had beefore  
in full 7 yeares not stired to doer  
with kitchin curtse<sup>10</sup> did mee Followe  
as if like ale shee would mee swallowe

An Inkeeper that solde his haye 45



the fine I call for for to paye<sup>11</sup>  
with a pitchforke did at mee thruste  
as if my harte hee would have burste

Twoe caryers nexte with yawlinge throtes  
raylde at mee for the price of oats<sup>12</sup>  
and sayd aloude through my deceyte  
Theyer horses travell withoute bayte<sup>13</sup>

50

When through those scornes at laste I came  
unto the Tower with spite & shame  
my Judgmente yet beeould was more  
And Fare worse followed then beefore

55

That place they esteemed to good  
Both for my cause & for my blood  
and unto Newgate I must goe  
a stinkinge prisone, God doth knowe<sup>14</sup>

60

A Baude in seethinge Lane<sup>15</sup> mee spied  
One that for 10 yeares space mee bribd<sup>16</sup>  
that for herselfe & all her whoores  
no warrant entred att her doores

Shee ruthfull woman oneley wept  
To see my fall such coyle<sup>17</sup> was kept  
with her and hers since I departed  
Herselfe att leste had twise bene carted<sup>18</sup>

65

Not farre from her a younge whore stands  
sighinge and wringinge of her hands  
Pickthatch (quoth shee) can nowe no more  
bee a proteccion for a whoore<sup>19</sup>

70

But that which greives & vext mee worse  
the nexte I sawe was a cutpurse  
whome I as Hickes his Hall can tell<sup>20</sup>  
both saved from newgate & Bridewell<sup>21</sup>

75

And yet this Rouge amongeste the rest  
did laugh att mee & make a jeste  
and swore my worship tooke a Fee  
to set his heeles at libertey  
The bauds and whoores of Turball<sup>22</sup> all  
cam laughinge by to see my fall  
and followinge by mee 3 whoores tripte  
whome I had caused to bee whipte

80

Another did a halter shake  
of hempe & Flaxe herselfe did make  
when I in newe bridewell did putte  
For juste ofence that rampant slutt

85

Nor is this end of all my payne  
from worse I feare theyle not refrayne  
my cause alas is come to that  
They meane to do the Lord knows what

90

Yet still I wish health to the Kinge  
whoe gracious is in everey thinge  
and ene on the howses highe & lowe<sup>23</sup>  
I pray to God his grace bestowe

95

For they are like if they goe on  
to leave noe faulte unthought uppon  
and then Ime suer howere I bee  
I shall have still more companey.

100

**Source.** Bodleian MS Tanner 306, fols. 247r-248v

Mi1

<sup>1</sup> *Pickthatche*: i.e. Picket-Hatch, a resort of thieves and prostitutes in London; “picked-hatch” was also a contemporary term for a brothel.

<sup>2</sup> *shente*: disgraced; ruined.

<sup>3</sup> *& yet no knighte*: Michell was knighted in December 1620.

<sup>4</sup> *Sir Giles...Marques neere*: Mompesson, accused as a monopolist alongside Michell, was related by marriage to George Villiers, who was at this time Marquis of Buckingham.

<sup>5</sup> *Sum say...forbidd*: other evidence in the poem indicates that it was written after Mompesson’s flight from England, in March 1621; however, his whereabouts may well have been unclear to the poet.

<sup>6</sup> *trussed upp*: strung up; hanged.

<sup>7</sup> *did to the Tower...convey*: Michell was committed to the Tower in February 1621.

<sup>8</sup> *On Foote...to passe*: Michell travelled to the Tower on foot and bare-headed.

<sup>9</sup> *Serjeants*: judicial officers (escorting Michell).

<sup>10</sup> *kitchin curtses*: unclear; possibly read “kitchen curses”, but possibly “kitchen curtsies” (the latter to be taken ironically).

<sup>11</sup> *An Inkeeper...to paye*: Michell was accused of abusing his powers in administering the patent for alehouses, which involved the extortion of fines from alehouse-keepers; however, it is not clear whether he had a role in the separate patent for inns.

<sup>12</sup> *price of oats*: patents did not directly affect the price of oats; however, the costs of fines borne by innkeepers were inevitably passed on to customers (such as carriers), and the poem perhaps acknowledges this fact here.

<sup>13</sup> *bayte*: feed; refreshment.

<sup>14</sup> *That place...God doth knowe*: though initially committed to the Tower, Michell was subsequently moved, because the Tower was considered to be too good for him. Although the *DNB* states that he was moved to Finsbury jail, there is some evidence to support the claims of libellers that his destination was

in fact Newgate, a prison from which he had previously received a salary, as a Middlesex Justice of the Peace, on condition of sending all his prisoners there.

<sup>15</sup> *seethinge Lane*: Seething Lane, near the corn market in Fenchurch Street.

<sup>16</sup> *One...mee bribd*: presumably a reference to Michell's activities as Justice of the Peace for Middlesex.

<sup>17</sup> *coyle*: tumult.

<sup>18</sup> *carted*: i.e. carried in a cart through the streets; traditional punishment for a whore.

<sup>19</sup> *Pickthatch...whoore*: i.e. Picket-Hatch, a resort of thieves and prostitutes in London, may now be exposed to the law (since its protector has been removed from power).

<sup>20</sup> *as Hickes...tell*: although the specific reference is unclear, the meaning is obvious (i.e. "I can see this as clearly as I can recognize Hicks's hall").

<sup>21</sup> *newgate & Bridewell*: prisons for common offenders.

<sup>22</sup> *Turball*: i.e. Turnball Street, perhaps the most disreputable street in London.

<sup>23</sup> *the howses highe &...lowe*: i.e. the high and low houses of parliament (the Lords and the Commons).

## Mi2 The tottering state of transitory things

*Notes. This is one of three known libels entirely devoted to the monopolist Sir Giles Mompesson. In their final lines, there is some commonality between this poem and “Pervertinge of the lawes makes justice blind”.*

### “On Sir Giles Mumperson”

The tottering state of transitory things

Like to a Jade<sup>1</sup> mans fortune kicks and flings

That hee that now is Dominus-fac-totum<sup>2</sup>

May the next day be thought a man of Gotam<sup>3</sup>

Oprression hath like an impostume<sup>4</sup> beene

5

With inward putrefaction, all unseen

Till ripenes burst it, and good time aplyes

Good conscionable lawfull remedyes

It is not bands of men or regiments

Or troops or squadrons, that will finde contents,

10

Tis no small army, that doe share these joyes

Nor is it fabulous or frivilous toyes,

But real contemplations through our coasts

Not of an host of men, but of Man of Hosts<sup>5</sup>

You Host of Hosts<sup>6</sup> that happy day is come

15

Person<sup>7</sup> is not respected Giles is mum,

Drink healths, make bonfires, wash your merry throats

Mourne al in sack, and give your horse more oates.

Sir Giles did thinkt no wisdom, to abide

As fearing by St Giles’s church to ride<sup>8</sup>

20

Brave Hosts your general<sup>9</sup>

Who mighte have staid and took a hangman heare.

The Proverb of lame Giles,<sup>10</sup> is prov’d a ly

For if Sir Giles were lame, how could hee fly.

**Source.** Folger MS V.a.345, p. 126

**Other known sources.** Bodleian MS Rawl. B. 151, fol. 102v; Nottingham MS Portland PW V 37, p. 151

Mi2

<sup>1</sup> *Jade*: worthless, ill-tempered horse.

<sup>2</sup> *Dominus-fac-totum*: “one who controls everything”.

<sup>3</sup> *a man of Gotham*: a madman (a term based on the proverbial folly of the men of the village of Gotham).

<sup>4</sup> *impostume*: abscess or cyst.

<sup>5</sup> *Not...of Hosts*: this line is unclear (and the meaning is undermined by at least one probable scribal error); however, it appears to pun on a “man of hosts” (i.e. military man; man of valour) and the “host” of an inn (hence an allusion to Mompesson’s patent for inns). A variant text reads “Not of an host of men, but Man of hosts” (Bodleian MS Rawl. B. 151).

<sup>6</sup> *You Host of Hosts*: probably Christ (often referred to as “host”, in the word’s sense as a victim for sacrifice); however, a variant text is less specific, reading “So, gentle Hosts” (Bodleian MS Rawl. B. 151).

<sup>7</sup> *Person*: a variant text has “Michel” (i.e. Sir Francis Michell) (Bodleian MS Rawl. B. 151).

<sup>8</sup> *by St Giles’s...ride*: i.e. on the way to execution at Tyburn (cf. the final line of “Pervertinge of the lawes makes justice blind”).

<sup>9</sup> *general*: a variant text has “Lord of Hosts” (Bodleian MS Rawl. B. 151). is fled for feare

<sup>10</sup> *Proverb of lame Giles*: probably “lame Giles has played the man” (Tilley 115).

### Mi3 Perverting of the lawes makes justice blind

*Notes.* There is only one known version of this poem on the monopolist Sir Giles Mompesson in this form; however, as listed below, three known sources preserve the final stanza as a discrete piece. In their final lines, there is some commonality between this poem and “The tottering state of transitory things”.

#### “On Sir Giles Mumpesson”

Perverting of the lawes makes justice blind  
Converted lawes makes her, her eyes to find  
Whilst now God present is, & president  
Of our thrice noble, happy Parliament.

The Cobweb law<sup>1</sup> that did our small theeves spoyle  
Hath catcht our great ones in his hanginge toyle  
The earth growes happy & the heaven smiles  
Theres noe respect of Persons. Mum Sir Giles.<sup>2</sup>

5

The proverbe of lame Giles<sup>3</sup> is false I say  
Had Giles beene lame hee had not runne away  
Sir Giles thought fitt noe longer time to ’bide  
For feare hee by Saint Giles his Church should ride<sup>4</sup>

10

**Source.** Folger MS V.a.162, fol. 53r

**Known sources of the shorter version.** Bodleian MS Don. d.58, fol. 36v; Folger MS V.a.103, fol. 73r; Folger MS V.a.262, p. 132

Mi3

<sup>1</sup> *Cobweb law*: the prosecution of Mompesson depended on the revival of a medieval procedure of impeachment.

<sup>2</sup> *Mum Sir Giles*: i.e. silent Sir Giles (in the context of the whole line, a strained play on his name).

<sup>3</sup> *proverbe of lame Giles*: probably “lame Giles has played the man” (Tilley G115).

<sup>4</sup> *For feare...ride*: the scribe adds here an explanatory marginal note: “To Tyburne”.



**Mi4 Fly not Momperson sins thear is no inn**

*Notes. In the only known source, this poem on Sir Giles Mompesson is ascribed to Sir Robert Cotton; however, there is no evidence to support this attribution.*

“Uppon Momperson orerunning the parlament”

Fly not Momperson sins thear is no inn

By thy foul rapin robd will hide thy head,<sup>1</sup>

No spittell<sup>2</sup> will conceale thy impious sine,

That left in them for piety noe bed

The royall woods, the standards of ould age,

5

By thee dispoild,<sup>3</sup> yeelde thee noe shady tree

In vaine thou fliest of thine own guilt the rage

For more thow fliest, the more it follows thee

Turne than again, and thy bad corses alter

Or chaing thy threds of gould<sup>4</sup> into a halter.

10

**Source.** BL MS Harley 3910, fol. 60r

Mi4

<sup>1</sup> *sins thear is...head*: allusion to Mompesson’s patent for licensing inns.

<sup>2</sup> *spittell*: hospital; house for the indigent and diseased, especially those of low social status.

<sup>3</sup> *The royall woods...dispoild*: Mompesson held a grant which authorized him to sell decayed woods in royal forests.

<sup>4</sup> *thy threds of gould*: allusion to Mompesson’s notorious patent for gold thread.

## Mi5 Oyes

*Notes.* This poem, which adapts the conventions of official news distribution (via royal proclamation), targets in turn four of the monopolists pursued in the 1621 Parliament. One version (BL Add. MS 33998) names them in marginal notes: Mompesson, Michell, Sir Robert Flood, and Bacon. The stanza on Bacon was occasionally transcribed as a separate poem, and was in some cases extended into a longer version (see “Stand fast thou shaking quaking keeper”). The poem is discussed in McRae, *Literature* 38-40.

### “A Proclamation”

Oyes,

Can any tell true tideings

of a Monopolist

Knight of the Post for rideing<sup>1</sup>

’cause hee wist,<sup>2</sup>

5

It argue’d no small cunning

To make his leggs the instruments

To save his necke by running.

Come forth

Thou bawdy house Protector<sup>3</sup>

10

Pattentee of froth<sup>4</sup>

Of signe posts the Erector<sup>5</sup>

Our true worth,

Thy Quorum shall not checke,<sup>6</sup>

For thou shalt unto Newgate<sup>7</sup> ryde,

15

With Canns about thy necke.

Stand by

Thou faire ingross’d transcription

Your Fludd is very high<sup>8</sup>

But sluces of reversion

20

drawe it dry,<sup>9</sup>

So crost by just opinions  
Our Cossen must be forc't to walke  
To Walls to feed on Onyons.<sup>10</sup>

Sitt sure,

25

Thou quakeing quivering Keeper,<sup>11</sup>  
A tent<sup>12</sup> thou must indure,  
Least thy wounds grow deeper,  
and past the cure,

For if thy faults prove common

30

Thou soone shalt feele a Nimble Coke<sup>13</sup>  
Slice collops<sup>14</sup> from thy Gammon.

**Source.** BL MS Harley 4955, fol. 86r

**Other known sources.** Bodleian MS Ashmole 38, p. 124; BL Add. MS 33998, fol. 65r

**Known sources of the shorter version.** BL Add. MS 22118, fol. 38v; Beinecke MS Osborn b.197, p. 182

Mi5

<sup>1</sup> *Knight...for rideing*: unclear; possibly describing Mompesson as a “Knight of the Post” (i.e. notorious perjurer) because he has cheated justice by “rideing” (i.e. fleeing).

<sup>2</sup> *wist*: knew.

<sup>3</sup> *bawdy house Protector*: Francis Michell; the impropriety alleged in his capacity as a Justice of the Peace for Middlesex.

<sup>4</sup> *Pattentee of froth*: allusion to Michell’s patent for alehouses.

<sup>5</sup> *signe posts the Erector*: unclear; perhaps also linked to the patent for licensing alehouses (which would lead to the erection of alehouse signs).

<sup>6</sup> *Thy Quorum...checke*: unclear; perhaps a reference to Michell’s position as one of the justices of the peace whose presence was necessary to constitute a bench (literally, the “quorum”).

<sup>7</sup> *Newgate*: i.e. Newgate prison.

<sup>8</sup> *Thou...high*: heavily punning allusion to Sir Robert Flood, clerk of the office of the patent for wills. The patent involved charge for the engrossing (i.e. formal legal preparation) of all wills and inventories.

<sup>9</sup> *But sluces...dry*: the patent of sole engrossing of wills and inventories was suspended 18 July 1621

<sup>10</sup> *Our Cossen...Onyons*: unclear; presumably referring to Flood's lack of income after the suspension of the patent, and/or his expulsion from the House of Commons, 21 March 1621.

<sup>11</sup> *Thou...Keeper*: i.e. Francis Bacon, Lord Keeper.

<sup>12</sup> *tent*: surgical probe.

<sup>13</sup> *Coke*: i.e. Sir Edward Coke, a leading figure in the Commons and long-time rival of Bacon.

<sup>14</sup> *collops*: slices, rashers.

## Mii The Fall of Bacon

### Miii1 The measled Boare is frankt I tell noe fable

*Notes.* This neat epigram connects the impeachment of Bacon with a number of other instances of corruption at court. The ironic closing couplet suggests that the movement towards reform will be short-lived.

The measled Boare<sup>1</sup> is frankt<sup>2</sup> I tell noe fable  
The Headstrong horse<sup>3</sup> is shut up in the stable  
The Kings whilome Attorney now condemned<sup>4</sup>  
And A prime Pen of state his place suspended<sup>5</sup>  
Bennet<sup>6</sup> is sicke for feare, the Chancellor craddocke<sup>7</sup>  
And Lambe<sup>8</sup> Stinkes worse than Mackerell or Haddocke  
Nor place but Inocence now keepes me safe  
    The Almanacke foretells this storme must cleere  
    Or offices will beare no price this yeare.

5

**Source.** Bodleian MS Eng. Poet. c.50, fol. 7r

### Miii1

- <sup>1</sup> *measled Boare:* i.e. Bacon (Bacon's crest, worn on his servants' liveries, was of a boar).
- <sup>2</sup> *frankt:* shut up in a frank (an enclosure for feeding swine).
- <sup>3</sup> *Headstrong horse:* unclear; possibly another reference to Bacon, but more likely a coded reference to another man.
- <sup>4</sup> *The Kings...condemned:* Sir Henry Yelverton, Attorney-General from 1617, fell from power in 1620, when he was found guilty in a Star Chamber trial of having passed a charter to the city of London containing unauthorized provisions.
- <sup>5</sup> *A prime...suspended:* possibly a reference to Sir Robert Naunton, Secretary of State, who was reprimanded and threatened with dismissal (though not suspended) early in 1621, for opening negotiations with the French, without the consent of James, for a possible marriage between Charles and

Henrietta Maria.

<sup>6</sup> *Bennet*: Sir John Bennet, Judge of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, impeached for a range of corrupt practices in the 1621 Parliament. His case was seen by many as a signal instance of corruption within the judiciary.

<sup>7</sup> *Chancellor craddocke*: probably John Craddocke, Chancellor of Durham from 1619.

<sup>8</sup> *Lambe*: probably John Lambe, an ecclesiastical lawyer who used the full rigour of the law to compel Church conformity in Northamptonshire. In 1621 the mayor and corporation of Northamptonshire presented a petition to parliament complaining about him; however, the king remained supportive, and knighted him in July of the same year.

## Mii2 Stand fast thou shaking quaking keeper

*Notes.* This poem on Bacon takes a stanza from “Oyes” and extends it in a similar style, expanding in particular on the pun on Bacon’s name.

“On Fran. Ld. Verulam Keeper of greate seale”

Stand fast thou shaking quaking Keeper

A tent<sup>1</sup> thou must endure,

For feare in time thy wounds grow deeper,

And so become past cure.

Into thy past life see thou looke,

5

For if thy faults grow common,

Thou soone wilt find a nimble Cooke<sup>2</sup>

Slice rathers<sup>3</sup> from thy gammon.

Patient hee is like Job, I wis

And poore, you need not doubt him,

10

Butt most of all like Job in this

Hee hath such scabbs about him.<sup>4</sup>

Meazly Bacon is quite forsaken

And none thats heere care for it,

The Parliament with one consent

15

I oft have heard it spoke

Hath made a law to singe it with straw

And hange it up in smoake.

**Source.** BL Add. MS 22118, fol. 42v

**Other known sources.** *Trevelyan Papers* 3.163; BL Add. MS 61481, fol. 99r; TCD MS 806, fol. 577r; Beinecke MS Osborn b.197, p. 182

Mii2

<sup>1</sup> *tent*: surgical probe.

<sup>2</sup> *Cooke*: i.e. Sir Edward Coke, a leading figure in the Commons and long-time rival of Bacon.

<sup>3</sup> *rathers*: i.e. “rashers”.

<sup>4</sup> *like Job...about him*: “So went Satan forth from the presence of the Lord, and smote Job with sore boils from the sole of his foot unto his crown” (Job 2.7). The line probably refers to Bacon’s struggles with gout and other illnesses, which he used to delay proceedings and again to defer his imprisonment; however, it is also possible that Bacon’s “scabbs” are metaphorical (i.e. scurvy fellows, rascals). Bacon compared himself to Job more favourably in his speech to the House of Lords on 22 April 1621, stating: “I hope I may say and justify with Job in these words: *I have not hid my sin as did Adam, nor concealed my faults in my bosom*” (*Works* 14.243; cf. Job 31.33).



### Mii3 Great Verulam is very lame, the gout of goe-out feeling

*Notes.* This poem, the most densely topical and allusive of all the libels on Bacon, is almost certainly the work of John Hoskyns. It raises the suggestion that Bacon was effectively sacrificed to the political interests of his otherwise loyal patron, the Duke of Buckingham, and hints scurrilously about his relationships with his servants. The poem is discussed in Jardine and Stewart 465.

“Vpon the fall of Sir Francis Bacon Lo: Verulam & Viscount St. Alban Lo: Chancellor”

Great Verulam is very lame,<sup>1</sup> the gout of goe-out feeling<sup>2</sup>  
Hee humbly begs the crutch of state with falling sicknes<sup>3</sup> reeling  
Diseasd, displeasd & greved sore, that stately fate shold perish  
Unhappie that noe helpe can cure nor high protection cherish.  
Yet cannot I but marvell much, and that in common reason 5  
That Bacon should neglected be, when it is most in season  
Perhaps the Game of Buck hath villifi'd the Bore<sup>4</sup>  
Or els the Crescent in the wayne that hee can hunt no more  
Be what it will the Relative the antecedent moveing  
Declines to case accusative, the dative soe much loveing<sup>5</sup> 10  
Young<sup>6</sup> this greife will make the old, for care with youth ill matches  
Sorrowe makes Mute<sup>7</sup> to muse, that Hatche's<sup>8</sup> under hatches  
Bushells<sup>9</sup> want by halfe a peck the measure of such tares  
Because his Lords posteriors, makes buttons which hee weares<sup>10</sup>  
Tho Edney<sup>11</sup> nowe be cleane cassher'd, greife moves him to compassion 15  
To thinke that fates should bring soe lowe, the wheele of his Ambition.  
Had Butler<sup>12</sup> liv'd had<sup>13</sup> vex'd & grev'd so suddaine for to see  
The hogsh'd that soe late was brocht to run soe neere the Lee<sup>14</sup>  
Fletcher<sup>15</sup> may goe & feather bolts<sup>16</sup>, for such as quickly shoot them  
Nowe Cockens<sup>17</sup> combe is newly<sup>18</sup> a man may soone confute them 20  
The Red-rose house<sup>19</sup> lamenteth much, that this soe fatall day  
Should bring the fall of Leafe in March before the spring in May  
Albons condole their suddaine losse, their greatest Viscount Charter<sup>20</sup>

Who suffering for his Conscience sake, is turn'd Franciscan Martyr.<sup>21</sup>

**Source.** Bodleian MS Malone 23, p. 23

**Other known sources.** Osborn 210; Bodleian MS Douce f.5, fol. 37v; Bodleian MS Eng. Poet. c.50, fol. 32v; Bodleian MS Eng. Poet. f.10, fol. 96r; Bodleian MS Rawl. B. 151, fol. 102v; Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 117, fol. 22v; BL MS Harley 367, fol. 187r; BL MS Harley 1221, fol. 80v; BL MS Harley 6038, fol. 27r; Nottingham MS Portland PW V 37, p. 152; Folger MS V.a.192, part 2 fol. 7r; Folger MS V.a.345, p. 127

### Mii3

<sup>1</sup> *Great Verulam is very lame*: this limping pun on Bacon's title is noted by Sir Simonds D'Ewes as the invention of men mocking Bacon's shortage of money: "So as men raised very bitter sarcasms or jests of him; as that he lately was very lame, alluding to his barony of Verulam, but now having fallen into a consumption of purse, without all question he was become All-bones, alluding to his new honour of St. Alban" (qtd. in Jardine and Stewart 443).

<sup>2</sup> *gout of goe-out feeling*: punning on Bacon's fall from power and his struggles with gout.

<sup>3</sup> *falling sicknes*: epilepsy; here the use is entirely figurative.

<sup>4</sup> *Perhaps the Game...Bore*: the suggestion here, raised at the time by some people close to Bacon, though without any apparent foundation, is that Buckingham turned against Bacon, in order to protect his own position (Jardine and Stewart 455-56).

<sup>5</sup> *Be what...loveing*: an intricate and barely penetrable mesh of puns on grammatical terms. "[D]ative" can mean "disposed to give", and thus probably alludes to the bribery allegations; "accusative" might carry legal connotations; "Relative" may refer to a particular person, unidentifiable at this point.

<sup>6</sup> *Young*: John Young, one of Bacon's secretaries.

<sup>7</sup> *Mute*: i.e. Thomas Meautys, another of Bacon's secretaries; or Edmund Meautys, Bacon's gentleman of the horse.

<sup>8</sup> *Hatche's*: i.e. Hatcher, Bacon's seal-bearer.

<sup>9</sup> *Bushells*: Thomas Bushell, one of Bacon's gentleman ushers.

<sup>10</sup> *Because his Lords...weares*: "Aubrey explains the lewd reference to Bacon's backside and buttons: 'Twas the fashion in those days for gentlemen to have their suits of clothes garnished with buttons. My Lord Bacon was then in disgrace, and his man Bushell having more buttons than usual on his cloak, they

said that his Lord's breech made buttons and Bushell wore them: from whence he was called "buttoned Bushell".' Aubrey can only be suggesting that it was maliciously put about that Bushell's ostentatious dress had been earned by sexual services to his master" (Jardine and Stewart 465).

11 *Edney*: Francis Edney, Bacon's chamber-man.

12 *Butler*: Mr. Butler, one of Bacon's gentleman ushers.

13 *had*: probable scribal error; read "he had".

14 *Lee*: possibly either Mr. Leigh, Bacon's sergeant-at-arms, or Humphrey Leigh, one of Bacon's yeoman ushers presumably punning on the River Lea.

15 *Fletcher*: Mr. Fletcher, Bacon's gentleman waiter.

16 *feather bolts*: punning on the name Fletcher, as a maker of arrows. To feather bolts is to attach feathers to arrows.

17 *Cockens*: Mr. Cockaine, Bacon's page.

18 *is newly*: probable scribal error; read "is newly cut".

19 *Red-rose house*: the allusion here is clearly to Bacon's home, York House (a point made in a marginal note in one source (Bodleian Eng. Poet. c.50). Although the red rose was actually associated with the House of Lancaster most sources of the poem are consistent with this historical error. Only one known source prefers the historically correct "whit Rose" (BL MS Harley 367).

20 *Albons condole...Charter*: punning on Bacon's title, Viscount St. Alban's.

21 *Who suffering...Martyr*: the image of martyrdom (punning on the Catholic Franciscan order), though obviously couched in heavy irony, echoes the poem's earlier suggestion that Bacon has been sacrificed in the political interests of Buckingham.

#### Mii4 Why shoulde poore chauncelour be condemned by a cry

*Notes.* This poem on Bacon is unusual in its focus on his alleged homosexual relationship with his servant(s). To “go behind” becomes a combined allusion to bribery and sodomy. In the only known version of the poem, it is presented as the beginning of “Great Verulam is very lame the gout of go-out feeling”; however, since the latter poem is otherwise relatively stable, and widely circulated, the following lines are best considered as a discrete text.

Why shoulde poore chauncelour be condemned by a cry

Who tooke from few yett gave to many

He strove to make his Lady<sup>1</sup> rich we finde

He lov’d her well but alas he went behinde

God knowes he husband’ not his store<sup>2</sup>

He should have done his youth less: his Lady more

But now’s the time all freely speake their minde

Thy judgments are he wente too much behinde.

5

**Source.** Bodleian MS Eng. Poet. f.10, fol. 96r

Mii4

<sup>1</sup> *his Lady:* i.e. his wife, Lady Alice Bacon.

<sup>2</sup> *God knowes...store:* presumably a reference to the fact that Bacon had no children

### Mii5 The greate assemblie of the parlemente

*Notes.* This poem on Bacon takes the popular libellous punning on his name to an extreme, as it develops a narrative of the parliament's attack on him. Much of the humour depends on a correlation between political corruption and the physical corruption of a piece of bacon.

“On Sir Francis Bacons Lord Chancellor of Eng:”

The greate assemblie of the parlemente  
Had thought farewell this fastinge time of Lente<sup>1</sup>  
All though it had bin sometimes to their coste  
and to that end they gott the cheifest hoste.<sup>2</sup>  
That might be founde, graund-senior of those hostes 5  
which ar so many in our English coasts.  
But he did feare he should not give contente  
& therefore in greate policie he hence wente<sup>3</sup>  
By wich they greatly disappointed were  
& faine to fall unto their lenten fare. 10  
'till att the laste one speake, what naught but fish?  
methinks this time we might have some choise dish  
What say you to a daintie bitt of bacon  
which if I be not suerly mistaken  
It's stately, fine, & most franke & free 15  
By a kind Freind lately bestowd on me.  
Where is't quoth all? We would we had it here  
For sure good bacon now is daintie cheare.  
They all desir'd it & was brought in hast  
But when it came it greatly did distast 20  
Their palletts & disliked much their minde  
The reason was some thought 'thad taken winde<sup>4</sup>  
Others did say 'thad hunge too neere the pinn<sup>5</sup>  
And was corrupte & putrified within

'tould never smell so else in each mans nose 25  
The Cooke<sup>6</sup> was bidd the reason to disclose  
Who tould them that he thought the faulte  
Had bin especially for wante of salte<sup>7</sup>  
But that I knew quoth he it had greate store  
I seldome knew that any flesh had more 30  
this is the cause as I have heard it sayd  
Some cankerd mettall<sup>8</sup> was upon it laid  
which stayned it, besides twas hunge so high<sup>9</sup>  
& that so soone before 'twas through drie  
yett great men in nae there faulte was none 35  
I meddled not but made lett all alone  
now how to remedy this rustie<sup>10</sup> bacon  
I doe not know unless it be downe taken.

**Source.** Bodleian MS Eng. Poet. f.10, fols. 95v-96r

#### Mii5

- <sup>1</sup> *Lente*: some of the proceedings against Bacon took place in the period of Lent.
- <sup>2</sup> *the cheifest hoste*: i.e. Mompesson, holder of the patent for licensing inns.
- <sup>3</sup> *in greate...wente*: reference to Sir Giles Mompesson's flight from England, in March 1621.
- <sup>4</sup> *taken winde*: to "take wind" is to be divulged; here there is a pun on meat that has decayed.
- <sup>5</sup> *hunge...pinn*: unclear; presumably punning on meat corroded by the metal on which it is hung, and a statesman corrupted by his proximity to a source of power.
- <sup>6</sup> *Cooke*: i.e. Sir Edward Coke, a leading figure in the Commons and long-time rival of Bacon.
- <sup>7</sup> *for wante of salte*: possibly punning on "salt" in the figurative sense, meaning that which gives freshness to a person's character.
- <sup>8</sup> *cankerd mettall*: punning reference to the bribes Bacon accepted.

<sup>9</sup> *hunge so high*: punning reference to Bacon's political and judicial elevation.

<sup>10</sup> *rustie*: rancid.

**Mii6 Heer is Francis Verulam Lord Chancelour God save him**

*Notes.* This poem on Bacon assumes the form of an epitaph; however, it is clear that it was written before the man's actual death, and charts rather his political demise.

Heer is Francis Verulam Lord Chancelour God save him,  
What man in this kingdom durst hitherto out brave<sup>1</sup> him  
But now he is content his motto for to have it  
Fransiscus de Verulam non sic cogitavit.<sup>2</sup>

**Source.** Folger MS V.a.345, p. 127

**Other known sources.** Bodleian MS Firth d.7, fol. 154r

Mii6

<sup>1</sup> *out brave*: face with show of defiance; or surpass.

<sup>2</sup> *Fransiscus...cogitavit*: “Francis of Verulam did not think thus” (playing on the epigraph—or “motto”—to Bacon’s *Novum Organum* (1620): “Fransiscus de Verulamio sic cogitavit”).



**Mii7 Within this sty heer now doth ly**

*Notes.* Though it assumes the form of an epitaph, this poem was written during Bacon's life. An unpublished section of Sir Simonds D'Ewes's Autobiography records that a more pointed variant ("Within this sty a hog doth ly,/ That must be hang'd for sodomy") was left on a sheet of paper within Bacon's residence, York House (BL Add. MS 47128, fol 63r; BL MS Harley 646, fol. 59r-v).

"Upon Sir F. Ba."

Within this sty heer now doth ly  
A hog wel fed with bribery  
A pig, a hog, a boare, a bacon  
Whom God hath left, and the Diuel taken

**Source.** Folger MS V.a.345, p. 25

**Other known sources.** Bodleian MS Douce f.5, fol. 16r

Mii7

### Mii8 When you awake, dull Brittons, and behold

*Notes.* This poem in support of Francis Bacon, written after his impeachment, is attributed in more than one source to William Lewis, provost of Oriel College, Oxford, and Bacon's former chaplain (Bodleian MS Eng. Poet. f.10; BL Add. MS 25303; BL MS Stowe 962), and in one source is dated June 1621 (Bodleian MS Rawl. B. 151). It takes the form of an anti-libel, directly responding to attacks on its subject, and adopts throughout an elegiac tone. Readers were not generous in their responses. In at least two instances it is titled a "foolish invective" (BL Add. MS 25303; BL MS Harley 3910), and at least one source appends a poem written in response (BL Add. MS 25303; see "Blame not the Poet though he make such moane").

When you awake, dull Brittons, and behold

What treasure you have throwne into your mould;

Your ignorance in pruning of a state;

You shall confesse, and shall your rashnes hate:

For in a senceles furie you have slaine

5

A man, as farre beyond your spungie braine

Of common knowledge, as if<sup>1</sup> heaven from hell:

And yet you tryumph, thinke you have done well.

Oh, that the monster multitude should sit

In place of justice, reason, conscience, witte,

10

Nay in a throne or spehare above them all!

For tis a supreame power<sup>2</sup> that can call

All these to barre:<sup>3</sup> and with a frowning brow,

Make Senatours, nay mightie Counsellors bow.

Bould Plebeans the day will come I know

15

When such as Cato, such as Cicero,<sup>4</sup>

Shalbe more worth then the firste borne can be,

Of all your auncestours, or posterie.

But hees not dead you say: oh, that the soule

Once checkt, controwld, that once used to controwle

10

Cowcheth her downie wings! and scornes to flye

At any game, but faire eternitie.  
 Each spirit is retird to a roome,  
 And makes his living body but a toombe;  
 On which such Epitaphes may well be read 25  
 As would the gazer strike with sorrow dead.  
 Oh that I could but give his worth a name  
 That if not you, your sonne may blush for shame!  
 Who in arithmatick hath greatest skill  
 His good partes cannot number, yet his ill 30  
 Cannot be calld a number; since tis knowne  
 He had but few that could be calld his owne:  
 And those in other men (even in these times)  
 Are often praisd, and vertues calld, not crimes.  
 But as in purest thinges the smalest spott 35  
 Is sooner found, then either staine or blott  
 In baser stuff; even so his chance was such  
 To have of faults to few, of worth to much.  
 So by the brightnes of his owne cleare light  
 The moates<sup>5</sup> he had lay even to each sight. 40  
 If yee would have a man in all points good  
 You must not have him made of flesh and bloud:  
 An act of Parliament you first must settle  
 And force dame Nature worke in better mettle.  
 Some faults he had no more then serve to proove 45  
 He drew his line from Adam not from Jove.  
 And those small staines nature for its offence,  
 Like moones in armorie<sup>6</sup> made a difference  
 Twixt him and angells; beeing sure noe other  
 Then markes to know him for their younger brother. 50  
 Such spotts remooved (not to prophane) he then  
 Might well be call'd a demieGod mongst men.

A diamond flawed, saphyres and rubies stained  
 But undervalewed are not quite disdaind;  
 Which by a file recoverd they become 55  
 As worthie of esteeme, yeeld no lesse summe.  
 The gardner finding once a cankar growne  
 Upon a tree, that hee hath frutefull knowne,  
 Grubs it not up; but with a carefull hand  
 Opens the roote, remoovs the clay or sand 60  
 That cawsd the cancar, or with cunning arte  
 Pares of some rynde, but comes not nere the harte:  
 Only such trees the axes adge endure  
 As nere bare fruite, or else are past all cure.  
 The prudent husbandman thrusts not his sheare 65  
 Into his corne because some weeds are there,  
 But takes his hooke and gently as he may  
 Walke through the field and takes them all away.  
 A house of many roomes one may command,  
 But yet it shall require many a hand 70  
 To keepe it cleane: and if some filth be found  
 Crope in by negligence, is't cast toth grownde?  
 Fie no; but first the supream owner comes,  
 Examines everie office, views the roomes,  
 Makes them be cleans'd, and on some certaine paine 75  
 Commands they never be found so againe.  
 The temple else should overthrowne have bin,  
 Because some money-brokers were therein.<sup>7</sup>  
 The arke<sup>8</sup> had sunke and perisht in the floud,  
 Because some beasts crope in that were not good. 80  
 Adam had with a thunderbolt bin strooke,  
 When he from Eve the golden apple tooke.  
 But should the maker of mankinde doe soe

Whoe should write Man? who should to mans state grow?  
 Shall he be then put to th'extreame of law, 85  
 Because his conscience had a little flaw?  
 Will ye want conscience cleane, because that he  
 Stumbled or tript but in a small degree?  
 No; first looke back to all your owne past acts  
 Then passe your censure, punish all the facts 90  
 By him committed: Then Ile sweare he shall  
 Confesse that you are upright Chancellors all:  
 And for the time to come with all his might  
 Strive to out doo you all in doeing right.  
 Oh could his predicessours goast<sup>9</sup> appeare, 95  
 And tell how foule his master<sup>10</sup> left the chaire!  
 How each feather that he satt upon  
 Infectious was, and that ther was no stone  
 On which some contract was not made to fright  
 The fatherlesse and widdow from their right. 100  
 No stoole, no boord, no rush, no bench, on which  
 The poore man was not sould unto the rich.  
 It would have longer time the roome to aire  
 And what yee now call foule yee would thinke faire.  
 He tooke to keepe, (tis knowne) this but to live 105  
 He robd to purchase land and this to give.  
 And had this beene so blest in his owne treasure  
 He would have given much more with much more pleasure.  
 The nights greate lampe from the rich sea will take  
 To lend the thirstie earth and from each lake 110  
 That hath an overplus borrow a share  
 Not to its proper use, but to repair  
 The rivers of some parcht and updried hill:  
 So this unconstant planet (for more ill

Envie cannot speake of him) took from some floud 115  
 Not for's owne use, but to doe others good.  
 But such misfortune dogg'd his honest will  
 That what he tooke by wrong he gave as ill.  
 For those his bountie nurst, as all suppose  
 (Not those he injured) proov'd his greatest foes. 120  
 So foolish mothers from their wiser mates  
 Oft filch and steale, weaken their owne estates  
 To feede the humor of some wanton boy;  
 They sillie women hoping to have joy  
 Of this ranke plant when they are saplesse growne 125  
 But seld or never hath it yet bin knowne  
 That pamperd youth gave parents more releefe  
 Then what increaste their age with care and greefe  
 These oversights of Nature former times,  
 Have rather pittied, then condem'd as crimes. 130  
 Then wher is charitie become of late  
 Is her place beggd? her office given state?  
 Is their a pattent got for her restrainte  
 Or monopoly gain'd by false complaint?  
 If so? pursue the patentees, for sure 135  
 Falce information did the writt procure:  
 The seale is counterfeict, the referrees  
 Have taken bribes: then first examine these,  
 Restore faire Charitie to her place againe,  
 And he that suffers now may then complaine: 140  
 Set her at Justice feete, then let the poize<sup>11</sup>  
 By them directed be, and not by noise.  
 Let them his merritts weigh with his offence,  
 And you shall finde a mightie difference.  
 Race not a goodly buildinge for a toy:<sup>12</sup> 145

Tis better to repaire then to destroy.  
 You will not force his ashes to the urne,  
 Tush, thats not it; himselfe, himselfe will burne.  
 When he but findes his honours sound retreat,  
 Like a cag'd foule, himselfe to death will beate; 150  
 And leave the world, when thers no healpe at all  
 To sight<sup>13</sup> and greeve for his untimely fall.  
 The skilfull surgeon cutts not of a limme  
 Whilst there is hope: oh deale you so with him!  
 He wants not fortitude but can endure 155  
 Cutting, incision, so they promise cure:  
 Nay more, shew him but where the ey-sore stands,  
 And he will search and drest with his owne hands.  
 Would yee anatomize? would you desect  
 For your experience? oh, yee may elect 160  
 Out of that house,<sup>14</sup> where yee as Judges sit,  
 Diverse for execution far more fitt.  
 And when ye finde a monster overgrowne  
 With foule corruption, oh let him be throwne  
 At Justice feete, let him be sacrificz'd 165  
 And let new tortures new plagues be devised:  
 Such as may fright the living from their crimes,  
 And be a president<sup>15</sup> to after times.  
     Which long-liv'd records to enseuinge daies  
     Shall still proclaime, to your eternall praise. 170

**Source.** BL MS Sloane 826, fols. 4r-6v

**Other known sources.** Bodleian MS Ashmole 38, p. 10; Bodleian MS Eng. Poet. f.10, fol. 104r; Bodleian MS Rawl. B. 151, fol. 101r; Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 26, fol. 101r; Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 84, fol. 64v; Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 160, fol. 25r; BL Add. MS 10309, fol. 128v; BL Add. MS 25303, fol. 83r; BL Add. MS 29303, fol. 3v; BL MS Egerton 2725, fol. 43r; BL MS Harley 3910, fol. 8r; BL MS Harley 6917, fol. 101r; BL MS Sloane 1792, fol. 109r; BL MS Stowe 962, fol. 52v; Brotherton MS

Lt. q. 44, fol. 10r; NLS MS 2060, fol. 53r; Nottingham MS Portland PW V 37, p. 226; TCD MS 806, fol. 570r; Beinecke MS Osborn b.197, p. 139; Folger MS V.a.162, fol. 2r; Folger MS V.a.192, part 2, fol. 7r; Folger MS V.a.345, p. 127; Huntington MS HM 198, 1.37

Mii8

<sup>1</sup> *if*: probable scribal error, read “is”.

<sup>2</sup> *supreame power*: i.e. the King.

<sup>3</sup> *call...to barre*: bring to court; also, more generally, “bring to justice” or “call to account”.

<sup>4</sup> *Cato...Cicero*: Roman writers and politicians invoked here, presumably, as men who faced death in preference to recanting views out of line with those of their rulers. Cato defended the Roman republic and bitterly opposed Julius Ceasar; Cicero was put to death for a number of speeches he made after the death of Caesar, attacking Mark Antony.

<sup>5</sup> *moates*: spots, blemishes.

<sup>6</sup> *moones in armorie*: i.e. like images of moons used in heraldry.

<sup>7</sup> *The temple...therin*: allusion to Christ driving money-changers out of the temple—although, as the poem suggests, leaving the temple standing (Matthew 25.26-28; Mark 11.14-16; John 2.14-16).

<sup>8</sup> *The arke*: i.e. Noah’s ark.

<sup>9</sup> *his predicessours goast*: reference to Thomas Egerton, Lord Ellesmere, who died in 1617.

<sup>10</sup> *his master*: presumably the “master” is Egerton himself, as opposed to the spirit.

<sup>11</sup> *poize*: balance (of justice).

<sup>12</sup> *Race not...toy*: do not demolish (“rase”) a fine building for mere sport.

<sup>13</sup> *sight*: probable scribal error; read “sigh”.

<sup>14</sup> *that house*: the House of Commons.

<sup>15</sup> *president*: i.e. precedent.



### Mii9 What hatfull fury dipt thy raging Quill

*Notes.* This poem responds to “When you awake, dull Brittons, and behold”, defending the parliament’s treatment of Bacon. In the process, it develops a trenchant argument, with some republican undertones, in support of the role of parliament.

“A defence to the Answer made for the Lord Bacon”

What hatfull fury dipt thy raging Quill  
in deadly Acconite<sup>1</sup> that thow doest fill  
each Line with slander and invective spight  
against a Sennate whose grave Doome can fright  
the most out daring Insolence! fond elfe 5  
to vallew worth by thine unworthy selfe  
no monster multitude (ill tutord mate)  
censur’d thy faulty Lord butt such a state  
as verry hardly parraleld may bee  
for wisdom Courage & Integrity 10  
Athens Rome Vennice<sup>2</sup> yeild preheminance  
to theyr farr more admired excellence  
butt weer our Comons of a Common merritt  
none butt a mallepert<sup>3</sup> oreweening<sup>4</sup> spirritt  
durst tax theyse brave Heroes of the state 15  
and Reverend Clergy as inordinate  
in theyr first sentence, was it not theyr power  
that curbed & crusht your famous Chancellour  
and this fayre act which you doe brand with shame  
shall add renoune to theyr thrice honoured name 20  
what if defrauding none of that is dew  
we graunt that many praysfull parts are trew  
which you invest him with, be he a Jemm  
fitt to adorne a Royall dyadem

for abstruce knowledg, though the quintessence 25  
 of arts in him keepe private residence  
 beyond all Common streyn, lett us agree  
 [gap in the ms: suggesting a missing line]  
 that he's the only Phenix of the time  
 yett this most salvage & inhumane Crime 30  
 of foule extortion soe doth stayne the rest  
 that whome we most admire, we most detest  
 oh thow misterious deepe Philosophy  
 o thow a kingdomes Pillar Pollecy  
 o filed Phrase, inchaunting elloquence 35  
 why are yee thus estrang'd from innocence  
 o wretched time; O world of wofull case  
 wheer wismen studdy Nature more then grace  
 if that faire Nimph whose awfull majesty  
 in luster farr surmounts the heavens bright eye 40  
 devine Astraea<sup>5</sup> had been harbourd by him  
 no Cicero, no Cato<sup>6</sup> had come nigh him  
 nor may he now be stild his Country's father  
 butt both a name a fact aversed<sup>7</sup> it rather  
 who can with tears bemoane this great mans fall 45  
 or gild his foule sine like a painted wall  
 who knowing soe much good soe ill did doe  
 selling both right & wrong & conscience too  
 A heynous fault & in him most unjust  
 who had the conscience of a King in trust 50  
 who with such peccadilloes can dispence  
 I know not what heele call a great offence  
 butt God and his immediate substitute  
 would not permitt him longer to pollute  
 that sacred state but both make ready way 55

to what he fear'd, as his doomes dreadfull day  
 thus is he brought to tast corrections rodd  
 as a vayne man, not as a demmy God  
 whose property in doing good, butt evell  
 though joynd with rarest parts befitts a divell 60  
 who was an angell alsoe ere he fell  
 and angell like was made Achitophell<sup>8</sup>  
 what doe you gaine when with insulting rage  
 yow bring the dead in scorne upon the stage  
 if others have done ill, their's no defence 65  
 found in retorting crimes, but innocence  
 or what can it prevayle if man pretend  
 in doeing evell some more specious end  
 robbing to purchase land, or give away  
 will find small difference at the reckoning day 70  
 a just damnation doth to them belong  
 who under foule pretence, doe fowlest wrong  
 since then his fault was of soe high a strayne  
 tweer great ingratitude should he complaine  
 of his light censure, when that life and limbe 75  
 and Noble titles are preserv'd to him  
 only the power & wisdom of the land  
 wrested a weapon from a madd mans hand  
 had they been more sever, the Parlament  
 was nott unfurnisht of a President<sup>9</sup> 80  
 Tressillian learnt a tricke to stretch a string  
 though by preventing law to please a King<sup>10</sup>  
 but your inconstant moon as ill hath done  
 not for a King but for Endimion<sup>11</sup>  
 your Alban<sup>12</sup> knowes (who knowes much more then I) 85  
 how a corrupt Judg was adjudg'd to dye

and his head skinn made lining for a chare  
 wher his suckessor satt, he knowes how fayre  
 Faine speake Count Holland, who for one poore Cowe<sup>13</sup>  
 condem'd his bailife to the fatall Bough 90  
 butt fayrer fall the learned Verrulam  
 and lett this stayne, that late did stayne his fame  
 be washt by pennyntence; long may he live  
 and from his unexhausted treasure give  
 Jewels of witt, art, Language, Pollecye 95  
 and teach the world each hidden mistery  
 of Nature, lett him open all the springs  
 of Councill fitt to guide the wisest Kings  
 for lett oblivion cover former Crimes  
 and he stand honourd to succeeding times 100

**Source.** Huntington MS HM 198, 1.134-36

### Mii9

- <sup>1</sup> *Acconite*: a poison, derived from a genus of plants of the same name.
- <sup>2</sup> *Athens Rome Vennice*: cities associated with republican government, either in ancient or modern times.
- <sup>3</sup> *mallepert*: presumptuous, impudent.
- <sup>4</sup> *oreweening*: i.e. “overweeing” (having an inflated opinion of oneself).
- <sup>5</sup> *Astraea*: in classical mythology, the Just Virgin of the Golden Age; hence a figure representative of justice.
- <sup>6</sup> *no Cicero, no Cato*: Roman writers and politicians invoked in “When you awake, dull Brittons, and behould” by way of comparison with Bacon.
- <sup>7</sup> *aversed*: averted; opposed. The point is that for Bacon a “fact” of corruption stands in opposition to any “name” of dignity.

<sup>8</sup> *Achitophell*: i.e. Ahitophel, counsellor of King David who plotted against his master (2 Samuel 15.31, 17.1-23).

<sup>9</sup> *President*: i.e. precedent.

<sup>10</sup> *Tressillian learnt...King*: reference to Sir Robert Tressilian, Chief Justice of the King's Bench under Richard II, who played a critical role in the constitutional crisis of 1386-88. Tressilian co-authored a series of legal statements on the scope of the royal prerogative against the claims of parliament, which effectively accused the parliament of treason. In response, Richard's baronial enemies accused five of Richard's advisors of treason, and eventually two (including Tressilian) were executed. Presumably the conviction and execution of Tressilian is the "precedent" to which the poem refers.

<sup>11</sup> *but your...Endimion*: in classical mythology, Endymion was a mortal who loved the moon, and was either put into a permanent sleep by her, or else chose this condition himself. In the early Stuart period the meaning of the figure is also informed by John Lyly's Elizabethan allegorical play *Endimion, The Man in the Moone*, in which Endimion (probably the Earl of Leicester) is in fact released from sleep by Cynthia (the moon; Queen Elizabeth). In the present poem, "Endimion" is almost certainly a figure representative of Buckingham: the suggestion being that Bacon has stretched the law for the favourite's benefit.

<sup>12</sup> *your Alban*: i.e. Bacon, Viscount St. Albans.

<sup>13</sup> *how a corrupt...Cowe*: the details of these precedents, whether factual or mythical, are unclear; however, the poem's point, about legal corruption and self-interest, is relatively straightforward.

### Mii10 Blame not the Poet though he make such moane

*Notes.* This poem is a response to “When you awake, dull Brittons, and behould”, and in the only known source it immediately follows that poem, with no new title.

Blame not the Poet though he make such moane

for’s Lord since in his case he pleads his owne

if that his Lord must such sharpe censure have

what then must hee that was soe very a knave

yet as his faultes were more so may we say

his witts weare for he quickly run away<sup>1</sup>

5

Like to the man that saw his Master kisse

thee Poo pes foote feard that a worse place was his

may the Lords cure succede his punishment

and justice him oretake that it ore went

10

Though scap’d his first, he stay till the laste doome

and cry let hir alone till that day come

**Source.** BL Add. MS 25303, fol. 86r

Mii10

<sup>1</sup> *he quickly run away:* William Lewis, the likely author of “When you awake, dull Brittons, and behould”, mysteriously fled to Paris not long after Bacon’s fall.

### Miii The Aftermath: reflections and assessments

#### Miii1 One worthy Chancellour rendred up his place

*Notes.* In November 1620, John Chamberlain noted that, “It seemes we live of late under some rolling planet for it is observed that in lesse than five yeares most of our principall officers have ben displaced or disgraced, as a Lord Chauncellor, a Lord Treasurer, a Lord Chamberlain, a Lord Admirall, a master of the horse, a secretarie, a master of the wards, a Lord Cheife Justice and an Atturney generall” (2.325). This verse, probably written a year after Chamberlain’s report, in the aftermath of Bacon’s fall and another spate of dismissals and new appointments, offers a similar perspective on the “rowlinge tumblinge Age” for officers of state.

One worthy Chancellour<sup>1</sup> rendred up his place

another was removed with disgrace<sup>2</sup>

Two treasurers<sup>3</sup> a Maister of the Horse<sup>4</sup>

An Admirall<sup>5</sup> all changed for the worse

Two Chequer Chancellors<sup>6</sup> two Cheife Justices<sup>7</sup>

two secretaryes<sup>8</sup> sped as ill as these

Maister of the wards<sup>9</sup> domesticke officers

And favourites<sup>10</sup> herein have had their shares

Of privy Councillours noe lesse then ten

Forbeare the Councell untill god knowes when

Even true Religion that these threescore yeares<sup>11</sup>

hath settled beene, an alteration feares<sup>12</sup>

And you great lords that yet are on the stage

Stand fast this is a rowlinge tumblinge Age.

5

10

**Source.** Bodleian MS Eng. Poet. c.50, fol. 13r

#### Miii1

<sup>1</sup> *One worthy Chancellour:* Lord Chancellor Thomas Egerton, Lord Ellesmere, died in March 1617, days after surrendering the Great Seal.

- <sup>2</sup> *another...disgrace*: Ellesmere's successor, Sir Francis Bacon, impeached by Parliament in 1621.
- <sup>3</sup> *Two treasurers*: Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk, charged with gross corruption, was dismissed as Lord Treasurer in July 1618. Sir Henry Montagu, Viscount Mandeville, was Suffolk's eventual successor (in 1620), but surrendered the office late in 1621 to Sir Lionel Cranfield, Earl of Middlesex.
- <sup>4</sup> *Maister of the Horse*: James I appointed his favourite George Villiers (later Duke of Buckingham) as Master of the Horse in January 1616, replacing Edward Somerset, 4th Earl of Worcester, who was appointed, in compensation, Lord Privy Seal.
- <sup>5</sup> *Admirall*: George Villiers, Marquis of Buckingham, replaced Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham, as Lord Admiral in January 1619.
- <sup>6</sup> *Two Chequer Chancellors*: turnover in the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer was significantly less pronounced than in other positions. Sir Julius Caesar held the office from 1606 to 1614, and Sir Fulke Greville from 1614 to 1621. In November 1621, Sir Richard Weston replaced Greville.
- <sup>7</sup> *two Cheife Justices*: Sir Edward Coke was dismissed as Lord Chief Justice in 1616; his successor, Sir Henry Montagu, Viscount Mandeville, was replaced in 1620 by Sir James Ley.
- <sup>8</sup> *two secretaryes*: one of the two Secretaries is Sir Thomas Lake, who lost office as a result of the scandal that engulfed his family in 1618-19 (see Section J). The other is either Sir Ralph Winwood, who died in office in October 1617, or Sir Robert Naunton, who was threatened with dismissal in 1621 though in fact survived in office until 1623.
- <sup>9</sup> *Maister of the wards*: William Knollys, Viscount Wallingford, son-in-law of Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk, was dismissed as Master of the Wards in December 1618.
- <sup>10</sup> *favourites*: alluding to the fall of the favourite Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset in 1615-16 (see Section H).
- <sup>11</sup> *true Religion...threescore yeares*: dating the establishment of the "true Religion"—Protestantism—in England to the accession of Elizabeth I in 1558 and to the Elizabethan Church settlement that ensued.
- <sup>12</sup> *an alteration feares*: alluding to the growing fears of a resurgence of Catholicism, possibly to be authorized in the terms for a marriage alliance with Spain.



### Miii2 When Charles, hath got the Spanish Gearle

*Notes.* Versions of this detailed poem on politics in the early 1620s differ considerably in length, and it seems likely that extra verses were added by different hands in the course of the poem's circulation. In one source it is dated "March 1621" (Bodleian MS Eng. Poet. c.50).

When Charles, hath got the Spanish Gearle<sup>1</sup>

The Puritans will scold & bralle

But Digbie<sup>2</sup> then shall be made an Earle

And Spanish gold shall pay for all

When Suffolke<sup>3</sup> getts the king to frend

& makes his wife<sup>4</sup> to cease to brall

he then may finish Audeley end<sup>5</sup>

& the old accompt shall pay for all

5

When Sussex<sup>6</sup> cured of the pox<sup>7</sup> yow see

& his whores relived from the hospitall

his countesse<sup>8</sup> then will honest be

& the Surgion shalbe payed for all

10

When Mansfeild taken hath Argires<sup>9</sup>

then paules<sup>10</sup> shall have a steeple tall

the Lord mayor then the churchyard cleares

& the Turkish gold<sup>11</sup> shall pay for all

15

When Sackfeild<sup>12</sup> Spinola<sup>13</sup> shall take

& Wentworth<sup>14</sup> brings Bucquoy<sup>15</sup> to thrall

then<sup>16</sup> King will then be frends with Lake<sup>17</sup>

& the Lady Rosse<sup>18</sup> shall pay for all

20

When Cranfeild<sup>19</sup> is Lord Tresorer made

then soope & Candles sure will fall<sup>20</sup>

& all his Soveraignes debts be payd  
& thats the day shall pay for all

When the Banquetting howse<sup>21</sup> is finishd quite 25  
then Jones Sir Inigo<sup>22</sup> we will call  
& Poetts Ben<sup>23</sup> brave maskes shall write  
& a Parlament shall pay for all

When oxford<sup>24</sup> doth from Weesele<sup>25</sup> come  
Then Joy to poore decayed Turnball<sup>26</sup> 30  
for up goes every wenches bom  
& the ould baude shall paye for all

Sir Gyles<sup>27</sup> is much displeasd with king  
that he a parlament doth call  
but my ast and oastis<sup>28</sup> they doe sing 35  
the day is com shall paye for all

The Scotchmen are but begger yet  
although theire begging be not small  
but when a parlament doth sitt  
the subsidyes shall pay for all 40

When Buckingham had got his Kate<sup>29</sup>  
her father<sup>30</sup> seemed to fret his galle  
but when the preest concluded her fate  
he was contente to paye for all

When purbeck hath recovered his witt<sup>31</sup> 45  
& cooke<sup>32</sup> amended his cases all  
then hutton house<sup>33</sup> heele get  
& the day will come shall paye for all

Greate Edward his is Nowe in print<sup>34</sup>

& thinks to get the divell & all 50  
 The Spanish Gould come to our minte  
 then thats the day shall pay for all

When Kitt<sup>35</sup> doth leave his healthes to drinke  
 & take delight in beere but small  
 a shall be then a lord som thinke 55  
 & the London Lasse shall pay for all

When Yelverton<sup>36</sup> shalbe releassed  
 & Buckingham begine to fall  
 then will the commons be well pleased  
 & that hath long been wished of all 60

They say Sejanus<sup>37</sup> doth bestowe  
 what ever offices doe fall  
 but tis well knowne it is not so  
 for he is soundly payed for all

Theares none doth nowe so much as name 65  
 the Earle of Somerset<sup>38</sup> at all  
 but suerly he was much to blame  
 for he should once have hang'd<sup>39</sup> for all

When Doncaster<sup>40</sup> puts money to use  
 & Devonshier<sup>41</sup> prove a prodigall 70  
 & cooke<sup>42</sup> leaves of to playe the goose  
 then thats the day shall paye for all

O Chanclor<sup>43</sup> hat bine bribd with plate  
 to aunswer which they doe him call  
 Lord Egerton<sup>44</sup> he sent too late 75  
 for the daye is come shall paye for all

The day that most have wisht to see  
is nowe at hand of Bacons fall  
but maney men will loosers bee  
For he can never pay them all<sup>45</sup>

80

A countesse<sup>46</sup> doth her husband rebuke  
& bids him goe & com at her call  
but when her Sonne is created a Duke  
the day will com shall pay for all

**Source.** Bodleian MS Ashmole 38, fol. 229r-v

**Other known sources.** Bodleian MS Ashmole 36-37, fol. 108r; Bodleian MS Eng. Poet. c.50, fol. 31v; Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 160, fol. 179v; TCD MS 806, fol. 581v; Folger MS V.a.162, fol. 29v; Rosenbach MS 239/27, p. 66

#### Miii2

- <sup>1</sup> *When Charles...Gearle*: i.e. when Prince Charles has married the Spanish Infanta (see Section N).
- <sup>2</sup> *Digbie*: Sir John Digby, later Earl of Bristol, James's ambassador to Spain to negotiate the Spanish Match.
- <sup>3</sup> *Suffolke*: Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk, who had been dismissed as Lord Treasurer in 1618 for corruption.
- <sup>4</sup> *his wife*: Catherine Howard, Countess of Suffolk.
- <sup>5</sup> *Audeley end*: Audley End, Suffolk's palatial house, construction of which was financed with his profits from office.
- <sup>6</sup> *Sussex*: Robert Radcliffe, 5th Earl of Sussex. This stanza implies the Earl had a notorious reputation for womanizing. On the death of his wife in December 1623, he was swiftly remarried to a woman Chamberlain reported as "his concubine" (2.533).
- <sup>7</sup> *pox*: syphilis.
- <sup>8</sup> *countesse*: Bridget, Countess of Sussex.

- <sup>9</sup> *Mansfeild taken hath Argires*: Sir Robert Mansell led an English fleet on an expedition against the Barbary pirates of Algiers, 1620-21.
- <sup>10</sup> *paules*: St. Paul's Cathedral, London. The Cathedral was in poor physical repair, and an appeal to raise funds had been launched in 1620.
- <sup>11</sup> *Turkish gold*: presumably the wealth taken from the Muslim Barbary pirates based in Algiers.
- <sup>12</sup> *Sackfield*: possibly Sir Edward Sackville, an officer in Sir Horace Vere's 1620 volunteer force to aid Frederick V, Elector Palatine.
- <sup>13</sup> *Spinola*: Ambrosio Spinola, Spanish general who commanded the conquest of the Palatinate in 1620-21.
- <sup>14</sup> *Wentworth*: Sir John Wentworth, an officer in the English volunteer force commanded by Sir Horace Vere to aid Frederick V, Elector Palatine.
- <sup>15</sup> *Bucquoy*: Charles Bonaventure de Longueval, Count of Bucquoy, commander of Imperial forces against the rebels in Bohemia.
- <sup>16</sup> *then*: probable scribal error; read "the"
- <sup>17</sup> *Lake*: Sir Thomas Lake, former Secretary of State, who fell from office in 1618-19 as a result of a scandal involving defamation, forgery and the suborning of witnesses (see Section J).
- <sup>18</sup> *Lady Rosse*: Anne Cecil, Lady Roos, daughter of Sir Thomas Lake and widow of William Cecil, Lord Roos. Lady Roos was imprisoned in 1619 as a result of the defamation, forgery and suborning charges that also brought down her father (see Section J).
- <sup>19</sup> *Cranfeild*: Sir Lionel Cranfield, who became Lord Treasurer late in 1621.
- <sup>20</sup> *fall*: i.e. fall in price, presumably thanks to Cranfield's reforms of the monopolies on soap and candles.
- <sup>21</sup> *Banquetting howse*: the new Banqueting House in the palace of Whitehall, designed by Inigo Jones, and completed by March 1622.
- <sup>22</sup> *Jones Sir Inigo*: Inigo Jones, the designer of the Banqueting House at Whitehall. He was never knighted.
- <sup>23</sup> *Poetts Ben*: Ben Jonson. ("Poetts" is a probable scribal error; read "Poet".)
- <sup>24</sup> *oxford*: Henry de Vere, 19th Earl of Oxford, and a member of Sir Horace Vere's 1620 expeditionary

force to aid Frederick V, Elector Palatine.

<sup>25</sup> *Weesele*: Wesel, a town in the Rhineland, occupied by the Spanish since 1614. Vere's force marched through Wesel in 1620.

<sup>26</sup> *Turnball*: Turnbull Street in London, notorious for its whorehouses. On Oxford's whoremongering reputation, see "Some say Sir Edward Cecill can".

<sup>27</sup> *Sir Gyles*: Sir Giles Mompesson, monopolist.

<sup>28</sup> *ast and oastis*: host and hostess; i.e. the proprietors of the inns now freed from Mompesson's intrusive regulation.

<sup>29</sup> *Buckingham...Kate*: George Villiers, Earl of Buckingham, married Katherine (Kate) Manners, daughter of the Earl of Rutland, in May 1620.

<sup>30</sup> *her father*: Francis Manners, 6th Earl of Rutland, who initially opposed the match with Buckingham because of the amount of dowry demanded and because it would require his daughter to renounce her Catholicism.

<sup>31</sup> *purbeck...witt*: Buckingham's elder brother, John Villiers, Viscount Purbeck was afflicted with bouts of insanity.

<sup>32</sup> *cooke*: Sir Edward Coke. Coke had fought bitterly with his wife Elizabeth, Lady Hatton, to permit their daughter Frances to marry John Villiers. After an epic feud, Coke got his way and the couple was married late in 1617.

<sup>33</sup> *hutton house*: presumably Hatton House, one of Coke's wife's properties that would come to Purbeck as result of his marriage to Frances Coke.

<sup>34</sup> *Greate Edward...print*: unclear; possibly a reference to Sir Edward Coke's work on successive volumes of his case-law *Reports*.

<sup>35</sup> *Kitt*: Buckingham's younger brother, Sir Christopher Villiers.

<sup>36</sup> *Yelverton*: Sir Henry Yelverton, former Attorney-General. Yelverton had been dismissed from office in 1620. In April 1621, testifying to the House of Lords on patents and monopolies, Yelverton launched a blistering attack on Buckingham and his kindred. James ordered Yelverton imprisoned, a sentence that was confirmed by the House of Lords in May 1621.

<sup>37</sup> *Sejanus*: notorious favourite of the Roman Emperor Tiberius; here implying Buckingham.

<sup>38</sup> *Eearle of Somersett*: Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset, Buckingham's predecessor as favourite, who

was brought down in the Overbury murder scandal of 1615-16 (see Section H).

<sup>39</sup> *hang'd*: Somerset was sentenced to die for his role in Overbury's murder; however, the sentence was never carried out.

<sup>40</sup> *Doncaster*: James Hay, Viscount Doncaster, a noted profligate.

<sup>41</sup> *Devonshier*: William Cavendish, Earl of Devonshire. Chamberlain reports that at the time of Cavendish's elevation a "rime" attacking Cavendish and other recently ennobled men, termed the new Earl of Devonshire "a Lombard or usurer", suggesting he had a reputation for miserliness (2.163).

<sup>42</sup> *cooke*: Sir Edward Coke.

<sup>43</sup> *Chanclor*: Lord Chancellor, Sir Francis Bacon, impeached for bribery by the 1621 Parliament.

<sup>44</sup> *Lord Egerton*: Thomas Egerton, Lord Ellesmere, Bacon's predecessor as Lord Chancellor.

<sup>45</sup> *he can never...all*: Bacon's debts were notoriously huge, and his means of paying them notoriously limited.

<sup>46</sup> *A countesse*: the reference here is unclear, but the likeliest candidate—given that her son was in line to be created a duke—is Mary Villiers, Countess of Buckingham, mother of George Villiers the royal favourite. Her husband was Thomas, Lord Compton.

### Miii3 Thy followers in hope to flatter thee

*Notes.* In the summer of 1621, James appointed the Dean of Westminster, John Williams, as the new Lord Keeper and Bishop of Lincoln. This poet's low opinion of Williams's qualifications for high office is captured in the anagram on Williams's name that precedes this verse. The anagram also circulated separately (in Huntington MS HM 116, for instance, it is transcribed alongside a second anagram on Williams: see "Anagram on John Williams"); however, here it not only accompanies the libel but also becomes the basis for the final, mocking, verdict on Williams delivered in the last ten lines of the verse.

Anagram:

John Williams

Who I? silly man

Thy followers in hope to flatter thee

Will sweare thou dost deserve this dignity

5

Of beeing keeper, and thy freinds in love,

Will say as much as may thy faults remove.

truth thou shalt never heare from them, and foes

With too much passions thy name expose,

to all untruth: and strangers of thy worth,

10

Dare not for fear of punishment speak truth.

But that thou mayest thy owne life character

Discerne<sup>1</sup> and know what thou art & what hereafter,

Time will speake of thee: know within thy name

Thy selfe doth question and resolve the same,

15

Most just of all sides: let thy name speake then

John Williams, who I? a silly man

Thou well maiest wonder from the keyes of Peter<sup>2</sup>

That thou should'st rise into the place of keeper

And when in modesty thy name thus courts thee

20

It speakes but truly what all men report thee.



**Source.** John Rylands MS Eng. 410, fol. 26v

**Other known sources.** Huntington MS HM 116, p. 137 (the anagram only)

Miii3

<sup>1</sup> *But that...Discerne*: some contemporaries believed that a person's true character could be hidden in the letters of his or her name; thus anagramming could stake a claim not only as an exercise in wit, but also as a form of revelation.

<sup>2</sup> *keyes of Peter*: Williams was Dean of Westminster Abbey, the church of St. Peter.

#### **Miii4 Anagram on John Williams**

*Notes. In the only known source, this anagram is paired with the similar anagram used at the beginning of “Thy followers in hope to flatter thee”.*

Who I silly man

I mis only law

**Source.** Huntington MS HM 116, p. 137

Miii4

### Miii5 The Kinge & the court desyrous of sport

*Notes.* This poem concerns a visit by King James to Oxford in August 1621, for the duration of which he kept his court at Woodstock. The poem clearly became best-known for its final eight lines, which describe a famously disastrous sermon delivered by Richard Corbett, who was at that time Dean of Christ Church. Corbett was evidently distracted from his sermon by a ring which had been given to him by the King, and as a result lost his place in his script. Indeed these lines are commonly transcribed as a discrete poem (see list below), as well as being incorporated into the longer version.

“On the Schollers flocking to Woodstock”

The Kinge & the court desyrous of sport

Six dayes at Woodstock did lye:<sup>1</sup>

The reverend Doctors, & Sattin-sleeved Proctors<sup>2</sup>

And rest of the Juvenall frye:

Whose faces did shine, with beere & with wine,

Soe fatt, that it may be thought,

University cheere, with Colledge stronge beere

Made them better fedd then taught.

An hundred beside, on horsebacke did ride

For Schollers were wondrous kind,

And ever more, as they rode before

They kisse the wenchies behind.

A 1000 on foote, without cloake or boote,

Came hither as good subjects should

And all was to show, how far they would goe

To do the kings Majesty good.

The Reverend Deane<sup>3</sup> with his band starch'd cleane

Did preach before the kinge

A ringe I espyed, in his bandstrings tyed

Was not that a pretty thing?  
The ringe without doubt, was that brought him out  
And made him forgett what was next:  
For every one there, will say, I dare sweare  
Hee handled it more then his text.

**Source.** Folger MS V.a.162, fol. 40r

**Other known sources.** Aubrey 167; *Wit Restor'd* 62; *Stoughton Manuscript* 62; Bodleian MS CCC. 328, fol. 40v; Bodleian MS Douce f.5, fol. 31r; Bodleian MS Eng. Poet. e.97, p. 13; Bodleian MS Malone 19, p. 111; Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 84, fol. 73v; Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 206, p. 72; Bodleian MS Tanner 466, fol. 67r; BL Add. MS 30982, fol. 22v; BL Add. MS 70454, fol. 53r; BL Add. MS 70639, fol. 65r; Folger MS V.a.124, fol. 19v; Folger MS V.a.262, p. 60; Rosenbach MS 239/27, p. 185

**Known sources of the shorter version.** "Poems from a Seventeenth-Century Manuscript" 122; Bodleian MS Ashmole 36-37, fol. 156r; Bodleian MS Aubrey 6, fol. 106r; Bodleian MS Douce f.5, fol. 15v; Bodleian MS Eng. Poet. e.14, fol. 81v; Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 26, fol. 4v; Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 116, fol. 54r; Bodleian MS Smith 17, p. 111; Bodleian MS Tanner 465, fol. 81r; BL Add. MS 15227, fol. 28r; BL Add. MS 44963, fol. 36v; BL MS Egerton 923, fol. 10v; BL MS Egerton 2026, fol. 66r; BL MS Harley 7316, fol. 17v; BL MS Sloane 1479, fol. 10r; BL MS Sloane 1489, fol. 12r; BL MS Sloane 1867, fol. 45r; NLS MS 2060, fol. 15v; Rosenbach MS 1083/16, p. 207

Miii5

<sup>1</sup> *Six dayes at Woodstock did lye*: the visit to Woodstock, near Oxford, took place in the last week of August 1621 (Nichols 4.713-15).

<sup>2</sup> *Proctors*: officers of the university.

<sup>3</sup> *Reverend Deane*: Richard Corbett, Dean of Christ Church.

## N. The Spanish Match Crisis (c.1618-1623)

On 24 December 1620, James I issued a stongly-worded proclamation:

forasmuch as it comes to Our eares, by common report, That there is at this time a more licentious passage of lavish discourse, and bold Censure in matters of State, then hath been heretofore, or is fit to be suffered, Wee have thought it necessary, by the advice of Our Privie Councill, to give forewarning unto Our loving Subjects, of this excesse and presumption; And straitly to command them and evry of them, from the highest to the lowest, to take heede, how they intemeddle by Penne, or Speech, with causes of State, and secrets of Empire, either at home, or abroad, but containe themselves within that modest and reverent regard, of matters, above their reach and calling, that to good and dutifull Subjects appertaineth.

Seven months later, James was forced to reissue the command (*Stuart Royal Proclamations* 1. 495-96, 519-20). Neither proclamation made any difference—the volume of “lavish and licentious speech” on matters political, both domestic and foreign, continued to escalate. And, howling as loud (and as licentiously) as any other element in this chorus of dangerous political speech, were the “railing rymes and vaunting verse” of the libellers (“O stay your teares yow who complaine”).

The escalation both in the quantity and in the political daring of the verse libels written during the period 1618-1623 was both a direct result of, and a powerful contribution to, the intensity of debate about the course of James I’s foreign policy, in particular his attempts to seek a Spanish bride for his son and heir Prince Charles. Although the ecumenically-minded James had mulled over the benefits of a marriage alliance with Catholic Spain since making peace with the Spanish in 1604, and had actually begun serious negotiations as early as 1614-15, the Match became a real source of public controversy only in the aftermath of the outbreak of confessional warfare on the Continent, triggered by the Bohemian revolt of 1618. The Protestant Bohemians’ deposition of their Catholic Habsburg king, the future Holy Roman Emperor Ferdinand of Styria, was of more than passing concern to James and his subjects. For the Bohemian rebels chose in Ferdinand’s stead, James I’s son-in-law Frederick V, Elector Palatine, who had married James’s daughter Elizabeth in 1613. Much to James’s dismay, Frederick accepted the rebels’ offer of the crown. The consequences were disastrous. Frederick and Elizabeth were driven from their new kingdom after a major defeat at the Battle of White Mountain in November 1620. Meanwhile, Frederick’s lands in the Lower Palatinate had been

occupied by Spanish armies under Spinola, who saw these crucial Rhineland territories as strategically indispensable in the war with the United Provinces that would almost inevitably ensue upon the expiration of the Spanish-Dutch twelve-year truce in 1621. Driven from Bohemia, from the Lower Palatinate and, by October 1621, also from the lands of the Upper Palatinate seized by the Catholic Duke of Bavaria, Frederick and Elizabeth became exiles, sheltered by the Dutch government at The Hague.

The Bohemian-Palatinate crisis opened up dangerous divisions of opinion in England. Many called for war—whether a war of religion or a war of dynastic and national honour—to protect the Palatinate, Protestant and Stuart interests against their Catholic foes. James, however, remained embarrassed at his son-in-law's actions, and committed himself to a diplomatic solution, the cornerstone of which was the long-mooted marriage alliance with Spain. For James, a marriage alliance with Spain offered solutions to many of his problems: in diplomatic terms, an alliance between England and Spain might help collapse the rigid divisions between the confessional camps that were squaring off across the battlefields of Europe; an alliance might also allow James to secure Spanish assistance in returning the Palatinate to Frederick V, or in negotiating some kind of settlement between Frederick and the King of Spain's understandably irate cousin, the Emperor Ferdinand. A match with Spain also brought both symbolic and material benefits: marrying into the most powerful royal house in Europe would impress upon the world the dynastic status of the House of Stuart; and, in material terms, the marriage offered James the tempting prospect of a massive dowry to replenish his chronically strapped coffers. For many of James's subjects, however, the pursuit of the Spanish Match threatened to sanction the permanent abandonment of the suffering Palatinate and Protestant cause to the forces of the Habsburg Antichrist. Spain, many believed, was England's natural enemy, and the marriage alliance but a cunning plan to engineer England's capitulation to Spanish aspirations for a "universal monarchy" under the political sway of Madrid and the spiritual sway of Rome. Opposition to, and anxiety about, James's foreign policy, took many forms—from parliamentary agitation during the turbulent 1621 sessions, to the rowdy jeers of London apprentices hurled at the Spanish ambassador, Don Diego de Sarmiento, Count Gondomar. Opposition was also expressed in a variety of polemical writing. Pamphlets attacking the Match and warning of Spain's sinister ambitions were printed abroad and

smuggled into England to be consumed by a voracious public. Newsletters and printed serial newspapers (corantos) reported in detail the shifting military fortunes of the Protestant cause. Parliamentary speeches, leaked letters of advice, and other critical tracts circulated as manuscript separates. And alongside the pamphlets, copied down next to separates, enclosed in newsletters, were verse libels.

We have chosen to organize our collection of the extant verse libels on the Spanish Match into six interlinked subsections. The first assembles a small group of poems that couched their anxieties and hopes in the form of prophecy, alongside which we have also chosen to include James I's verses explicitly mocking his contemporaries' tendency to interpret signs and prodigies as portents of imminent doom. The second subsection collects those poems that deal explicitly or implicitly with the diplomatic and military issues surrounding the Bohemia-Palatinate crisis. The third subsection collects a small group of verses attacking the Spanish ambassador Gondomar, whose second posting to England from 1620 to 1622 coincided with the heightening of anxieties about the Spanish Match. Subsection four publishes two of the most remarkable libels of the age, one framed as the petition of the English common people to the late Queen Elizabeth, and the other purporting to be the Queen's reply. The paired poems generate a truly radical energy, merging prophetic urgency, providentialism, and scriptural warrant with a markedly anti-Stuart nostalgia for a heavily idealized Elizabethan golden age. The fifth subsection collects the significant mass of politicized manuscript verse triggered by the reckless 1623 journey to Madrid by Prince Charles and the royal favourite Buckingham. The Prince and favourite seem to have imagined the voyage as a romantic attempt to finally secure the marriage alliance through a kind of chivalric *coup de théâtre*. Among their shocked contemporaries, however, the voyage inspired bewildered fear and widespread criticism only partially countered by some impassioned defences. For many, 1623 appeared to promise nothing but catastrophe for both the nation and the True Religion. For several months, the heir to the throne was in Madrid, under Spanish control and surveillance, and prey both to the pressure to convert to Rome, and to the machinations of Spanish diplomats eager to extract religious toleration for English Catholics as the price of a marriage treaty. Back in England, the easing of persecution of Catholics as part of the negotiations with Spain had allowed several openly Catholic peers to achieve prominence and office, and had triggered a wave of high-

profile conversions at court, including the sensational conversion of Buckingham's mother, Mary Compton, Countess of Buckingham. And in Germany, the Palatinate cause seemed more hopeless than ever—in February 1623, the Duke of Bavaria had been appointed the new Elector Palatine, and by May the whole of Frederick's inheritance was under Habsburg control. Many of the anxieties and debates generated by these events are documented in the libels and counter-libels written during the Prince's absence from February to October 1623. The libels also document the sheer joy to which these anxieties turned upon the arrival home of the unmarried—and increasingly Hispanophobic—Prince in October 1623.

While the poems in this section form a relatively coherent body of work, they also connect in many ways with poems in other sections. Notably, our final subsection includes two powerful verse commentaries on the frenetic libelling of the early 1620s—one probably written by James I himself, the other by a poet known only as "Wm T.". Both poems direct their fire at particular charges levelled in the libels of the age, and at the broader political implications of the whole culture of libelling. Wm T.'s anti-libel, for instance, alludes openly to verses (published in Section L) that branded James I's favourite Buckingham as the king's homosexual "Ganymede". Similarly, a number of other verses in Section N allude to grievances connected to the debate on monopolies and corruption that preoccupied the 1621 Parliament (see Section M). Anti-popish and anti-Spanish anxieties that appear throughout Section N can also be found in the major poem in Section K ("Some would complaine of Fortune & blinde chance"), in some of the poems on the execution of Raleigh (Section I), and in some of those on the Roos-Lake scandal (Section J). These overlaps should make clear that our decision to thematically organize the poetry written between 1616 and 1623 into Sections I through N should not preclude attention to the numerous interconnections between the libels composed during this period.

While we note below some of the more interesting scholarly commentary on individual libels, the most important general reconstruction of the politics of the pamphlet, poetic and parliamentary debates on the Spanish Match can be found in the opening chapter of Cogswell's *Blessed Revolution*.



## Ni Prophecy and Portent c.1618-1623

### Ni1 You men of Britaine, wherefore gaze yee so

*Notes.* This poem is accepted as the work of King James. The appearance of a comet in the late autumn skies of 1618 triggered widespread speculation about its possible providential meaning. Was the “blazeing starr” a sign of God’s displeasure, or a portent of disaster to come? Some predicted war, some a crisis in religion or the death of kings. Some, as James’s verse makes clear, connected the comet to divine disapproval of the King’s attempts to seek a marriage alliance with Spain. James’s poem, with its pointed jibes at the Paul’s Walk newsmongers and at popular credulity, registers royal concern at the political implications of the kind of prophetic talk triggered by the comet’s appearance.

“King James on the blazeing starr: Octo: 28: 1618”

You men of Britaine, wherefore gaze yee so

Uppon an Angry starr, whenh as yee know

The sun shall turne to darknesse, the Moon to blood<sup>1</sup>

And then twill be to late for to turne good

O be so happy then while time doth last

As to remember Dooms day is not past

And misinterpret not, with vaine Conceit

The Character you see on Heaven gate.

Which though it bring the world some news from fate

The letters such as no man can translate

And for to guesse at God Almighty’s minde

Where such a thing might Cozen all mankinde

Wherefore I wish the Curious man to keep

His rash Imaginations till he sleepe

Then let him dreame of Famine plague & war

And thinke the match with spaine hath causd this star

Or let them thinke that if their Prince my Minion<sup>2</sup>

Will shortly chang, or which is worse religion

5

10

15

And that he may have nothing elce to feare  
 Let him walke Pauls,<sup>3</sup> and meet the Devills there 20  
 And if he be a Puritan,<sup>4</sup> and scapes  
 Jesuites,<sup>5</sup> salute them in their proper shapes  
 These Jealousys I would not have a Treason  
 In him whose Fancy overrules his Reason  
 Yet to be sure It did no harme, Twere fit 25  
 He would be bold to pray for no more witt  
 But onely to Conceale his dreame, for there  
 Be those that will beleive what he dares feare.

**Source.** Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 84, fol. 72r

**Other known sources.** *James VI and I* 2.172; Bodleian MS Ashmole 38, p. 45; Bodleian MS Eng. Poet. e.14, fol. 77v; Bodleian MS Eng. Poet. e.97, p. 11; Bodleian MS Malone 19, p. 39; Bodleian MS Smith 17, p. 141; Bodleian MS Tanner 465, fol. 81r; BL Add. MS 3910, fol. 29v; BL Add. MS 30982, fol. 21r; BL MS Harley 791, fol. 61r; BL MS Harley 1221, fol. 75r; BL MS Harley 6038, fol. 19r; CCRO MS CR 63/2/19, fol. 19v; Nottingham MS Portland PW V 37, p. 174; PRO SP 14/104/16; Folger MS V.a.162, fol. 31r; Folger MS V.a.345, p. 143; Huntington MS HM 198, 1.29; Rosenbach MS 239/22, fol. 26v

Nil

<sup>1</sup> *The sun...Moon to blood*: alluding to other astronomical phenomena—eclipses, for example—interpreted by contemporaries as portents and providential signs.

<sup>2</sup> *their Prince my Minion*: the copy in PRO SP 14/104/16 has “theyr Prince, and Mynion”. The line refers to speculation that the comet signalled the fall or death of the King, and the fall of the royal favourite, Buckingham.

<sup>3</sup> *walke Pauls*: to walk Paul’s was to haunt the nave and aisles of St. Paul’s Cathedral (Paul’s Walk) in search of news. St. Paul’s was the centre of political newsmongering in early Stuart London.

<sup>4</sup> *Puritan*: nickname for the hotter sort of Protestant, used here by the King in its original pejorative sense.

<sup>5</sup> *Jesuites*: members of the Catholic order, the Society of Jesus, and widely feared by English Protestants as the most militant arm of the Counter-Reformation.

## Ni2 These put together, thus they crye

*Notes.* In the only known source, this obscurely phrased poem follows a statement, in prose, detailing the prophecies of John Williams, of the Middle Temple, who was executed in 1619. Williams evidently interpreted the four Protestant English monarchs in relation to the horses of the book of Revelation, and prophesied that James would die in 1621, and that his death would be followed by confusion in the nation. The poem was presumably written by Williams; however, it may have been penned by another, as a comment on Williams's prophecies. Although the verse does not comment specifically on the Spanish Match or the renewal of confessional war on the continent, it deserves to be read alongside the other prophetic poetry triggered by the crisis.

These put together, thus they crye:

Alas, 'twas H. E. E. the fourth was J.<sup>1</sup>

Fowre letters doe their persons show,

The place, the tyme, & tymes of wooe.

H. Which letter shewes halfe tymes defection.<sup>2</sup>

5

E. Which brought the church to lay-protection

E. Which brought t' a woman lay-subjection

J. Which shewes sin's ripe and at perfection.

These 4 letters shew the fall,

Of them & of theyr Generall.<sup>3</sup>

10

**Source.** Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 26, fol. 88r

Ni2

<sup>1</sup> *Alas...the fourth was J.:* H. is Henry VIII; E. is Edward VI; E. is Elizabeth I; and J. is James I. Presumably the poet intended this cry, "Alas, 'twas hee the fourth was jay" to have some kind of prophetic meaning, perhaps by taking "jay" in the sense of foolish, chattering person.

<sup>2</sup> *halfe tymes defection:* possibly an allusion to Henry VIII's break with Rome in the second half of his reign.

<sup>3</sup> *fall...theyr Generall*: unclear; perhaps the intent is to predict not simply the fall of kings but the fall of all kings.

### Ni3 A Prince out of the North shall come

*Notes.* This poem on James I, often titled “Merlin’s Prophecy”, had an uncertain status in manuscript culture. John Rous, whose 1622 version is reproduced here, prefaces his copy with some notes about Merlin (“who was famous about the yeere of Chr. 433”), and speculation that the poem was known to an author in 1588. This suggests that he, if not others, took the poem seriously as prophecy.

A Prince out of the North<sup>1</sup> shall come,  
King borne, Crownde babe,<sup>2</sup> his brest upon  
a lyon rampant<sup>3</sup> strange to see,  
& C J S shall cleped be<sup>4</sup>  
borne in a Country rude & stony,<sup>5</sup>  
yet he Couragious wise & holie.

5

At beste of strength his Fortunes beste  
he shall receive,<sup>6</sup> & then in reste  
couche as a Lyon in his denne,  
& live in peace so long, till men  
shall wonder, & all Christendome  
thinke the time long, both all & some.

10

At last he calles a Parliament,  
& breakes it up in discontent.<sup>7</sup>

And shortlie then shall rowzed be,  
by enemie beyonde the sea;

15

But when in wrath he drawes his sworde,  
Woe, that the sleeping Lyon stird’e.

For ere he sheathes the same againe  
he puttes his foes to mickle<sup>8</sup> paine

20

The Valiant acts he then shall doe,  
greate Alexanders<sup>9</sup> fame out-goe.

He passeth seas & fame doth winne,

till many Princes joyne with him,  
 & chuse him for theire Governor, 25  
 & crowne him Westerne Emperor.  
 And after a while he shall beguile,  
 the City auncient oulde & greate,  
 which on seaven hilles is scituate,<sup>10</sup>  
 till he her walles hath ruinate. 30  
 Then shall a foe from Easte<sup>11</sup> appeere  
 the brinke of one greate river<sup>12</sup> neere,  
 The Lyon rampant shall him meete,  
 & if on this side they shall fight  
 the day is loste, but he shall crosse 35  
 the river greate, & being paste  
 shall in the strength of his greate god,  
 be to his foes a scourging rodde.  
 causing him thence to take his flight  
 of Easterne kings succour to seeke 40  
 Then shall he be in an hower  
 of East & west crownde Emperour.<sup>13</sup>  
 Then shall the foe in fury burne,  
 & from the Easte in haste returne,  
 with aide of Kinges & Princes greate, 45  
 into the Vale of Jehosaphat.<sup>14</sup>  
 There shall he meete the Lyon strong,  
 who in a battaile fierce & long  
 shall foile his foes. Then cruell death  
 shall take away his aged breathe.

**Source.** BL Add. MS 28640, fol. 101r-v

**Other known sources.** Bodleian MS Ashmole 423, fol. 263r; Bodleian MS Eng. Poet. c.50, fol. 26v; Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 26, fol. 67r; Bodleian MS Tanner 88, fol. 253r; BL Add. MS 27879, fol. 239v;

BL MS Sloane 1479, fol. 6r; Brotherton MS Lt. q. 9, fol. 63v; Beinecke MS Osborn b.197, p. 174; Folger STC 14344, t.p.; Folger MS V.a.275, p. 176; Folger MS V.b.303, p. 232

Ni3

- <sup>1</sup> *A Prince out of the North*: i.e. James VI of Scotland, who became James I of England in 1603.
- <sup>2</sup> *Crownde babe*: James became King of Scotland when he was one year old.
- <sup>3</sup> *a lyon rampant*: the heraldic badge of the Scottish king.
- <sup>4</sup> *C J S shall cleped be*: Rous adds here a cryptic note: “Charles James Stuart the K. of Fr. named his Ch. & Queene Eliz. James”. “Cleped” means “called”.
- <sup>5</sup> *a Country rude & stony*: Scotland. The English had a low opinion of Scotland’s charms (see Section E).
- <sup>6</sup> *At beste...receive*: this refers to James’s inheritance of the English throne in 1603.
- <sup>7</sup> *calles a Parliament...in discontent*: the obvious “prophetic” allusion is to the 1621 Parliament.
- <sup>8</sup> *mickle*: much.
- <sup>9</sup> *greate Alexanders*: Alexander the Great, fourth-century BC King of Macedonia, and conqueror of massive swathes of territory.
- <sup>10</sup> *the City auncient...scituate*: the city of Rome, seat of the papacy, and built on seven hills.
- <sup>11</sup> *a foe from Easte*: probably the Turkish Ottoman empire.
- <sup>12</sup> *one greate river*: the river’s identity is unclear.
- <sup>13</sup> *of East & west crownde Emperour*: presumably the Lion/James would be crowned Emperor of the East in Constantinople, then under Ottoman Turk control.
- <sup>14</sup> *Vale of Jehosaphat*: the valley where God will judge the heathen (see Joel 3.2, 3.12).

#### Ni4 If 88 be past then thrive

*Notes.* This prophetic poem, which sets the Spanish Match crisis within a longer historical context dating back to the English defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588, was probably composed in 1623.

“A prophecy found of late in the Abby of Saint Bennets in Norfolke”

If 88 be past then thrive

Thou maist till 44 or five<sup>1</sup>

After the maid<sup>2</sup> is dead a Scott<sup>3</sup>

Shall govern them and if a plott<sup>4</sup>

Prevent him not then sure his sway

5

Continue shall full many a day

The nynth shall dy<sup>5</sup> and then the first

Perhapes shall raigne<sup>6</sup> but oh accurst

Shall be the tyme when as you see

To sixteen joynd twenty three.

10

For then the eagle shall have help

By craft to catch the Lyons whelp<sup>7</sup>

And hurt him sore unles the same

Be cured by one of the maidens name<sup>8</sup>

In July moneth of that same yeare

15

Saturne conjoynes with Jupiter<sup>9</sup>

Perhapes false prophets shall aris

And Mahomet<sup>10</sup> shall shew his priz

But sure much Alteration

Shall be had in Religion<sup>11</sup>

20

Believe this trew if then you see

A Spaniard protestant to bee.

**Source.** Folger MS V.a.275, p. 176



**Other known sources.** Bodleian MS Ashmole 47, fol. 40r; Bodleian MS Ashmole 423, fol. 265r; Bodleian MS Eng. Poet. c.50, fol. 7v; Bodleian MS Rawl. D. 398, fol. 162r; Bodleian MS Rawl. D. 1092, fol. 23r; Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 26, fol. 15v; Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 117, fol. 169v; BL Add. MS 34217, fol. 41v; BL Add. MS 69883B, fol. 76r; BL MS Egerton 923, fol. 31v; BL MS Sloane 292, fol. 2v; BL MS Sloane 1479, fol. 8v; BL MS Sloane 1489, fol. 9v; BL MS Sloane 1492, fol. 9v; St. John's MS K.56, no. 72; Beinecke MS Osborn b.197, p. 189; Rosenbach MS 1083/16, p. 133

Ni4

<sup>1</sup> *44 or five*: forty-four or forty-five years after 1588; i.e. 1622-23.

<sup>2</sup> *the maid*: Elizabeth I, who died in March 1603.

<sup>3</sup> *a Scott*: James I.

<sup>4</sup> *a plott*: the Catholic Gunpowder Plot of 1605, which planned to blow up James I as he addressed Parliament.

<sup>5</sup> *The nynth shall dy*: James's eldest son Prince Henry died in November 1612. If Henry had lived to succeed James, he would have ruled as Henry IX.

<sup>6</sup> *the first...shall raigne*: Prince Charles was James's heir in 1623, and would rule as Charles I.

<sup>7</sup> *the eagle...Lyons whelp*: this most likely alludes to Prince Charles's voyage to Spain in 1623. The eagle is Spain, the "Lyons whelp" (lion's cub) is Charles. Contemporaries believed that pro-Spanish agents at the English court had tricked Charles into making his reckless journey to woo the Infanta of Spain.

<sup>8</sup> *one of the maidens name*: James I's daughter Elizabeth, who shared the name of the "maiden" Queen, Elizabeth I. Princess Elizabeth was married to Frederick V, Elector Palatine, whose failed assumption of the Crown of Bohemia had triggered the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War and the loss of the Palatinate to Spanish and Bavarian troops.

<sup>9</sup> *In July...Jupiter*: the astrological conjunction of Saturn and Jupiter on 9 July 1623, which had provoked much anxiety and speculation in advance of the event.

<sup>10</sup> *Mahomet*: the prophet Mohammed, founder of Islam. Presumably, the prophecy alludes to possible victories by the Ottoman Turks.

<sup>11</sup> *Alteration...in Religion*: 1623 saw widespread fears that English Protestantism, as a consequence of the Spanish Match, was to be undermined and displaced by Roman Catholicism.

## Nii Bohemia and the Palatinate

### Nii1 Some say Sir Edward Cecill can

*Notes.* At the insistence of the Palatinate ambassador—and over the favourite Buckingham's objections—Sir Horace Vere replaced Sir Edward Cecil as commander of the English volunteer force sent to the Palatinate in 1620. The only known copy of this libel can be found in John Chamberlain's 4 August 1620 newsletter to Dudley Carleton.

Some say Sir Edward Cecill can,  
Do as much as any man,  
But I say no, for Sir Horace Vere  
Hath caried the earle of Oxford<sup>1</sup> where,  
He neither shall have wine nor whore,  
Now Hercules<sup>2</sup> himself could do no more.

5

**Source.** Chamberlain 2.314-15

Nii1

<sup>1</sup> *the earle of Oxford*: Henry de Vere, 18th Earl of Oxford, who held a military command under Sir Horace Vere in the 1620 English volunteer expeditionary force to assist the Palatinate.

<sup>2</sup> *Hercules*: Greek mythological hero renowned for his strength.

## Nii2 Whiles thy sonnes rash unluckye armes attempt

*Notes.* This poem is a translation of a Latin poem written by Robert Ayton, and published in *Delitiae Poetarum Scotorum* 70. Cogswell (*Blessed Revolution* 24) discusses Ayton's poem and places it in the broader context of discontent at Jacobean foreign policy.

Whiles thy sonnes rash unluckye armes attempt,  
From the Austrian yoake Bohemian necke t'exempt,<sup>1</sup>  
Thow dost condemne this plott<sup>2</sup> K. James; & that  
The world may thinke thee no confederate,  
Thow leavst thy sonne to fates, & wilt not ayd,  
Though but with prayers alone his case decayd.  
Nay with unwatered, undew'd cheeks canst see,  
Throwne out of house & home thy progenye.<sup>3</sup>  
Rare prooffe of justice! yet lett me but utter,  
With thy good leave what all the world doth mutter.  
This way perhapps a just Kinge thou mayst seeme,  
But men a cruell Father will thee deeme.

5

10

**Source.** Bodleian MS Malone 19, p. 20

**Other known sources.** Houghton MS Eng. 686, fol. 17r

Nii2

<sup>1</sup> *Whiles thy sonnes...t'exempt:* James I's son-in-law, Frederick V, Elector Palatine, was elected King of Bohemia in August 1619 after Bohemian rebels had deposed the soon-to-be Holy Roman Emperor Ferdinand. Having accepted the Bohemian crown in September 1619, Frederick was driven from Bohemia after the victory of Imperial forces at the Battle of White Mountain in November 1620.

<sup>2</sup> *condemne this plott:* James disapproved of Frederick accepting the Bohemian crown from rebels, against legitimate royal authority.

<sup>3</sup> *Throwne out...thy progenye:* Frederick, his wife, James's daughter Elizabeth, and their children, were forced to seek refuge in the United Provinces after the loss of Bohemia and the occupation of the

Palatinate by Spanish and Bavarian forces.

### Nii3 The famous Ambassador, brother to the French Favored

*Notes.* In one source this poem is titled “Upon the French Embassadors entertainment in England at Westminster Hall, Decem. 30. 1620” (Bodleian MS Malone 19). The French ambassador Cadenet, with a large train of followers, arrived in England late in December 1620, and left in mid-January 1621 after a series of negotiations and a succession of lavish feasts and entertainments during the Christmas season, the festive apex of the English court year. Although Chamberlain (2.334) reports widespread speculation that Cadenet had come to discuss a possible French marriage for Prince Charles, and to talk with James about the situation in the Palatinate, this relatively light-hearted libel is far more concerned with the riot of conspicuous consumption surrounding the ambassador’s visit.

The famous Ambassador, brother to the French Favored<sup>1</sup>

Is traveild to Spayne againe.

Hee was a great guest heere, & had such a feast heere,

Was able to begger halfe Spayne.

All fish were turnd Salmon, all wild foules were common

5

Each had what his hart could wish

Besides other presents, there were 24 Pheasantes

Twelve in a pye, & twelve in a dish.

And then god be thanked, there was a good banquet

Which through the citty did sound

10

That of certayne report, both of citty & court

It cost half a thousand pound.

Brave Doncaster vicount,<sup>2</sup> a man of high count

Did feast him 2 or three dayes

All the citty did singe, God save our good Kinge

15

And blesse the right honorable L. Hayes<sup>3</sup>

The healthes they went roundly, some pates were paid soundly

For wine was as free as a well:  
 Besides these contents, they had French Complementes  
 Wherein my Lord Hayes did excell 20

The Kinge & the states, open Westmister gates,  
 And filld the hall with good cheere  
 That all men spake playne, since K. Stephens<sup>4</sup> raigne  
 Such a table was never seene theare.

Lawyers<sup>5</sup> wise wordes, were turnd to longe boardes 25  
 To dishes the budgetts & Cookes<sup>6</sup>  
 The seates of their benchers, to napkins & trenchers  
 And clientes transformed to Cookes.

There was such a Confusion, causd through intrusion  
 To view this brave Westmister guest 30  
 That most men affirm'd, all the fees of this terme<sup>7</sup>  
 Cannot buy such another feast.

In Denmark's great pallace,<sup>8</sup> as big as halfe Callice<sup>9</sup>  
 Hee lodg'd for a fortnight & more  
 Abroad his men scatterd, with lackquies halfe tatter'd, 35  
 I never saw footmen soe poore.

They thought to make common,<sup>10</sup> each well favoured woman  
 The stone was to small for their stewes<sup>11</sup>  
 Some purchasd enough, of such pocky-fied<sup>12</sup> stuffe  
 That they curst plague of their Carleques.<sup>13</sup> 40

But now all their forces, uppon english horses,  
 Are ridd to the Cinqe port of Dover<sup>14</sup>  
 The wind that was Easteward, is now turnd Westward  
 And god send them good shippinge over.

**Source.** Folger MS V.a.162, fols. 54v-55r

**Other known sources.** Bodleian MS Malone 19, p. 78

Nii3

<sup>1</sup> *The famous Ambassador, brother to the French Favourer:* the French ambassador was the Marquis de Cadenet, brother of Louis XIII's favourite, the Duc de Luynes.

<sup>2</sup> *Doncaster vicount:* James Hay, Viscount Doncaster (and later Earl of Carlisle). Doncaster—James's frequent ambassador to France, and a notorious profligate—feasted the French ambassador at Essex House with what Chamberlain reported was “that sumptuous superfluitie, that the like hath not ben seene nor heard in these parts” (2.333).

<sup>3</sup> *L. Hayes:* i.e. James Hay, Viscount Doncaster.

<sup>4</sup> *K. Stephens:* reference to the twelfth-century King of England.

<sup>5</sup> *Lawyers:* Westminster Hall was the site of several major law courts. The gist of this stanza is that a space typically reserved for the practice of the law was turned into a space for cooking and feasting.

<sup>6</sup> *Cookes:* probable scribal error; read “Bookes”.

<sup>7</sup> *fees of this terme:* fees paid to lawyers during one the three terms for conducting legal business.

<sup>8</sup> *Denmark's great pallace:* Denmark (formerly Somerset) House in London, formerly a residence of James I's late queen, Anne of Denmark.

<sup>9</sup> *Callice:* Calais.

<sup>10</sup> *make common:* turn into whores.

<sup>11</sup> *stewes:* brothel.

<sup>12</sup> *pocky-fied:* syphilis-ridden.

<sup>13</sup> *Carleques:* probably curlicues, or fantastic curls; however, the *OED*'s earliest example of English usage of “curlicue” is from the mid-nineteenth century.

<sup>14</sup> *Cinqe port of Dover:* the French took ship at Dover, one of the ancient Cinque Ports.

#### Nii4 The Belgick Frogge, out of the bogge, with Brittish mouse doth strive

*Notes.* This poem—dated 1622 in one source (BL Add. MS 28640)—laments that economic competition (over trade in the East Indies) has divided the Protestant English from their natural confessional allies, the Dutch United Provinces, ceding the advantage to their common enemy, the Spanish.

“Quarrell betweene the Dutch & English”

The Belgick Frogge, out of the bogge,<sup>1</sup> with Brittish mouse doth strive:

The Iberian Kite<sup>2</sup> meane while by slight, surprizeth both alive.

While for their shares, of Indian wares, English & Dutch doe brawle;

The Spanyards watch, advantage catch, to seize on them & all.

Then bee agreed, and take good heed,

Make not a needles fray:

Lest to a third (that ravenous Bird)

You both bee made a pray.

5

**Source.** Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 26, fol. 82v

**Other known sources.** Whiteway 40; BL Add. MS 23723, fol. 22r; BL Add. MS 28640, fol. 103v; BL MS Egerton 784, fol. 22v

Nii4

<sup>1</sup> *The Belgick Frogge, out of the bogge:* i.e. the Dutch. Large areas of land in the United Provinces were reclaimed from the sea by a sophisticated system of walls and drainage—thus the dismissive “bogge”.

<sup>2</sup> *Iberian Kite:* the Spanish.



## Nii5 When we but heare that Turkes and Tartars fight

*Notes. This bellicose poem reflects not only the hyperbole of the growing cult surrounding James I's daughter Elizabeth, erstwhile Queen of Bohemia and exiled Electress Palatine, but also records the intense frustration some English felt at James I's refusal to commit to a military solution to the Bohemian and Palatinate crises.*

“The Common Peoples Apollegy to the Queene of Bohemia. 1623”

When we but heare that Turkes and Tartars fight<sup>1</sup>

(Thou best of Princes) onely in thy right

That they have tooke up armes, do lay downe lives

Forsake their Countryes fortunes Children wives

Beate up their drummes their bloody Coullers spread

5

And all to place a Croune<sup>2</sup> uppon thy head

When we do heare and see and know all this

Shall not a Brittain against a Brittain hisse?<sup>3</sup>

Must the pale Turkish moones<sup>4</sup> lend light to thee

Thou glorious starre of Europe? and must wee

10

So much degenerate from the bravery

of all our Ancestors as to stand by

When Romes bold dareinge Eagles<sup>5</sup> perch so high

The Phoenix of the world?<sup>6</sup> Can we for shame

See Pagans throw themselves into this flame

15

opening their veines with zealous true desyre

To Quench with their lost blood seditious fyre?

Are we so stupid growne so dull so Colde

shall it I say to after tymes be tolde

That England Scotland Ireland did give leave

20

unto the mice to breed spyders to weave

and eateinge rust within their Armes to rest

When their owne best of Princes was distrest?

When the Cheife glory of this brittish ile  
 lives, though not in thraldome in exile<sup>7</sup> 25  
 And must by Turkes and Infidells alone  
 Without our Ayde be seated in her throne?  
 Shall not our Soules blush after we are dead  
 When this unsampled basenes shall be read  
 in lastinge records? yes our sonnes shall be 30  
 asham'd to owne us: and there Pedegree  
 rather derive from some strange nacion faind  
 Then with such worthless fathers names be staynd  
 But oh thou mistress of Each good mans heart  
 This is our least of Feares our Cares least part, 35  
 It is thy frowne (blest soule) or which is worse  
 It is that foreseene everlastinge Curse  
 Of all thy Childrens Children, who will shame  
 To name the nacion whence their Mother Came.  
 And to their royall Issue will they say 40  
 Thou wert let downe from heaven not framd of Clay  
 For we (brave princess) should have thought no other  
 Had we not knowne thy father seene thy mother.  
 For sure a Soule more pure more white more good  
 As yet was never Cloath'd in Flesh and blood. 45  
 On that unshaken rocke of Excellence  
 Undoubted Charity matchless temperance.  
 Approved Industry rarest Apprehension  
 Our hopes firme ground, onely good intencon  
 We trust (brave princess) shall be receiv'd as fact 50  
 And though we do not yet our desires Act  
 Shall free us from that future infamy  
 That else would dogge us to eternity  
 For know (thou glory of thy sexe) in whome

The blotte and Taint of Eve<sup>8</sup> I dare presume 55  
 has lost all force, making thy faire Creacion  
 Above all others worthy admiracion.  
 Know for a Truth deigne to reporte it soe  
 Thy Isle had been unpeopled long agoe  
 If Sovereigne Dignity<sup>9</sup> and scourge of Lawe 60  
 Had not restrayn'd us kept us still in Awe  
 In Prague<sup>10</sup> we would once more have seene the Cround  
 Or with our blood revolting Bohemia drownd  
 Their Like a Sun whose beames no Eagles eye  
 For feare of Blastinge should have durst come nigh. 65  
 We would have fixed thee no divine Turkish moone  
 At midnight should have rose much less at noone.  
 No salvadge Tartar should have had the glory  
 Once to have mencion in thy lives best story  
 But all with feare and Tremblinge should have stood 70  
 Whilst Brittish Ensignes<sup>11</sup> swamme in Spanish blood.  
 It was not feare then (maddam) kept us thence  
 Nor want of Love, nor dare I say from whence  
 This base neglect originally Grewe  
 You had our hearts what hindred then judge yow. 75  
 Yow might have had our hands our blowes our blood  
 Had not our good intencions been withstood  
 Had not some power aboue us<sup>12</sup> us restraynd  
 Yourselfe had been more grac'd we less disdayn'd  
 The Poorest widdowe Maddam in your Quarrell 80  
 With Joy and<sup>13</sup> Emptied both her Cruse<sup>14</sup> and barrell.  
 Nay sacrific'd her sonne without a groane  
 Proud to have had his tombe but neere your throne.  
 The Churlish Nabal<sup>15</sup> to a Souldiers pay  
 A weather<sup>16</sup> would have tend'red every day 85

Each Country lass her Jette ringe would have broken  
 And sent the sylver lyneinge for a Token -  
 unto that Lad that from her Parrish went  
 And in your Quarrell had the least blood spent  
 The knotty fisted Ploweman thickeskin'd boore 90  
 That greives to leave the least gleaninge for the poore  
 Or pay to God the Tyth<sup>17</sup> of his encrease  
 Would gladly give the thirds to buy your peace.  
 The Toylinge Clowne<sup>18</sup> that eates no other Meate  
 Then what is dayly basted with his sweat 95  
 Would borrow from the night one houre or two  
 And singe for Joy that then he wrought for you.  
 The poore mechannicke at whose Elbowe stands  
 More Mouths then he Hath fingers on his hands  
 Each suckinge from his labor their repast 100  
 Would teach those hungry Infants how to fast  
 And from their halfe starvd bellyes every day  
 ravish a meale, that he might so defray  
 A souldiers Charge. A nurse no sucke would give  
 Till she had taught her babe to cry long live 105  
 Bohemia's Queene, whilst heaven Confound all those  
 Profess themselves your opposites your foes.  
 And thus much Maddam I dare boldly sweare  
 Each English face doth sacrifice a yeare  
 and writes in wrinkles, or in white heares more 110  
 Some by five some by Ten some by a Score  
 Since these thy Troubles then they would have done  
 If these unhappy broyles had nere begun.  
 For when we did suppose yow sigh'd we wept  
 And when we dream'd yow wak'd we never slept 115  
 And if (as heaven defend) A teare yow shedd

Uppon my soule) each good mans heart then bledd.  
 Your voyce is lyke an oracle and all  
 Will hold what yow shall speake Canonically  
 Proclayme then Maddam to posterity 120  
 That Englands Commons Englands Gentry  
 Did waste more blood in sighes and grones then those  
 That did encounter with your boldest foes.  
     This by yow beleiv'd this by yow proclaym'd  
     Our sonnes need never blush when we are namd. 125

**Source.** Bodleian MS Eng. Poet. c.50, fol. 21v-22v

**Other known sources.** Brotherton MS Lt. q. 44, fol. 13r

Nii5

<sup>1</sup> *Turkes and Tartars*: probably an allusion to the anti-Habsburg military activities of the Protestant Prince Bethlen Gabor of Transylvania, a close ally of the Ottoman Turks (who supported his military activities because of a common concern to see Austrian power weakened). Turkish military efforts at this time, however, were focused on a war with the Persians.

<sup>2</sup> *Croune*: the crown of Bohemia. Elizabeth's husband Frederick V had been chosen King of Bohemia by rebellious Bohemian nobles in August 1619, and had accepted the crown the following month. Frederick had been driven from Bohemia by Imperial forces after the Battle of White Mountain in November 1620.

<sup>3</sup> *Shall not...Brittayne hisse*: an allusion perhaps to the "hissing" of the libellers against their monarch.

<sup>4</sup> *Turkish moones*: probably an allusion to the crescent moon symbolism on Islamic battle flags.

<sup>5</sup> *Romes bold dareinge Eagles*: the Catholic military powers of Spain and Austria.

<sup>6</sup> *The Phænix of the world*: meaning here something like the Habsburg "Universal Monarchy", "the unique supreme power of the world".

<sup>7</sup> *in exile*: Elizabeth and Frederick, their lands in the Palatinate occupied by Spanish and Bavarian troops, were in exile in the United Provinces.

<sup>8</sup> *Eve*: Eve's eating of the forbidden fruit in the Garden of Eden was held to have brought original sin upon mankind. By overcoming the "blotte and Taint of Eve", Elizabeth had also transcended the specifically female weaknesses that Eve was held to embody.

<sup>9</sup> *Soveraigne Dignity*: i.e. James's opposition to large-scale military intervention on behalf of Elizabeth and Frederick.

<sup>10</sup> *Prague*: capital of the kingdom of Bohemia.

<sup>11</sup> *Ensignes*: battle flags.

<sup>12</sup> *some power abouve us*: i.e. King James.

<sup>13</sup> *and*: probable scribal error; read "had".

<sup>14</sup> *Cruse*: jar.

<sup>15</sup> *Churlish Nabal*: Nabal, a wealthy farmer, refused King David's request to supply his troops with provisions (see 1 Samuel 25).

<sup>16</sup> *weather*: wether; a male sheep.

<sup>17</sup> *Tyth*: tithe; the tenth of a person's goods or earnings paid to the church.

<sup>18</sup> *Clowne*: rustic.

## Nii6 Religion the most sacred power on earth

*Notes.* This poem, primarily concerned with the continental wars of religion, and reflecting in its course both on perceived threats to English Protestantism and on the inherent corruption of princely courts, is dated 1623 in one source (BL MS Stowe 962), and stated in another as having been “Written after the beginning of the Bohemian war” (Bodleian MS Eng. Poet. c.50). In the source used here, it is placed between poems on “A Papist” and “A true Puritan without disguise”, which are both taken from Leighton(?), The Interpreter.

### “Religion”

Religion the most sacred power on earth  
reviv'd, and formd in our blest Saviours birth  
trew cherrisher of peace why should theys warrs  
tearme thee the author of theys civill Jars  
whilst under thy white Banner they with blood 5  
pollute those places wheer thine alter stood  
O Princes leave to use theyse wicked artes  
Religion's in your eyes not in your harts  
yett your high purple Preist bids yow proceede  
tis merritorius for the church to bleed 10  
what though tenn thousand perrish, soe you win  
a stinking hole to thrust this doctrine in  
it is enough, O that this Papall beast  
should drive yow thus on slaughter, make a jeast  
att your lost lives, laughing to thinke how hee 15  
can make yow runn on danger himselfe fre,  
yett safe he is not for the powerfull God  
will whip his pride with his omnipotent rodd  
but he doth stay his vengeance & doth cherishe  
his proude ambition till hees fitt to perrish 20  
and his deare sone (that Catholicke Monarchie

that would grasp all within his empyre)<sup>1</sup>  
 why with intestine arms doth he oppress  
 the trew religion? when his rich excess  
 of riott, spoyle, & rapine doe abound 25  
 great King beware least thou thy selfe confound  
 in thy ambitious thoughts; strive to be good  
 not greater then thou art, tis durt and mudd  
 make up a vitious Prince, when verteous Kings  
 are Gods on earth holly & glorious things 30  
 enough of this, but, poore religion, thou  
 that are more happy wheer the labouring plough  
 doth teare the earth then in great Princes Courts  
 wheer nought but high impyety imports  
 wheer vertues never raysd for vertues cause 35  
 wheer will & power doth make & forfeit Lawes  
 wheer flattery rules & pride doth governe all  
 wheer nothings good, but what is bestiall  
 wheer wilt thou goe in safty? England, no  
 Spanyne theer doth plott thy utter overthrowe<sup>2</sup> 40  
 Fraunce will in peces teare the, the Rich states<sup>3</sup>  
 will the but coldly use, fly to the Gates  
 of Heaven & enter: O most wretched times  
 when wee must loose religion by our Crimes.

**Source.** Huntington MS HM 198, 1.84-85

**Other known sources.** Bodleian MS Ashmole 36-37, fol. 76v; Bodleian MS Eng. Poet. c.50, fol. 29r; BL MS Stowe 962, fol. 142r

Nii6

<sup>1</sup> *His deare sone...his empyre*: the King of Spain. Protestant polemicists argued that the Spanish aimed at a “Universal Monarchy”.



<sup>2</sup> *Spanyne theer...overthrowe*: allusion to fears that the Spanish planned to overthrow English Protestantism and reestablish Catholicism in the wake of the Spanish Match treaty.

<sup>3</sup> *The rich states*: the Dutch United Provinces.

## Niii Gondomar

### Niii1 Why? what meanes this? England, & Spaine alike

*Notes.* “Heriot”, to whom the Spanish ambassador Count Gondomar is compared in this poem, is Thomas Hariot, the mathematician and associate of Sir Walter Raleigh, who was widely perceived as an atheist, and who died in June 1621. According to John Aubrey, Hariot “did not like (or valued not) the old storie of the Creation of the World. He could not beleve the old position; he would say *ex nihilo nihil fit* [nothing comes of nothing]. But a *nihilum* killed him at last: for in the top of his Nose came a little red speck (exceeding small) which grew bigger and bigger, and at last killed him” (207). Gondomar’s alleged affliction with an anal fistula was the butt of much satiric attack during this period; and his reputation for Machiavellian cunning—his ability “To seeme, & not to be”—was widely depicted, both in anti-Spanish pamphlets, like Thomas Scott’s *Vox Populi*, and, during the summer of 1624, in Thomas Middleton’s theatrical triumph, *A Game at Chess*.

“Upon Heriot the Philosopher, that had a fistula<sup>1</sup> in naso; & Seignior Gundomar, that had a fistula in ano”

Why? what meanes this? England, & Spaine alike

Diseased? or doth time both Æquall strike

With Fistula’s? Noe. difference is disclos’d;

Spaine sett’s a faire face on’t, & England’s nos’d.<sup>2</sup>

Spaines generall actions are like Pedro heere,

5

Whose sting is in his taile; his forepart’s cleare;

For some thinke ’t hath bin purg’d by fire: & hee

Is sounder for’t as all the world may see.

Or else, when he had like t’ have gott the fall

At court, his carkase would have shattered all

10

To peeces. yet ’tis a pittie one soe great

Should die, but dropping through his closestoole seate.<sup>3</sup>

His face is England, that’s without a scarre.

Spaine is his heart, treating of peace, for warre

Closely providing:<sup>4</sup> but his heaviest chance

15

(Poxe on it) is his taile, that Emblems France,  
 Never without an issue.<sup>5</sup> 'tis a wonder,  
 Did not his litter<sup>6</sup> helpe, hee'd drop asunder.  
 This makes him brood thus in his litter'd Denne,  
 Pray Heavens he hatch not 88<sup>7</sup> agen, 20  
 Or wesels treacherous winning:<sup>8</sup> for some feare  
 The match in Parlee's<sup>9</sup> not the match in care.  
 To seeme, & not to be is Spanish art,  
 When England shewes at first her foulest part.  
 Wittnesse our Heriot, in his nose that beares 25  
 A sore, which noe where but behind appears  
 In Spaines she statist.<sup>10</sup> who the prize hath gott  
 For some more manners, 'cause he hides his plott.  
 Yett if these two ere meet, least in the close  
 Spaines face infected bee with Heriots nose, 30  
 Lett their two sound parts, & their infected kisse;  
 Spaine may nose Heriots Podex,<sup>11</sup> Heriot his.

**Source.** Bodleian MS Tanner 465, fols. 81v-82r

Niii1

<sup>1</sup> *fistula*: a pipe-like, suppurating growth.

<sup>2</sup> *nos'd*: nosed; here means either “discovered”, “smelt out”, or “reproached”.

<sup>3</sup> *closestoole seate*: the seat of his toilet; but also perhaps referring to the special seat made for Gondomar to allow him to sit comfortably without putting pressure on his fistula. A picture of the seat was included on the title page of Thomas Scott's pamphlet, *The Second Part of Vox Populi*.

<sup>4</sup> *treating of peace...Closely providing*: the charge here is that the Spanish were using the negotiations for a Spanish Match with England—and their concomitant negotiations to bring a peaceful resolution to the Palatinate crisis—as a cover to further their military ambitions for Universal Monarchy.

<sup>5</sup> *Emblems France...without an issue*: just as the French supply heirs (royal issue), Gondomar's fistula

constantly leaks a discharge (issue).

<sup>6</sup> *litter*: Gondomar was carried through the streets of London in a litter to protect him from the jeers and assaults of the populace. The litter is also depicted on the title page of Scott's *Second Part of Vox Populi*.

<sup>7</sup> 88: allusion to the Spanish Armada of 1588.

<sup>8</sup> *wesels treacherous winning*: Wesel, a key strategic town on the Rhine, had been taken by the Spanish in 1614.

<sup>9</sup> *The match in Parlee's*: i.e. the negotiations for the marriage alliance between England and Spain.

<sup>10</sup> *Spaines she statist*: "she" is confusing here; the phrase presumably means "Spaines statist", i.e. the Spanish ambassador and politician (statist) Count Gondomar.

<sup>11</sup> *Podex*: anus.

## Niii2 Adew deere Don & Priest for ever

*Notes.* Since this poem is immediately followed in the only known source by “Invectives on Count de Gondomar for brevities sake in Prose”, the “Don” of the poem may probably be identified as the Spanish ambassador, Gondomar, who left England in May 1622. The identity of the “Priest” is more problematic; the best candidate is perhaps Marco Antonio de Dominis, the former Catholic Archbishop of Spalato, who abandoned the Church of Rome and settled in England in 1616 to work for the reunion of the churches. James I shared de Dominis’s ecumenical aspirations and gave him office within the Church of England. In 1622, however, shortly before Gondomar’s departure, de Dominis left England, having repudiated the Church of England. Rome did not take kindly to the double apostate, and de Dominis died in 1624 a prisoner of the Inquisition.

Adew deere Don & Priest for ever

God grant againe we see you never

Unlesse at Tyburne<sup>1</sup> for want of grace

We see you hanged face to face,

which being new was first appointed

5

For one of yours, the Popes anointed,<sup>2</sup>

That came from Spaine without Commission

Came hither of the Inquisition,<sup>3</sup>

And within a little space

Gaind to himselfe & yee this place

10

For store, amidst his cheifest cares

devisd to leave this to his heires:

Which was in time a deed of meritt

That all of you may well in heritt

And be reported all as martyrs

15

When in troth yee are hangd for Traytors:<sup>4</sup>

**Source.** Rosenbach MS 1083/16, p. 296

Niii2

<sup>1</sup> *Tyburne*: the chief site of public execution in London.

<sup>2</sup> *the Popes anointed*: a Catholic priest. Although the exact source of the allusion is difficult to pin down, the gist is that a Catholic priest was hanged at Tyburn when the execution site was still new, and thus obtained Tyburn for the Catholics who would follow him.

<sup>3</sup> *the Inquisition*: English Protestant polemicists portrayed the Spanish Inquisition as the quintessential tyrannical agent for the persecution of true believers.

<sup>4</sup> *And be reported...hangd for Traytors*: the missionary priests executed at Tyburn (and elsewhere) by the Elizabethan authorities in the 1580s and 1590s were charged with treason and hanged, drawn and quartered as traitors. Catholic polemicists ardently denied the priests were traitors, and insisted they died solely for their religious beliefs. Catholics venerated the executed missionaries as martyrs.

### Niii3 Anagram on Count Gondomar

*Notes.* In one source, this anagram is attributed to “Mr W. Breton of Emman. Coll.” (Bodleian MS Sancroft 53).

Gondamore

Anag:

Romane Dog.

This Dog can barke, and bite rather then faile;

Yet wants he one Dogs tricke to wag his taile

xx A Fistula<sup>1</sup>

5

**Source.** BL MS Egerton 2725, fol. 47r

**Other known sources.** Bodleian MS Sancroft 53, p. 8; BL MS Sloane 1489, fol. 12r; Folger MS E.a.6, fol. 84r

Niii3

<sup>1</sup> *A Fistula:* Gondomar was thought to suffer from an anal fistula (a pipe-like, suppurating growth), hence his inability to “wag his taile”.

## Niv Saint Elizabeth

### Niv1 If Saints in heaven cann either see or heare

*Notes.* At least two copies of this poem provide a date. One source states that the poem “was founde in the hand of Queen Elizabeths tombe at West[minster] 22 of June 1623” (Folger MS V.a. 275), while the source we have chosen to use confusingly dates it “Anno domini 1621. ultimo Martii. 1623” (that is, either 1621 or the last day of March 1623). Internal evidence in the poem, however, makes it clear that the poem was composed some time in 1623. It is possible to read the section beginning “If bleeding harts dejected soules find grace” as a separate poem, and it was eventually printed in this form, in *The Commons Petition of Long Afflicted England (1642)*. Nonetheless, since the two pieces were almost always transcribed together, and since the opening section here is clearly introductory, we choose to publish it and the following section as a single poem. A third item, “Your bold Petition Mortalls I have seene”, which takes the form of an answer-poem, is found in most of the same sources, and is also printed in *The Commons Petition*; however, it remains unclear when and by whom it was written.

“The Coppie of a Libell put into the hand of Queene Elizabeths statue<sup>1</sup> in Westminster by an unknowne person Anno domini 1621. ultimo Martii. 1623

To the blessed Saint<sup>2</sup> Elizabeth of most famous memory.

The humble petition of her now most wretched and most Contemptible, the Commons of poore distressed England.”

If Saints in heaven cann either see or heare  
Or help poor Mortalls, O then lend thin eare  
Looke downe blest Soule, and heare oh heare us nowe  
Whose humble harts lowe as our knees doe bowe  
Looke on our sufferings, thinke but on our wrongs  
That hardly can be spoke by mortall tongues  
O be not nowe lesse gracious then of old:  
When each distressed Vassall might be bold  
Into thyne open hand to putt his greife  
And thence receive tymely and faire releife

5

10



Be not lesse good, less gracious then before  
 In heaven the supplications of the poore  
 Are heard assoone as suits of greatest kings  
 If our petitions then blest soule want wings  
 To mount them to the Judge of Judges throne 15  
 O helpe them mightie soveraigne with thine owne  
 Carry our just complaints since just they are  
 And make a tender of them at the barr  
 Where noe corruption, noe fraud, noe bribe  
 Noe griping lawyer, avaritious scribe 20  
 Noe favorite, noe parasite, noe Mynion<sup>3</sup>  
 Cann lead, or alter the opinion  
 Of that great Chancellour, their o lay them downe  
 And merritt praise in heaven, on earth a crowne.  
 Where to begin (deserver of all glorie) 25  
 Or howe to tell our unexampled storie  
 Heaven knowes we do not knowe, nay which is worst  
 Thy once best subjects have so oft bene curst  
 For offering upp Petitions of this kinde  
 As see wee trimble till wee call to mynde 30  
 Thy wonted goodnes that oh that doth cheere us  
 That onely gives us hope that thou wilt heare us.  
 When heaven was pleas'd honor'd soule to call thee hence<sup>4</sup>  
 And soe make wretched for some great offence  
 This little land. oh then begunn our feares 35  
 And had wee then the kingdome drown'd with teares,  
 And in those floods convay'd our soules to heaven  
 To waite on thyne, wee had not now bene driven  
 To cry, and call thee from thy fellowe Saints  
 To heare and pittie those our just complaints. 40  
 O Pardon blest; but that our grosse omission

And daigne to further this our poore petition,  
 And wee will make the name of blest Eliza  
 Equall the Avies of that great Maria<sup>5</sup>  
 Noe snuffeling rascall through his hornepie<sup>6</sup> nose 45  
 Shall tell thy storie in his ill tun'd prose,  
 Nor shewe thy stature to each princes Groome  
 The Monuments weele build shall make proud Rome  
 On pilgrimage to come, and att thy shrine  
 Offer their guifts as to a thing divine 50  
 And on an alter framed of richest stones  
 Weele daylie tender sighes teares and groanes.  
 Eternitie shall sleepe and long tongued Fame  
 Forgett to speake ere wee forgett thy name  
 Read blessed Soul, oh read it and beleive us 55  
 Then give it to his hands that cann relieve us.

The faithfull Beadsmen<sup>7</sup> and dayly oratours the poore distressed Commons of dejected England.

The most humble Petition of the nowe most miserable the Commons of Long afflicted England.

If bleeding harts dejected soules find grace  
 Then all disposer turne not backe thy face  
 From us thy Suppliants thrice seaven sonnes<sup>8</sup> have worne 60  
 Their Summer suits since wee begann to mourne  
 Ægypt's tenn plagues<sup>9</sup> wee have endured twice told  
 Since blest Eliza was with Saints enrowl'd  
 Thy Messingers of wrath their vialls powre  
 Each day upon our heads no howre 65  
 Plagues begett plagues & vengeance fruitfull growes  
 As if there weere noe period for our woes  
 Have our black sinns great God rais'd such a cloud  
 Twixt us and heaven as cries though neere soe loud

Can get no passage to thy mearcie seate 70  
 Are our iniquities good God soe great  
 Soe infinite as neither groanes nor teares  
 Cann entrance gett Remember but the yeares  
 Of our affliction, then forgett wee crave  
 Our crying sinnes bury then in the grave 75  
 Of darke oblivion thrust them in the syde  
 Of our Redeemer,<sup>10</sup> oh lett them be tyde  
 In chaines that they may never rise againe  
 Lett us noe longer begg and sue in vaine  
 Lett this our supplication, this complaint 80  
 Tendred by our late sovereigne now thy Saint  
 Att last find grace, was't not wee humbly pray  
 Enough that first thou took'st that Queene away  
 Was not that dove, that lambe of innocence  
 Sufficient sacrifice for our offence 85  
 Oh no! our sins out liv'd her, & our crimes  
 Did threaten to outlast the last of tymes  
 Thou did'st remove her that she might not see  
 The sadd beginning of our miserie.  
 Then like a showre of hailestones<sup>11</sup> fell thy darts 90  
 Oh angrie death<sup>12</sup> how many thousand harts  
 Weere wounded in one yeare? how many bleed  
 And wisht to dye when all they lov'd weere dead  
 Mothers left childlesse children quite bereft  
 Of carefull parents, Nay there was not left 95  
 A paire of frends to comfort one another  
 Who wanted not a sister or a brother.  
 Where was the husband, where the wife could say  
 Wee should not be devour'd this night this day  
 Death so his rage, and awful power shewed 100

That men on earth as corne on ground lay strowed  
 The sadd remembrance of it still remaines  
 Then thy stretcht arme of Vengeance bound in chaines  
 The fruitfull fields<sup>13</sup> till birds, beasts, hearbs plants trees  
 Did famish, faint, dry, droop, yea wither and frees 105  
 And nothing issued from the barren earth  
 But that leane monster, and thinnefaced death  
 Next inundations<sup>14</sup> rose such as before  
 Since Noahs flood<sup>15</sup> neere topt ore British shoare  
 Where men and beasts alike ingrave their bones 110  
 In the moyst waves instead of Marble stones  
 How often hath the sunn withdrawne his light  
 And turn'd our day into the shape of night  
 Had Egipt thicker darknes<sup>16</sup> than had wee  
 When cleerest eyes at midday could not see 115  
 Unholosome mists, strange foggs rumors of warrs  
 Evill portending commets blazing starrs<sup>17</sup>  
 Prodigious birthes<sup>18</sup> unnaturall sea-seasons  
 Spurning Philosophers beyond their reason  
 Frighting the poore, the rich exhorting 120  
 From their downe bedds where they do lye snorting  
 Heaven in combustion seemed<sup>19</sup> the sky in armes  
 The starrs beat drummes the spheares did sound alarms  
 The ayre did often bloodie cullours spread  
 And all to rouze us from the puft upp bedd 125  
 Of base securitie, yet nought would fright us  
 Till hee had robed us, oh what did delight us  
 Henry<sup>20</sup> our joy, Henry whose every limbe  
 Threatned to conquer death and not death him,  
 Henry our pride even Henry the blest 131  
 In whome great Brittain once sett upp his rest

Who had not in that one, all ample share?  
 What subject had not rather lost his heire?  
 What tender mother did not wish that dart  
 Had glanc'd from him and strooke her darlings hart 135  
 All that weere vertuous, all that weere good  
 Turn'd their eyes rivers into streames of blood  
 The Egiptian waters bitter weare,<sup>21</sup> but knowe  
 This toucht the very Soule that did not soe<sup>22</sup>  
 O pardon heaven all plagues that went before 140  
 Had lost themselves in this and weere noe more  
 To be remembred, that oh that alone  
 Might well have made us weepe ourselves to stone<sup>23</sup>  
 The spawne of Pharo could their blood bee prized  
 All the first borne that soe weere sacriiefized<sup>24</sup> 145  
 All that base frie compar'd to this our Henry  
 Deserves noe mention, noe thought, noe memory,  
 Lusting Sodome<sup>25</sup> such hath thy mercie bene  
 Although it did abound in crying sinne  
 Could not take fire untill they weere removed<sup>26</sup> 150  
 That thou in mercy like in goodnes loved  
 And thyne anoynted shee must leave this cittie  
 Before't cann be destroyed such was thy pittie  
 Such thy goodnes: oh is there yet full tenn  
 Is there great God a number yet of men 155  
 Whose innocence may slacke thy kindled Ire  
 And keep this Sodom-Brittaine from the fire  
 Of thy just anger, is there yet a soule  
 Whose vertue power hath but to controule  
 Thy heav'd upp hand of Justice if there bee 160  
 For his, or her sake rouse thy clemencie  
 Awake thy mercie lett thy Justice slumber

And save the greater by the lesser number  
 For his or her sake we do humblie pray  
 Respite of tyme give us a longer day 165  
 And then enabled by thy grace and favour  
 Wele purchase pardon by our good behaviour  
 Plague, Famine, darknes, inundations  
 Wee have endured feare of innovations  
 With expectation of the worst cann followe 170  
 Dayly torments us and wee hourelly swallowe  
 Our very spiritts with feare and horror  
 Wee nightly sleepe in dread awake in terror  
 Nor are we all this while from Vermyn free  
 The caterpillers<sup>27</sup> hang on every tree 175  
 Lousie Projectors,<sup>28</sup> Monopoly mongers<sup>29</sup>  
 A crewe of upstart<sup>30</sup> Rascalls whose hungers  
 Cann never be satisfied a sort of slaves  
 More insatiable farr then whores or graves  
 Things without soule bredd onely of the slyme 180  
 Of this old age this base decrepitt tyme  
 A crewe of upstart parasites that ryse  
 And doe more mischief then the Egiptian flies<sup>31</sup>  
 These in our gardens in our houses swarme  
 One drinks a Mannor another eats a farme 185  
 This with a lordshipp warmes his lusting whore  
 That by the sale of Justice doth procure  
 A tennement or two which having gott  
 By violence hee drownes them in a pott<sup>32</sup>  
 They enter citties corporations 190  
 Worke not, yet live by occupations  
 They have not trade, and yet thers none are free  
 From paying them a tax a fyne a fee

Ægipt had skipping grashoppers<sup>33</sup> I yeild  
 That eate the herbes and fruits of every feild 195  
 And wee have skipjack<sup>34</sup> courtiers I dare say  
 That doe devoure farr more in one poore day  
 Than they in Pharoas age could ere have done  
 The boundemen<sup>35</sup> were paid but from some to some  
 But these for three apprentishipp<sup>36</sup> have eate 200  
 The fruite of all our labours all our sweet  
 Have we not froggs<sup>37</sup> oh yes in every ditch  
 Devouring poore, impoverishing the rich,  
 Busie intelligencers<sup>38</sup> Base informers  
 Like toades and froggs lye croaking in all corners 205  
 Promooting Rascalls whose invenom'd tongues  
 Have done thy suppliants infinite wrongs  
 Where they desire to enter theirs noe defence  
 No antient title noe inheritance  
 Cann keepe them out, they wrest and stretch the lawe 210  
 Keepe officers and magistrates in awe  
 They pluck the ballance from faire justice hand  
 And make her ministers to their commaunds  
 The lawefull sceptre of soveraigntie  
 Is a mercinarie Baude to Villanie 215  
 There is noe equitie noe lawe nor right  
 All causes goe by favour, or by might  
 O God of mercie, what cann more be said  
 Justice is bought, and sold become a trade  
 Honors confirr'd on base unworthie groomes 220  
 And clownes for coyne may pearch on highest roomes<sup>39</sup>  
 Power Job had many scabbs<sup>40</sup> yet none soe badd  
 As wee this one and twentie yeares have had  
 Egipt had botches, Murraines sores that smarted<sup>41</sup>

But yet they lasted not they soone departed 225  
 Halfe fortie yeares and more are gone, and past  
 Since these our vexed Soules tooke light repast  
 Bowman and Jowler...mate<sup>42</sup>  
 Compared to us are in a better state  
 They cann be heard they cann be rewarded 230  
 When we are curst, slighted unregarded.  
 Is a people Heavens falne a degree  
 Belowe the condition of a dogg but wee  
 Was there a nation in the Universe  
 More daring, once more bold, more stout, more ferce<sup>43</sup> 235  
 And is there now upon the earths broad face  
 Any that cann be reckoned halfe soe base  
 Is there a people soe much scorn'd dispised  
 Soe laught soe trodd on soe vassaliz'd  
 Wee that all Europe envy'd, wee even wee 240  
 Are slaves to those wee kept in slaverie  
 Where is our ancient nobilitie become  
 Alas they are suppresst, and in their roome  
 Like proud usurping lucifers<sup>44</sup> their sitts  
 A sort of upstart fawning parasits<sup>45</sup> 245  
 Where is the gentrie all supprest disgrac'd  
 And arrant knight above them nowe are plac'd  
 Fiddlers, and fooles with dancers, and with rymers  
 Are nowe in England made the greatest clymers<sup>46</sup>  
 Wee had a Parliament a salve for soares 250  
 A Magna Charta<sup>47</sup> all cast out of doores  
 The bold and hardie Brittaines conquered are  
 Without a drumb, a sword or sound of warr  
 If without cause just heaven wee doe complaine  
 Then send our supplication backe againe 255



More could wee say, and much more could wee speake  
But with the thought of this our harts doe breake  
As humble then as wee began to crave  
A gracious answer oh be pleased to save  
The remnant of thy people turne thy face  
And lett us once more tast thy saveing grace  
Forsake us not o Lord but give  
Newe life to those that onely wishe to live.

260

To approve themselves readie, and faithfully thy Servant and Beadsmen

**Source.** Bodleian MS Malone 23, pp. 32-14<sup>48</sup>

**Other known sources.** *Commons Petition*; “Poems from a Seventeenth-Century Manuscript” 150; Bodleian MS Ashmole 36-37, fol. 303r; Bodleian MS Eng. Poet. c.50, fol. 8r; Bodleian MS Eng. Poet. f.10, fol. 107r; Bodleian MS Rawl. D. 398, fol. 222r; Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 160, fol. 16r; Bodleian MS Top. Cheshire c.7, fol. 3r; BL Add. MS 5832, fol. 202r; BL Add. MS 25707, fol. 76r; BL Add. MS 34217, fol. 39v; BL MS Sloane 363, fol. 11r; BL MS Sloane 1479, fol. 6r; Brotherton MS Lt. 28, fol. 2r; Brotherton MS Lt. q. 44, fol. 2r; Nottingham MS Portland PW V 37, p. 243; St. John’s MS K.56, no. 59 and no. 60; Beinecke MS Osborn b.197, p. 86; Folger MS V.a.275, p. 1; Huntington MS HM 198, 1.62

Niv1

<sup>1</sup> *Queene Elizabeths statue*: the effigy on Elizabeth’s tomb in the Henry VII Chapel in Westminster Abbey.

<sup>2</sup> *Saint*: Elizabeth is addressed as a saint throughout the poem, and is assumed to have the intercessionary powers attributed to saints in Catholic tradition.

<sup>3</sup> *Noe favorite...noe Mynion*: although the critique is generalized, James’s favourite Buckingham is clearly implied here.

<sup>4</sup> *call thee hence*: Elizabeth I died in March 1603.

<sup>5</sup> *Avies of that great Maria*: allusion to the Catholic prayer to the Virgin, “Ave Maria” (“Hail Mary”).

<sup>6</sup> *Homepie*: probable scribal error; read “hornpipe”.

<sup>7</sup> *Beadsmen*: in religious terms, beadsmen were those who were charged with praying for others; the

term was also used as a petitionary salutation from inferiors to superiors.

<sup>8</sup> *thrice seaven sonnes*: thrice seven suns; i.e. twenty-one years.

<sup>9</sup> *Ægyptys tenn plagues*: the story of the plagues sent by God to force the Egyptians to free the enslaved Israelites is told in Exodus 7-12.

<sup>10</sup> *the syde / Of our Redeemer*: literally the wound in Christ's side; theologically, the poem alludes to the idea that Christ's blood redeemed mankind's sins.

<sup>11</sup> *hailestones*: though used metaphorically here, hail was one of the plagues sent by God to Egypt (Exodus 9.18-34).

<sup>12</sup> *angrie death*: the next dozen lines of the poem allude to the severe visitation of plague in England during 1603-04.

<sup>13</sup> *bound in chaines / The fruitfull fields*: i.e. created food shortages through bad harvests. Though there were localized crises of dearth in 1608, there were no major harvest disasters between 1598 and 1624.

<sup>14</sup> *inundations*: floods. There were severe floods in South Wales, Gloucestershire, Somerset, Norfolk and elsewhere in 1607 (Walsham 118, 120, 124 n.40).

<sup>15</sup> *Noahs flood*: see Genesis 6-9.

<sup>16</sup> *Had Egipt thicker darknes*: the story of the plague of darkness visited upon the Egyptians is in Exodus 10.21-23.

<sup>17</sup> *Evill portending commets blazing starrs*: the most notorious comet of the early Stuart age was the much discussed "blazing star" of 1618; however, this line probably refers to the comet of 1607. Comets were widely believed to be portents of future disaster.

<sup>18</sup> *Prodigious birthes*: monstrous births were widely interpreted as providential signs of God's displeasure.

<sup>19</sup> *Heaven in combustion seemed*: this and the following two lines refer to meteorological and astrological phenomena interpreted by contemporaries as prodigies and portents.

<sup>20</sup> *Henry*: James I's eldest son, Henry, who died in November 1612. Henry's death triggered intense grief among those who saw him as the future hope of a more militant Protestant nation.

<sup>21</sup> *The Egiptian waters bitter weare*: perhaps an allusion to Exodus 15.23, where the Israelites in the wilderness "could not drink of the waters of Marah, for they were bitter".

<sup>22</sup> *This toucht...did not soe*: this line is a little obscure. One possible reading would repunctuate it as

“This toucht the very Soule, that did not soe”. Thus, Henry’s death was bitter to the soul, unlike the Egyptian waters whose bitterness did not penetrate as deep.

<sup>23</sup> *weepe ourselves to stone*: perhaps an allusion to the myth of Niobe, who wept for her lost children even after being turned into a stone.

<sup>24</sup> *The spawnne...were sacriefized*: allusion to the plague of the deaths of the first-born sons in Egypt (Exodus 11-12).

<sup>25</sup> *Sodome*: the city of wickedness, destroyed by God (Genesis 19).

<sup>26</sup> *Could not take fire...weere removed*: before destroying Sodom, God had Lot and his family escape (Genesis 19).

<sup>27</sup> *caterpillers*: a common term for corrupt courtiers and officials who despoiled the commonweal.

<sup>28</sup> *Projectors*: devisers of schemes (“projects”) to raise money for the Crown by delegating enforcement powers to private individuals. Ideally, projects should marry private and public gain; too often, however, they appeared to enable private gain at public expense.

<sup>29</sup> *Monopoly mongers*: dealers in monopolies (a common form of project which granted to an individual a monopoly over a manufacturing process or form of economic regulation). Monopolies had been a source of vigorous debate in the Parliament of 1621 (see Section M), and had been used by King and courtiers as rewards to clients and relatives.

<sup>30</sup> *upstart*: of low social origins.

<sup>31</sup> *Egiptian flies*: allusion to the plague of flies visited upon the Egyptians (Exodus 8.20-31).

<sup>32</sup> *A tennement...in a pott*: a little obscure, though perhaps can be read as “exhausts the tenements, corruptly obtained, by wasting resources on riotous consumption (of drink)”.

<sup>33</sup> *Ægipt had skipping grashoppers*: for the biblical plague of locusts, see Exodus 10:12-19.

<sup>34</sup> *skipjack*: foolish, foppish.

<sup>35</sup> *boundemen*: bondmen; serfs or slaves.

<sup>36</sup> *for three apprenticeshipps*: apprenticeships were typically seven years long; thus this phrase is best read as a measure of time, twenty-one years.

<sup>37</sup> *froggs*: the plague of frogs that afflicted Egypt is described in Exodus 8.1-14.

38 *intelligencers*: sellers of information.

39 *Honors confirr'd...highest roomes*: this couplet alludes generally to the inflation of honours—the profligate granting and sale of titles—under James, and perhaps more specifically to the promotion of socially obscure favourites at the Jacobean court.

40 *Power Job had many scabbs*: among many other afflictions, God gave “Power” ( i.e. “poor”) Job a bad case of boils (Job 2.7).

41 *Egipt had botches...smarted*: God inflicted plagues of boils (“botches”) and cattle disease (“Murraines”) upon the Egyptians (Exodus 9.3-6, 9.8-11).

42 *Bowman and Jowler, Ringwood and his mate*: proverbially-used names of dogs. The allusion here is to James’s well-known love for the hunt—and thus to his care for his hunting dogs, instead of care for his people.

43 *More daring...more ferce*: it was a common lament in the 1620s that English martial vigour had decayed since Elizabeth’s death.

44 *lucifers*: devils.

45 *upstart fawning parasits*: generally speaking, courtiers who have risen to authority from outside the old nobility. In this context, Buckingham and his kindred are clearly implied.

46 *Fiddlers...clymers*: compare this couplet to the libel on James I’s merry fools and courtiers, “Listen jolly gentlemen”. Buckingham was known to have charmed the King with his dancing skills.

47 *Magna Charta*: Magna Carta, the document asserting the “liberties” of “free men”, extracted by baronial rebels from King John in 1215.

48 The order of pages in this manuscript has been disrupted in binding.

## Niv2 Your bold Petition Mortalls I have seene

*Notes.* This poem takes the form of an answer to “If Saints in heaven cann either see or heare” (and/or its second section, “If bleeding harts dejected soules find grace”). It is unclear when and by whom it was written, although one contemporary thought the poet of “If Saints in heaven” had in fact “answer’d it himselve” (M., T. 66). It was printed, following “If bleeding harts dejected soules find grace”, in *The Commons Petition of Long Afflicted England (1642)*.

“A Gracious answere from that blessed Saint to her whilome<sup>1</sup> Subjects with a divine admonition and a prophetique conclusion.”

Your bold Petition Mortalls I have seene  
And finde it full of passion, full of spleene  
Prayers that enter Heaven and gaine a heareing  
Are wing’d with charity heers noe appearing  
For supplications fraught with Ire or gall 5  
I doe confesse poore Soules the truth of all  
And wish a period to your miseries  
But first your infinite iniquities  
Must have an end, alas you must beginn  
To love faire vertue as you have lov’d sinne 10  
You must redeeme the tyme thats lost & knowe  
As Heaven hath ever bene to vengeance slowe  
Soe by degrees is grace and mercie wonne  
Eyes that are foule by gazing on the sunne  
Increase their greifes, if you wold mercy gaine 15  
From unjust actions you must first refraine  
How dare a wicked servant once require  
From his just maister either grace or hyre  
You must putt of the shoes wherewith you trodd  
The wayes of sinne ere you discourse with God 20  
Give mee but ground for commendation

Incouragement, and then your supplication  
 I shall deliver, I left you rich 'tis true  
 But proud withall, you fear'd none all fear'd you  
 You weere soe farr from feare that you deny'd 25  
 To pay him feare that gave you cause of pride<sup>2</sup>  
 You must be humbl'd Heaven ever punisht yet  
 All kinde of Rankenes with an opposite  
 Hee that hath surfett ere hee gaine his heilth  
 Must strictly fast, had you satt still in wealth 30  
 You never would have bowed your stubborne knee  
 Either to God, or Saint, to heaven or Mee  
 I will not greive your troubled soules too much  
 Yet gently your ingratitude I'le touch  
 And that you may better knowe your errors 35  
 I shall into your memories call the favours  
 Are by you forgotten, unthankfully forgotten  
 Long tyme before the flesh I wore was rotten  
 It is noe ostentation to relate  
 Curtesies done to such as are ingrate. 40  
 I found you<sup>3</sup> like a humbled scattered flocke  
 Your very soules beating against the rocke  
 Of ignorance and superstition<sup>4</sup>  
 Just in the way to blacke pardition  
 I plaid the shephard, and the Pylate too 45  
 And yet noe lambe nor fleece more then my due  
 Was ere exacted from the common store  
 Wee all alike weere rich alike weere poore  
 Though thyne and myne, and myne & thine weere things  
 Not to be knowne twixt subjects and their kings 50  
 Princes like the Sunn should from the Earth exhall  
 That which they raise, then in a showre lett fall

In every place, as they see cause a share,  
 And not consume it in the wanton ayre  
 There full Exchequour should like conduits bee 55  
 Open to all the rich and poore like free  
 And subjects should like feilds be full of springs  
 That naturally fall still towards their kings  
 The Comon wealth should alwaies be in motion  
 Seas flowe to brooks & brooks should fall to th'ocean 60  
 Such Royall such loyall comunitie  
 Keepe Kings, and subjects still in unitie  
 I cannot say I greive this place is free  
 From passion as from Iniquitie  
 But yet I muse since Scotland with it joyn'd<sup>5</sup> 65  
 Englands Exchequour is no better coyn'd  
 Sure there is false play I fear the younger brother<sup>6</sup>  
 Is growne too wise too craftie for the other  
 It is an ill made marriage where the bride  
 Spend faster then the husband cann provide<sup>7</sup> 70  
 I did mainetaine farr be vaine glorie hence  
 A well rigg'd Navie still for your defence  
 A royall fleet that like a Brazen wall  
 Circl'd this land the armies weere not small  
 The garrisons and forts I did uphold 75  
 Kept you like sheepe in peace within your fold  
 What welldeserving soldiour went away  
 Without reward much lesse without a pay.  
 To neighbour states in amitie wee lent  
 Money and men<sup>8</sup> what servant ever went 80  
 Without his hyre; what pention was denyed  
 From the first houre unto the hower I dyed  
 In breife I seldome borrowed oft did lend

Yet left enough to give enough to spend  
 How comes it then since neith fleet nor fort 85  
 Armie, nor garrison, noe house, noe court  
 Noe wages, noe debts nothing repair'd nought paid  
 Nought purchas'd, nought lent, nought built, nought made  
 And yet there nought remaines nought to be found  
 All is not perfect sure all is not sound 90  
 I noe lesse muse to see the woods cutt downe  
 The antient lands Revenues of the Crowne<sup>9</sup>  
 Disposed of soe to favorite to freind  
 That should hereditarily discend  
 From king to king as doth the diadem 95  
 The land of the crown is the Crowne cheifest geme  
 Customes subsidies, fines are accedents  
 Enough is substantiall, but the annuall rents  
 There are deservers sure that service doe  
 That must not be made knowne to heaven or you 100  
 Princes are Gods on earth, and subjects eyes  
 Upon their actions must not stand like spies  
 It is a daingerous and ungodly thinge  
 To prie into the chamber of a Kinge  
 The Arke of state is satisfied, and must 105  
 Be onely toucht by those are putt in trust  
 But you an answeare crave to your petition  
 Then knowe poore Soules its given in comission  
 From heavens great King to tell you all thats past  
 To whats to come, is but a sparke a blast<sup>10</sup> 110  
 Your sorrowes yet alas like womans throwes<sup>11</sup>  
 Doe goe and come but there must follow woes  
 Ere England be deliver'd that will make  
 Your very entralls bleed your soules to quake



The dayes shall come when stowtest men shall mourne 115  
 And children wish they never had bene borne  
 The sword shall eate what plagues have overslipt  
 And fire consume what famine hath not ript  
 The Gospell sunne<sup>12</sup> shall loose his glorious light  
 And ignorance<sup>13</sup> as black as darkest night 120  
 Shall spread her sable wings about this Isle  
 And Babilons proud whore<sup>14</sup> once more defile  
 Albions white cliffes, the Israelites must double  
 The bricks they made, yet be allowed noe stubble<sup>15</sup>  
 An Egiptian with an Hebrew must contend 125  
 Oh th'Ebrewe wants a Moses<sup>16</sup> to his friend  
 There is an Execrable thing lies hidd  
 Such a Sinne as modestie doth forbidd  
 Mee for to name, till that be brought to light  
 And Achan punisht, be putto flight 130  
 Before the men of Ai you shall not stand<sup>17</sup>  
 Nor shall ought prosper that you take in hand  
 The husband from his wife shalbe divorc't  
 And every poore mans Virgin shalbe forced  
 Uria<sup>18</sup> shalbe murthered for his wife 135  
 And Naball<sup>19</sup> sleepe in dainger of his life  
 You thirsted for a King,<sup>20</sup> Heavens King releive you  
 And grant you pardon as I heere forgive you  
 You tooke a surfett of my happie raigne  
 And paid my well deservings with disdaine 140  
 But oh you cast not Mee away 'twas not I  
 You slighted 'twas the lord of hoasts most highe  
 And therefore you shall call and crye in vaine  
 Unlesse you shall lament, bootles complaine  
 From forth the North the plague is come at last 145

The Lyon's rouzed from's Denn that shall lye wast  
Your townes, and citties, and who stands up at allas<sup>21</sup>  
To stopp the gapp whereat his wrath shall passe  
Hee shall by violence, and craft doe more  
Then all the world could ever doe before 150  
Yet know his end and last conclusion  
Shalbe in miserie, and confusion.<sup>22</sup>

Hark hark Heavens organs summons me away  
My comission's ended I dare not stay  
The blessed Querresters<sup>23</sup> of heaven I heare 155  
Tuning their voyces to our Soveraignes eare  
Farwell poore Soules goe pray repent & fast  
The deafe and unjust Judge is wonn at last  
By importunitie much more will hee  
That is inclin'd and proane to clemency. 160

I shall attend your prayers every houre  
And to the utmost will extend my power  
With him that onely cann, and may releive you  
Theirs hope of Pardon if hee once reprove you  
Greive for what's past with a resolution 165  
To amend your lives deferr not the'xecution  
Unto the hornes of th'altar tymely flye  
Tymely repent least you untimely dye.

**Source.** Bodleian MS Malone 23, pp. 14-48<sup>24</sup>

**Other known sources.** *Commons Petition*; "Poems from a Seventeenth-Century Manuscript" 162; Bodleian MS Eng. Poet. c.50, fol. 10v; Bodleian MS Eng. Poet. e.14, fol. 49v; Bodleian MS Eng. Poet. f.10, fol. 111r; Bodleian MS Rawl. D. 398, fol. 226r and fol. 230r; Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 160, fol. 18v; Bodleian MS Top. Cheshire c.7, fol. 6r; BL MS Sloane 363, fol. 15r; Brotherton MS Lt. 28, fol. 6r; Brotherton MS Lt. q.44, fol. 6r; CCRO MS CR 63/2/19, fol. 33r; Nottingham MS Portland PW V 37, p. 249; St. John's MS K.56, no. 61 and no. 62; Beinecke MS Osborn b.197, p. 92; Folger MS V.a.275, p. 8

- <sup>1</sup> *whilome*: one-time.
- <sup>2</sup> *You weere...cause of pride*: i.e. in their arrogance, the English forgot to fear God, the author of their prosperity.
- <sup>3</sup> *I found you*: i.e. at the time of Elizabeth's accession in 1558.
- <sup>4</sup> *soules...ignorance and superstition*: i.e. at the time of Elizabeth's succession England had formally been a Catholic country for the previous five years. The theme of the Elizabethan redemption of the nation from the darkness of "popery" was common in the literary, ritual and visual symbolism that comprised the cult of Elizabeth.
- <sup>5</sup> *since Scotland with it joyn'd*: i.e. since the Stuart succession in 1603.
- <sup>6</sup> *younger brother*: Scotland.
- <sup>7</sup> *the bride...cann provide*: the bride is Scotland, the husband England. The charge of Scottish profligacy with English wealth was commonly made (see Section E). Despite James's best efforts—which often conceived of political union in the language of marital union—England and Scotland were not formally united until 1707.
- <sup>8</sup> *neighbour states...men*: Elizabeth lent (intermittent) financial and military support to Protestants in the Netherlands and France.
- <sup>9</sup> *woods cutt downe...of the Crowne*: the next few lines of the poem lament the felling of trees in the royal forests and the alienation of Crown lands by the Jacobean monarchy.
- <sup>10</sup> *is but a sparke a blast*: i.e. is like a mere spark compared to a blast.
- <sup>11</sup> *throwes*: throes; labour pains.
- <sup>12</sup> *The Gospell sunne*: Protestantism.
- <sup>13</sup> *ignorance*: Catholicism, popery.
- <sup>14</sup> *Babilons proud whore*: the Church of Rome, the Papacy.
- <sup>15</sup> *the Israelites...noe stubble*: allusion to the labours imposed on the enslaved Israelites by the Egyptians (Exodus 1.14), and a prophecy of the enslavement of the English (Israelites, Hebrews) by Catholicism and its worldly champions (the Egyptians). Straw ("stubble") was used in the making of

bricks.

<sup>16</sup> *Moses*: leader of the Israelites in their liberation from the Egyptians.

<sup>17</sup> *There is an Execrable thing...not stand*: these five lines allude to the story of Achan in Joshua 7. After Joshua's victory at Jericho, Achan violated God's command by secretly stealing an "accursed thing" from the ruins of the defeated city. As a punishment for Achan's hidden sin, God caused Joshua's armies to be defeated by the men of the City of Ai. After Joshua identified Achan as the thief, exposed the gold and "Babylonish garment" Achan had stolen, and had Achan and his family stoned to death, God was at last appeased. The burning question here is what the "Execrable thing" is that "lies hidd" in England, but which "modestie doth forbidd" the Queen to name. One solution would be to follow the clue of the "Babylonish garment", which might suggest that the hidden thing is "popery", the religion of the Whore of Babylon. But the Queen's "modestie" would hardly prevent her from naming this—indeed she has already named it. The obvious alternate reading would be to assume that the sin must be sexual in nature. The most likely candidate here might then be the King's rumoured homosexual relationship with his favourite, Buckingham.

<sup>18</sup> *Uria*: Uriah, husband of Bathsheba, and sent into mortal danger on the orders of King David to allow the King to marry Bathsheba in Uriah's stead (2 Samuel 11).

<sup>19</sup> *Naball*: Nabal, a rich farmer who mocked King David's request that he supply his troops with food, and who was saved from David's violent reprisal only at the behest of his (Nabal's) wife Abigail's petition. God, having prevented David soiling his hands with a vengeance killing, then killed off Nabal Himself (1 Samuel 25).

<sup>20</sup> *You thirsted for a King*: the following lines suggest that the best reading of this phrase is that while Elizabeth was Queen, the English longed for a male ruler, a king, and disdained their female monarch's achievements. The phrase might also allude to the famous biblical verse, 1 Samuel 8, in which God instructs Samuel to warn the king-hungry Israelites of the drawbacks of monarchical rule.

<sup>21</sup> *who stands up at allas*: possibly should read simply "who stands up, alas,".

<sup>22</sup> *From forth the North...confusion*: these eight lines are couched in the language of prophecy, thus making their meaning deliberately slippery. Yet it is clearly possible to read them in a profoundly anti-Stuart light: if the plague comes from Scotland ("the North"), the destructive lion roused from his den is none other than James I. This reading becomes more secure when the prophecy is placed side-by-side with the so-called "Merlin's Prophecy" verse ("A Prince out of the North shall come"), in which James, as Lion, emerges from his den to lead a Protestant conquest of Catholicism and Islam.

<sup>23</sup> *Querresters*: choristers.

<sup>24</sup> The order of pages in this manuscript has been disrupted in binding.

## Nv Jack and Tom go to Spain

### Nv1 What suddayne change hath dark't of late

*Notes.* This poem, written by King James on the occasion of Prince Charles's and Buckingham's highly controversial journey to Madrid (February-October 1623), passed into manuscript culture, and contributed to the broader public debate on the Spanish Match. Cogswell (Blessed Revolution 43-44) places James's poem in context of the wider debates, while Perry ("Late Manuscript Poetry of James I" 217-224) offers a detailed reading of the politics of the poem's manipulation of the "pastoral idiom" (217).

"A Poeme made by Kinge James, upon the voyage of his sonne Charles & Marquesse Buckingham, into Spayne. March: 1622"<sup>1</sup>

What suddayne change hath dark't of late,

The glory of th' Arcadian state?<sup>2</sup>

The fleecy flockes refuse to feede;

The lambes to play, the ewes to breede.

The Altars smoake, the offringes burne,

Till Jack & Tom<sup>3</sup> doe safe returne.

5

The spring neglects his course to keepe,

The ayre with mightie stormes doth weepe;

The prety birdes disdain to singe,

The meades to swell, the woodes to springe.

10

The mountaynes droppe, the fountaynes mourne,

Till Jack and Tom doe safe returne.

What may it bee, that mooves this woe,

Whose want affectes Arcadia soe?

The hope of Greece, the proppe of artes,

Was princely Jacke, the Joy of heartes.

15

And Tom was to our royall Pan,<sup>4</sup>

The chiefest Swayne, and truest man.

The lofty toppes of Menalus,<sup>5</sup>  
 Did shake with winde from Hesperus,<sup>6</sup> 20  
 Whose sweete delicious ayre did fly,  
 Through all the boundes of Arcadie.  
     Which moov'd a vayne in Jacke and Tom,  
     To see the coast, it issued from.

The winde was love; the Princes stout 25  
 To Pages turnes;<sup>7</sup> but who can doubt,  
 (Where equall fortune love procures,  
 And æquall love successe assures,)

    But venturous Jacke will bring to Greece,  
     The best of price, the Golden fleece.<sup>8</sup> 30

Love is a world of many Spaynes,  
 Where coldest hilles and hottest playnes,  
 With barren rockes and fertill feelds  
 By turne despayre and comfort yeelds.

    But who can doubt of prosperous luck, 35  
     Where love and fortune doth conduct?

Thy grandsire, godsire, father too,<sup>9</sup>  
 Were thyne examples so to doe.  
 Their brave attempts in heate of love,<sup>10</sup>  
 France, Scotland, Denmarke did approve. 40

    So Jacke and Tom doe nothing new  
     When love and fortune they pursue.

Kinde shepheards<sup>11</sup> that have lov'd them long,  
 Bee not too rashe in censuring wrong:  
 Correct your feares, leave of to mourne, 45  
 The heavens shall favour their returne.

Committ the care to Regall Pan,  
Of Jack his sonne, and Tom his man.

**Source.** Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 26, fol. 21r-v

**Other known sources.** *James VI and I* 2.192; “Poems from a Seventeenth-Century Manuscript” 124; Bodleian MS Rawl. D. 1048, fol. 73r; BL Add. MS 28640, fol. 128v; BL MS Harley 837, fol. 74r; St. John’s MS K.56, no. 71; Beinecke MS Osborn b.197, p. 104

Nv1

- <sup>1</sup> *March: 1622:* i.e. March 1623 (new-style dating).
- <sup>2</sup> *th’ Arcadian state:* Arcadia, a mountainous region of Greece, and quintessential pastoral state; here standing for England.
- <sup>3</sup> *Jack & Tom:* as they made their way from England, in disguise, Prince Charles and Buckingham had assumed the pseudonyms Jack and Tom Smith. Charles was Jack, Buckingham Tom.
- <sup>4</sup> *royall Pan:* the god of shepherds, primarily worshipped in Arcadia; here standing for James.
- <sup>5</sup> *Menalus:* a mountain in Greece.
- <sup>6</sup> *Hesperus:* the West. For Romans, Hesperus was Spain.
- <sup>7</sup> *Princes stout / To Pages turnes:* allusion to Charles and Buckingham’s adoption of servants’ guise as they left England.
- <sup>8</sup> *Golden fleece:* in Greek myth, Jason and the Argonauts sailed to Colchis to secure the golden fleece. Here—as in other poems on the 1623 adventure—the fleece is the Infanta of Spain.
- <sup>9</sup> *Thy grandsire, godsire, father too:* a better reading—which makes sense of the allusion, and which is found in other copies—has “Thy grandsire great, thy father too”.
- <sup>10</sup> *Their brave...love:* allusion to the actions of Charles’s father and great-grandfather in sailing off from Scotland to collect their wives. James VI and I sailed to Denmark in 1589 to marry Anne and bring her home to Scotland. James V of Scotland went to France to woo his wife.
- <sup>11</sup> *Kinde shepherds:* English critics of Charles and Buckingham’s voyage to Spain. James’s dismissal of his subjects’ complaints, and insistence they “Committ the care to Regall Pan” links this poem to the

sentiments expressed in a number of royal pronouncements and actions during the debates about the Spanish Match.



## Nv2 From Englands happy & unequall state

*Notes. In the only known source, this poem on Prince Charles and Buckingham's controversial journey to Madrid in pursuit of the Spanish Match (February-October 1623) is attributed to John Harvy.*

“One the Princes goeing to Spayne”

From Englands happy & unequall<sup>1</sup> state

Our Charles is gone to trust to Sea & Fate:

Neptune<sup>2</sup> be proud since thow with him art freight

For Sea had never such a noble waight.

Let not thy Billowes rore, nor surges rise,

5

Nor a blacke cloud appeare within the Skyes:

Smooth thy rough face, & let the Sunnes bright beames

With a rich mantle cloth thy silver streames.

Let not a wrinkle in thy brow be seene

And be no more as thow to fore hast beene.

10

Shew all your pastimes, let your watry sport

Resemble to his eyes a Monarches Court.

Cause thy rich woombe send forth her plenteous store

That which hath longe beene hidden from the shore.

And in a minute from her bosome cast

15

Those priceles Gemms that circled with her wast

Send all unto his sight, be proud that yow

Can please his senses with your humble view.

For never did theare on the Ocean swim

A Vesell fraught with whats contaynd in him.

20

When Princely Charles shall safe arive in Spayne

And their 2 heartes made one,<sup>3</sup> which have bin twayne,

So long tyme joy above all joy will flow

And in no place shall bide a thought of woe.

What will Maria thinke when she shall see 25  
 A Prince for her sake of that dignitie  
 Cast of the robe of majesty & take  
 A shape so humble<sup>4</sup> for his mistress sake  
 Expose his body to laborious toyle  
 And with long steps measure a strangers soyle. 30  
 Forsake his Country, leave his friendes in doubt,  
 Of what in his long travayles may fall out.  
 How can they recompence his worthy love  
 Which by apparant signes he doth approve?  
 Barre him no longer from the heavenly blisses 35  
 But greet his comming with a 1000 kisses.  
 Then shall you pay the hyre he doth expect  
 Giving a period to more state neglect  
 And your affections shall heereafter bee  
 Left as Examples to posteritye. 40  
 And faythfull Buckingame thy love shalbe  
 Kept from decay unto Eternitye.  
 For truly waigh what thow hast ventur'd now  
 Will force thy foes even with a wrinkled browe,  
 Confes thee noble, & their envy lay, 45  
 Fast bound in earth, & nere behold more day.  
 What though thy Enemyes nere so much do curse  
 Thy happy fortunes? Thow art nere the worse:  
 But like the Syrian Wolves that barke all night,  
 Against the moones transplendent heavenly light,<sup>5</sup> 50  
 Count those that envy thy deserved state  
 Knowing thow standst 'bove envy or their hate.  
 For thinke you that your Sovereigne would rayse  
 Any to honor for the peoples prayse?  
 No, he did se that in thy inward part, 55

Was his true faith without dissembling art.  
And that a man so form'd by Natures skill,  
Had not within his breast a thought of ill.  
Love those that love thee: For the rest a strawe  
Guilt shunnes the light; Foxes the Lyons pawe.

60

**Source.** Bodleian MS Malone 19, pp. 35-37

Nv2

<sup>1</sup> *unequall*: unequalled.

<sup>2</sup> *Neptune*: god of the sea.

<sup>3</sup> *And their 2 heartes made one*: i.e. the marriage of Prince Charles with the Spanish Infanta Maria.

<sup>4</sup> *Cast of the robe...humble*: alluding to Charles's adoption of a humble disguise as "Jack Smith".

<sup>5</sup> *like the Syrian...light*: while the specific significance of Syrian wolves is unclear, the image is of foolish and barbarous carping in the face of mysterious regal splendour.

### Nv3 I've read of Ilands flotinge and removed

*Notes. This poem is accepted as the work of Richard Corbett, and is published in the modern edition of his poems. Since it confronts libellers, and since it also elicited one of the best attacks on Corbett (see "False on his Deanery: false, nay more, I'le say"), it warrants a place in this edition. The poem is discussed by McRae (Literature 167-68).*

"Doctor Corbets letter to the D. of Buck: beinge in Spaine"

I've read of Ilands flotinge and removed

In Ovids time,<sup>1</sup> but never heard it prov'd

Till now: that fable by the Prince and you

By your transportinge England is made true.

Wee are not where we were, the dogstarre reignes<sup>2</sup>

5

No cooler in our climate then in Spaine.

The selfe same ayre, same breath, same heate, & burninge

Is here, as there will be, till your returninge.

Come e're the Card<sup>3</sup> be alter'd, lest perhaps

Your stay may make an error in the Mapps.

10

Least England should be found, when you should passe

A thousand times<sup>4</sup> more southward then it was.

Oh that you were (my Lord) oh that you were

Now in Black-fryers<sup>5</sup> in a disguis'd hayre,<sup>6</sup>

Or were the smith<sup>7</sup> againe, two houres to be

15

In Paules<sup>8</sup> next Sunday, at full sea at three,

There should heare the Legends on each day

The perils of your June, and of your May,

Your Enterprises, Accidents, untill

You could arrive at Court, and reach Madrill.<sup>9</sup>

20

There should you heare, how the Grandyes flowte you,

With their twice diligence about you;

How our environ'd Prince walkes with a guard

Of Spanish spyes, and his owne servants barr'd:  
 How not a Chaplayne of his owne may stay 25  
 When he would heare a Sermon preacht, or pray.  
 You would be hungry having din'd to heare  
 The Price of Victualls, and the scarc'ty there:  
 As if the Prince had venter'd there his life  
 To make a famine, not to get a wife. 30  
 Your egges are addle too, and full as deare  
 As English Capons, Capons as sheepe here:  
 No grasse for horse or Cattle; for they say  
 It is not cutt and made; grasse there growes hay.  
 And then it is so seethinge hot they sweare, 35  
 They never heard of a raw oyster there.  
 Your cold meate comes in reakinge, and your wine  
 Is all burnt sack, the fire was in the Vine  
 Item your Pullets are distinguisht there  
 Into 4 quarters, as wee carve the yeare, 40  
 And are a weeke in wastinge; Munday noone  
 A Wing, at supper somewhat with a spoone.  
 Tuesday a legge, and so forth, sunday more  
 The Livor, and the Gizzard betweene foure.  
 As for your Mutton to the best housoulder 45  
 Tis fellony to cheapen a whole shoulder.  
 Lord, how our stomachs come to us againe  
 When wee conceive what snatchinge is in Spaine.  
 I whilst I write, and doe the newes repeate  
 Am forc't to call for Breakefast in, and eate. 50  
 And doe you wonder at this dearth, the while  
 The floud that makes it run, the middle Ile  
 Poets of Paules, those at D: Humfrey's messe<sup>10</sup>  
 That feede on nought, but Graves and emptinesse.

But harke you (noble Sir) in one crosse weeke 55  
 My Lord hath lost 4 thousand pound at Gleeke.<sup>11</sup>  
 And though they doe allow you little meate  
 They are content your losses should be great.  
 False on my Deanery,<sup>12</sup> falser then your Fayries<sup>13</sup>  
 Or then your difference, with Cond' Aslivares<sup>14</sup> 60  
 Which was reported strongely for one tyde  
 But after 6 houres flowinge, ebbd and dyde.  
 If God would not that this designe should be  
 Perfect and round without some knaverie,  
 Nor that our Prince should end his enterprize, 65  
 But for so many miles, soe many lyes:  
 If for a good event, the heavens doe please  
 Mens tounge should be come rougher then the seas,  
 And that the expence of paper shall be such,  
 We dare not looke on, much lesse presume to touch 70  
 Corantoes, dyets, packets, newes, more newes<sup>15</sup>  
 Which soe innocent whitenes doth abuse.  
 If first the Belgicke Pismire<sup>16</sup> must be seene  
 Before the Spanish Lady be our Queene  
 With that successe, and such an end at last 75  
 All's wellcome, pleasant, gratefull, that is past.  
 And such an end wee pray, then shall you see,  
 A type of that which Brother Zebedee,<sup>17</sup>  
 Wisht for his<sup>18</sup> sonnes in heaven: the Prince & you  
 Att either hand of James, you neede not sue 80  
 He on the right, you on the left, the Kinge  
 Safe in the best,<sup>19</sup> you both invironinge.  
 Then shall I tell my Lord, his word and band  
 Are forfeit, till I kisse the Princes hand.  
 Then shall I see the Du:<sup>20</sup> your royall freind, 85

Give you all other honours, this You earn'd:  
This you have wrought; for this you hammer'd out  
Like a stronge Smith,<sup>21</sup> good workman, and a stout.  
In this I have a part, In this I see  
Some new addition smilinge upon mee;  
Who in an humble distance clayme a share  
In all your greatenes whatsoever they are.

90

**Source.** BL Add. MS 22603, fols. 39v-41r

**Other known sources.** Corbett, *Poems* 76; Bodleian MS Ashmole 47, fol. 83v; Bodleian MS Malone 19, p. 27; Bodleian MS Rawl. D. 1048, fol. 51v; BL Add. MS 33998, fol. 8v; BL MS Harley 6931, fol. 6r; Nottingham MS Portland PW V 37, p. 317; St. John's MS K.56, no. 65; St. John's MS S.32, fol. 38v; Beinecke MS Osborn b.197, p. 119; Folger MS V.a.162, fol. 66v; Folger MS V.a.345, p. 135; Rosenbach MS 239/22, fol. 36r; Rosenbach MS 239/27, p. 11

Nv3

- <sup>1</sup> *I've read...time*: the Roman poet Ovid describes such floating islands in his *Metamorphoses*.
- <sup>2</sup> *the dogstarre reignes*: the Dog Star (Sirius) was believed to reign during the hot months of July and August.
- <sup>3</sup> *Card*: chart or map.
- <sup>4</sup> *times*: "miles", found in other versions, seems a better reading.
- <sup>5</sup> *Black-fryers*: an area of London; but, perhaps, given the rest of the line, more specifically an allusion to the theatre at Blackfriars.
- <sup>6</sup> *disguis'd hayre*: Charles and Buckingham reportedly wore false beards as they made their way out of England.
- <sup>7</sup> *smith*: Charles and Buckingham used the pseudonyms Jack and Tom Smith as they made their way out of England.
- <sup>8</sup> *Paules*: St. Paul's Cathedral, a centre of political gossip in early Stuart London. The following section of the poem summarizes the talk in Paul's Walk—the nave and aisles of the Cathedral—about the voyage to Spain. Many of the details Corbett describes can be found in contemporary newsletters,

some of which are cited in Corbett, *Poems* 147-48.

<sup>9</sup> *Madrill*: i.e. Madrid.

<sup>10</sup> *middle Ile...messe*: allusion to the newsmongers who haunted St. Paul's—those who troll Paul's Walk (the “middle Ile” for news), the scribblers of political poetry (“Poets of Paules”), and those of limited means who loiter around the supposed tomb of Duke Humphrey of Gloucester (“to dine with Duke Humphrey” was a colloquial phrase meaning “to go without dinner”).

<sup>11</sup> *Gleeke*: a card game.

<sup>12</sup> *Deanery*: Corbett was Dean of Christ Church, Oxford.

<sup>13</sup> *Fayries*: “fare is” is a better reading.

<sup>14</sup> *Cond' Aslivares*: Don Gaspar de Guzmán, Count of Olivares, who emerged as the chief minister of the Spanish king, and the chief negotiator with Charles and Buckingham during their stay in Madrid.

<sup>15</sup> *Corantoes...more newes*: a list of various news media circulating in the early 1620s. Corantoes were serial printed news publications on foreign affairs.

<sup>16</sup> *Belgicke Pismire*: a tract by the notorious anti-Spanish pamphleteer Thomas Scott, published in 1622, that urged an English alliance with the Dutch against Spain.

<sup>17</sup> *Brother Zebedee*: a better reading is “Mother Zebedee”. In Matthew 20.20-21, “the mother of Zebedee's children” asked Christ to “Grant that these my two sons may sit, the one on thy right hand, and the other on the left, in thy kingdom”.

<sup>18</sup> *his*: “her” is a better reading.

<sup>19</sup> *best*: “mid'st” is a better reading.

<sup>20</sup> *Du*: Duke. Buckingham was elevated to a dukedom by James while in Spain.

<sup>21</sup> *Smith*: blacksmith; but also alluding to Buckingham's “Tom Smith” pseudonym.



#### Nv4 False on his Deanrye? false nay more, Ile lay

*Notes.* This poem responds to Richard Corbett's "A Letter to the Duke of Buckingham, being with the Prince in Spaine" ("I've read of Ilands flotinge and removed"), seizing at its outset on Corbett's exclamation, "False on my Deanery". Its premise is an ironic claim that Corbett could not possibly have written such sycophantic work, and that he is now far more responsible and dignified than in his younger days. The poem is discussed by McRae (Literature 169).

"An Apologeticke ryme vindicating Dr. C. Deane of Ch. Ch.<sup>1</sup> from the aspersion of late adulatory verses published under his name"

False on his Deanrye? false nay more, Ile lay  
As many poundes, as he, or-s freinds did pay  
greate Phœbus darling<sup>2</sup> for his dignity,  
that noe such thought abusd his braine, that he  
is growne in witt, as well as beard and place. 5  
Hees left his boyes play: scornes to be soe base  
as bow his witts to those forgotten rime,  
whose often Birthes endeerd his former time  
to Tapsters, Ostlers,<sup>3</sup> and that lovely crew  
of soveraigne Bacchus<sup>4</sup> witty mates, tis true 10  
his wanton youth and verse hath made them merry,  
and servd to drawe downe white Canary, shery,  
And by some was then deemed borne for nought  
but to employ some ballad singers throate.  
Those tymes are changd: hees greate, and tis the guise 15  
of raysd estates, (though madd men) to grow wise:  
One patents power hath changd both mind and bloud  
and made him at one clapp soe greate, soe good.  
Tis blame to thinke him what he was; his coates  
and Cassocks<sup>5</sup> worth hath kild his wilder oates: 20  
His former toyes beleevt heel now disdayne  
as much as Calvin or the Puritane.<sup>6</sup>

Sure twas some poetasters hungry braine  
 whose hucstering rimes prevent the famin of Spayne  
 In his owne gutts, who hath not what to eate 25  
 or weare, buts witts; theres all his cloth and meate,  
 Some taylour or some Fenner<sup>7</sup> dare to lye  
 and clapp his name to their false poetry.  
 Or els perhaps twas some Satyrick quill  
 that whip-d and scourgd our woodstock scene,<sup>8</sup> who still 30  
 beare malice in their inke: some such did doe it,  
 and coynd a Deanry<sup>9</sup> to steele credit to it.  
 Beleeve or this or worse, but nere suppose  
 heele yeeld to owne such flatterys as those:  
 Such an extortion cannot but undoe 35  
 the servilst mind; to pay and flatter too.  
 Ist probable to thinke that ye should longe  
 once more to be ground Pygeons songe?  
 Or that he would provoke Court witts to singe  
 the second part of th' bandstrings and the ringe?<sup>10</sup> 40  
 Or letts suppose, that he, which yet my braine  
 will not admitt, made tryall of that veyne  
 that earst his muse enrich him with, that he  
 once more awakd his slumbring facultye,  
 Yet sure he would provide his verse should be 45  
 perfect, and round, without all knavery:  
 the sacred volume<sup>11</sup> questionlesse shoulde scape  
 the violence of a poeticke rape.  
 The nicknamd mother Zebedee<sup>12</sup> could not  
 procede from one engrafft in Levies Lott<sup>13</sup> 50  
 Since each abuse of scriptures purer line  
 gives stronger proofs of th-athist then divine  
 In breife, his calling, place, degree disclaime  
 this stupid act, this injury of fame.  
 Nor will I ere beleve soe rich a Spirit 55

Should raise it selfe by ballads more then merit.

**Source.** Bodleian MS Rawl. D. 1048, fol. 53r-v

**Other known sources.** “Poems from a Seventeenth-Century Manuscript” 176; Bodleian MS Ashmole 36-37, fol. 155r; Bodleian MS Don. d.58, fol. 42r; Bodleian MS Malone 19, p. 30; BL Add. MS 21433, fol. 120v; BL Add. MS 25303, fol. 131r; BL Add. MS 61481, fol. 63r; Brotherton MS Lt. q. 11, no. 47; Nottingham MS Portland PW V 37, p. 319; St. John’s MS K.56, no. 65; Folger MS V.a.345, p. 133; Rosenbach MS 239/22, fol. 18v

Nv4

<sup>1</sup> *Dr. C. Deane of Ch. Ch.:* Richard Corbett, Dean of Christ Church, Oxford.

<sup>2</sup> *greate Phæbus darling:* i.e. James’s favourite, Buckingham. The charge here is that Corbett had paid Buckingham to secure the appointment at Christ Church.

<sup>3</sup> *Tapsters, Ostlers:* those who draw the beer and house the horses at an inn or tavern.

<sup>4</sup> *Bacchus:* the god of wine.

<sup>5</sup> *Cassocks:* clerical vestments.

<sup>6</sup> *disdayne...Calvin or the Puritane:* Corbett was renowned for his satires on Puritans (identified here with one of the leading Reformed theologians, John Calvin).

<sup>7</sup> *Some taylour or some Fenner:* allusion to popular poets John Taylor and William Fennor.

<sup>8</sup> *Satyrick quill...our woodstock scene:* allusion to the poet of the satire “The Kinge & the court desyrous of sport” which mocked the scholars of Oxford’s attendance on James’s court at Woodstock in the summer of 1621. The last stanza of the poem mocks Corbett’s performance as a preacher before the king.

<sup>9</sup> *coynd a Deanry:* i.e. claimed the title of dean.

<sup>10</sup> *th’ bandstrings and the ringe:* the last stanza of “The Kinge & the court desyrous of sport” had mocked Corbett for losing his place in his sermon as he became distracted by playing with a ring, given to him by James, that he had tied in his bandstring.

<sup>11</sup> *sacred volume:* the Bible.

<sup>12</sup> *Nicknamd mother Zebedee:* in Matthew 20-21, “the mother of Zebedee’s children” asked Christ to “Grant that these my two sons may sit, the one on thy right hand, and the other on the left, in thy kingdom”. Corbett alludes to this passage in his poem.

<sup>13</sup> *Levies Lott*: unclear; perhaps the place of a cleric.

## Nv5 Tell mee for gods sake Christs Church what you meane

*Notes.* This riposte to Richard Corbett's poem "I've read of Ilands flotinge and removed" was less well known than "False on his Deanery: false, nay more, I'le say", but it merits attention not only for its attack on Corbett's sycophancy towards the royal favourite, but also for its wittily "Catholic" perspective.

"An other by a Catholique gentleman"

Tell mee for Gods sake *Christchurch*<sup>1</sup> what you meane

to countenance such a mad, vayneglorious deane,

If's not enough you knowe him proud, deboyst<sup>2</sup>

a Parasite<sup>3</sup> a Cicophant, a foyst<sup>4</sup>

Unlearned uncivill, unchast, unholye?

5

but must both Rome and Spaine witnessse his folly?

what will they thinke of other mens devotion

when deanes dare thus profane to gett promotion

will they not thinke well of our Churches head<sup>5</sup>

when forth the bodie such ill humours spread?

10

will they not blesse them selves for being devided

from our *Christchurch* if *Christchurch* be so guided?<sup>6</sup>

If *Christchurch* gave noe better pastor, sure

the flocke must needs bee mangey, lowsey, poore.

Well lett thy god the Duke<sup>7</sup> rayse the for this worke

15

and ere I'le be a protestant, Ile turne Turke.

**Source.** BL Add. MS 61481, fol. 64r

**Other known sources.** NCRO MS IL 4278

Nv5

<sup>1</sup> *Christchurch*: Corbett was Dean of Christ Church, Oxford.

<sup>2</sup> *deboyst*: debauched.

<sup>3</sup> *Parasite*: common term for those (often courtiers) who feed upon the common weal for their private benefit.

<sup>4</sup> *foyst*: cheat.

<sup>5</sup> *our Churches head*: the monarch—here James I—was head of the Church of England.

<sup>6</sup> *from our Christchurch...guided*: punning on the Church of England (“our *Christchurch*”) and Christ Church in Oxford.

<sup>7</sup> *thy God the Duke*: George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, the royal favourite and Corbett’s patron.

## Nv6 The day was turnd to starrelight, & was runne

*Notes.* This poem was clearly written on the assumption that the Spanish Match would be completed during Prince Charles and Buckingham's visit to the Spanish Court (February-October 1623), and may well have gained wider currency had this in fact occurred.

“On the Princes goeinge to Spayne”

The day was turnd to starrelight, & was runne  
Where Neptune<sup>1</sup> sate at supper with the sunne.  
Queene Thetis<sup>2</sup> askd him of the newes that day,  
And busines of the world. Should I bewray  
Said hee (and smild) fayre Lady what I spy 5  
I oft might use a nett. Venus<sup>3</sup> satt by  
And blushing thought of Mars.<sup>4</sup> with that one knockt  
Aloud at Neptunes gate which shakd & rockd  
His castle made with shells. Nereus<sup>5</sup> brought word  
Clad in a sea calves mantle to his Lord. 10  
Without there stood a legate come from Spayne  
To crave safe conduct ore his marble playne  
Tis true said Sol,<sup>6</sup> for I at noone before,  
Observd the navy ready at the shore:  
And as I past Parnassus hill,<sup>7</sup> amonge 15  
The nine,<sup>8</sup> sate Hymen<sup>9</sup> with a marriage songe.  
For whom I askd and sent him there my Lute,  
And Mercury<sup>10</sup> lett Euterpe<sup>11</sup> have his flute.  
Then Neptune seald his graunt to him, & swore  
Himselfe would bring her to the brittish shore.<sup>12</sup> 20  
The Sunn that best can judge of beauty, said  
Shee was a second to his lawrell mayd.<sup>13</sup>  
Hee praisd her birth & royall parentage,  
How faire, how lovely, wise above her age.

And at her birth, said Venus, Jove<sup>14</sup> and I 25  
 Ore Mars and Saturne<sup>15</sup> had the victory.<sup>16</sup>  
 Neptune extolls the princely match: sure hee  
 That springes from these must bee some deity  
 Then Sol recountinge said that hee would bee  
 Ascendent Lord at her nativity. 30  
 The Moone was sportinge with the starres above  
 Whilst Sol & Neptune thus discoursd with Jove.  
 The night and banquet was farre spent in talke  
 And Phœbus<sup>17</sup> said t'was time for him to walke  
 Then came Auror'<sup>18</sup> & blushing told the clocke 35  
 Shee was ore clad in scarlett & a Cocke  
 Stood by her side as herald of the day,  
 Chasinge the starres unto their watry bay.  
 Then Phœbus halfe out of the sea was seene  
 And tooke his leave of Neptune & the Queene. 40  
 Nights twinc'linge eyes 'gan blind, while his bright torch  
 Shin'd to the world from out the Indian porch.  
 Neptune then calld to Triton<sup>19</sup> for his coach  
 And bid him sound his trumpett, and to broach  
 His comminge towards Spayne; His robe was blew 45  
 Spun by a Syren<sup>20</sup> richly to the view.  
 Trimmd all with gemms, which Thetis fore had choosd  
 Out of the Indy shore, where oft shee usd  
 To play amonge the Nymphs: sixe broad find payre  
 Of yoked dolphins drew his watry chaire. 50  
 Such was his pompe: and as hee rode alonge  
 The fish him homage did: the scaly thronge  
 Swam by his chariott, like an harnest hoast  
 Till shee arrivd uppon the Lysbon coast.<sup>21</sup>  
 Hymen was there in consort with the nine 55



Both Jove & Bacchus<sup>22</sup> there did come to dine  
 Hymen hee bare the base & lowd did gape,  
 The golden starre, & fayre Io's rape.<sup>23</sup>  
 Neptune then left his coach in Proteus<sup>24</sup> hand  
 And for to grace the princesse came on land. 60  
 The sea Nymphs meete her, & about her skipp  
 Whilst all the nobles lead her to the shipp.  
 Noe Nymph soe fayre as this! both Doris gazd  
 And Nois<sup>25</sup> at her beauty stood amazd.  
 The flatnose Satyres<sup>26</sup> from the wood that spyed 65  
 Her lipps of Currall<sup>27</sup> fell in love & dyed.  
 Her shipp was chard with thunder: and each sayle  
 Wrought full of storyes, flourisht with a gale  
 Of wind, which Jove bespake, who chasd from heaven  
 The weeping clusters of the Sisters seaven.<sup>28</sup> 70  
 The Kidds darest not bee seene, the windy starrs  
 Now durst not breath! Arcturus<sup>29</sup> oft at warres  
 With marriners was still. The twins<sup>30</sup> had charge  
 (Oh happy couple) to attend their barge.  
 The'Hesperian<sup>31</sup> Lords then tooke their leaves, & shee 75  
 At Spayne still lookinge wondred much to see  
 The shores to fly away: then oft shee thinks  
 Of golden Tagus,<sup>32</sup> and his yellow brinks.  
 There was she wont to bath; there stood a grove  
 Where oft her with Diana<sup>33</sup> shee usd to rome. 80  
 Thus thinkinge wept, & Hymen wip't her eyes,  
 O save those pearlee dropps (quoth hee) and prize  
 Each teare before a gemme. Then straight hee tooke  
 Apolloes lute: and each Muse sange by booke.  
 And charm'd all care. Hymen did nere soe move 85  
 His learned quill, since Juno<sup>34</sup> marryed Jove.

The sea nymphs had theyr Consorts & for bells  
 About theyr Timbrells<sup>35</sup> range a peale of shells.  
 Each had her fish shee road on: some bestride  
 The brideled Conger, some on Sturgeons ride. 90  
 Triton hee spurrd a dolphin richly trapt  
 And had about his wreathed trumpett wrapt  
 A scarfe wherein both Jason<sup>36</sup> and his shippes  
 Yet liv'd in needle worke. Then to his lippes  
 Hee putt his shell, and made the Ocean roare 95  
 And blew the fame unto the Brittish shore.  
 Proteus rode on a Crab, whose oares were clawes  
 Moving in order kept the shippemens lawes.  
 The Lady saw him turnd into a Stag  
 Now like a dragon, then anon a Nagg. 100  
 Foorthwith a Bull, and quicly with a wish,  
 A princely sturgeon, or a lesser fish.  
 Neptune did turne his coach wher hee was sate  
 And askd how hee did like the Sea: with that  
 Hee reach'd, and kissd her twice, & road along 105  
 Praying the art of Navigation.

Not far of stood a fleet of Pyratts, who  
 Sayld to this prize, as swift as shaft from bowe:  
 Then Neptune calld two monsters from the deepe  
 Two bellowing whales which were beneath a sleepe, 110  
 As low as hell; and bids them straight deliver  
 Those slaves to Charon at the Stygian river.<sup>37</sup>  
 And thus in pompe th' arriv'd in Brittaines land  
 Where Prince and Nobles stood upon the sand.  
 The King<sup>38</sup> thankd Neptune for his princely Care 115  
 Who answerd hee nere had a pledge soe rare  
 Committed to his slippery trust. The Nymphes

Then tooke their leaves, & still desyrde a glympes  
 Of her fayre eyes, and gave her guifts each one,  
 This gave a shell, and shee a ruby stone. 120  
 One gave a combe, another gave a ring,  
 And Neptune gave his Charriott to the king.  
 Take heere sayd hee the Ocean crowne & bee  
 Next under mee the monarch of the sea.  
 Then came the land nymphs with a rurall ditty 125  
 And singing brought him to the royall cittie  
 The auncient river<sup>39</sup> with his frizled heyre  
 Striving with Christall from his Amber chayr  
 Where hee with Isis<sup>40</sup> sate, rose when hee heard  
 The Princesse was at hand & brushd his beard 130  
 Which age had spun to silver, and putt on  
 His azure mantle, stiffe with pearle and stone.  
 Soe was my country Tagus clad said shee  
 When at his banks hee tooke his leave of mee.  
 With that the reverend Genius of the towne,<sup>41</sup> 135  
 Came forth to meet her in his purple gowne.  
 Hee gave her jewells in a cupp of gold  
 Whereon were graven storyes done of old  
 And in his hand hee had a booke which shew'd  
 The birth starres of the citty which Brutus<sup>42</sup> plowed 140  
 The furrowes of the wall: on every page  
 A Kinge was drawne, his Fortune, & his age.  
 But shee likes best & lov'd to see againe  
 The british Prince<sup>43</sup> that should now match with Spayne  
 Thus entred shee the court where every one 145  
 To entertayne her made provision.  
 Nois had angled all the night & tooke  
 The troute, & gudgeon with her silver hooke.

The graces<sup>44</sup> all were busy on the downes  
 Gatheringe of salletts & in wreathing crownes. 150  
 The wood Nymphs ranne about & while twas darke  
 With light & lowbell<sup>45</sup> caught the amazed larke  
 One with some hayre pluckt from a Centaurs tayle  
 Made springes to catch the woodcocke in the dale.  
 One sprede the nett the cony to ensnare 155  
 Another with the hounds pursued the hare.  
 Diana early with her beugle cleere  
 Armd with her quiver shott the fallow deere.  
 The stately stagge hott with the fatall shaft  
 Shedd teares in fallinge whiles the hunter laughd. 160  
 All sent their games to Hymen with a præsent  
 The buck, the partridge, and the painted pheasant.  
 And Jove to grace his feast of Hymens joy  
 Sent thither Nectar by the Trojan boy.<sup>46</sup>  
 The graces & the Dryades<sup>47</sup> were there 165  
 The Queene of Fayries with her golden hayre  
 The mountaines, Nymphs, Diana, & the nine  
 Invited there by Hymen all did dine.  
 Pan<sup>48</sup> stood & whilst, Vulcan<sup>49</sup> turnd the spitt,  
 And Pallas<sup>50</sup> at the table shewd her witt 170  
 The Cumane Sybill and the Tyburtine<sup>51</sup>  
 Like two old statues did by course divine.  
 One seemd old Saturnes Mothers midwife & the other  
 Soe cramp'd with age, old Dæmogorgons<sup>52</sup> Mother.  
 The night gan now both feast & mirth surprise, 175  
 And th'azure turnd to sable in the skyes.  
 The royall couple then great Hymen ledd,  
 With noise of musicke to the marriage bedd.  
 Hee drew the curtaynes biddinge them good night

The Glosse.

This Poeme is noe Sybill or a Prophett  
In future mysteryes of state & though it  
May seeme of thinges not acted to divine  
Yett thinke it means Princes Arthurs Katherine.<sup>53</sup>

**Source.** Folger MS V.a.162, fols. 46r-48v

**Other known sources.** Bodleian MS Ashmole 47, fol. 25r; Bodleian MS CCC. 309, fol. 80r; Bodleian MS CCC. 328, fol. 70v; Bodleian MS Malone 19, p. 21; BL Add. MS 47111, fol. 18r; BL MS Egerton 923, fol. 40v; BL MS Sloane 542, fol. 21r; Brotherton MS Lt. q. 11, no. 41; Rosenbach MS 239/27, p. 1

Nv6

- <sup>1</sup> *Neptune*: god of the sea.
- <sup>2</sup> *Thetis*: a sea goddess.
- <sup>3</sup> *Venus*: goddess of love.
- <sup>4</sup> *Mars*: god of war, and Venus's lover.
- <sup>5</sup> *Nereus*: a sea divinity, often identified with the Aegean.
- <sup>6</sup> *Sol*: the sun god, Apollo.
- <sup>7</sup> *Parnassus hill*: Mount Parnassus, sacred to the Muses.
- <sup>8</sup> *The nine*: the nine Muses.
- <sup>9</sup> *Hymen*: god of marriage.
- <sup>10</sup> *Mercury*: the messenger god.
- <sup>11</sup> *Euterpe*: Muse of lyric poetry.
- <sup>12</sup> *bring her to the brittish shore*: i.e. bring the Infanta Maria to England.

- 13 *lawrell mayd*: Daphne, a nymph transformed into a laurel tree to enable her to avoid Apollo's lascivious pursuit.
- 14 *Jove*: king of the gods.
- 15 *Saturne*: the most ancient of the gods, and father of Jove.
- 16 *And at her birth...victory*: this couplet is best read in loosely astrological terms; the Infanta's birth was under the signs of Love and Happiness, rather than Strife and Sadness.
- 17 *Phæbus*: the sun god, driver of the chariot of the sun.
- 18 *Auror'*: Aurora, goddess of the dawn.
- 19 *Triton*: mythic sea creature, whose trumpet controlled the waves for Neptune.
- 20 *Syren*: siren, or sea nymph.
- 21 *Lysbon coast*: the western coast of Spain—Portugal was at that time under Spanish rule.
- 22 *Bacchus*: god of wine.
- 23 *The golden starre...Io's rape*: Io was transformed into a white heifer (probably by the queen of heaven, Hera/Juno) to thwart the desires of Jove. According to some versions of the myth, Jove then transformed himself into a bull in order to have sex with her.
- 24 *Proteus*: a sea god, able to assume many shapes.
- 25 *Doris...Nois*: sea nymphs.
- 26 *Satyres*: satyrs; forest divinities.
- 27 *Currall*: coral.
- 28 *Sisters seaven*: the Pleiades, the seven daughters of Atlas and Pleione, all but one of whom had affairs with the gods.
- 29 *Arcturus*: one of the brightest stars, especially prominent in the northern spring skies.
- 30 *The twins*: the constellation Gemini.
- 31 *Hesperian*: Western; here Spanish.

- 32 *Tagus*: the River Tagus in Spain.
- 33 *Diana*: maiden goddess of the hunt.
- 34 *Juno*: queen of the gods.
- 35 *Timbrells*: tambourine-like percussion instruments.
- 36 *Jason*: legendary leader of the Argonauts, and winner of the golden fleece.
- 37 *Charon at the Stygian river*: Charon ferried the souls of the dead across the River Styx to Hades.
- 38 *The King*: James I.
- 39 *ancient river*: personification of the River Thames.
- 40 *Isis*: the River Isis
- 41 *Genius of the towne*: mythic personification of London.
- 42 *Brutus*: mythic Trojan founder of London (“Troynovant”).
- 43 *british Prince*: Prince Charles.
- 44 *The graces*: goddesses (usually three in number) often associated with Venus.
- 45 *lowbell*: a bell used for hunting birds at night.
- 46 *Trojan boy*: Ganymede, Jove’s cupbearer.
- 47 *Dryades*: driads; wood divinities.
- 48 *Pan*: god of shepherds.
- 49 *Vulcan*: the metalworking god.
- 50 *Pallas*: Athena, goddess of wisdom.
- 51 *Cumane Sybill...Tyburtine*: the Cumaean and Tiburtine Sibyls, aged prophetesses.
- 52 *Dæmogorgons*: infernal deity, glossed as hellish demon in Christian tradition.
- 53 *This Poeme...Katherine*: the “Glosse” appended to this poem disingenuously denies contemporary

applicability, claiming the poem refers only to the 1499 marriage of Prince Arthur, eldest son of Henry VII, to the Spanish Princess Catherine of Aragon.



## Nv7 A Phillipp once to england came

*Notes.* This verse anxiously compares the plan to marry prince Charles to Maria, the Infanta of Spain, to the last Anglo-Spanish royal match, the marriage between the Catholic Queen of England Mary Tudor and King Philip II of Spain in 1554. We have chosen to present the poem the way the original transcriber set it down on the page, with the two stanzas headed “Phillipp & Mary” and “Charles & Mary” copied down side by side. The scribe’s intention is to highlight the rather frightening comparisons between the two matches, but the poem only makes complete sense if the two stanzas are read sequentially.

### “Phillipp & Mary”

A Phillipp once to england came |  
Now Charles is gone to Spayne. |  
A Mary did that Journey frame |  
A Mary mov’d againe. |

### “Charles & Mary.”

That Mary was a fiery starre  
To all the fountaynes pure<sup>1</sup>  
God grant this mary prove not far  
The more Estrema dure.<sup>2</sup>

**Source.** Beinecke MS Osborn b.197, p. 217

Nv7

<sup>1</sup> *That Mary...fountaynes pure*: this couplet alludes to the persecution and burning of English Protestants during Mary’s reign.

<sup>2</sup> *Estrema dure*: “extremely harsh”; probably also a pun on the name of a region of south-west Spain, “Estremadura”.

### Nv8 The starre that rose in Virgo's trayne

*Notes.* A variant of this Spanish Match epigram has a different first-line (“The starre that sitts in Charles his wayne”), but is otherwise effectively identical (Beinecke MS Osborn b.197). The poem draws an analogy between the south-north movement of a star in the constellation Virgo and the anticipated movement of the Spanish Infanta from Spain to England.

“1623”

The starre that rose in Virgo's trayne,  
From South to North did post amayne.  
If Southene be the coast of Spayne,  
Then Northerne Charles looke to thy wayne.<sup>1</sup>

**Source.** Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 26, fol. 3v

**Other known sources.** Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 26, fol. 25r; Beinecke MS Osborn b.197, p. 219

Nv8

<sup>1</sup> *thy wayne*: Charles's Wain was a group of seven stars in the Great Bear constellation.

## Nv9 Since Arthure, or his stable stood

*Notes.* Prince Charles and Buckingham arrived in Paris on 21 February 1623, on their way to Spain. Their temporary sojourn in France provides occasion for this mocking verse comparing Charles unfavourably to his more martial ancestors. Towards the end, the poem shifts its target to King James himself. Both P. Hammond (148) and Bellany (Politics 257) comment on the depiction of Buckingham as James's "spouse" in the penultimate stanza.

Since Arthure,<sup>1</sup> or his stable stood,  
Or that black Prince<sup>2</sup> that was so good,  
    England could ne're advance,  
A cronicle to fill with fame  
Of him who onely has the name,  
    Alone in seeing France

5

Hee neither ridd his fathers fleete,  
Nor mustered men his foes to meete;  
    As erst at Agincourt<sup>3</sup>  
The mapcappe Prince of Wales<sup>4</sup> once did;  
Oh, no: such tumultes God forbid;  
    He onely went in sporte.

10

Some say t'was love that drewe him out,  
And then it followes out of doubt,  
    An errant Knight<sup>5</sup> hee'l bee.  
Which I confirme too by his store,  
Two shirts hee tooke along no more  
    Perhappes hee'l bring home three

15

If safe hee passe in this disguise,<sup>6</sup>  
As he was cunning whose advise  
    So ere provok'd him to it,

20

Has not hee farr more honour wonne,  
Then hee which march'd with horrid drumme,  
And came for to undoe it.

But if the French should chance to spye, 25  
As they are plaguy knaves to prie,  
The Marquesse<sup>7</sup> and the Prince.  
Should not wee subjects good dispayre,  
For ever seeing Englands Heire,  
without the French<sup>8</sup> from thence. 30

Yet this for comfort still wee gather,  
Two issues more<sup>9</sup> his royall father  
Conceald, has kept in store.  
For whose rich matter every day,  
The faithfull pastors<sup>10</sup> truly pray: 35  
And yet they still growe sore.

Nor have the people cause to hate  
The King who ventured thus his state,  
His care of thinges well knowne.  
For Buckingham his spouse is gone, 40  
And left the widowed King alone,  
With sacke<sup>11</sup> and greefe upblowne.

And though the Counsell picke their teeth,  
And with their nightcappes hide their greefe  
Alas they are not blam'd. 45  
For our safe Soveraighne ever chose,  
Such heads to whom hee to disclose  
His secretes was asham'd

**Source.** Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 26, fols. 22v-23r

**Other known sources.** BL MS Harley 367, fol. 163r

Nv9

- <sup>1</sup> *Arthure*: King Arthur, legendary British king.
- <sup>2</sup> *black Prince*: Edward, the Black Prince, son of Edward III, commander of English armies in France during the Hundred Years' War.
- <sup>3</sup> *Agincourt*: Henry V defeated the armies of France at the battle of Agincourt in 1415.
- <sup>4</sup> *mapcappe Prince of Wales*: Henry V had led a notoriously reckless youth.
- <sup>5</sup> *errant Knight*: a wandering knight of chivalric romance.
- <sup>6</sup> *disguise*: Charles left England disguised as the humble Jack Smith.
- <sup>7</sup> *Marquesse*: the Marquis of Buckingham.
- <sup>8</sup> *the French*: the pun here is on the common usage of "the French" as a synonym for the "French pox", or syphilis.
- <sup>9</sup> *Two issues more*: probably referring to James's daughter Elizabeth and her husband Frederick V, Elector Palatine. Deposed as King and Queen of Bohemia by Imperial forces in 1620, then driven from the Palatinate by Spanish and Bavarian troops, Frederick and Elizabeth were refugees in The Hague.
- <sup>10</sup> *faithfull pastors*: i.e. Protestant ministers, critical of the Spanish Match, and ardent supporters of the cause of the Elector Palatine.
- <sup>11</sup> *sacke*: wine.

## Nv10 Ilium deplores, but still old Priams glad

*Notes.* This poem, written during Charles and Buckingham's sojourn in Spain (February-October, 1623) begins in an intensely, and sometimes obscurely, allusive mode, inviting readers to identify contemporaries with classical figures. The latter part of the poem, however, concentrates explicitly on Buckingham (who used the pseudonym "Tom Smith" on his trip to Spain in 1623), and predicts his fall.

Ilium<sup>1</sup> deplores, but still old Priams<sup>2</sup> glad,  
Cassandra<sup>3</sup> mournes, and Hellena<sup>4</sup> is sad,  
Andromache<sup>5</sup> with teares bedewes her eyes,  
Hector of Boheme<sup>6</sup> like the Lyon lyes.  
Paris<sup>7</sup> takes ship intendeinge to fetch home 5  
A second Helen<sup>8</sup> but shee's sprunge from Rome.<sup>9</sup>  
Heroes agree not, yet the upstarts they  
though basest borne doe beare the greatest swaye.<sup>10</sup>  
The states disordred not one halfe are just  
and true Religion's<sup>11</sup> buried in the dust 10  
Ulisses<sup>12</sup> for his tongue not for his wit  
assotiates Jacke<sup>13</sup> though he be far unfit.  
Ajax<sup>14</sup> lyes prison'd, the matter's small all knowes  
Superiours not the Commons are his foes.  
Aeneas<sup>15</sup> was soe too, till fates devine 15  
by poysoninge him, him cleare did resyne.  
Lyke gold he glysters but his worth exceeds  
great Xerxes forces<sup>16</sup> or Alexander's deeds.<sup>17</sup>  
The hogge<sup>18</sup> hath lost his pearle, and it is pittye  
a hogge more just were rooted in a Cyttye. 20  
And Subtill Synon<sup>19</sup> that doth all this plot:  
Coward Thirsites<sup>20</sup> must not bee forgot;  
They twaine, like Janus<sup>21</sup> with their double faces

Th'one speakes you faire while th'other you displaces.  
 If they but aske i'le boldly lay my lyfe 25  
 that they shall have, though it were th'others wyfe.  
 Jason assumes the golden fleece to gayne,<sup>22</sup>  
 gainst Romish wolves, and Bulls, he must maintayne  
 A feirce assault, thy soule not body feare  
 and thou a Lawrell wreath shalt allwayes weare. 30  
 First Jacke of England Jove<sup>23</sup> prolonge thy dayes  
 and ave<sup>24</sup> Jacke Smith, each man freely sayes.  
 Come thou away and leave Medea<sup>25</sup> there  
 A second Mars,<sup>26</sup> like Irefull Jove we feare:  
 till thou returne each flowre hangs downe her head, 35  
 and that which even now florisht is just now dead.  
 the Larke doth leave her Curious tunes to singe  
 and Narcissus makes his Eccho<sup>27</sup> ringe,  
 the shape of Niobe<sup>28</sup> each woman takes  
 that wept for her sweete Childrens sake: 40  
 the Pale fac'te Moone denyes us her sweete light  
 Since her Endymions out of England sight:<sup>29</sup>  
 Aurora<sup>30</sup> she lookes pale, her face is wan  
 old Thetis<sup>31</sup> she esteemes but as another man:  
 Phoebus<sup>32</sup> agayne laments, cause hee's denyde 45  
 to shine on Phaeton,<sup>33</sup> his and Englands pride.  
 the starry skye is dimmd, England is benighted  
 eich man that's here with his owne shapes affrighted.  
 Thy presence here would wipe these mists away  
 and favour sorrowes lend a sunshine day: 50  
 Thy sight would ravish us and to be breife  
 would set a period to our poynts of greife;  
 Thy Companie's pleasant Tom,<sup>34</sup> but I doe vowe  
 I would have thy Roome if I could tell howe;

Thy titles greate<sup>35</sup> are, but thy vices flowe 55  
and right by might thy oft dost overthrowe.  
Thou lov'st thy kindred well, but shouldst doe more  
prayse great Jehovah<sup>36</sup> and his name adore.  
But to the Crosse thou prayst a Crosse may fall<sup>37</sup>  
That in the end may fully pay for all. 60  
Fortune smiles on thee but beware her frowne  
for him she soonest rayseth she as soone casts downe.  
Be sure in tyme that thou sowe well thy seed  
that thou agayne maist reape when thou hast need.  
Be like the paynefull Ant that doth provide 65  
In Summers Crops to serve the Winters tyde.  
Lay up thy store for god and men doe knowe  
Through greatest expence the greatest wants doe grow.  
One gives the Councell but 'tis at thy Choyce  
to take it, for he hath noe Prophets voyce. 70  
Yet by the fals of others he doth see  
that the lyke Chance may one day light on thee.  
Do as thou pleasest but 'tis knowne to all  
the greatest Cedars have the greatest fall.

**Source.** Bodleian MS Eng. Poet. c.50, fols. 12v-13r

**Other known sources.** CCRO MS CR 63/2/19, fol. 35v; Folger MS V.a.275, p. 11

Nv10

<sup>1</sup> *Ilium*: Troy; here England.

<sup>2</sup> *old Priams*: ruler of Troy; here James I.

<sup>3</sup> *Cassandra*: Priam's daughter, whose prophecies were cursed never to be believed; here she probably represents James I's daughter, Elizabeth, wife of Frederick V, Elector Palatine, who, with her husband had been driven from Bohemia and from the Palatinate, taking refuge in The Hague.



- <sup>4</sup> *Hellena*: Helen of Troy, wife of the Trojan prince Paris; her contemporary identity is not clear.
- <sup>5</sup> *Andromache*: Trojan woman, wife of the hero Hector; possibly referring to Elizabeth, wife of Frederick V, Elector Palatine (figured in the next line as Hector).
- <sup>6</sup> *Hector of Boheme*: the Trojan hero Hector, son of Priam, and husband of Andromache; here he is Frederick V, Elector Palatine, and erstwhile King of Bohemia, driven from Bohemia after the Battle of White Mountain in November 1620.
- <sup>7</sup> *Paris*: the Trojan prince who stole Helen from the Spartan king Menelaus; here, Paris is Prince Charles, who “took ship” in February 1623 for Spain in an attempt to bring negotiations for the Spanish Match to a swift conclusion.
- <sup>8</sup> *A second Helen*: the Spanish Infanta, Maria.
- <sup>9</sup> *sprung from Rome*: i.e. she is a Roman Catholic.
- <sup>10</sup> *the upstarts...swaye*: attacks the socially obscure (“base born”, “upstart”) royal favourite, Buckingham.
- <sup>11</sup> *true Religion’s*: Protestantism.
- <sup>12</sup> *Ulisses*: the greek hero Ulysses, known for his wisdom and facile tongue. The contemporary identity is a little unclear: the figure who most closely “associated” with Jack/Charles on the trip to Spain was Buckingham, but the comparison seems to imply a courtier known for flattery rather than wisdom, and the flattery charge does not really fit the favourite. A possible alternative is Sir Francis Cottington, Charles’s secretary, who accompanied the Prince to Spain.
- <sup>13</sup> *Jacke*: Prince Charles, who assumed the pseudonym Jack Smith as he journeyed out of England for Spain in February 1623.
- <sup>14</sup> *Ajax*: Greek warrior hero. A plausible candidate for the “prison’d” hero is the “parrot” noble, and veteran of the 1620 Horace Vere expedition, Henry de Vere, 18th Earl of Oxford, who was imprisoned in the Tower from April 1622 to December 1623 for attacking Buckingham. Oxford was also, however, the butt of libellous attacks (see, e.g., “Some say Sir Edward Cecill can” and “When Charles, hath got the Spanish Gearle”), and his military record to that point hardly warrants the Ajax comparison.
- <sup>15</sup> *Aeneas*: Trojan hero and mythical founder of Rome. The contemporary identity of “Aeneas” depends on whether “was soe too” refers to imprisonment or enmity to Ajax. If the former, the only plausible candidate for a poisoned prisoner would be Sir Thomas Overbury, poisoned in the Tower of London in 1613. A somewhat looser reading might allow us to identify Aeneas with James’s eldest son, Prince Henry, the darling of English militant Protestant aspirations, who died in 1612 and was rumoured

to have been poisoned.

<sup>16</sup> *Xerxes forces*: reference to the fifth century BC king of Persia. Herodotus claims that Xerxes raised forces of over 2.5 million men against the Greeks.

<sup>17</sup> *Alexander's deeds*: Alexander the Great, fourth century BC king of Macedonia, and conqueror of massive swathes of territory.

<sup>18</sup> *The hogge*: possibly Sir Francis Bacon, the disgraced Lord Chancellor, whose surname encouraged libellers to compare him with hogs and pigs.

<sup>19</sup> *Synon*: Sinon, the Greek who persuaded the Trojans to take the wooden horse into their city. While no obvious contemporary figure seems to be implied, Sinon could easily stand for wicked counsellors plotting to betray Protestant England by admitting the Trojan horse of a Catholic queen. Sinon might also plausibly stand for the Spanish ambassador to England, Count Gondomar.

<sup>20</sup> *Thirsites*: in book 2 of Homer's *Iliad*, Thersites rails at King Agamemnon, accusing him of waging war solely as an excuse for plunder and rapine, and is then rebuked and struck by Ulysses. Again, a single contemporary identity is hard to prove, but Thersites' cowardice could stand for those who opposed English military action against Spain.

<sup>21</sup> *Janus*: two-faced Roman god.

<sup>22</sup> *Jason assumes...to gayne*: the mythic hero Jason sailed with the Argonauts to take the famed golden fleece from Colchis. The three lines following on from this make it likely that Jason is Charles, setting sail to Spain in pursuit of the golden fleece—the Spanish Match, which, among other things would have brought the English a huge dowry—at the risk of his spiritual corruption by popery (“Romish wolves” and “Bulls”).

<sup>23</sup> *Jove*: king of the gods; here a poetic shorthand for the Christian God.

<sup>24</sup> *ave*: hail.

<sup>25</sup> *Medea*: daughter of the King of Colchis. Jason met her on his mission to take the golden fleece and took her home as his wife. Here she represents the Infanta of Spain, Maria, while the awful consequences of Jason's marriage to Medea are meant to represent the consequences of a Spanish Match.

<sup>26</sup> *Mars*: god of war.

<sup>27</sup> *Narcissus...Eccho*: Narcissus was loved by the nymph Echo, but his inability to feel love drove her to her death.

- <sup>28</sup> *Niobe*: Niobe's children were slain by the gods and, even after she was transformed into stone, Niobe would weep for them.
- <sup>29</sup> *Pale fac'te Moone...England sight*: the moon fell in love with the youth Endymion; here Endymion is Charles (and, despite the name, almost certainly not Endymion Porter, one of the small group of men who accompanied Charles to Spain).
- <sup>30</sup> *Aurora*: goddess of the dawn.
- <sup>31</sup> *Thetis*: a sea goddess. The description of her as "old", and her estimation as "another man" are puzzling, but may simply be intended as indicative of the poor dawn light.
- <sup>32</sup> *Phæbus*: god of the sun.
- <sup>33</sup> *Phaeton*: son of Phoebus; here representing Charles.
- <sup>34</sup> *Tom*: Buckingham assumed the pseudonym "Tom Smith" as he journeyed from England to Spain in February 1623.
- <sup>35</sup> *Thy titles greate*: Buckingham was elevated to Duke, the highest rank of the English peerage, in May 1623.
- <sup>36</sup> *Jehovah*: God. Buckingham was often assumed to be lukewarm in his commitment to Protestantism.
- <sup>37</sup> *But to the Crosse...may fall*: this line plays on two meanings of "cross". The "cross" to which Buckingham "prayst" may be the crucifix used in Catholic ritual; the "cross" he may suffer is a setback.

## Nv11 Our eagle is yett flowne, to a place unknowne

*Notes.* This riotous song, set to a well-known contemporary ballad tune, imagines the effects of the great riches the Spanish Infanta was assumed to bring to England as a dowry.

“Whope doe mee no harme”<sup>1</sup>

Our eagle is yett flowne,<sup>2</sup> to a place unknowne

To meete with the Phoenex of Spaine<sup>3</sup>

Fethered many moe, will after him goe

To waite & attend on his traine.<sup>4</sup>

I here some men say, the Dutchmen<sup>5</sup> must pay

Great summes to make matters even,

And wee shall have gold, more then London can hold

Were the walls built as high as heaven.

5

The Potents of Spaine will loade Charles his waine<sup>6</sup>

And fill up the Brittans with Glee

God knowes what pearle, will be given to that Girle<sup>7</sup>

By Ladys of every degree.

10

A Chappell<sup>8</sup> shall bee, new built you shall see

The walls shall be peeces of eight<sup>9</sup>

Within it the floore shall be paved all ore

With gold of I know not what weight.

15

The Citty shall thrive, there weomen shall swive,<sup>10</sup>

Exchange time<sup>11</sup> in the morne

I heard it right now, each Cuckold shall blowe

And Guild the tippe of his horne.

20

The Mayors of townes, in there Conny-skin<sup>12</sup> gownes,

Shall noddunge ride in the rout,  
 It shall bee there grace, to ride the fooles pace,  
 And at night see the sconce<sup>13</sup> be hunge out.

The Lawyers no more, shall coson the poore 25  
 In Westminster hall,<sup>14</sup> nor in Towne.  
 There Greene Earthen pitcher, shall be silver or Richer  
 And each goose weare A Barristers gowne.

The Schollars<sup>15</sup> shall loath, chopt mutton in broth 30  
 For Woodcocke in Plate shall be brought  
 To every messe, there shall not bee lesse,  
 Then a brace the colledge throughout.

The Gentry shall spend, even world without end, 35  
 They all there meanes shall out live,  
 Yett never bee poore, for there pockefyed<sup>16</sup> whore  
 Shall helpe them to what shee can give.

Our state shall forgett, they ever had witt,  
 Our councell shall now not bee grave, 40  
 The clergy shall drinke like Dutchmen, I thinke  
 Each shall a third benefice<sup>17</sup> have.

The Keeper of cash, shall count it as trash  
 Great houses shall bigger be made,  
 The chappell wherein, to laugh was a sin 45  
 Shall be stord with bedds for the trade.<sup>18</sup>

At court they shall Quaffe, great whole blacke Jacks<sup>19</sup> off  
 To Grandyes that shall come ore  
 And After perhappe D. shall have a clappe<sup>20</sup>  
 What can six & fifty doe more. 50

The reason of this, I take not amisse,  
Will in our clymate appeare  
When that our northpole shall bee putt in the hole  
Of the Southerne inferior beare.<sup>21</sup>

**Source.** Beinecke MS Osborn b.197, pp. 110-11

**Other known sources.** Bodleian MS Rawl. D. 398, fols. 188r and 229r; Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 160, fol. 176v

Nv11

- <sup>1</sup> *Whope doe mee no harm*: “Whoop! do me no harm good man” was a well-known ballad tune, and had been used for a libellous ballad on the Overbury murder (“There was an ould ladd rode on an ould padd”) in 1615-16. Simpson (777-780) gives a transcription of the tune.
- <sup>2</sup> *Our eagle is yett flowne*: Prince Charles (“Our eagle”) left for Spain in February 1623.
- <sup>3</sup> *Phoenix of Spaine*: the Spanish Infanta Maria.
- <sup>4</sup> *Fethered many moe...traine*: other courtiers followed Charles to Madrid in the weeks after the Prince’s departure.
- <sup>5</sup> *Dutchmen*: the Dutch, who were at war with Spain, had a great interest in seeing the Spanish Match fail, or in at least countering its diplomatic effects.
- <sup>6</sup> *waine*: wagon.
- <sup>7</sup> *that Girle*: the Spanish Infanta Maria.
- <sup>8</sup> *Chappell*: any marriage treaty with Spain would require the English to allow the construction of a Catholic chapel for the Infanta to worship in. Inigo Jones began construction of a chapel for the Infanta in May 1623.
- <sup>9</sup> *peeces of eight*: Spanish gold coins.
- <sup>10</sup> *swive*: have sex.
- <sup>11</sup> *Exchange time*: unclear; probably a reference to the morning hours of business at the Old and New Exchange, and hence a bawdy suggestion that city wives exploit the time when their husbands are out of

the house on business.

12 *Conny-skin*: rabbit skin.

13 *sconce*: lantern.

14 *Westminster hall*: location of a number of law courts.

15 *The Schollars*: i.e. of Oxford and Cambridge.

16 *pockefyed*: syphilitic.

17 *third benefice*: a third clerical living. The joke is that many clergymen already hold two benefices—the problem of pluralism was a matter of some dispute in the English Church.

18 *the trade*: prostitution.

19 *blacke Jacks*: large jugs of beer.

20 *D. shall have a clappe*: this line is a little obscure. A plausible reading is to take “D.” as an abbreviation for “Duke” and thus for Buckingham, and “have a clappe” as “have a misfortune”. This line and the one that follows then perhaps evoke the great celebratory drinking that might occur should Buckingham fall.

21 *When that our northpole...beare*: the merging of constellations offers a thin fig-leaf for a rather crude evocation of the consummation of a marriage between Prince Charles and the Spanish Infanta Maria.

## Nv12 Poor silly wight that carkes in the night

*Notes. Some stanzas in this poem inspired by the prospect of a Spanish dowry correspond with some of those in “Our eagle is yett flowne, to a place unknowne”; however, the differences between the two poems are sufficient to include them as discrete texts. Given the similarities, however, it is possible that this poem may also have been set to the tune of “Whoop! Do me no harm good man”.*

Poor silly wight<sup>1</sup> that carkes<sup>2</sup> in the night

and lookes like a man that were starving

For the drosse of this world which by fortune is hurld

more on fooles then on men well deserving.

Sett sorrow apart and cheere upp thy hart

5

or hast thee or hygh thee to shore

There shalt thou espie Spanish gold comming nigh

then thou shalt not want any more.

Our Eagle is flowne<sup>3</sup> to a place yet unknowne

to seeke out the Phœnix of Spayne<sup>4</sup>

10

Feathred foule many moe, will after him goe

to attend and be of his train.<sup>5</sup>

And some doe report they will bringe to the Court

such a masse and abundance of treasure

That the men of the land did they thrise double stand

15

are not able the same for to measure.

The Grandies of Spayne will loade Charles waine<sup>6</sup>

with the richest of riches that be

And God knows what pearle will be given to this girle<sup>7</sup>

from the Ladyes of every degree

20

And others doe say that the Dutchmen<sup>8</sup> must pay



a greate somm to make matters even  
Soe we shall have gold more then London will holde  
were the walls built as high as the heaven.

But I doe say and still shall I pray

25

god save us from the Spanish infection  
The Divell, the Pope, the Masse, and the Rope,<sup>9</sup>  
Together with Preistly correction

And graunt that shee prove as true as her love  
as shee is of royall desert

30

And I thinke of her gold, to say I may be bold  
we shall need little helpe of a Cart.

**Source.** Bodleian MS Rawl. D. 1048, fol. 50v

**Other known sources.** Folger MS V.a.339, fol. 255v; Rosenbach MS 1083/16, p. 248

Nv12

<sup>1</sup> *wight*: person.

<sup>2</sup> *carkes*: toils.

<sup>3</sup> *Our Eagle is flowne*: Prince Charles (“Our eagle”) left for Spain in February 1623.

<sup>4</sup> *Phænix of Spayne*: the Spanish Infanta Maria.

<sup>5</sup> *Feathred foule...train*: other courtiers followed Charles to Madrid in the weeks after the Prince’s departure.

<sup>6</sup> *waine*: wagon.

<sup>7</sup> *this girle*: the Spanish Infanta Maria.

<sup>8</sup> *Dutchmen*: the Dutch, who were at war with Spain, had a great interest in seeing the Spanish Match fail, or in at least countering its diplomatic effects.

<sup>9</sup> *Rope*: probably the hangman's rope.

### Nv13 Our Prince whom we soe dearely lov'd

*Notes.* This rare verse stands out both for its well-informed scepticism about the health of Spanish royal finances—and thus about the low probability of a massive dowry payment as part of a marriage alliance—and for its political critique of the Jacobean regime. This critique, couched in “patriot” anti-popish rhetoric, engages not only with James’s foreign policy, but also with his domestic religious and financial policies, and then concludes by comparing James unfavourably with his predecessor.

“An Epithalamion<sup>1</sup> on the Princes Mariage writt by a truer Catholique then he that styles himselfe the most Catholique Kinge”<sup>2</sup>

Our Prince<sup>3</sup> whom we soe dearely lov'd

And of whose lyfe we soe approved

Our hopes did strangely mocke

By Saylinge through the Westerne deepe

To marry with a Scabbed Sheepe<sup>4</sup>

Of ThantiChristian<sup>5</sup> flocke.

5

Whose father<sup>6</sup> but a beggar was

And brother<sup>7</sup> now doth likewise pass

For such a one or worse

As best the Genowayes<sup>8</sup> can tell

That to the fearefull pit of hell

him & his projects curse.

10

Tis true his Indies<sup>9</sup> doe abound

With Jemms above, Gold underground

In wished manner yet,

But those the states<sup>10</sup> do still surprise

Knoweing which way their passage lyes

Before they home can gett.

15

Whereat intraged he<sup>11</sup> doth vowe  
 Hee'le make them to his Scepter bowe 20  
     Or battle with them joyne  
 Which plotte his treasure hath so spent<sup>12</sup>  
 that he must pay in Complement  
     What we desire in Coyne.

Loe here is all the hopes we have 25  
 Howere the Papists doe outbrave<sup>13</sup>  
     Of Portion<sup>14</sup> with our Prince  
 Although the braggeinge Spaniard sweares  
 Hee meanes to frustrate all our feares  
     And us of Spite Convince. 30

Her wealth yow heare, her tawny face  
 Doth herrald like proclaime her race  
     And shewes shee is a Moore:<sup>15</sup>  
 Her faith it is Heriticall  
 To guess what then should him intrall 35  
     My judgement is too poore

Except their Silver alters, and  
 the golden gods that on them stand<sup>16</sup>  
     His heart did so bewitche,  
 That thence he did conclude there Kinge 40  
 As much out of his chests could bringe  
     As Scottelande<sup>17</sup> would inriche.

Which of all Countryes is the worst  
 And when the fruitfull earth was curst  
     Was made the barrenest 45  
 As by our Kinges Revenues there<sup>18</sup>

It might full easily appeare

If that where here exprest.

But if those babyes won his<sup>19</sup> love

And made him Neptunes<sup>20</sup> kindenes prove

50

And yet he bee beguiled:

Of Heyres, no matter, he did neede

A wyfe I know, but not for breede

For he doth want no chyld.

Nor other riches for the Land<sup>21</sup>

55

Where now he keepes & shall Command

Much skornes the least increase

Of wealth or honour, as it seemes,

But rich enough in both esteemes

Her selfe because at peace.

60

And soe her prudent ruler<sup>22</sup> sayes

That money at his will may rayse<sup>23</sup>

As hee himselfe beleives

And soe he hath done hitherto

Not careinge whom it doth undoe

So he his ends acheives.

65

But he his taxes must foregoe,

Or, sure our weale<sup>24</sup> is chang'd to woe

Wee'l change our love to hate:

And more condemne his crueltye

Than we commend her<sup>25</sup> clemencye

That in his throane last sate.

70

Dureing whose raigne, though none drunke wyne

Under the shaddowe of his vyne

Because no vines we hadd, 75  
Yet Milke & honey Canaans food<sup>26</sup>  
By runninge in a several flood  
    Therewith our hearts did gladde

But ah! these days of happynes  
For others of as much distress 80  
    Long since exchanged were  
Our Ease to toyle our Joy to greife  
And he of whom we crave releife  
    Our cryes doth onely heare.

In Purse and Spirrit equally 85  
We feele so great a poverty  
    As mars our wonted sport,  
Yet who can choose but faint & fall  
To see Religion like a ball  
    Quite bandied out of Court.<sup>27</sup> 90

And to consider how our Kinge  
Whose Fame through Christendome doth ringe  
    For store of guifts divine,  
Doth with the prodigal<sup>28</sup> rejecte  
The meate his Soule should most effecte 95  
    To Feed on Huskes with swyne.

**Source.** Bodleian MS Eng. Poet. c.50, fols. 15v-16r

Nv13

<sup>1</sup> *Epithalamion*: a wedding poem.

<sup>2</sup> *truer Catholique...Kinge*: Protestants often affirmed that they, not the Church of Rome, were the true

“catholic”, universal Church. The kings of Spain assumed the title of “most Catholic king”.

<sup>3</sup> *Prince*: Prince Charles, who travelled to Spain in February 1623.

<sup>4</sup> *Scabbed Sheepe*: diseased sheep; here standing for the Infanta Maria of Spain. In September 1622, Joseph Mead learned that a Paul’s Cross preacher, one Clayton from Fulham, had been punished for telling a “tale of a great murrain of sheep in Edward the Sixth’s days (I think); the reason whereof was, as he said, the coming of scabbed sheep, our of Spain” (Birch, *James I* 2.329-330).

<sup>5</sup> *ThantiChristian*: Protestant polemicists believed the Pope was the Antichrist.

<sup>6</sup> *father*: the Infanta Maria was the daughter of Philip III of Spain.

<sup>7</sup> *brother*: Maria’s brother had become Philip IV of Spain in March 1621.

<sup>8</sup> *Genowayes*: Genoese. Genoese bankers served the cash-strapped Spanish crown.

<sup>9</sup> *his Indies*: Spain’s American possessions.

<sup>10</sup> *the states*: the Dutch, whose navy worked to capture Spanish treasure ships sailing from the Americas.

<sup>11</sup> *he*: i.e. the King of Spain.

<sup>12</sup> *Which plotte...so spent*: the Spanish had been fighting the Dutch for six decades, putting a huge strain on Spanish finances.

<sup>13</sup> *outbrave*: boast.

<sup>14</sup> *Portion*: the dowry the Spanish will offer with the Infanta.

<sup>15</sup> *Moore*: a Spanish Muslim.

<sup>16</sup> *Silver alters...stand*: the silver altars and golden statuary upon them are symbols not only of Spain’s apparent wealth, but also of the Spaniards’ Catholicism (and hence, from a Protestant perspective, “idolatry”).

<sup>17</sup> *Scottelande*: to the English, Scotland was notoriously impoverished (see Section E).

<sup>18</sup> *our Kinges Revenues there*: i.e. James I’s revenues from his Scottish kingdom.

<sup>19</sup> *his*: though the sense of the poem becomes a little convoluted, the best reading is to assume that the poem here is referring again to Charles.

<sup>20</sup> *Neptunes*: god of the sea.

<sup>21</sup> *Land*: England.

<sup>22</sup> *prudent ruler*: James I.

<sup>23</sup> *money...may rayse*: referring to James I's raising of taxation without parliamentary consent, including customs duties (impositions) and benevolences (voluntary taxes). In May 1622, Lord Saye and Sele was reported to have spoken out against a benevolence as an illegal tax (Birch, *James I* 2.312).

<sup>24</sup> *weale*: good, well-being.

<sup>25</sup> *her*: Elizabeth I.

<sup>26</sup> *Milke & honey Canaans food*: "And the Lord said, I have surely seen the affliction of my people which are in Egypt, and have heard their cry by reason of their taskmasters; for I know their sorrows; And I am come down to deliver them out of the hand of the Egyptians, and to bring them up out of that land unto a good land and a large, unto a land flowing with milk and honey; unto the place of the Canaanites" (Exodus 3.7-8).

<sup>27</sup> *Religion...bandied out of Court*: court here has a double meaning, being both a tennis court, from which a ball can be struck out of bounds, and the royal court, where, in 1622-23, a number of high profile conversions to Catholicism and promotions of known Catholics seemed to imply a grave threat to Protestant political hegemony.

<sup>28</sup> *the prodigal*: the last three lines of the stanza allude to Christ's parable of the prodigal son (Luke 15.11-32).



#### Nv14 The Prince of Wales with all his royall traine

*Notes. This lumbering exercise in anti-Catholic wit does not seem to have been occasioned by any actual mishap at a show staged for Prince Charles in Madrid. Rather, the poem attempts to make some mild polemical capital out of the death of Pope Gregory XV in the summer of 1623.*

“On a Shew presented before Prince Charles in the Spanish Courte”

The Prince of Wales with all his royall traine

Was entertained in the Courte of Spaine:

The Catholikes theire respects disclose

Delighting him with Feasts, & Maskes, & Shewes.

Meane while the Romish Church is sick & dead,

Shee died a Noble death, she lost her head.<sup>1</sup>

The holie father having clos'd his eies,<sup>2</sup>

The Spanish states among themselves devise

To grace Christs Vicar: The Catholicks

Before the Prince with antike shewes and tricks.

Within the Stage heav'n placed is on high

Opposd to which hells dreadfull gulfe doth lie.

Then in come Popelings<sup>3</sup> Angells them defending

The Protestants black divells them attending

The Papists dying (as most joyfull happ)

By troops ar Carried into Peters<sup>4</sup> Lapp

The Protestant no sooner yeeld their breath

But Divells dragg them to the second death

Poore Puritanes<sup>5</sup> away by thousands pack

Carryed most swiftly on the divells backe,

Amongst the rest the Holy Father dies,

As soon he must be mounted to the skies.

And that they may the more advance the Pope

They wind him into heaven with a Rope

5

10

15

20

Nor must he as the Common sort ascend, 25  
 But troopes of Angells must his grace attend.  
 Now is hee mounting up in glorious state,  
 The rope hath brought him hard to heavens gate.  
 The blessed host now meaneth not to brave him,  
 And Peter stands as Porter to receave him; 30  
 All watch his Entrance; But I feare to tell!  
 The Rope breaks! The Pope falls into hell!  
 Yet greive not for your Fathers losse of Glory  
 Yee Catholikes; Hee's gone to purgatory<sup>6</sup>  
 To purg some secrett sin by him committed, 35  
 Which by your masses soon may bee remitted.<sup>7</sup>  
 And then he may no doubt with little paine  
 Peepe out of hell, & mount to heaven againe.  
 But pittie 'twas his merits were so great  
 They weighd him downe so hard the rope to breake. 40  
 But tell mee friends, wast not a pretty thing  
 The Pope should go to heaven in a string?  
 What aild thee, ô thou that didst him pluck?  
 Towards the starrs that thou hast such bad luck?  
 Thou shouldst have borne him up upon thy back 45  
 If that thou hadst but foreseen the rope would crack.  
 Doubtles the fault will all bee laied on thee  
 That thou didst not this great mishapp foresee.  
 And might I but Conjecture this; I thinke  
 That thou that night too freely tookst thy drinke. 50  
 And so twixt hawke, & buzard<sup>8</sup> in thy Liquor  
 Thou madst a Divell of Christs Cheifest Vicar.  
 And what a chance 'twas such an holy man  
 Should have his portion with the Puritan?  
 O how the minds of Papists this doth daunt, 55

Thir Pope should dambd be with th' Protestant?  
 Hee thinks that they that then about him went  
 Should by their powr have stopt this fatall vent<sup>9</sup>  
 Did they take charg to carry him on high  
 And let him play the breaknecke by & by? 60  
 Where lay the fault? what did the man deceave thee?  
 Or did hee not foresee the Pope was heavie?  
 Methinks thou shouldst have considred that  
 His greate revenues needs must make him fatt.  
 Besides perhaps he carried up about him 65  
 Copes, Miters, Crosses, pixes, roodes<sup>10</sup> without him.  
 Doubtles within there was wondrous weight;  
 His Heart & Conscience was not very light.  
 And drawing upward such a heavie Pope  
 How could it be but he must breake the Rope? 70  
     Since this it stands that heaven did deceave him,  
     And that small Rope of such great Joyes bereave him;  
     Yett Hell was ready alwaies to receive him,  
     There was he found att first & there I leave him.

**Source.** Bodleian MS Eng. Poet. e.97, pp. 167-68

**Other known sources.** BL MS Sloane 542, fol. 37r

Nv14

<sup>1</sup> *lost her head*: i.e. the head of the Church—the Pope—had died.

<sup>2</sup> *The holie father...eies*: alludes to the death of Pope Gregory XV in the summer of 1623. The news of his death reached Spain in mid-July.

<sup>3</sup> *Popelings*: Catholic clergy.

<sup>4</sup> *Peters*: St. Peter in heaven.

<sup>5</sup> *Puritanes*: mocking term for the hotter sort of Protestant.

<sup>6</sup> *purgatory*: the middle place, neither heaven nor hell, where Catholics believed most sinners would purge their sins in suffering before ascending to heaven.

<sup>7</sup> *masses soon may bee remitted*: Catholics believed that masses for the dead would remit some of the time the souls of the dead spent in purgatory.

<sup>8</sup> *twixt hawke, & buzard*: a 1662 definition of this proverbial phrase renders it as “between a good and a bad thing” (*OED*). Here it seems to mean “in a state of confusion”.

<sup>9</sup> *vent*: fall.

<sup>10</sup> *Copes...roodes*: various Catholic vestments and liturgical implements. Copes are ecclesiastical vestments; miters are headdresses; pyxes are boxes in which the consecrated host was stored; roods are crucifixes.

## Nv15 All the newes thats stirringe now

*Notes. Most versions of this popular poem include six stanzas; however, a few have an extra stanza. Although the text of Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 160 is otherwise inferior, we include the extra stanza here, in its place as indicated. The poem's sense that the Spanish Match was perhaps now not to be concluded, and its focus on the English fleet originally assembled to retrieve Charles and the Infanta from Spain, but which eventually brought home only Charles, allows us to date the verse to June-August 1623.*

### "On the Spanish match"

All the newes thats stirringe now

Is of the Golden Ladye:<sup>1</sup>

The Pope as yet will not agree

King James should bee her Dadye.<sup>2</sup>

The Prince he wanteth victualls,<sup>3</sup>

Sufficient for his trayne

His horses & his Trumpeters,

Are all turn'd backe againe.

5

Gundimore his breech is soare<sup>4</sup>

He rides beesides the saddle,

And hath long tyme bin hatching egges<sup>5</sup>

Now they may proove all addle.

And those false harted Englishmen,

Which wrought with him for Spaine,

Doe stand and scratch because the match

Doth doubtfull yet remaine.

10

15

Count Buckingham & Cottington

With their Endymion swayne<sup>6</sup>

Us'd their best trickes with Catholiques

To bring our Prince to Spaine.

20

But now shee's there, wee need not feare  
The Lady must not marrye  
God send our Charles safe home againe  
And let her worship tarrye

Earle Rutland is our admirall<sup>7</sup> 25

Lord Winsor is the Reare<sup>8</sup>

Lord Marley<sup>9</sup> cannot doe withall

Unlesse his wench weare theare.

God send them all a merrye wind

And rid them from our shore

30

God grant all Papistes love the Prince

As Marley loves his whore.

[The Navy is well furnished

with papists wondros store

And Captaines many & Admiralls

35

that never fought before

Lets pray then that our mariners

to their tacklings stout may stand

And fling the papists overbard

to floate unto the land.]

40

But shall I tell you what I thinke

I doubt tis but a rumor

The Fox hee knowes how for to wincke

To fitt the peoples humor.

For quæstionles all doubts weare scand

45

Beefore our Charles went thither

And now a Navy is at hand

To sayle the Lord knowes whether.

But God preserve our Kinge & Prince,

A plague uppon their foes,

50

And all that are Hispanioliz'd

And would their Country loose.

God grant all that matches make

Beefore the partyes woe

May goe sell matches up & downe

55

As now poore Frenchmen doe.

**Source.** Bodleian MS Malone 19, pp. 32-33 [Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 160, fols. 177v-178r]

**Other known sources.** “Poems from a Seventeenth-Century Manuscript” 172 and 174; Bodleian MS Don. b.8, p. 117; Bodleian MS Rawl. D. 1048, fol. 76r; Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 26, fol. 24v; BL Add. MS 5832, fol. 200v; BL Add. MS 29492, fol. 30v; BL Add. MS 61683, fol. 73r; BL MS Harley 907, fol. 75v; BL MS Sloane 1792, fol. 52v; CUL MS Gg.4.13, p. 48; St. John’s MS K.56, no. 72; Beinecke MS Osborn b.197, p. 222; Folger MS V.a.162, fol. 73r; Rosenbach MS 1083/16, p. 250

Nv15

<sup>1</sup> *Golden Ladye*: the Spanish Infanta Maria. She was “Golden” because it was believed she would bring with her a massive dowry.

<sup>2</sup> *The Pope...her Dadye*: Maria could not marry a Protestant without a special dispensation from the pope.

<sup>3</sup> *The Prince he wanteth victualls*: news reports of the shortage of food in Spain were common at this time. See, e.g., Richard Corbett’s mocking dismissal of such news stories in “I’ve read of Ilands flotinge and removed”.

<sup>4</sup> *Gundimore his breech is soare*: Count Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador to England, 1613-18 and 1620-22, and leading architect of the Spanish Match, was alleged to suffer from an anal fistula.

<sup>5</sup> *hatching egges*: depictions of Gondomar in anti-Spanish writing portrayed him as a Machiavellian plotter.

<sup>6</sup> *Count Buckingham...Endymion swayne*: George Villiers, Marquess (and by May 1623, Duke) of Buckingham; Sir Francis Cottington, Charles’s secretary; and Endymion Porter, Groom of the Prince’s Bedchamber. All three travelled with Charles to Spain in 1623, and all three were rumoured to be

crypto-Catholic or Catholic, and pro-Spanish sympathizers. Both Cottington and Porter had spent significant lengths of time in Spain.

<sup>7</sup> *Earle Rutland is our admirall*: Francis Manners, Earl of Rutland and Buckingham's father-in-law. Rutland, a prominent Catholic peer, was appointed Admiral to lead the flotilla of ships originally intended for Spain to carry the Infanta to England. The flotilla left England at the end of July 1623.

<sup>8</sup> *Lord Winsor is the Reare*: Thomas, Lord Windsor, a Catholic peer, was appointed Rear-Admiral in 1623 and was a member of the flotilla intended for Spain that left England in late July 1623.

<sup>9</sup> *Lord Marley*: Henry Parker, Lord Morley, a Catholic peer, and presumably also a member of the flotilla intended to retrieve Charles from Spain, that sailed from England at the end of July 1623.



## Nv16 Oh for an Ovid or a Homer now

*Notes. This ambitious poem celebrating the return of Charles and Buckingham from Spain in October 1623 is notable not only for its evocation of the popular festivities recorded in other verses on the return, but also for its lament about the contemporary taste for libels.*

Oh for an Ovid<sup>1</sup> or a Homer<sup>2</sup> now

Whose sweet immortalizinge pen knowes how

To give such life by that there excellence

To this dayes joy that many ages hence

Decreped Grandsires by their workes divine

5

May warme there blood by readinge but a line

And greiv'd they liv'd not in that blessed houre

When heaven rain'd soe much joy to have the power

To make times rusty chimes to backward runne

Untwistinge soe the thred the Fates had spunne

10

And children curse slow natures longe delay

That had not them producte to see this day

Is Spencer<sup>3</sup> dead & Daniel<sup>4</sup> gone, oh then

This morninges glories lost: theres not a pen

Can point on shaddow much lesse lustre give

15

To that daies fame that might for ever live

Now doe I wish I had the power to charme

All Poetts now a sleepe theise doe but harme

All writers now have soe farr wrackt their braines

With cloven-footed rough Satyrick straines

20

That everie thing seemes monstrous they produce

Libellous rimes are onlie now in use

The soule of poetrie alas is fledd,

For Homer Ovid Spenser Daniells dead

And Charles & George<sup>5</sup> that have outstript all story

25

Must want a pen t' immortalize their glory  
 The thunder mockinge Cannons lowde do hollow  
 And fame woulde force from harme the great Apollo<sup>6</sup>  
 As if the subject did require the pen  
 Rather of gods then anie mortall men 30  
 The acclamations of the people peirce  
 The roofe of heaven & thence would draw a verse  
 Great Sydneis<sup>7</sup> soule I thinke they woulde invite  
 On this unsampled theame some lines to write  
 That in record of everlastinge fame 35  
 Men still might read great Charles & Georges name  
 And by the vertue of his Muses fire  
 Draw after times their actions to admire:  
 That when there ashes rested in there urne  
 Yett men might read of joy for there returne 40  
 Which is soe farr beyond all mens expression  
 As none attempt itt may without transgression  
 Noe pen, noe tongue, noe excellence of art  
 Can speake the rapture of each good mans heart  
 Children uncapable to each mans thinkinge 45  
 Were drunke with joy as others were a drinkinge  
 Matrons & Virgins who untill that morninge  
 Nere lookt on wine but with a modest scorninge  
 Did drinke & blush & blush & drinke againe  
 For joy prince Charles was safe return'd from Spaine 50  
 Cripples lett fall there crutches, sick & lame  
 Forgott there paine when they but heard his name  
 The blind man now lamentinge lowdlie cries  
 He never greiv'd soe much his losse of eies  
 Infants scarce taught to goe were seene to run 55  
 To see prince Charles great Britaines only son

The dumbe man now his want of speech bemoanes  
 Ventinge his joyes in sighes, in teares, in groanes  
 They sigh & groane for greife they cannot speake  
 Emptying there heartes by teares that els would breake 60  
 The Country clowne as he past on the waie  
 Aid<sup>8</sup> force from night an artificiall day  
 The Citizens to shew there deere affection  
 Did strive to bringe time under there subjection  
 And kept back night by stratagemes & force 65  
 Five howers longer then her common course  
 The eveninge now att midnight did beginne  
 The starrs lookt out & blusht & soe shutt in  
 Heaven wept for joy the useless sun retirde  
 Fearinge his cheekes should by our flames<sup>9</sup> be fir'd 70  
 Aurora<sup>10</sup> rose survaide from East to West  
 Saw day without her & went back to rest  
 Yea Jove<sup>11</sup> himselfe did call the gods about him  
 Fearinge the worlde had fir'd himselfe without him  
 And whether this the last day were or noe 75  
 Swift Mercury<sup>12</sup> is sent in hast to know  
 The sullen fates<sup>13</sup> that never till that day  
 Were merry knowne to be he found att play  
 And on there brass-leav'd bookes<sup>14</sup> castinge his eye  
 Hee saw it written for eternitie 80  
 A day of rest & sport, & lett it stande  
 For ever in the Calends of this land  
 And lett the fift of October<sup>15</sup> be found  
 Like August fift wth a redd letter crown'd<sup>16</sup>  
 For never soe much good as this before 85  
 Unshipt itt selfe upon the Brittish shore  
 Our weepinge summer was no sooner gone

But Charles a gracious after spring brings home  
 Speake mightie prince found you not mens looks  
 As are indeed the Common peoples bookes 90  
 Where those of understandinge read & find  
 Where<sup>17</sup> very soules, there thoughts there hearts there minds  
 Have you not such a welcome written there  
 As noe tongue can deliver to your eare  
 Have you not th'heraulds of each Brittans hart 95  
 Mantled in deepest scarlett dy ready to start  
 Out of each blushing cheeke, each sparklinge eye  
 Proclaiminge there (without base flattery)  
 There speechlesse blisse there loves sinceritie  
 There soules gladnesse there heartes alacritie 100  
 Countinge nothinge more happy then t'expresse  
 To you there joy, to heaven there thankfullnes  
 O lett the memory of itt ever rest  
 Within the Cabinett of your princely breast  
 And lett itt bringe forth fruite when you are old 105  
 So shall you reape from us a thousand fould  
 Each graine of love cast on our humble ground  
 Shall with a glorious harvest still be crown'd  
 Winter shall loose its powers, noe mill-dew blast itt  
 Time may sinke with itt Sir, but not out last itt 110  
 What need your highness seek for love far hence  
 Or fetch itt home with hazzard or expence  
 Husband but what you have great Sir then know  
 Emperours & Kinges the worlds Monarkes shall throw  
 There sisters daughters neeces on our shoare 115  
 And gaininge your alliance aske noe more  
 Beautie & blood & wealth & birth shall stand  
 The humble vassals of your great command

England Scotland, Ireland joynd together  
 What dares she call her name they'le not fetch hither 120  
 Leave us not then in everlasting night  
 By such your absence Sir, by such your flight  
 Day without sunn may better govern'd be  
 Then England Scotland Ireland wantinge thee  
 And thou great Buckingham fortunes best child 125  
 On whom both heaven & earth & seas have smil'd  
 Live long in that high sphere wherein you move  
 In Gods, the Kinges, the Princes peoples love  
 Detraction now repeales what she hath spoken  
 Envy hath drunke her last is swolne & broken 130  
 And mightie prince whiles others offer gold  
 Some mirrhe, some frankinsence, some from the fold  
 Bring goats & kidds, some oxen from the stall  
 They offer but in part, I offer all  
 Some billetts brought some faggotts to the fire 135  
 I bringe a zealous heart whose flames aspires  
 As high as did the greatest piles of wood  
 And what they spent in wine Ile spend in blood  
 All that they did was but to speake there love  
 Upon the selfe same warrant comes this dove 140  
 From forth the arke then of your grace & favour  
 Vouchsafe to looke, putt forth your hand and save her  
 She bringes but 2 bare leaves of olive now  
 But att next flight great Sir expect a bow.

**Source.** Rosenbach MS 239/27, pp. 6-10

- 1 *Ovid*: Roman poet.
- 2 *Homer*: ancient Greek epic poet.
- 3 *Spencer*: Edmund Spenser, English epic poet (d.1599).
- 4 *Daniel*: English poet Samuel Daniel (d.1619).
- 5 *Charles & George*: Prince Charles and George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, whose return from Spain is the occasion of the poem.
- 6 *Apollo*: sun god and god of the muses.
- 7 *Sydneis*: Sir Philip Sidney (d.1586), Elizabethan poet and writer.
- 8 *Aid*: probable scribal error; read “Did”.
- 9 *our flames*: bonfires were lit to celebrate Charles’s return.
- 10 *Aurora*: goddess of dawn.
- 11 *Jove*: king of the gods.
- 12 *Mercury*: messenger of the gods.
- 13 *fates*: the three fates, Clotho, Lachesis and Atropos.
- 14 *bookes*: i.e. the books of fates.
- 15 *fift of October*: Charles and Buckingham arrived in England on 5 October 1623.
- 16 *August fift...crown’d*: bells were rung on 5 August to commemorate the anniversary of King James’s deliverance from the Gowrie conspiracy in Scotland. “Red letter” days were holidays marked with red ink in the prayer book.
- 17 *Where*: probable scribal error; read “There” (i.e. “Their”).

## Nv17 The Prince is now come out of Spayne

*Notes.* This anti-Spanish poem is notable not only for its loyal praise for Charles and Buckingham, but also for its rather distanced perspective on the excesses of popular celebrations for the Prince's return.

“Of the Prince's returne from Spayne. 1623”

The Prince is now come out of Spayne,<sup>1</sup>

God blesse his highnesse and his trayne

They all have seene Madrid.

Yet most of them came post before,

And happy hee gott first ashoare,

To tell us how hee did

5

They tolde us twenty thousand lyes,

To feede the peoples fantasies;

And put them in great feare.

But when the Prince to England came,

And brought not home the Spanish Dame,<sup>2</sup>

The Papists hung their eares.

10

They say the Pope cannot dispense,<sup>3</sup>

Nor will hee soyle his innocence

To match these two together:

But had wee knowne as much before,

The Cunnige of old Gundamore,<sup>4</sup>

Could not have gott him thither.

15

Some say, their victualls were but scant,<sup>5</sup>

But that's a lye, there was no want:

The Prince and Duke<sup>6</sup> had guifts;

And so had everyone beside,

20

That could but ether runne or ride,  
The rest made other shifts.

But when to London once hee came 25  
To see the citie on a flame:<sup>7</sup>

The people did admire.  
I speake it to the townes-mens prayse,  
It's thought that since Queene Maries dayes,<sup>8</sup>  
There was not such a fyre. 30

He was receiv'd with asmuch joy,  
As was the wandering Prince of Troy,  
When hee to Carthage went.<sup>9</sup>  
Some Maudlinn drunke did weepe and swore,  
That sweete Prince Charles should never more 35  
Crosse seas without consent.

They vow'd they now would shew their care,  
For they had all in him a share,  
As well as had the King.  
So to the taverne all they went, 40  
And every foole his verdict spent,  
And then the bells did ring.

The regent of that noble towne,<sup>10</sup>  
Got up betimes, put on his gowne,  
His service to have done: 45  
But ere that hee to York house<sup>11</sup> came,  
The Prince and Duke of Buckingham  
Three houres before were gone.

I would it had my fortune beene,  
Those strange adventures to have seene, 50



That others did in Spayne:  
I might have then more honour wonne,  
Then Archy<sup>12</sup> did, or els some one,  
That wore a golden chayne.

But I am hee that have no hope, 55  
To get by Spanyol or by Pope;  
I like them both all one.

I love the Prince, and every name  
That honours noble Buckingham,  
and so my song is done. 60

**Source.** Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 26, fol. 22r-v

Nv17

<sup>1</sup> *Prince...out of Spayne*: Prince Charles arrived in England on 5 October 1623.

<sup>2</sup> *Spanish Dame*: the Spanish Infanta Maria.

<sup>3</sup> *Pope cannot dispense*: for the Spanish Infanta to marry the Protestant Charles, she required a dispensation from the pope.

<sup>4</sup> *Gundamore*: Count Gondomar, Spanish ambassador to England (1613-18, 1620-22), and one of the architects of the Spanish Match.

<sup>5</sup> *Victualls were but scant*: this news was noted by a number of libellers in 1623, and most memorably dismissed as false in Richard Corbett's "I've read of Ilands flotinge and removed".

<sup>6</sup> *Duke*: the royal favourite, George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, who accompanied Charles to Spain in February 1623.

<sup>7</sup> *on a flame*: numerous bonfires were lit in London to celebrate Charles's return.

<sup>8</sup> *since Queene Maries dayes*: a mordant allusion to the bonfires in which Queen Mary (1553-58) had had Protestant "heretics" burned.

<sup>9</sup> *Prince of Troy...Carthage went*: alluding to Aeneas, whose arrival in Carthage is described in book 1 of Virgil's *Aeneid*.

<sup>10</sup> *regent...towne*: presumably the Lord Mayor of London.

<sup>11</sup> *York house*: Buckingham's residence.

<sup>12</sup> *Archy*: Archie Armstrong, court jester, who, along with other courtiers, followed Prince Charles to Spain in early April. According to Redworth (100), Philip IV of Spain presented Archie with a golden chain.

## Nv18 The fift of August, and the fift

*Notes.* A variant source gives a more accurate title for this song: “Upon Prince Charles his arrivall from Spaine. Octob. 5. 1623” (Beinecke MS Osborn b.197). The poem appears to be a song, but unfortunately no evidence of tune or performance survives.

“Of Prince Charles his voyage into Spayne”

The fift of August,<sup>1</sup> and the fift  
Of good November<sup>2</sup> made a shift  
To make us sing and drinke merrily, ly, ly, ly.

But shalbee treason to bee sober

On the fift day of October:<sup>3</sup>

5

And will you knowe the reason why? why, why, why.

The sonne of our most noble king

wentt into Spayne to fetch a thing;<sup>4</sup>

perhappes you heard of it before; before, before, etc

But there was such a doe about her,

10

That hee is come agayne without her,

And I am very gladd therefore, therefore, therefore etc

With him is come unto our coast,

A man as great as hee all most,

A Duke<sup>5</sup> hee is, a Dutches<sup>6</sup> is his wife, his wife, his wife etc

15

What needed hee so farre to come,

Who had so many wives at home,<sup>7</sup>

Doe what hee could, to last him all his lyfe? his lyfe, his lyfe etc

Your Puritans<sup>8</sup> who will not drinke,

I warrant you, did wisely thinke,

20

That our prudent King was very much to blame; to blame, to blame etc

Bycause hee made so many blottes;

They knew not hee had after plottes,  
And went about to play an after game; game, game etc

Even as the head is wiser then 25  
The body, So let other men,  
Give leave unto our king to bee wise; be wise, be wise, etc  
And drinke a health unto the Prince  
Who hath been absent ever since  
Hee went away from hence in a disguise;<sup>9</sup> disguise etc. 30

Harke, I heare the belles ring;  
O strange, How the gunnes sing,  
It is not for a Mayor,<sup>10</sup> or such a toye; a toye, a toye etc  
The melancholy drums do beate,  
The bonfires all are in a sweate, 35  
And melt away themselves for very joye, joy etc

The Lord Maior and his brothers,<sup>11</sup>  
Though not so wise as others  
But that it rain'd, had mett him all in order, order etc  
Much joye in heart they did conceive, 40  
But, for they cannot speake, they leave  
Their minde in the mouth of their Recorder,<sup>12</sup> corder etc.

The citizens of London there  
All pitifully undone were  
And hung downe their heades; like men forlorne; forlorne, etc. 45  
When now the Prince is come from Spaine,  
Holde up their broken heades agayne  
And every one exalts on high his horne;<sup>13</sup> his horne etc

I would his Majesty of Spaine were here a while to se  
The jollyty of our English nation; nation etc 50

Then surely hee would never hope, That either hee or els the pope  
Could make here a Romish plantation,<sup>14</sup> etc.

Now fye upon I knowe whom  
Who turne for hopes in tyme to come,  
And say that wee are blindly ledd away; away etc. 55  
As if that they had better sight  
Who say the masse by candle light<sup>15</sup>  
When the sunne shines as cleare as day: day etc.

And therefore you, who serve the tyme,  
Lend both your eares unto my rime; 60  
And turne agayne, or els ere it bee long, long etc  
I hope to see you killed all,  
Like those that from a ladder fall,<sup>16</sup>  
And put into a lamentable song, song, song etc

God blesse our Prince, and if hee chance 65  
To goe once more by Spaine to France;  
His love unto his mistress for to show, show etc  
I hartily desire hee may,  
Even as he went, so come away:  
And have no worse luck then hee had now, now etc. 70

And if our royall King wilbee  
In one thing well advis'd by mee:  
Then let him give his loyall subjects leave, leave etc  
To put the day the Prince ariv'd,  
Into such bookes as are contriv'd 75  
By John a Stowe,<sup>17</sup> and Jeffery a Neave,<sup>18</sup> a Neave etc.

**Source.** Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 26, fols. 23v-24r

**Other known sources.** Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 160, fol. 180v; Beinecke MS Osborn b.197, p. 63

Nv18

<sup>1</sup> *fiſt of Auguſt*: 5 Auguſt was commemorated as the anniversary of King James’s deliverance from the Gowrie aſſaſſination plot in Scotland.

<sup>2</sup> *fiſt / Of good November*: 5 November was commemorated as the anniversary of the diſcovery of the 1605 Gunpowder Plot to blow up King James and the Houſes of Parliament.

<sup>3</sup> *fiſt day of October*: Prince Charles and Buckingham arrived in England from Spain on 5 October 1623.

<sup>4</sup> *thing*: i.e. the Spaniſh Infanta, Maria.

<sup>5</sup> *A Duke*: the Duke of Buckingham.

<sup>6</sup> *Dutches*: Katherine (Kate) Villiers, Ducheſs of Buckingham.

<sup>7</sup> *ſo many wives at home*: perhaps a (relatively friendly) dig at Buckingham’s reputation for womanizing.

<sup>8</sup> *Puritans*: mocking term for the godly, ſober, hotter ſort of Proteſtant. The poet is diſmiſſing criticism of James’s conduct of the Spaniſh Match negotiations in 1623 as the work of Puritans.

<sup>9</sup> *diſguiſe*: Charles and Buckingham left England diſguiſed in falſe beards and ſimple clothes as Jack and Tom Smith.

<sup>10</sup> *not for a Mayor*: the feſtivities for the return of Prince Charles—church bells, bonfires in the ſtreets, drums and cannon ſalutes—were part of the early modern Engliſh “vocabulary of celebration” (Cressy) and were thus ſimilar to thoſe uſed at the installation of Lord Mayors of London.

<sup>11</sup> *his brothers*: preſumably the London aldermen.

<sup>12</sup> *Recorder*: the Recorder of London.

<sup>13</sup> *exalts on high his horne*: celebrates his victory or deliverance. The phrase is biblical (ſee, e.g., 1 Samuel 2.10).

<sup>14</sup> *make here a Romiſh plantation*: i.e. re-eſta bliſh Catholicism in England.

<sup>15</sup> *ſay the maſſe by candle light*: reference to prieſts and Catholics who perform maſſ in ſecret at

night.

<sup>16</sup> *those that from a ladder fall*: those that are hanged (about whom many a “lamentable song” was printed).

<sup>17</sup> *John a Stowe*: John Stow (d.1605), chronicler and antiquary.

<sup>18</sup> *Jefferey a Neave*: Jeffere Neve (or Le Neve) was an almanac writer. His *A New almanack and prognostication* was published annually during the early Stuart period. Cogswell (*Blessed Revolution* 11) notes that 5 October did find its way into almanacs.

## Nvi Against the Libellers

### Nvi1 O stay your teares yow who complaine

*Notes.* On 18 January 1623, Joseph Mead's newsletter to his kinsman Sir Martin Stuteville reported that, "There is also a great paper of verses, in way of answer to these libels and State meddlers, vulgarly said to be the King's; but a gentleman told me that he will not own it" (Birch 2.355). A week later, John Chamberlain informed Dudley Carleton: "And now touching libells the report goes there be many abrode, and it shold seeme the Kings verses I herewith send you were made in aunswer to one of them". Two weeks later, however, Chamberlain reported in his following letter that the king now disclaimed authorship (Chamberlain 2.473, 478). Four days later still, Mead sent Stuteville a copy of the same poem—written "in answer, as it seems, to some libel"—and of a second verse also attributed to James. "This latter", Mead noted, "some say, the king hath disclaimed expressly; but what he saith to the other, I know not. But if it be not his, it is worse than a libel, and not to be read. But till that appears, I suppose, there is no danger" (Birch 2.364-365). Mead and Chamberlain, uncertain as they were about royal authorship, allow us to date with some precision the moment that "O stay your teares yow who complaine" began to circulate among the well-informed collectors of news. One copy of the poem (BL MS Harley 367) states that the libel James was responding to was "called the Comons teares". Unfortunately, no libel with that title has yet been found, though one might note a partial similarity to the title of the verse "If Saints in heaven cann either see or heare", a petition to the late Queen Elizabeth that couched itself in the voice of "her now most wretched and most Contemptible, the Commons of poore distressed England". Both copyists' notes and internal evidence, however, suggest that "If Saints in heaven" was written after March 1623, thus at least two months after James's poem began to circulate. We can reconstruct something of the content of the lost "Comons teares" by collating James's more specific allusions to the libel's charges—James makes about about a dozen such allusions in all, which we have annotated below. The charges thus deduced do not, as a group, match the charges of any one poem, but, taken individually, can be found in a range of other extant verses from the period of the Spanish Match crisis. James's poem has frequently been noted by scholars of verse libel for its memorable attack on "railing rymes and vaunting verse", and is explored in some detail by Perry ("Late Manuscript Poetry of James I" 212-17).

"King James his verses made upon a Libell lett fall in Court and entituled

'The wiper of the Peoples teares



The dryer upp of doubtts & feares”

O stay your teares yow who complaine  
Cry not as Babes doe all in vaine  
Purblinde<sup>1</sup> people why doe yow prate  
Too shallowe for the deepe of state  
You cannot judge what's truly myne 5  
Who see noe further then the Ryne<sup>2</sup>  
Kings walke the heavenly milky way  
But yow by bypathes gadd astray  
God and Kings doe pace together  
But Vulgar wander light as feather 10  
I should be sorie you should see  
My actions before they bee  
Brought to the full of my desires  
God above all men kings enspires  
Hold you the publique beaten way 15  
Wounder at kings, and them obey  
For under God they are to chuse  
What right to take, and what refuse  
Whereto if yow will not consent  
Yet hold your peace least you repent 20  
And be corrected for your pride  
That Kings designes darr thus decyde<sup>3</sup>  
By railing rymes and vaunting verse  
Which your kings brest shall never peirce  
Religion<sup>4</sup> is the right of kings 25  
As they best knowe what good it brings  
Whereto you must submitt your deeds  
Or be pull'd upp like stubborne<sup>5</sup> weeds  
Kings ever use their instruments<sup>6</sup>

Of whome they judge by their events 30  
 The good they cherish, and advance  
 And many things may come by chance  
 Content your selfe with such as I  
 Shall take neere,<sup>7</sup> and place on highe  
 The men you nam'd<sup>8</sup> serv'd in their tyme 35  
 And soe may myne as cleere of cryme  
 And seasons have their proper intents  
 And bring forth severall events  
 Whereof the choise doe rest in kings  
 Who punish, and reward them brings 40  
 O what a calling weere a King  
 If hee might give, or take no thing  
 But such as yow should to him bring  
 Such were a king but in a play  
 If he might beare no better sway 45  
 And then weere you in worser case  
 If soe to keepe you<sup>9</sup> auntient face  
 Your face would soone outface his might  
 If soe you would abridge his right  
 Alas fond men play not with kings 50  
 With lyons clawes, or serpents stings  
 They kill even by their sharpe aspect  
 The proudest mynde they cann deject  
 Make wretched the most mightiest man  
 Though hee doth mutter what hee cann 55  
 Your censures are in hurrying sound  
 That rise as vapours from the ground  
 I knowe when I shalbee most fitt  
 With whome to fill, and emptie it  
 The parliament<sup>10</sup> I will appoint 60

When I see thyngs more out of joynt  
 Then will I sett all wry things straight  
 And not upon your pleasure waite  
 Where if yow speake as wise men should  
 If not, by mee you shall be school'd 65  
 Was ever king call'd to accompt  
 Or ever mynd soe high durst mount  
 As for to knowe the cause and reason  
 As to appoint the meanes, and season  
 When kings should aske their subjects ayd<sup>11</sup> 70  
 Kings cannot soe be made affraid  
 Kings will Comand and beare the sway  
 Kings will inquire and find the way  
 How all of yow may easiely pay  
 Which theyle lay out as the thinke best<sup>12</sup> 75  
 In earnest sometimes and in jeast.  
 What counsellis would be overthrowne  
 If all weere to the people knowne?  
 Then to noe use were councill tables<sup>13</sup>  
 If state affaires were publique bables. 80  
 I make noe doubt all wise men knowe  
 This weere the way to all our woe  
 For Ignorance of causes makes  
 Soe many grosse and fowle mistakes  
 The moddell of our princely match<sup>14</sup> 85  
 You cannot make but marr or patch  
 Alas how weake would prove your care  
 Wishe you onely his best welfaire  
 Your reasons cannot weigh the ends  
 So mixt they are twixt foes, and frends. 90  
 Wherefore againe meere seeing people

Strive not to see soe high a steeple  
 Like to the ground whereon you goe  
 Hige<sup>15</sup> aspects will bring yow woe  
 Take heed your paces bee all true 95  
 And doe not discontents renewe  
 Meddle not with your princes cares  
 For who soe doth too much: hee darrs.  
 I doe desire noe more of yow  
 But to knowe mee as I knowe yow 100  
 So shall I love, and yow obey  
 And yow love me in a right way  
 O make me not unwilling still  
 Whome I would save unwilling kill<sup>16</sup>  
 Examples in Extremitie 105  
 Are never the best remedie  
 Thus have I pleased my selfe not yow  
 And what I say yow shall finde true  
 Keepe every man his ranke, and place  
 And feare to fall in my disgrace 110  
 You call your children chicks of state  
 You claime a right unto your fate<sup>17</sup>  
 But know yow must be pleas'd with what  
 Shall please us best in spight of that  
 Kings doe make Lawes to bridle yow 115  
 Which they may pardon, or embrue  
 Their hands in the best blood you have  
 And send the greatest to the grave.  
 The Charter which yow great doe call<sup>18</sup>  
 Came first from Kings to stay your fall 120  
 From an unjust rebellion moved  
 By such as Kingdomes little Loved

Embrace not more then you can hold  
 As often doe the overbold  
 As they did which the Charter sought 125  
 For their owne greatnes who soe wrought  
 With Kings and you; that all prov'd nought  
 The Love that Kings to yow have borne  
 Mov'd them therto for to be sworne  
 For, where small goods are to be gott 130  
 We are knowne to thee, that knowes us not,  
 But yow that knowe mee all soe well  
 Why doe you push me downe to hell  
 By making me an Infidell<sup>19</sup>  
 Tis true I am a craddle King<sup>20</sup> 135  
 Yet doe remember every thinge  
 That I have heeretofore putt out  
 And yet Beginn not for to doubt  
 But oh how grosse is your devise  
 Change to impute to kings for vice<sup>21</sup> 140  
 The wise may change yet free from fault  
 Though change to worse is ever nought  
 Kings ever overreach you all  
 And must stay yow thoe that you fall,  
 Kings cannot comprehended bee 145  
 In comon circles. Conjure yee  
 All what you cann by teares or termes  
 Deny not what your king affirmes  
 Hee doth disdaine to cast an eye  
 Of anger on you least you die 150  
 Even at the shadowe of his face  
 It gives to all that sues for grace  
 I knowe (my frends) need noe teaching

Prowd is your foolish overreaching.  
 Come counsell me when I shall call 155  
 Before bewarr what may befall  
 Kings will hardly take advice  
 Of counsell they are wondrous nice  
 Love and wisdome leads them still  
 Their counsell tables upp to fill 160  
 They need noe helpers in their choice  
 Their best advice is their owne voyce,  
 And be assured such are kings  
 As they unto their counsell brings  
 Which allwaies soe compounded are 165  
 As some would make and some would marr.  
 If I once bend my angrie browe  
 Your ruyne comes though not as nowe;  
 For slowe I am revenge to take;  
 And your amendments, wroth will slake 170  
 Then hold your pratling spare your penn  
 Be honest, and obedient men  
 Urge not my Justice, I am sloe  
 To give yow your deserved woe.  
 If proclamations<sup>22</sup> will not serve 175  
 I must do more, Peace to preserve  
 To keepe all in obedience  
 And drive such busie bodies hence.

**Source.** Bodleian MS Malone 23, pp. 49-56

**Other known sources.** *James VI and I* 2.182; Bodleian MS Ashmole 36-37, fol. 58r; Bodleian MS Eng. Poet. c.11, fol. 15r; Bodleian MS Rawl. D.152, fol. 11r; Bodleian MS Rawl. D.398, fol. 183r; Bodleian MS Tanner 265, fol. 14r; Bodleian MS Tanner 306, fol. 242r; BL Add. MS 25707, fol. 74r; BL Add. MS 28640, fol. 123v; BL Add. MS 29303, fol. 5r; BL Add. MS 52585, fol. 4r; BL Add. MS 61481, fol. 97r; BL MS Egerton 923, fol. 37r; BL MS Harley 367, fol. 151r; BL MS Lans. 498, fol. 32r; St. John's MS

Nvi1

- <sup>1</sup> *Purblinde*: totally blind.
- <sup>2</sup> *Ryne*: the scribe includes “Lyne”, above the line, as an alternate reading. The exact meaning of “Ryne” is unclear, though it probably means “rain”, or perhaps is a misuse of the verb “rine” (to touch; lay the fingers of the hand upon). One might, with a little stretching, take it to mean “Rhine”, in which case it would function as a mockery of James’s subjects’ fascination with events in Germany.
- <sup>3</sup> *decyde*: probable scribal error; read “deryde”.
- <sup>4</sup> *Religion*: probable allusion to an attack, in the lost libel “the Comons teares”, on James’s religious policies.
- <sup>5</sup> *stubborne*: the scribe includes “stinking”, above the line, as an alternate reading.
- <sup>6</sup> *their instruments*: in this and the next few lines (and again towards the end of the poem), James counters the critique in the lost libel “the Comons teares” of his choice of ministers, presumably with his favour towards Buckingham being the most significant of the libel’s targets.
- <sup>7</sup> *neere*: probable scribal error; read “neere me”.
- <sup>8</sup> *The men you nam’d*: this allusion suggests that the lost libel “the Comons teares” invoked the names of past, and probably Elizabethan, counsellors and favourites. Both Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex, and Sir Walter Raleigh enjoyed a posthumous revival in the 1620s as icons of militaristic Protestantism.
- <sup>9</sup> *you*: probable scribal error; read “your”.
- <sup>10</sup> *The parliament*: in the following lines James reasserts his prerogative over the calling of parliament and alludes to some of the problems of the last session of parliament in 1621. Presumably the lost libel “the Comons Teares” either lamented the dissolution of the 1621 Parliament or urged the calling of another one, presumably to raise money for a more militaristic foreign policy.
- <sup>11</sup> *When kings should...ayd*: i.e. by calling a parliament.
- <sup>12</sup> *How all of you...thinke best*: probable allusion to the royal right to raise revenue and spend it as the King sees fit. This might be rebutting charges in the lost libel “the Comons teares” concerning extra-parliamentary taxation or the usage of money granted to the King by parliament. James’s comments might, however, be directed at members of parliament rather than at the libel. (The phrase “as the thinke best” is a probable scribal error; read “as they thinke best”.)

- 13 *councell tables*: allusion to the King's Privy Council.
- 14 *our princely match*: probable allusion to James's plan to secure a Spanish Match for his son Charles. One could deduce that the lost libel "the Comons teares"—like the House of Commons in 1621—had argued against the Match.
- 15 *Hige*: scribal error; read "Highe".
- 16 *O make me...unwilling kill*: the meaning of these lines is not entirely clear. In general terms, James seems to be attacking attempts—perhaps articulated in the lost libel "the Comons teares"—to contest his prerogative of mercy. Possibly the lost libel included lines criticizing James's release of the convicted murderers, the Earl and Countess of Somerset, early in 1622.
- 17 *You call...unto your fate*: a variant has "you call our children, chidds of State / you claime a right unto there fate" (BL MS Harley 367). This reading suggests James is alluding to the lost libel's comments on—and support for—the displaced Elector and Electress Palatine, James's daughter Elizabeth and her husband Frederick; however, such an interpretation does not really accord with James's continued interest in his prerogative of justice and mercy in the lines that follow.
- 18 *The Charter...great doe call*: Magna Carta, the grant of liberties, extracted by rebellious nobles from King John in 1215, and a shibboleth of parliamentary constitutionalist rhetoric in the early Stuart period. James's specific evocation of "you" suggests the lost libel "the Comons teares" might have referred to the Magna Carta (as did the later libel "If Saints in heaven cann either see or heare"). James goes on to provide an interesting gloss on the origins of the Magna Carta.
- 19 *making me an Infidell*: the lost libel "the Comons teares" may have charged James with popery or irreligion.
- 20 *craddle King*: cradle king. James ascended the throne of Scotland as a one-year-old.
- 21 *Change to impute...for vice*: James is presumably again rebutting a charge, most likely of (religious) "innovation", made in the lost libel "the Comons teares".
- 22 *proclamations*: James issued two proclamations intended to suppress "Lavish and Licentious Speech of matters of State" in December 1620 and July 1621 (*Stuart Royal Proclamations* 1.495-96, 1.519-520).



## Nvi2 Contemne not Gracious king our plaints and teares

*Notes.* This poem responds to James I's "O stay your teares yow who complaine", and is thus a rather neat example of how a royal performance designed to dampen the craze for "railing rymes" is subsumed into, and ends up stimulating, the manuscript culture of political versifying.

"An answer to the wiper away of the Peoples teares"

Contemne not Gracious King our plaints and teares

Wee are no babes the tymes us witness beares

Yet since our father yow doe represent<sup>1</sup>

To be as babes to yow wee are content

T'is true yow can deject the proudest minde

5

For pride is base and soone to fall inclinde

Yow can take downe the mightiest man alive

Who doth from man his mightines derive

Yes shides<sup>2</sup> of state will chipps of chance excell

though these in Courts and those in dungeons dwell

10

When soe yow please to imbrue your Royall hand

In blood of those that dare at bay to stande

But we must goe in saufetie to our grave

Our harts for raunsome of our heads yow have

O lett not then disdain but grace and love

15

Lengthen their dayes whose faith yow daily prove

Or might we dye then kill with your aspect

Which death & life in instant doth effecte.

**Source.** Bodleian MS Ashmole 36-37, fol. 59r

**Other known sources.** Bodleian MS Eng. Poet.c.50., fol. 25v; Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet.26, fol. 20r; Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet.152, fol. 4r

<sup>1</sup> *our father yow doe represent*: alluding to James I's self-presentation as the nation's father in "O stay your teares" (an image ubiquitous in royal imagery from this period).

<sup>2</sup> *Shides*: planks. Shides of wood are thus greater in size than "chippes".

### Nvi3 Withold thy fiery steeds great God of light

*Notes.* In the only known source, this poem is attributed to “Wm. T:”. The poem answers several specific libels circulating c.1622-23, including “From such a face whose Excellence”—which implicitly identifies the favourite Buckingham as James’s Ganymede—and “If Saints in heaven cann either see or heare”, the 1623 verse petition to the late Queen Elizabeth. The poem also replicates some of the arguments made by James himself in “O stay your teares yow who complaine”, while adding a fascinating section marrying an attack on libelling with an attack on Puritanism. Bellany (Politics 260-61) offers a brief analysis of the ideological significance of the poem’s anti-Puritanism.

“In the distast of Englands Licentious Libellers”

Withold thy fiery steeds great God of light<sup>1</sup>

And hurry not the Day from gloomy Night,

Adorne no more the woods, nor paynt with flowers

The Earths swart<sup>2</sup> Brest: allot old Time no howers;

Let without order undistinguished slide

5

All humane Actions; be no more a Guide

To prowde insulting Man; that hawghty Clay

Which spurnes at Power, & Justles from the way

Gods upon Earth;<sup>3</sup> who prowdly dare confine

The will of Princes to theyr Crooked Line

10

As if, by frighted reason things showld run

And make a Father Pupill to the Son.

Monsters of Nature! boldly which deny

Annonited Greatness such a liberty

As Cottage Thatch injoyes; One only Friend

15

Forcing th’ Affection hartily to tend

An equall faith to all: or else to loose

The benefitt of Judgment, skill to choose.

Cannott a Princes Love be limited

Without the nick-name of a Ganimed?<sup>4</sup> 20

Nor may they Clip<sup>5</sup> true freindships virgin Wast

Withowt the breach of being pure & Chast?

That libelling Muse to punish Heaven be just

From selfe-sex-beawty with princes lust.

Reward, the Crowne of meritt, virtues life 25

Must be divorc'd from kings; as man & wife

From one another may (so neare a Tye

There is 'twixt kings & Liberality):

Desert must starve, unless the People say

The king hath leave to give his owne away; 30

For theyr Amen is Text: unless they all

Doe give Consent, guifts are Apocriphall.<sup>6</sup>

If that his sacred Highness wold advance

With good advise from them, & not by Chance;

Nor take on trust such persons as are knowne 35

Not to theyr deep Judgments, but his owne,

He then might scape a Libell; wold he ware

Some White-Eyed-Brother;<sup>7</sup> whose religious feare

Makes him a separatist<sup>8</sup> from things profane

And all the vanities which come frome Spayne: 40

Some silenc'd Teacher,<sup>9</sup> one whose Trencher Zeale<sup>10</sup>

Consumes the uncleane Birds at many a Meale:

Were such as these to eminency browght

His Majestie were then discreetly tawght

How & upon whom, to dispose & place 45

The riches of his favor & his Grace:

No Guift so great but then wold easily down

Were it a Corparation<sup>11</sup> or a Towne:

Nay should his State so Ebb by's liberall hand

As yf with Richard he showld farme his Land<sup>12</sup> 50

Why, 'twas a kingly virtue, no sordid vice  
Far from the staine of Peasant Avarice.  
'Tis not Allegiance breeds this Truth, but Gayne<sup>13</sup>  
That's theyr Relligion; for a match with Spayne  
France or Low-Countryes, 'tis no matter which 55  
So they may Saint it, Cosen & grow rich.

Oh these are they whose irreligious hearts  
Full frawght with mischeife, send the poyson'd darts  
Of fowle aspersion 'mongst the Acts of kings  
Adders & serpents whose envenom'd stings 60

Blyster the tender Palme of Quiett sway  
Hiss peacefull kings to spitt at obay<sup>14</sup>  
For if his goodness shall extended be

To those ungrossd in theyr society  
Then rayling Rimers unchristian & unfitt 65  
Must vilify theyr king: advance theyr witt:

The person gracd, with upstart, Parasite  
Defam'd,<sup>15</sup> & other Titles infinite;  
As if the king to high Estate wold rayse  
Persons of no meritt; & place his Bayes<sup>16</sup> 70

On undeserving Heads: Or if he did  
Shall we dare Contradict, or he be Chid?

Nor doe they only seeke to countermand  
The God like Actions of his sowle & hand  
But now his sports<sup>17</sup> must be denyd. The Game 75

As pedegreed from kings by royall name,  
Is growne sowre & distastfull, bycause the Cry  
Of Fowler's heard, when unrelented dye

Some of his rayling subjects;<sup>18</sup> whose envious spleene  
Must Crack heavens Vault, & invoke a Queene<sup>19</sup> 80  
To give a schedule to th' Almightyes hand:

What daring Ignorance was this? what Land  
 Unless Nature & Hell conspir'd a Truce  
 Did ever yet such horrid births produce?  
 Could else that monstrous Hydra-headed thinge<sup>20</sup> 85  
 Blaspheme a Diety, & profane a king?  
 But Thow art patient Heaven! & James will be  
 A God on Earth by imitating Thee:  
 Yet thow art Just divinest power, & wilt  
 Repay in judgments prose theyr riming Guilt; 90  
 Thy Pace is slow, but sure; & let those witts  
 Which scoff the sacred Majesty that sitts  
 On Englands blessed Throne; who nimbly play  
 In frisking satires with his sweete delay  
 Whose sharpe-tooth'd Libells curle & twinge the hayre 95  
 Of our Apollo<sup>21</sup> gentle as the Ayer  
 Know; that those glorious beames which heretofore  
 They durst to obnubilate,<sup>22</sup> not adore  
 Shall singe theyr wings; & when they least intrust  
 Hee'le rayse his head, & shake them into Dust. 100

**Source.** Bodleian MS Eng. Poet. e.14, fols. 52v-54r

Nvi3

<sup>1</sup> *Withhold...God of light:* the poet is addressing the sun god, Phoebus Apollo, whose “fiery steeds” pull the chariot of the sun.

<sup>2</sup> *swart:* dark.

<sup>3</sup> *Gods upon Earth:* i.e. kings.

<sup>4</sup> *Ganimed:* Ganymede, the Trojan boy kidnapped by a besotted Jove, and a contemporary term for a sodomite. The poem is countering allegations levelled in libels that the royal favourite Buckingham was James I’s “Ganymede” (see Section L).

- <sup>5</sup> *Clip*: embrace.
- <sup>6</sup> *For they Amen...Apocriphall*: playing on the distinction between true scripture (“text”) and unreliable scripture (“Aprocriphall”). The shift to religious allusions marks the opening of the anti-Puritan section of the poem.
- <sup>7</sup> *White-Eyed-Brother*: contemptuous term for a Puritan, or hotter sort of Protestant. Puritans were often caricatured as rolling their eyes (revealing the whites) when in spiritual transport.
- <sup>8</sup> *separatist*: the word is deliberately chosen to allude to those (in reality very few) “Puritans” who urged separation from the Church of England.
- <sup>9</sup> *Some silenc’d Teacher*: a (presumably Puritan) preacher suspended from his living, either for refusing to conform to the dictates of the Book of Common Prayer and subscribe to royal authority, or, like a number of preachers in the early 1620s, for broaching sensitive political subjects in the pulpit.
- <sup>10</sup> *Trencher Zeale*: anti-Puritan satire focused chiefly on hypocrisy, and prominent among the sins the hypocritical Puritan committed was the sin of gluttony. “Trencher” is a knife or a flat plate.
- <sup>11</sup> *Corporation*: town incorporated by royal charter.
- <sup>12</sup> *As yf with Richard...farme his Lande*: possible allusion to the wastrel policies of the late-medieval English king, Richard II. Holinshed reports that “The common brute [rumour] ran, that the king had set to farme [i.e. leased out] the realme of England unto sir William Scroope, earle of Wiltshire, and then treasurer of England, to sir John Bushie, sir William Bagot, and sir Henrie Greene, knights” (29-30).
- <sup>13</sup> *Gayne*: Puritan greed for money was another element of the hypocrisy charged by their enemies.
- <sup>14</sup> *Hiss peacefull...obay*: A gap in the manuscript indicates a missing word.
- <sup>15</sup> *The person gracd...Defam’d*: several libels branded Buckingham and other Jacobean favourites as social “upstarts” and as corrupt feeders on the public good (“parasites”).
- <sup>16</sup> *Bayes*: bays; laurel wreaths.
- <sup>17</sup> *his sports*: reference to James’s passion for hunting, attacked by a number of early 1620s libels.
- <sup>18</sup> *the Cry...his rayling subjects*: probably an allusion to the charge made in the last stanza of “From such a face whose Excellence”.
- <sup>19</sup> *Crack heavens Vault...a Queene*: allusion to “If Saints in heaven cann either see or heare”, couched as the petition of “the Commons of poore distressed England” to the late Queen Elizabeth.

<sup>20</sup> *that monstrous Hydra-headed thinge*: the Hydra was a nine-headed mythological monster slain by Hercules; here it refers to the populace, often dismissed by early Stuart social elites as the “many-headed monster”.

<sup>21</sup> *Apollo*: the great Greek god of the sun (and much else); here standing for James.

<sup>22</sup> *to obnubilate*: to cloud; to darken.



### O. Buckingham at War (c. 1624-1628)

The poems in this section span the period 1624 to 1628, and revolve around three main topics of political interest: firstly, England's entry into wars with Spain (in 1625) and with France (in 1627); secondly, the escalating crisis in parliamentary politics that was in part a result of these failed military adventures; and thirdly, connected to both the military and parliamentary crises, the growing problem posed by the immense power of the royal favourite, George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham.

The Parliament of 1624 witnessed a major shift in English foreign policy as Prince Charles, with Buckingham at his side, worked with a "patriot" coalition at court and in Parliament to undermine James I's policies, break negotiations with Spain, and drive England into a war against the Spanish that would supposedly result in the restoration of the Palatinate. England's commitment to foreign war, reasserted at the accession of Charles as king following James's death in March 1625, placed immense financial demands on the nation, necessitating the calling of frequent meetings of parliament. The parliamentary sessions of 1625, 1626 and 1628-29 proved increasingly fractious. Part of the reason for this was that the war had brought little success. The two major expeditions—to Cadiz in 1625, and to the Ile de Ré in 1627—both ended in humiliating failure. In the light of these disasters—and to the great frustration of the King—MPs proved reluctant to grant sufficient taxation revenue to the Crown. When, in 1626-27, Charles attempted to bypass parliament and raise money through a forced loan of questionable legality, he triggered a constitutional crisis that preoccupied much of the 1628 Parliament. Parliament also clashed with the King in both 1626 and 1628 over the increasing power of the favourite Buckingham. Buckingham had achieved the impossible: he had become the favourite of two successive kings, and his power seemed only to be growing. He had been instrumental in bringing England into the continental wars in 1624-25, and had assumed many of the responsibilities of military command—overseeing the Cadiz expedition in absentia as Lord Admiral, and leading the expedition to Ré in person. Many MPs blamed Buckingham for the failures of English military intervention and for an ever-growing array of other ills plaguing the kingdom, ranging from the decay of trade to the rise of anti-Calvinist Arminians in the Church. During the parliamentary session of 1626, the House of Commons attempted to

impeach Buckingham in the face of Charles's repeated and explicit declarations of support for his favourite. In the 1628 session, despite securing Charles's concession to a Petition of Right settling their constitutional grievances, the Commons drew up a Remonstrance of the nation's ills that named Buckingham as their prime cause and asked the King to remove the favourite from power.

We have divided the poems in this section into three groups. The first focuses on the period from 1624 to the spring and early summer of 1627, and includes verses on several events and topics. The group begins with poems on the breach with Spain and the fall of the anti-war Lord Treasurer, Lionel Cranfield, Earl of Middlesex during the 1624 Parliament. It then continues with verses on the failure of the Cadiz expedition of 1625, the build-up to and aftermath of the 1626 Parliament, and on the 1627 promotion of Nicholas Hyde to Lord Chief Justice. The group concludes with a series of vitriolic libels on the Buckingham problem, as it was perceived in the early months of 1627.

The second group of poems primarily focuses on the expedition to the Ile de Ré in the summer and autumn of 1627. Designed to assist the beleaguered Huguenots of La Rochelle, the Ré campaign ended in an ignominious English retreat that resulted in heavy casualties and an escalating number of vicious attacks on Buckingham's military leadership.

The final group of poems belongs to the first seven or eight months of 1628. One set centres on the first session (17 March to 26 June) of the 1628 Parliament—focusing not on the great constitutional debates surrounding the Petition of Right, but on the Commons' interventions in religious politics and the crafting of the Remonstrance against Buckingham. A second selection of poems celebrates the 13 June street lynching of Buckingham's astrologer-physician, the notorious John Lambe, while a third selection explicitly fantasizes about Buckingham's own violent demise.

Although the poems collected here focus on a wide range of contemporary political issues and anxieties, it is Buckingham who dominates. In 1624 he became, briefly, the libellers' hero. No longer the corrupt, crypto-Catholic court Ganymede of the 1620-23 libels, Buckingham was reimagined as a militant champion of the Protestant cause. By 1626, however, the favourite's

“patriot” reputation was in tatters. Despite an aggressive printed media campaign to burnish his image before and during the Ré expedition, Buckingham became once again the libellers’ cynosure of corruption. In the libellous discourse of 1626-28, the Duke was represented as a lowborn, womanizing, effeminate coward; an incompetent and a traitor; a poisoner and patron of witchcraft; and an agent of popery, who wielded immense transgressive power over king and country. By the summer of 1628, with parliament having failed for a second time to curtail Buckingham’s power, the poems registered and reinforced deep-grained popular fantasies of the Duke’s violent death. The assassination that was to come in August 1628 had already happened in the imaginations of libellers and their readers.

Most of the scholarly work on the libels of the mid- and late-1620s has focused on Buckingham. The 1624 poems are discussed and contextualized in Cogswell’s *Blessed Revolution*; the shifting image of Buckingham in the libels is sketched out in Bellany’s “Raylinge Rymes”; the function of satire in the interpretation of confusing circumstances in the 1620s is examined by McRae (*Literature* 114-152); while many of the anti-Buckingham poems are given intriguing close readings by Holstun. A forthcoming book by Bellany and Cogswell will present a full-scale study of the favourite’s libellous reputation.

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## Oi The Patriot Hero (1624-25)

### Oi1 The Parliament sitts with a Synod of Witts

*Notes.* This ballad on events in the 1624 Parliament and the collapse of the Spanish Match was probably written in late April. In one source—a copy from the Ripon archives—the song is assigned the popular contemporary ballad tune “To drive the cold winter away” (Smurthwaite; Simpson 197-99). Also, adding to Smurthwaite’s commentary on the poem, has written a useful note explicating the significance of the language of “Jubile” and the myth of Astraea in the ballad’s first eight lines.

#### “A Song”

The Parliament sitts<sup>1</sup> with a Synod of Witts,  
Knight, Gentlemen, Burghesse<sup>2</sup> & Peere,  
God grante<sup>3</sup> they agree, and then you shall see  
A Jubile<sup>4</sup> crowning this yeare.

Astræa,<sup>5</sup> that swore to see Earth noe more,  
Shall visitt us once againe;  
And Saturne<sup>6</sup> shalbee as merry as wee,  
And in this ould Kingdome shall raigne.

The Catholique King<sup>7</sup> hath a litle younge thing  
Calld Donna Maria, his Sister;<sup>8</sup>  
Our Prince went to Spaine<sup>9</sup> her love to obtaine,  
But yet by good happ hee hath mist her

I am gladd it is ended what e’re was pretended,  
For Spaniards did never keepe word  
But great Brittaines King a peale will then ring,<sup>10</sup>  
If once he unsheath his sword.<sup>11</sup>

The Protestants are gladd, and the Papists sadd

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15

To see this strange alteration,  
It is nowe but begun, but when more is done  
You shall have a more perfect relation. 20

When Digbie<sup>12</sup> comes o're, and landes on our shoare  
The state of all things wilbee better,  
But all my care is that Cond' Olivare<sup>13</sup>  
Wilbee shent<sup>14</sup> for shewing the Letter.<sup>15</sup>

The Treasurer stinkes,<sup>16</sup> and the upper house<sup>17</sup> winks 25  
At some are as badd as hee,  
The lower howse<sup>18</sup> swears that all at full yeare  
And Cooke<sup>19</sup> all their cases shall see.

Report of his owne<sup>20</sup> hath made him soe knowne  
That all the world need not admire him, 30  
'Twas once his own case, and now to displace  
All others you need not desire him.

Theres naught can asswage Spaines Ambassadors rage  
But the great Duke of Buckingham's head,<sup>21</sup>  
For the barbarous Don knowes whilst it is on 35  
'Twill bee to their terror and dread.

But why laugh you tho' hee doe wish it soe  
Perhaps twas his Masters<sup>22</sup> request,  
If such a condition bee in his commission,  
I'le swears twas a capitall Jest. 40

But yet who but fooles will jest with edge tooles,  
though hee lack both his time and his place,  
'Twas wisdom noe doubt that you see all come out  
More plaine then the Nose of his face.<sup>23</sup>

The vaile of the night that muffled our sight 45  
 Is drawne from our credulous Eyes,  
 Then bee not soe hott, but invent some new plott  
 For this smells of most damnable lies,  
 Then hoise<sup>24</sup> up your sayle, you cannot prevaile,  
 Knowne Mischiefs are voyd of all fearee, 50  
 Wee need not your beads,<sup>25</sup> nor your villainous heads,  
 Would those were at home that are heere.  
 Your Infanta may goe to the Cloyster,<sup>26</sup> and tho  
 Shee was not disposed to wedd,  
 Yet put up your drumme, for Mansfeild<sup>27</sup> is come 55  
 And receiv'd in her Ladyshipps steade.

**Source.** BL MS Sloane 826, fols. 159r-160v

**Other known sources.** Smurthwaite; Bodleian MS Malone 19, p. 14; Bodleian MS Malone 23, p. 24; Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet 172, fol. 79r; BL Add. MS 5956, fol. 28r; BL Add. MS 28640, fol. 149r; BL Add. MS 29492, fol. 26r; BL Add. MS 72368, fol. 31r; BL Add. MS 72479, fol. 6r; BL MS Harley 1221, fol. 90r; BL MS Harley 6038, fol. 27v; BL MS Harley 7316, fol. 6r; BL MS Lans. 498, fol. 140r; CUL MS Gg.4.13, p. 47; St. John's MS K.56, no. 23; TCD MS 806, fol. 560v; Beinecke MS Osborn b.197, p. 201; Folger MS V.a.162, fol. 53v; Rosenbach MS 1083/15, p. 175; Rosenbach MS 1083/16, p. 8

## Oil

<sup>1</sup> *The Parliament sittings*: the 1624 Parliament met from 19 February to 29 May 1624.

<sup>2</sup> *Burghesse*: MPs for towns and cities.

<sup>3</sup> *God grante*: the copy published by Smurthwaite reads “Toe grant”, which Smurthwaite takes as an allusion to the March 1624 grant of taxation to the Crown of three subsidies and three fifteenths.

<sup>4</sup> *Jubile*: Alsop argues that the “Jubile[e]” should be read not only as the popular celebration at the collapse of the Spanish Match, but also as an allusion to the fiftieth anniversary of the collapse in 1574

of the plans to marry Elizabeth I to the French Catholic Alençon. The Elizabethan allusion of line 4, *Alsop* suggests, thus connects to the allusions to *Astraea*—one of Elizabeth’s cultic identities—in the lines that follow.

<sup>5</sup> *Astræa*: goddess of justice. *Astraea* had left earth in response to the proliferation of vice and criminality that ensued upon the end of the Golden Age. Virgil’s fourth eclogue prophesied the return of *Astraea* to earth at the dawn of a new Golden Age. Elizabethan poets and painters appropriated the Virgilian myth in their depictions of the Queen as the returned *Astraea*, agent of justice, purity, true religion and English empire.

<sup>6</sup> *Saturne*: god of the Golden Age.

<sup>7</sup> *The Catholique King*: Philip IV of Spain.

<sup>8</sup> *Donna Maria, his Sister*: the Spanish Infanta Maria, sister of Philip IV.

<sup>9</sup> *Our Prince went to Spaine*: Prince Charles journeyed to Madrid in February 1623 (see Section Nv).

<sup>10</sup> *But great...then ring*: a variant of this line is less decorous: “James of greate Britten will make them beshitten” (BL Add. MS 28640).

<sup>11</sup> *unsheath his sword*: led by Charles and Buckingham, and with significant parliamentary support, James was under pressure not only to break off the Spanish Match but also to declare war on Spain.

<sup>12</sup> *Digbie*: John Digby, Earl of Bristol, and English ambassador to Madrid. Digby was recalled in January 1624, and arrived in England early in May.

<sup>13</sup> *Cond’ Olivare*: Gaspar de Guzmán, Count of Olivares, Philip IV’s chief minister, and the head of negotiations with Charles and Buckingham in Madrid in 1623.

<sup>14</sup> *shent*: disgraced.

<sup>15</sup> *shewing the Letter*: alluding to “an incident on an unknown date in the summer of 1623, when Olivares...showed Charles and Buckingham a secret letter in which Philip expressed his determined opposition to the marriage” (Smurthwaite 322).

<sup>16</sup> *The Treasurer stinkes*: the Lord Treasurer Lionel Cranfield, Earl of Middlesex, was impeached by the 1624 Parliament on charges of bribery and corruption.

<sup>17</sup> *upper house*: House of Lords.

<sup>18</sup> *lower howse*: House of Commons.

<sup>19</sup> *Cooke*: Sir Edward Coke, who led the prosecution of Cranfield.

<sup>20</sup> *Report of his owne*: there may be a pun here on Coke's legal *Reports*, published in Latin and French between 1600 and 1617, and reports of Coke's own fall from office in 1616, his unseemly attempts to win office back through a marriage alliance with the Buckingham clan, and his more turbulent oppositional behaviour in the 1621 and 1624 parliaments. Coke had also harboured ambitions for the Treasurership given to Cranfield late in 1621.

<sup>21</sup> *Theres naught...Buckingham's head*: in February 1624, the Spanish ambassadors Don Carlos Coloma and Juan Hurtado de Mendoza, Marquis of Inijosa, had complained to James that Buckingham's address to parliament on the Spanish negotiations had defamed the Spanish crown. In April 1624, in a further attempt to destroy Buckingham, the Spanish ambassadors presented James I with a series of extremely serious charges against the duke, including some that alleged the favourite had been conspiring to depose James in favour of his son, Prince Charles.

<sup>22</sup> *his Masters*: i.e. Philip IV's.

<sup>23</sup> *the Nose of his face*: Inijosa was apparently afflicted by advanced syphilis. Simonds D'Ewes noted that the ambassador's "nose had been eaten away with whooring" (*Diary* 141).

<sup>24</sup> *hoise*: i.e. hoist.

<sup>25</sup> *Beads*: i.e. rosary beads.

<sup>26</sup> *Your Infanta...Cloyster*: Olivares had proposed at one point that the Infanta be cloistered—sent to a nunnery—if that was necessary to avoid a marriage to Charles. On his departure from Madrid, Charles became convinced that that was what the Spaniards planned to do.

<sup>27</sup> *Mansfeild*: Ernst von Mansfelt, German mercenary and erstwhile commander of the Elector Palatine's forces, arrived in London on 14 April 1624, where he was greeted with great popular enthusiasm and considerable political manoeuvring in Whitehall and Westminster.



## Oi2 Oh honoured England how art thou disgracd

*Notes.* The occasion of this poem was one or more of the series of attempts by the Spanish ambassadors Coloma and Inijosa to bring down the Duke of Buckingham during the 1624 Parliament. In February 1624, the ambassadors complained to James that Buckingham had insulted the Spanish Crown in his speech to parliament on the 1623 negotiations in Madrid. After Buckingham had secured parliamentary exoneration on these charges, the Spanish presented James with charges accusing Buckingham of a wide variety of misconduct, including a plot to ease James from the throne. Later, they inflated the charge to allege that Buckingham planned to usurp the Stuart line by marrying his daughter to the son of the Elector Palatine. And on 24 April, the ambassadors formally charged that Buckingham and other peers had planned that in the event James blocked the breach with Spain, “they would give him a house of pleasure whither he might retire himself to his sports, in regard that the Prince had now years sufficient to, and parts answerable for the government of the Kingdom” (qtd. in Ruigh 283). The King seems initially to have been shaken by the information, but the Spanish failure to produce evidence, and Buckingham’s fortuitous affliction with illness, soon restored monarchical confidence in his favourite. The libel is a splendid example of the temporary transformation in Buckingham’s reputation following his return from Spain and his ardent adoption of a militarist anti-Spanish platform. No longer the corrupt, crypto-Catholic, hispanophile and Ganymedeian “parasite” of the 1618-1623 libels, Buckingham was now depicted as a Protestant patriot hero fit to be ranked alongside true military legends both of the recent past, like the anti-Spanish sea-dog Raleigh, and of the Ancient World, like Scipio, conqueror of Spain and hero of the Roman Republic. For a brief elaboration on this theme, see Bellany’s discussion of the poem (“‘Raylinge Rymes’” 300).

“Verses uppon the Complaynt of the Spanish Ambassador to his Majestie of the Duke of Buck: whose head he desired for the satisfacion of the Catholique Majestie his Master”

Oh honoured England how art thou disgracd

By Moorish<sup>1</sup> faces thus to bee outfac’d?

Where are those spirits? which in a womans<sup>2</sup> raigne

Sackt Cales,<sup>3</sup> and with pale terror strooke all Spayne.

Harrowed their Indian fleete,<sup>4</sup> drown’d their men

And made their twelve Apostles lesse by Ten.<sup>5</sup>

Durst they insult thus then? or else demande

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the head of any subject in this land?  
 No Raleighes<sup>6</sup> blood did flesh their first desire  
 And now they dare to higher heads aspire. 10  
 So none that good must scape, but all must dy  
 (as Envyous Traytors to Spaynes Monarchy)  
 Ye Jesuited<sup>7</sup> Englishe drunke with Popery  
 What veiw your Country with a Spanish eye  
 Let not their bloody damned pollicyes 15  
 Maskt in faire shewes of formall fopperyes  
 Sway your allegiance from your prince & land  
 To wish the rule were in a Spanish hand  
 Assure your selves and be of this opinion  
 There hotte devotion hunts but for Dominion.<sup>8</sup> 20  
 And Thou Great James whom God hath made our Kinge  
 Be no wayes guilty of so vilde a thinge  
 Thy Children<sup>9</sup> beare the Spanish Tyrannie  
 The badge of bondage bayte of Infamy:  
 Slacke not thy helpe releive the Palatine 25  
 State him<sup>10</sup> againe he is a Lymbe of thyne.  
 And let not that head satisfy the thirst  
 Of Morish pride? which was the very first  
 of all thy favourites? Er'e undertooke  
 His Countryes Cause and thus did overlooke 30  
 Spanish Deceiveings. For he hath done more  
 Then twenty of thy favourites before  
     Give him but force his owne head to maintaine  
     And like brave Scipio he will sacke proud Spayne.<sup>11</sup>

**Source.** Bodleian MS Eng. Poet c.50, fol. 21r

**Other known sources.** PRO SP 14/118/104; TCD MS 806, fol. 469r; Beinecke MS Osborn b.197, p. 225

- <sup>1</sup> *Moorish*: Spanish. The “Moors”, Muslims, had ruled large portions of Spain in the Middle Ages, but had been expelled in 1492. The “moriscos”, of Muslim stock but converted to Christianity, were expelled in the early seventeenth century.
- <sup>2</sup> *womans*: i.e. Elizabeth I’s.
- <sup>3</sup> *Cales*: Cadiz.
- <sup>4</sup> *Indian fleete*: Spanish treasure ships sailing from South America and the West Indies.
- <sup>5</sup> *twelve Apostles lesse by Ten*: the “apostles” was the nickname given by the Spaniards to a group of twelve Spanish galleons.
- <sup>6</sup> *Raleighes*: reference to Sir Walter Raleigh, executed by James I in 1618 after considerable urging from the Spanish ambassador Gondomar (see Section I).
- <sup>7</sup> *Jesuited*: the Jesuits (Society of Jesus) were the most feared and hated Catholic order; English stereotypes represented them as the dangerously subtle spearhead of Counter Reformation.
- <sup>8</sup> *Dominion*: English anti-Spanish pamphleteers asserted that Spain aimed at nothing less than a “universal monarchy”.
- <sup>9</sup> *Thy Children*: James’s daughter Elizabeth and son-in-law Frederick V, Elector Palatine, who had lost the Palatinate to Spanish troops in 1620-21.
- <sup>10</sup> *State him*: i.e. restore him to his state as Elector Palatine.
- <sup>11</sup> *like brave Scipio...sacke proud Spayne*: Scipio Africanus, the great Roman general, who conquered Spain from the Carthaginians, 210-207 BC.

### Oi3 Our digby digd'e but digd'e in vaine

*Notes.* The only known version of this poem exists in the unpublished section of the news-diary of John Rous, where it is transcribed alongside libels and other documents on events in the 1624 Parliament.

Our digby<sup>1</sup> digd'e but digd'e in vaine  
for powdering Pope & king of Spaine  
& though he dig'de with might & maine  
to make a matche twixte us & Spaine  
take away S what doth remaine  
but England matched unto paine  
& S is but a hissing piece  
a noise of serpents, voice of geese  
& geese they are being kept under  
but give them leave they'll roare like thunder.

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**Source.** BL Add. MS 28640, fol. 149v

Oi3

<sup>1</sup> *digby*: John Digby, Earl of Bristol and English ambassador to Spain. Digby was widely characterized as an agent of Spanish ambitions and chief English architect of the Spanish Match.

#### Oi4 The base on which mans greatnesse firmest stands

*Notes. This is one of a pair of surviving poems focusing on the fall of Lionel Cranfield, Earl of Middlesex and Lord Treasurer, who, having opposed Buckingham and Charles's war policies, was impeached by the 1624 Parliament on charges of bribery and corruption.*

“On Sir Lyonell Cranfield Earle of Middlesex & Lord Treasurer of England his fall. 1624”

The base on which mans greatnesse firmest stands

Is Goodnes, els its built on sands

Princes have power to make men great wee see

But Goodnes is involv'd by the Dyetic<sup>1</sup>

Soe that to make a good greate Man's a thing

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Wrought joynt together both by God & King

For where the King makes great & God not good

There greatnes dyes, whilst it doth scarcely budd.

Witnes this Great one mounted to the ayre

But (wanting goodnes) his Honors vapours are,

10

Hee being not good, his greatnes was but small

For meane men good are pittied when they fall

So is not hee, hee loved himselfe alone

And nowe noe good man doth his fall bemoane

I pray observe from whence hee came, the city<sup>2</sup>

15

That hee rose so soone and fell noe sooner; Pitty.

**Source.** Bodleian MS Malone 23, p. 27

**Other known sources.** Bodleian MS Ashmole 781, p. 136; Bodleian MS Eng. Poet. c.50, fol. 23r; Bodleian MS Rawl. D. 1100, fol. 89v; BL Add. MS 28640, fol. 148r; BL Add. MS 29492, fol. 27r; BL Add. MS 72479, fol. 8r; BL MS Stowe 962, fol. 146r; Brotherton MS Lt. q. 9, fol. 61r; CUL MS Gg.4.13, p. 47; Folger MS V.a.275, p. 135

<sup>1</sup> *Dyetic*: i.e. deity.

<sup>2</sup> *the city*: Cranfield had been a successful London merchant before turning courtier and taking royal office.

## Oi5 There was a man, & hee was Semper idem

*Notes.* The original target of this poem is unclear. While most sources frame it as an attack on a nameless merchant, at least one presents it more specifically, as being concerned with “the late Lord Treasurer, Sir Lionel Cranfield, Earl of Middlesex, disgraced, imprisoned, and putt from his office by the Parliament in anno 1624, much against King James will” (Bodleian MS Don. c.54).

“In Mercatorem quendam”<sup>1</sup>

There was a man & hee was Semper idem,<sup>2</sup>

And for his life, hee was Mercator quidam,<sup>3</sup>

Hee had a Wife<sup>4</sup> was neither tall nor Brevis<sup>5</sup>

Yet in her carriage was accounted Levis<sup>6</sup>

Hee to content her, gave her all things Satis<sup>7</sup>

Shee to requite him made him Cuckold Gratis.<sup>8</sup>

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**Source.** BL Add. MS 15227, fol. 42v

**Other known sources.** Bodleian MS Don. c.54, fol. 29r; Bodleian MS Don. f.39, fol. 24r; BL Add. MS 44963, fol. 40v; Brotherton MS Lt. 31, fol. 38v; Folger MS V.a.262, p. 103

Oi5

<sup>1</sup> *In Mercatorem quendam*: “quendam” seems to be incorrect; perhaps a better reading would be “In Meractorem quidam” (“Upon a Certain Merchant”), or “In Mercatorem quondam” (“Upon a former Merchant”).

<sup>2</sup> *Semper idem*: “always the same”.

<sup>3</sup> *Mercator quidam*: “a certain merchant”. “Quidem” might fit the rhyme scheme better, which would make him a “Mercator quidem” (“merchant indeed”).

<sup>4</sup> *a Wife*: Cranfield married as his second wife Anne Brett, the favourite Buckingham’s cousin on his mother’s side. The libel “Heaven blesse King James our joy”, alleges that Cranfield’s wife had an affair with Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel.

<sup>5</sup> *Brevis*: short.

<sup>6</sup> *Levis*: light, immoral.

<sup>7</sup> *Satis*: enough, sufficient.

<sup>8</sup> *Gratis*: for free.



**Oi6 There was a great fleete, all they that did see't**

*Notes. This poem records the embarrassing failures of the first major military operation by the English against the Spanish. A fleet, sent to raid the Spanish port of Cadiz, set sail under the command of Edward Cecil, Viscount Wimbledon, on 8 October 1625. As the libeller's narrative makes clear, the expedition was little more than a series of disasters.*

“Upon the English fleete sett forth. Anno. 1625”

There was a great fleete, all they that did see't

As twas in the Downes<sup>1</sup> a ridinge,

Will say Sir John Cooke<sup>2</sup> shall sweare on a booke

It was a yeere a providinge.

And ten thousand foote,<sup>3</sup> were added untoo't

Which were at Plimouth traynd

By those that knewe little but to eate up your vittaile

And that was all they gaind.

This flete & this Army, which did meane no harme, I

Perswade my selfe to any.

Had like to have bin lost in the Spanish Coast

By a storme that is knowne to many.

At Cales<sup>4</sup> wee putt in, where if you had bin,

You should have seene good sport.

The collyers<sup>5</sup> that day, did all runne away,

And would not batter the fort.

Wee landed our men, & marcht too & agen

Three dayes & then came back

To our shippes againe, having gotten in Spaine,

Our bellys full of sacke.<sup>6</sup>

This service thus ended, wee homewards intended

To eate no more rotten beefe.<sup>7</sup>

Or as foule a matter, to drinke stincking water,

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But the wind was in our teeth.  
 A Councell was call'd,<sup>8</sup> by the heads that were bald, 25  
 Where it was thought most meete.  
 Because we must stay, & not goe away,  
 To waite for the Indian fleete.  
 For wee were told, they were laden with gold  
 And should greate riches finde 30  
 But hee that went thither, found naught but ill weather,  
 I feare there words were but winde.  
 Its such a condition, to have a commission  
 To bringe out so many men  
 And doe nothing more, but eate up your store, 35  
 And then goe whome agen  
 As never was knowne, if the Case were my owne,  
 And I had so much pelfe.<sup>9</sup>  
 I would giv't away cleare, to bee ridd of the feare  
 or else goe hang my selfe. 40  
 Some say that Sir Thomas Loove,<sup>10</sup> god keepe him from us  
 Did sett this project on foote.  
 Which if hee did, it may cost him his head,  
 And his great masters<sup>11</sup> to boote.  
 Amongst them twill fall, but who shall have all 45  
 The weight on't is not knowne  
 Lett it wither for mee, if that the proud tree  
 Bee not blasted or overblowne.  
 God blesse charles our Kinge, & every thinge  
 That hee warlickly takes in hande. 50  
 And in his next choise hee shall have my voyce  
 For a wiser man to commande.<sup>12</sup>  
 Finis. ignoto.

Source. Beinecke MS Osborn b.197, p. 226

Oi6

- <sup>1</sup> *the Downes*: a common naval rendezvous off the English coast, east of Deal in Kent.
- <sup>2</sup> *Sir John Cooke*: i.e. Sir John Coke, Commissioner of the Navy and Master of Requests, who was promoted to Secretary of State to Charles I in September 1625.
- <sup>3</sup> *ten thousand foote*: the expeditionary force consisted of 10,000 foot soldiers and 5000 seamen.
- <sup>4</sup> *Cales*: Cadiz.
- <sup>5</sup> *The collyers*: the fleet included forty collier ships (coal ships), which failed to follow orders to bombard Cadiz during the assault of 22 October.
- <sup>6</sup> *Our bellys full of sacke*: the English troops discovered several vats of wine (sack) that they then consumed with predictably disastrous effects on their military effectiveness.
- <sup>7</sup> *rotten beefe*: the fleet was beset by supply shortages.
- <sup>8</sup> *A Councell was call'd*: on 29 October a Council of War decided to try to intercept the Spanish treasure fleet from the Americas; however, the plan was foiled by bad weather.
- <sup>9</sup> *pelfe*: goods, money.
- <sup>10</sup> *Sir Thomas Loove*: Sir Thomas Love was a leading commander during the Cadiz voyage. In January 1626, Chamberlain reported that in contemporary post mortems on the Cadiz voyage, "Some lay the blame on the desseign or counsell, the souldiers on their generall Vicount Sitstill, [i.e. Edward Cecil] (as they now stile him) he on the sea men, but most on his Grace [i.e. Buckingham], and he on Sir Thomas Loue and so from post to piller" (2.628).
- <sup>11</sup> *his great masters*: the Duke of Buckingham's.
- <sup>12</sup> *For a wiser man to commande*: this last line could be read as an attack on either the Cadiz expedition commander, Viscount Wimbledon, or Wimbledon's superior, the Lord Admiral Buckingham.

### Oi7 There was a Munkye clumbe up a tree

*Notes.* The sting in this strange poem lies in the closing couplet. The poem appears to have been considered extendable, since extant versions differ in length (though to no considerable poetic effect). In the version transcribed by John Holles, 2nd Earl of Clare (BL MS Harley 6383), he titles it "A libell of Cales vyage 162" (having, perhaps, forgotten the exact date of the voyage to Cadiz in October 1625).

There was a Munkye clumbe up a tree  
When he fell downe then downe fell hee

There was a crow sat on a stone  
When he was gone, then was there none

There was an old wyfe, did eate an apple  
When she had eat two, she had eat a cupple

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There was a mayde that they cald Cisse  
When she made water, she did pisse

There was a horse, going to the mill  
When he went on he stood not still.

10

There was a butcher cut his thombe  
When it did bleed, then blood did come

There was a lackye, runne a race  
When he ran fast, he ran a pace

There was a Cobler clowting shoone<sup>1</sup>  
When they were mended, they were done

15

There was a Chandler making candle  
When he them shipte, he did them handle

There was a Navye went into Spayne  
When it returnd it came againe.<sup>2</sup>

20

**Source.** BL MS Sloane 1489, fol. 19v

**Other known sources.** *Court and Times of Charles I* 1.118; BL MS Harley 6383, fol. 63v; CCRO MS CR 63/2/19, fol. 41v

Oi7

<sup>1</sup> *clowting shoone*: patching shoes.

<sup>2</sup> *There was a Navye...it came againe*: although this couplet is slightly opaque, it depends on a calculated sense of anti-climax as it refers to the return of Wimbledon's fleet from Spain. The phrase "it came again" may refer to the fact that the fleet returned in groups.

## Oi8 Yee Spanyards, come away, come away

*Notes.* Composed in the aftermath of the failed Cadiz expedition and in an atmosphere of growing suspicion of the favourite Buckingham, this song-like libel returns to the theme, so widely articulated in the polemical literature of 1618-1623, that internal enemies had rendered England vulnerable to Spanish power. Given the poem's allusions to the ineffectiveness of England's ports and naval defences, one might plausibly deduce the chief internal enemy to be Buckingham, Lord Admiral and, since the autumn of 1624, Warden of the Cinque ports.

“Vox Britanniae Ad Hispaniam.<sup>1</sup> 1626”

Yee Spanyards, come away, come away!

For now you may undoe us,  
Since heer at home do staye, worse enemyes unto us,  
Thus they saye.

You may not want a guyde, to leade you unto evyll,  
Nor to supporte your pryde, since that you have a Devyll,  
On your side.

All our poartes are open, if that you please to venter,  
There is as wide a scope, as into Hell to enter,  
That's the Hope.

On the fominge floods, our shipinge doth attende us,  
But 'tis not understoode, to hender or defende us;  
This is goode.

But it doth well appeare, they have noe good effected,  
And some in England heere, ar pockely suspected,  
For this geare.<sup>2</sup>

Yet wee make noe foorce, if any ill intended,  
Lett eache man take his course, and this will soone be mended,  
With a woorce.

For wee that should disdayne, all poore and base condicion, 20  
Can hardely now refrayne, to sende our good munition,  
Into Spayne.<sup>3</sup>

Was there ever knowen, so fyne a trycke to stripe us;  
Spayne lett your roodes<sup>4</sup> alone, wee have enoughe to whip us,  
Of our one.<sup>5</sup> 25

Though yet for speakeinge ill, you barre us in our drinkinge,  
Yett grante us if you will, our privelidge of thinkeinge,  
Mischcheife still.

**Source.** *Trevelyan Papers* 3.171-72

**Other known sources.** NLW MS 5390D, p. 449.

Oi8

<sup>1</sup> *Vox Britanniae Ad Hispaniam*: “The Voice of Britain to Spain”.

<sup>2</sup> *geare*: equipment.

<sup>3</sup> *sende our...Into Spayne*: presumably an allusion to the failed expedition to Cadiz in 1625.

<sup>4</sup> *roodes*: “rods” might make better sense. “Roodes” are crosses or crucifixes.

<sup>5</sup> *one*: i.e. own.

## Oi9 There was some pollicie I doe beleive

*Notes.* After their criticism of royal policy during the 1625 Parliament, Sir Edward Coke and five other MPs were deliberately excluded from the 1626 Parliament. The Crown appointed (“pricked”) the men as sheriffs who, by virtue of their office, could not stand for parliament. Although Coke tried to challenge the terms of his appointment as Sheriff of Buckinghamshire, his efforts were unsuccessful and he did not sit in the 1626 session. Since the text of this poem is particularly unstable, we have chosen the longest known version, but have appended twenty-two lines that appear to be unique to a version that is otherwise shorter.

“Certaine verses made when my Lo: Cooke was made highe Sheriffe of Buckingham:”

There was some pollicie I doe beleive,

out of an old cast Judge,<sup>1</sup> to make a Shreive<sup>2</sup>

for hee soe longe at lawe had beene a Pedler,

that hee was growne as ripe as anie Medler.<sup>3</sup>

And is thought fitt by good Sir Simon Harvies<sup>4</sup>

judgment, to come now in the later service

Soe he that was for lawe soe well reputed

now may stand by, and see them executed.

Corage my Lord, yow shall growe yonge againe,

and bee attended by A Gallant trayne

your liveries & your feathers bothe shall showe,

that yow your office of Sherive knowe

I would not have you flye into a Cottage,

nor plead against it, with a writt of Dotage<sup>5</sup>

But beare it bravely, that it may bee spoke

How bountifull a house is kept at Stoke<sup>6</sup>

for all the people prayeth for your healthe

as beeinge Patron of the Common Wealthe

Now when yow ride amonge your feathered troope

Shew your selfe curteous, & to each man stoope

5

10

15

20



Give largely to the poore, that through the Countie  
 each man may freely speake, of your great bounty  
 As for the charge yow knowe that in the sheere  
 whats in the hundred lost is gained cleere  
 Besides yow have not reigned soe longe in Courts 25  
 and filld the Towne and Cuntry with reports<sup>7</sup>  
 But that yow have both furnished your Chest  
 and as your Capp, soe feathered your Nest,  
 Now sittinge on the benche although hee grudge  
 pray undertake yow to direct the Judge, 30  
 offer to give the charge I know yow cann  
 and bee against the savinge of a mann  
 Then whisper to the Judge if yow bee wise  
 your private Judgment of each Nisi prise<sup>8</sup>  
 yow have the name yow will not have things rawe, 35  
 as others doe that doe not knowe the lawe,  
 your wife<sup>9</sup> & frends will all bee gladd to heare  
 that yow are made highe sheriffe of the sheire  
 P<sup>10</sup> your sonne in lawe that roareinge boye  
 will now growe madd againe<sup>11</sup> for very joye 40  
 his wife<sup>12</sup> will wishe, shee hathe beene often trickt  
 her husband were like to her father prickt<sup>13</sup>  
 But shee will have it all by night or daye  
 if it bee Inter quatuor Maria<sup>14</sup>  
 And through this great Alliance sure it came 45  
 that yow was prickt highe sheriffe of Buckingham<sup>15</sup>  
 But harke yow now some foolishe fellowe urges,  
 and sayes a Sheriffe cannott bee a Burges,<sup>16</sup>  
 Aske your man Samon<sup>17</sup> hee can all relate  
 followe his counsaile hee hathe a knavish pate 50  
 Make him your undersheriff with resolucion

none fitter is to goe to execucion  
 The towne of Coventrye<sup>18</sup> doe not overslipp  
 if yow doe meane to have a Burgeshipp  
 Goe write your letters, and dispatche them thither 55  
 and lett them know, that yow with hatt and feather  
 will come & sitt, onely with their consent  
 as Lord cheif Burges of the Parliament<sup>19</sup>  
 There call a strickt account of all the treasure<sup>20</sup>  
 that hath beene spent, of late without all measure 60  
 Bring grave examples from the ancient Kings<sup>21</sup>  
 howe they with lesser charge did Greater things  
 Nowe as for Subsidies<sup>22</sup> pray lett them tarry  
 for this is but a Warre thats voluntary<sup>23</sup>  
 Twere better the Palatinate were lost 65  
 then that it should soe much the kingdome cost  
 And still remember them that sitt at Helme  
 my Lords take heed, how yow exhaust the Realme  
 Speake stoutlie for the Publique to your power  
 Soe may yow bee kept safe as in a Tower 70  
 Soe may the winde make your riches feathers wagge  
 Soe may noe raine at Sires<sup>24</sup> make them flagge  
 Soe may yow bee and say yow hadd a Cave  
 made Pagadore<sup>25</sup> in cheif of all the Navie  
 Soe may yow live to see the joyfull day 75  
 to bee Lord Chancelor of Virginia<sup>26</sup>  
 When yow were Lord cheif Cooke<sup>27</sup> they went to pott  
 Monson<sup>28</sup> did scape a scouringe, did hee not?  
 Oh then yow were as hott as any toast  
 yow tooke away the scumme, and ruld the roast 80  
 yow might have beene Lord Keeper<sup>29</sup> longe agoe  
 hadd yow beene wise, that all the world dothe knowe

But yow on point of lawe, did stand soe strickt<sup>30</sup>  
 that now too late yow finde that yow are prickt,  
 Well tis noe matter better to plodd on 85  
 then rise & fall as Francis did & John<sup>31</sup>  
 When B. was but B:<sup>32</sup> hadd hee spar'd  
 hee longe ere this, hadd proved dainty lard  
 but hee in stead of Lard must bee a lord  
 when hee grewe very leane not fitt for bord 90  
 Thoughe hee was greazed, well about the flanck  
 and was sett up to fatt in a brawne francke  
 All was to litle for at last hee brought  
 his fleshe to Albones which is all to nought  
 My lord said that hee was like to one 95  
 That soone hadd brought his Gamon to a bone  
 Another said, and sharpely if yow marke it  
 That he brought his hoggs, to a faire markett  
 A third concludeinge, all the case thus handles  
 hoggs greaze dothe waste to fast to make good candles 100  
 Why did the late lord Keeper<sup>33</sup> loose the Seale  
 did hee injustice, in the office deale?  
 Did hee take bribes? for bribes are to bee taken  
 by order of his Predecessor Bacon<sup>34</sup>  
 Or was hee too conceited in his will 105  
 as armed with resolucion more then skill  
 Or did hee shewe himselfe at Oxford bace  
 practizinge the house to question my lord Grace<sup>35</sup>  
 Or was hee thought too good, and then a worse  
 must take the Seale, and bringe with him a purse<sup>36</sup> 110  
 I cannott tell, but I see by my bookes  
 the Divell sometimes over Lincolne lookes.<sup>37</sup>

[the following lines appear only in BL MS Harley 4955, fol. 73r]

If that your vertuous Lady<sup>38</sup> felt it too,  
 she woulde be humble, & fall downe and doo  
 you better service for when you doe rise 115  
 Then she is patient, But she seemeth wise  
 if once you fall, & leaves you for another  
 Soe she will serve both Husband Childe, & Brother  
 for all this I say nott shee will dalley  
 though you live privatelie in ram Alley<sup>39</sup> 120  
 she lives to her selfe, & makes a hapy life  
 as ever woman did that was a wife.  
 Being seperated from her Husbande  
 for still she keepes both Juells, plate, & land  
 and never askt you Counsayle for to drawe 125  
 an instrument to setle it by lawe  
 she had a better of her one invention  
 for when she married this was her intention  
 she meant the premiss off her mariage Journey  
 should be well don, & not by an attorney. 130  
 O this ladye worthelye doth meritt  
 for she is hye, & a mightie spiritt  
 If she take wrong Ile be bound to eate her  
 for let a Dutches wronge her, she'll beate her

**Source.** BL Add. MS 15226, fols. 22v-24r

**Other known sources.** BL MS Harley 4955, fol. 72r; NLW MS 5309D, p. 447; Huntington MS 198, 1.56

Oi9

<sup>1</sup> *old cast Judge*: Coke had been one of the leading judges of England until his dismissal as Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench in 1616.

- <sup>2</sup> *Shreive*: sheriff; one of the most significant legal officers in a county.
- <sup>3</sup> *Medler*: a pun on “meddler” and “medlar”, a type of fruit.
- <sup>4</sup> *Sir Simon Harvies*: Sir Simon Harvey, a former Grocer and now a financial official in the royal household (Clerk of the Greencloth), whom Coke had attacked in an August 1625 speech in parliament on the King’s fiscal woes.
- <sup>5</sup> *Dotage*: Coke was in his mid-seventies at the time of his appointment as sheriff.
- <sup>6</sup> *Stoke*: Coke had a residence at Stoke Mandeville in Buckinghamshire.
- <sup>7</sup> *reports*: allusion to Coke’s legal reports, published (in French and Latin) 1600-1615.
- <sup>8</sup> *Nisi prise*: “nisi prius”—literally meaning “unless previously”—was the name of a legal writ.
- <sup>9</sup> *your wife*: Lady Elizabeth Coke.
- <sup>10</sup> *P*: John Villiers, Viscount Purbeck and brother of the favourite Buckingham, was married to Coke’s daughter, Frances.
- <sup>11</sup> *growe madd againe*: Purbeck suffered from notorious bouts of mental illness.
- <sup>12</sup> *his wife*: Frances, Lady Purbeck, had been charged in 1625 with an adulterous relationship with Sir Robert Howard, who was rumoured to be the father of her baby boy. The following lines on Lady Purbeck are quite obscure, though it is possible they allude to this scandal.
- <sup>13</sup> *prickt*: men were chosen as sheriff by pricking a hole in parchment next to the chosen person’s name. In the context of the poem’s discussion of the marriage of the Purbecks, the term probably bears bawdy innuendo. Similarly, it might also allude to Lady Purbeck’s hope that her husband would be chosen sheriff and thus be forced to reside in his county while she pursued her adulterous liaisons.
- <sup>14</sup> *Inter quatuor Maria*: “between the four seas”; i.e. on English soil.
- <sup>15</sup> *through this great Alliance...of Buckingham*: the marriage of Coke’s daughter allied him to the family of the favourite, the Duke of Buckingham.
- <sup>16</sup> *a Sheriffe cannott bee a Burges*: sheriffs could not serve as MPs (a burgess is an MP from an incorporated town).
- <sup>17</sup> *Samon*: identity unknown; presumably one of Coke’s servants or clerks.
- <sup>18</sup> *Coventrye*: Coke had been MP (burgess) for Coventry in the 1624 Parliament.

- <sup>19</sup> *Lord cheif Burges of the Parliament*: not a real office; rather, mocking Coke's leadership of the Commons, and alluding to his former royal office as Lord Chief Justice.
- <sup>20</sup> *strickt account of all the treasure*: an allusion, perhaps, to Coke's critical remarks on royal financial governance during the 1625 Parliament.
- <sup>21</sup> *grave examples from the ancient Kings*: legal-historical precedents, which formed the substance of Coke's parliamentary rhetoric.
- <sup>22</sup> *Subsidies*: parliamentary taxation granted to the King.
- <sup>23</sup> *a Warre thats voluntary*: i.e. England's war with Spain, the supposed goals of which included the recovery of the Palatinate from Spanish and Bavarian occupation, and the reinstatement of Charles I's brother-in-law Frederick V as Elector Palatine.
- <sup>24</sup> *Sires*: lords, gentlemen.
- <sup>25</sup> *Pagadore*: pay-master.
- <sup>26</sup> *Lord Chancellor of Virginia*: Coke is being mocked here for his continued pursuit of high legal office—Lord Chancellor of England being the most important such office. The English settlement in Virginia enjoyed a precarious existence in the 1620s.
- <sup>27</sup> *Lord cheif Cooke*: Coke was Lord Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas 1606-1613 and of the Court of King's Bench from 1613 until his dismissal in 1616. The next few lines pun on "Coke" and "cook".
- <sup>28</sup> *Monson*: Sir Thomas Monson, imprisoned as a suspect in the conspiracy to murder Sir Thomas Overbury. As Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench (and chief prosecutor of the Overbury murder), Coke attempted to bring Monson to trial on two occasions in 1615; on both attempts, Coke was forced to postpone proceedings. Monson was eventually released without trial.
- <sup>29</sup> *Lord Keeper*: Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, another high office Coke was known to have coveted.
- <sup>30</sup> *But yow...soe strickt*: probably an allusion to Coke's disputes over matters of law with Lord Chancellor Ellesmere and the King which led to Coke's fall in 1616.
- <sup>31</sup> *Francis did & John*: Sir Francis Bacon, Lord Keeper, who lost office in 1621; and John Williams, bishop of Lincoln, who succeeded Bacon as Lord Keeper and, having fallen foul of Buckingham, was dismissed in October 1625.
- <sup>32</sup> *When B. was but B*: "when Bacon was but Bacon"; i.e. before he was elevated to Lord Verulam and

Viscount St. Albans. The next thirteen lines include a series of puns on “Bacon” and “bacon”.

<sup>33</sup> *late lord Keeper*: John Williams.

<sup>34</sup> *for bribes...Predecessor Bacon*: Bacon was impeached by the 1621 Parliament for taking bribes.

<sup>35</sup> *at Oxford...my lord Grace*: under attack in the Oxford session of the 1625 Parliament, Williams may have tried to shift blame onto the Duke. Buckingham seems to have believed that Williams was working with his enemies during the 1625 session.

<sup>36</sup> *bringe with him a purse*: i.e. pay a bribe for the office.

<sup>37</sup> *the Divell...Lincolne lookes*: Williams was Bishop of Lincoln; the “Divell” here might be taken to be the Duke of Buckingham. “The Devil looks over Lincoln” was a proverbial phrase that referred to a large devil gargoye on Lincoln College, Oxford.

<sup>38</sup> *your vertuous Lady*: Coke’s wife, Lady Elizabeth Coke. The Cokes’ marriage was notoriously volcanic, and the two had fallen out when Coke attempted to marry their daughter to John Villiers against Lady Elizabeth’s wishes. The lines that follow allude to the quarrel and the property disputes that surrounded it.

<sup>39</sup> *ram Alley*: a narrow passage near Coke’s residence in the Inner Temple in London.

## Oi10 The Kinge and his wyfe the Parliament

*Notes.* Charles I dissolved the 1626 Parliament on 15 June after a tumultuous session in which the House of Commons had attempted to impeach the favourite Buckingham. This highly sexualized libel, prompted by the dissolution, is good evidence of the intensifying hostility to Buckingham outside as well as inside Parliament. Holstun (158-59) offers a provocative reading of some of the poem's sexual imagery, while Bellany ("Raylinge Rymes" 301) offers a reading focusing on the evolving "popish" image of the duke.

The Kinge and his wyfe the Parliament

are parted both in discontent,

the cause I can not knowe:

Fooles say, the fates brought it about

knaves say, the husband is too stout

some say, the wyfes a shrewe.

Unto the later I give noe name,

But it is just they beare the blame,

they shall be styled mad:

for who but such would thinke a spouse,

that hath as many wits as browes,

would ere prove halfe soe bad.

fault with the fates let noe man fynd,

Let none dare say the kinges unkynd,

he scornes to be soe poore:

Unles the Parliament his wyfe,

hath given him any cause of stryfe

by playinge of the whore:

Which sure she hath if it be true,

that she of late hath had to doe,

with Englands wanton Duke:<sup>1</sup>

But as I better call to mind

5

10

15

20



she did quite in another kinde  
     solace his curled peruke.<sup>2</sup>  
 Soe as if either deserves blame 25  
 t'is he who sought to sinke his fame,  
     by rape committed on her:  
 for he did stryve with all his might,  
 To robbe her of her antient right,  
     and that is this wyves honor: 30  
 But it is well, he of his dede did fayle,  
 and that she ne're turnd up her tayle,<sup>3</sup>  
     to him unles to kisse:  
 As shee will do to all his faction,  
 Who were the cause of this distraction, 35  
     That hindred once our blisse.  
 An art sprunge from a blacker seed,  
 then that which he powred in that weed  
     Whom we call Guido Faux:<sup>4</sup>  
 Who if he fiered had his vessell, 40  
 of Sulphure standeinge on beare tressell,  
     in his sepulchrall walkes:  
 Could not have soe disperst our state,  
 Nor opened Spayne soe wyde a gate,  
     as hath his gracelesse grace: 45  
 for till time comes which is at hand,  
 that all speake Spanish in our land,  
     We are bound to curse his face.  
 And yet I guesse we neede not doe it,  
 for France hath sent one to undoe it 50  
     her Countryman the Pox:<sup>5</sup>  
 A hungry Mounsieur that will eate,  
 his joyntes past cure of any sweate,

that Poes<sup>6</sup> great art unlockes.  
 But yet as longe as they can laste 55  
 Say what you will, his foote is fast,  
     the kinge will nere rebuke him:<sup>7</sup>  
 but love him dearely, for in case,  
 hee would withdraw from him his grace,  
     he knowes he must unduke him. 60  
 Which he may not unlesse he make  
 him lower by the head,<sup>8</sup> and shake  
     the reste of that lewd faction:  
 A thinge to which they'le ne're consent,  
 however parliaments are bent 65  
     to purge that putrifaction.  
 What cares the kinge to urge the house<sup>9</sup>  
 for's people, what cares he a lowse  
     For kingdomes transitory:  
 Don Fredericke<sup>10</sup> he may have these 70  
 But hee'le to heaven & take [word missing] ease  
     to joyne in lastinge glory.  
 Meane tyme hee'le give them to his minion,<sup>11</sup>  
 a pretty toy, his whole dominion  
     will serve his wife for pynns. 75  
 Then Turner, Eliot, and Digges,<sup>12</sup>  
 Shall scourged be like whirlegigges  
     and suffer for their dinns.  
 But those that with the Duke combinde  
 shall from base mettle be refinde 80  
     to shine like rotten wood<sup>13</sup>  
 At midnight in a darkesome night,  
 noe devill shall appeare soe bright  
     in shape of angel good.

Then shall the effeminate Holland Count,<sup>14</sup>  
 vile worme, all Englands Lords surmount, 85  
     then the Nothumberlands girle  
 Shall cease repininge that she stoopt  
 to wed a man whose fortunes droopt  
     the brave Carlelian Earle.<sup>15</sup>  
 For he an Embassage shall goe 90  
 if he but prevent our foe,  
     of findeinge money here:  
 Or els when all the land is sack'd,  
 perhaps our bodyes might be rack'd 95  
     to tell them where it were.  
 To these if Carlton<sup>16</sup> goe not next,  
 how with his wife<sup>17</sup> will he be vext,  
     her tongue will never lye,  
 But that were strange for in good sooth 100  
 I never knew that it tould truth  
     since first I did her spye.  
 But see her I must needs confesse  
 I never did, nor can, unlesse  
     her visage she uncase 105  
 which buried is in payntinge<sup>18</sup> white  
 and red for shee's a modest wight  
     as loath to shewe her face.  
 Then Ragles Lord,<sup>19</sup> and Wimbleton,  
 and Dorsette,<sup>20</sup> with his nimble tongue, 110  
     May looke without a bribe,  
 To have in Court the cheifest graces,  
 and in the state the highest places  
     next the Villerian tribe.  
 But now my story is too longe, 115

& therefore here Ile end my songe  
     with prayinge for our kinge  
 God graunt him life & with his wyfe  
 graunt he may never have more strife,  
     she is a pretty thinge. 120

I meane the Parliament for she  
 When all trickes else quite helpeles be  
     may helpe her man to monye<sup>21</sup>  
 Soe he will heare her most just groanes  
     and chase from him those busy droanes 125  
     that eate up all the hony.

**Source.** Bodleian MS Eng. Poet. c.50, fols. 14r-15r

Oi10

- <sup>1</sup> *Englands wanton Duke*: George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham.
- <sup>2</sup> *peruke*: wig.
- <sup>3</sup> *tayle*: backside.
- <sup>4</sup> *Guido Faux*: Guy Fawkes, leading conspirator in the Catholic Gunpowder Plot to blow up James I as he addressed parliament in November 1605.
- <sup>5</sup> *France hath sent...Countryman the Pox*: syphilis was commonly referred to as “the French pox” or “the French”.
- <sup>6</sup> *Poes*: Dr. Leonard Poe’s. Libellers writing at the death of Robert Cecil alleged that Poe had treated him for syphilis (see Section D).
- <sup>7</sup> *the kinge will nere rebuke him*: Charles had made clear and public gestures of support for Buckingham during the 1626 Parliament.
- <sup>8</sup> *lower by the head*: i.e. behead him.
- <sup>9</sup> *the house*: i.e. the House of Commons.

- <sup>10</sup> *Don Fredericke*: Charles's brother-in-law, Frederick V, Elector Palatine.
- <sup>11</sup> *minion*: favourite; i.e. Buckingham.
- <sup>12</sup> *Turner, Eliot, and Digges*: Dr. Samuel Turner, Sir John Eliot and Sir Dudley Digges, vocal advocates for Buckingham's impeachment in the 1626 Parliament.
- <sup>13</sup> *to shine like rotten wood*: a line probably stolen from Sir Walter Raleigh's attack on the court in "The Lie" ("Goe soule the bodies guest").
- <sup>14</sup> *Holland Count*: Henry Rich, Viscount Kensington and Earl of Holland.
- <sup>15</sup> *Nothumberlands girle...Carlelian Earle*: Lucy Percy, from one of the most ancient of English noble families, the Percies of Northumberland, had married the Scotsman James Hay, Earl of Carlisle. Hay was a notorious profligate, and it is possible the drooping "fortunes" here are financial ones.
- <sup>16</sup> *Carlton*: Sir Dudley Carleton, ally of Buckingham, who was sent on an embassy to France in the late summer of 1626.
- <sup>17</sup> *his wife*: Lady Anne Carleton.
- <sup>18</sup> *payntinge*: cosmetics.
- <sup>19</sup> *Ragles Lord*: Sir Edward Conway, Secretary of State, made Lord Conway of Ragley (Warwickshire) in 1625.
- <sup>20</sup> *Dorsette*: Edward Sackville, 4th Earl of Dorset.
- <sup>21</sup> *helpe her man to monye*: parliament could supply the King with money through a grant of subsidies.

### Oi11 Why did the fond Plebeans say

*Notes.* The occasion for this poem was Buckingham's December 1626 trip to Kent to confer with the departing French ambassador on the Duke's plans for a special embassy to Paris to heal strained Anglo-French relations. The poem alludes to the growing disgruntlement at the Duke among unpaid soldiers and sailors. The transcript in our chosen source (BL MS Sloane 826) includes a comment that the author of this poem was "justly punished", and offers the opinion that "the judicious reader" would "smile at" the libel.

"The Dukes gowing to Dover, in December 1626"

Why did the fond Plebeans say  
That Buckingham was runne away?  
Why did the sailours<sup>1</sup> and their wives,  
Hope for fresh meat and merry lives?  
The monied and the poore men make, 5  
All holy-days for his flight sake?  
Why were the Parliament benches brusht<sup>2</sup>  
And all new plotts for money<sup>3</sup> husht?  
Why did this knight, and that rich squire,  
Who did their kingdoms good desire, 10  
The voyces of their shears to gaine<sup>4</sup>  
Free open houses now proclaime?  
Why were the exchequore coffers wide,  
The mouldie chests new purifide?  
The tellers talleys itching lye 15  
For feeftens and for subsidie?<sup>5</sup>  
Why did the soldiers,<sup>6</sup> whose sad sailes  
Came home anotamized from Cailles,<sup>7</sup>  
Promise that Christmas day should see  
Him cassockt,<sup>8</sup> and his companie? 20  
Why on this hope did they plung more

Into the soaking Tapsters<sup>9</sup> score:  
 And make their greedy lanlord stay,  
 For rent, another quarter day?  
 The Dukes returnd, these hopes are vaine, 25  
 Th' Artillery men must watch againe.  
 Put up your uselesse cudgells you,  
 You munmorth-murriand-pitchie<sup>10</sup> crew.  
 Your tryumphs under hatches stow,  
 Your ebbes encrease, so dose his flow. 30  
 And though your wives have sharpt their nailes,  
 To scratch his face, that project failes;  
 He'is garded with the citie swisses,<sup>11</sup>  
 And whilst you scould he huggs his blisses.  
 I graunt you as he went from hence, 35  
 So fowle a night nere rained since,  
 The body of the Scottish Queene  
 To westminster remoovd hath beene.<sup>12</sup>  
 But ah poore wretches did you thinke  
 Your Admirall<sup>13</sup> so soone would sinke 40  
 Or that his stately toppe should vaile  
 To one poore storme or shower of haile,  
 And though some fondlings idely say  
 The wind his periwigg<sup>14</sup> blew away:  
 Which found, an other swears he's dead, 45  
 His body's gone but hears his head.  
 This stopt pursuit, which slie that night  
 Could not have donne for all his spright.  
 At Canterbury,<sup>15</sup> ther he met  
 An other storme as lowd and wet, 50  
 As that he ridde in, for the cry  
 Beeing but once raiz'd the Dukes past by,

With knitting needles, and with ladles,  
 Spitts, fire-forkes, and leggs of cradles,  
 The women whose friends were yet unpaid, 55  
 The coaches of the Duke assaid,  
 And then had sheard his flesh assurd  
 But Hollands<sup>16</sup> lookes his peace procured  
 The Mirmadones<sup>17</sup> themselves had donne  
 As much for Priams valiant sonne.<sup>18</sup> 60  
 And he look't soe, and yet tis true,  
 The wether chang'd his lookes to blew  
 At Dover least they should deceive him  
 He made the Castle to receive him.  
 The Embassadour of France<sup>19</sup> and he 65  
 Talked of whats unknowne to me:  
 Perhaps they have agreed together  
 To meete in France in fairer wether:  
 Which so ift proove, then his returne  
 Can never make the people mourne, 70  
 For hees come back to let you know  
 Some good of his before he goe.

Ignoto.

**Source.** BL MS Sloane 826, fols. 28v-29r

**Other known sources.** Bodleian MS Eng. Poet. c.50, fol. 28v

Oi11

<sup>1</sup> *sailours*: many English sailors, under Buckingham's command, remained unpaid for long stretches during England's military mobilization of 1625-1630.

<sup>2</sup> *Parliament benches brusht*: i.e. the benches were cleaned in expectation that, now Buckingham had gone, parliament would be recalled.



- <sup>3</sup> *plots for money*: after the dissolution of the 1626 Parliament, Charles I levied a controversial extra-parliamentary tax—the Forced Loan—to raise money.
- <sup>4</sup> *The voyces of their shears to gaine*: to gain the voices of their shires in the expected parliamentary election.
- <sup>5</sup> *For feefteens and for subsidie*: for parliamentary grants of taxation (subsidies and fifteenths).
- <sup>6</sup> *soldiers*: like the sailors, many soldiers remained unpaid and undersupplied for long stretches during England’s military mobilization from 1625 to 1630.
- <sup>7</sup> *Cailes*: Cadiz. The lines allude to the failed English expedition to Cadiz in 1625.
- <sup>8</sup> *cassockt*: cloaked. The promise is that the soldiers will now be properly equipped with clothing.
- <sup>9</sup> *Tapsters*: barman’s.
- <sup>10</sup> *munmorth-murriand-pitchie*: the exact meaning of “munmorth” is obscure; “murriand” might be “murrained” (i.e. scabby); “pitchie” means covered in pitch, and therefore black.
- <sup>11</sup> *citie swisses*: presumably Buckingham’s bodyguard.
- <sup>12</sup> *The body...remoovd hath beene*: the body of James I’s mother, Mary, Queen of Scots, who had been executed in England in 1587, was reinterred in October 1612 in the Henry VII Chapel of Westminster Abbey.
- <sup>13</sup> *Admirall*: Buckingham had been Lord Admiral since 1618-19.
- <sup>14</sup> *periwigg*: wig.
- <sup>15</sup> *At Canterbury*: Canterbury, the cathedral city in Kent on the way to Dover. None of the standard secondary accounts of Buckingham’s career record a riot against his coach in Canterbury; however, mobs of sailors had attacked the Duke’s coach at least twice before, in August and October.
- <sup>16</sup> *Hollands*: Henry Rich’s, Viscount Kensington and Earl of Holland.
- <sup>17</sup> *Mirmadones*: Myrmidons, part of the Greek forces at Troy, and commanded by Achilles.
- <sup>18</sup> *Priams valiant sonne*: Hector of Troy, slain by Achilles.
- <sup>19</sup> *The Embassadour of France*: Francis de Bassompierre.

## Oi12 Fower Cheyffe Justices late wee had

*Notes.* This is the most widely circulated of three extant verses penned on the promotion of Buckingham's client Sir Nicholas Hyde to Lord Chief Justice in February 1627. Some versions of this poem (e.g. the copies in the newsdiaries of Rous and Yonge) consist only of the last four lines, and different versions have different adjectives for the four justices. The final four lines of this version also form part of "Justice of late hath lost her witts". Bellany (Politics 103) comments on evidence about the oral transmission of this poem, while McRae (Literature 38) discusses it in relation to news culture.

### "Uppon the Cheyff Justices of the Kings Bench"

Fower Cheyffe Justices late wee had  
Two were good, and two weare badd  
Learned Coocke,<sup>1</sup> Rich Mountague<sup>2</sup>  
Grave Sir Lee<sup>3</sup> and honest Crew<sup>4</sup>  
two perferd, two sett a syde<sup>5</sup>  
upp-starte Sir Nicholas Hyde.

5

**Source.** Bodleian MS Ashmole 38, p. 87

**Other known sources.** D'Ewes 2.48; Rous 8; Yonge 100; Bodleian MS Malone 23, p. 120; BL Add. MS 22959, fol. 8r; Folger MS V.a.262, p. 38; Folger MS V.a.275, p. 134

## Oi12

<sup>1</sup> *Learned Coocke*: Sir Edward Coke, dismissed as Lord Chief Justice in 1616.

<sup>2</sup> *Rich Mountague*: Sir Henry Montagu, who succeeded Coke as Lord Chief Justice in 1616 and held the office until his promotion to Lord Treasurer in 1620. Montagu was created Viscount Mandeville around the time of the promotion and became Earl of Manchester and Lord President of the Privy Council under Charles I.

<sup>3</sup> *Grave Sir Lee*: Sir James Ley, Earl of Marlborough, who succeeded Montagu, and left after he became Lord Treasurer in 1624.

<sup>4</sup> *honest Crew*: Sir Randall (or Ranulph) Crew (or Crewe) was sworn in as Lord Chief Justice early in

1625 and held the office until late 1626 when his challenge to the legality of the forced loan led to his dismissal. The adjective “honest” thus has an extra political bite here.

<sup>5</sup> *two perferd, two sett a syde*: Montagu and Ley were “preferred”, promoted from Lord Chief Justice; Coke and Crew were “set aside”.

### Oi13 Justice of late hath lost her witts

*Notes.* The final four lines of this poem on the elevation of Sir Nicholas Hyde to Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench in February 1627 are not commonly included in variant sources. Since they also form part of "Fower Cheyffe Justices late wee had", we might infer a scribe either wittingly or unwittingly conflating different poems on the same topic. The version used also has "1628" as a date, which is off by a year.

"1628"

Justice of late hath lost her witts

Or els is growne into strange fitts

And flyes about like Ague-fitts<sup>1</sup>

With Reverend Cooke<sup>2</sup> it would not stay

For Mountague<sup>3</sup> drewe it away

From learned Lee<sup>4</sup> and honest Crewe<sup>5</sup>

As swift as ayre away it flewe

And sith it would not theire abide

Its nowe wrapt upp within a Hyde<sup>6</sup>

Nowe boots, and shooes must needs be deere

For Hyde is rais'd for all this yeare.

1 Learned Cooke. 2. Mountague

3 Grave Lee. 4 honest Crewe

Two preferr'd two sett asyde<sup>7</sup>

And then upstart Sir Nicholas Hyde

5

10

15

**Source.** Bodleian MS Malone 23, pp. 119-120

**Other known sources.** Bodleian MS Ashmole 38, p. 143; BL Add. MS 33998, fol. 29v; Rosenbach MS 239/27, p. 46

Oi13

- <sup>1</sup> *Ague-fitts*: shivering fits associated with the malaria-like disease known to contemporaries as the ague.
- <sup>2</sup> *Reverend Cooke*: Sir Edward Coke, dismissed as Lord Chief Justice in 1616.
- <sup>3</sup> *Mountague*: Sir Henry Montagu, who succeeded Coke as Lord Chief Justice in 1616 and held the office until his promotion to Lord Treasurer in 1620. Montagu was created Viscount Mandeville around the time of the promotion and became Earl of Manchester and Lord President of the Privy Council under Charles I.
- <sup>4</sup> *learned Lee*: Sir James Ley, Earl of Marlborough, succeeded Montagu as Lord Chief Justice and was promoted to Lord Treasurer late in 1624.
- <sup>5</sup> *honest Crewe*: Sir Randall (or Ranulph) Crew (or Crewe) was sworn in as Lord Chief Justice early in 1625 and held the office until late 1626 when his challenge to the legality of the forced loan led to his dismissal. The adjective “honest” thus has an extra political bite here.
- <sup>6</sup> *Hyde*: Sir Nicholas Hyde. The next two lines pun on Hyde’s surname to imply that his raising—the raising of Hyde—would inflate the cost of leather goods because the price of “hide” has risen.
- <sup>7</sup> *Two preferr’d two sett asyde*: Montagu and Ley were “preferred”, promoted from Lord Chief Justice; Coke and Crew were “set aside”.

#### Oi14 Ould Ned Cooke is putt to a new booke

*Notes.* This rare poem is clearly related to “Justice of late hath lost her witts”, and “Fower Cheyffe Justices late wee had”. All three poems comment on the elevation of Sir Nicholas Hyde to Lord Chief Justice of the King’s Bench in February 1627.

Ould Ned Cooke<sup>1</sup> is putt to a new booke

Learned Crue<sup>2</sup> is putt out for a new

Sage Ley<sup>3</sup> is sett aside, up starts Sir Nicolas Hide.

**Source.** CUL Add. MS 29, fol. 2r

Oi14

<sup>1</sup> *Ned Cooke*: Sir Edward Coke, dismissed as Lord Chief Justice in 1616.

<sup>2</sup> *Learned Crue*: Sir Randall (or Ranulph) Crew (or Crewe), dismissed as Lord Chief Justice late in 1626 following his judgement on the illegality of the forced loan.

<sup>3</sup> *Sage Ley*: Sir James Ley, Earl of Marlborough, Lord Chief Justice from 1621 until his promotion to Lord Treasurer late in 1624.

### Oi15 Rex & grex are both of a sound

*Notes.* This poem is an early example of what would become a common theme in the libels of 1627-28: the belief that only the (perhaps violent) removal of Buckingham (“Dux”—Duke) from power can reunite Charles (“Rex”—king) with his subjects (“Grex”—the people) inside and outside parliament. Different sources date the poem at either 1627 or 1628, but both William Whiteway (CUL MS Dd.11.73) and William Davenport received their copies in 1627, Davenport noting by his transcription that the verse had been “pinned upon the Court gates Maye 1627” (CCRO MS CR 63/2/19, fol. 58r). The final two lines of the version selected here are unusual, if not unique; most versions are only eight lines in length.

#### “On the Duke”

Rex & grex are both of a sound,

But Dux doth Rex & Grex confound.

If Crux<sup>1</sup> of Dux might have his fill,

Then Rex with grex might worke his will:

Three Subsidies to five would turne,<sup>2</sup>

And grex would laugh, that now doth mourne.

O Rex, thy grex doth sore complaine,

That Dux hath Crux, and crux not Dux againe<sup>3</sup>

But now it is the praier of thy poore Grex,

That vivat Rex, on Dux may currat Lex.<sup>4</sup>

5

10

**Source.** BL Add. MS 44963, fol. 40v

**Other known sources.** Bodleian MS Ashmole 36-37, fol. 62r; Bodleian MS Ashmole 38, p. 44; Bodleian MS Douce f.5, fol. 5r; Bodleian MS Eng. Poet. c.50, fol. 24v; Bodleian MS Eng. Poet. d.152, fol. 86r; Bodleian MS Eng. Poet. e.14, fol. 13r; Bodleian MS Eng. Poet. e.97, p. 31; Bodleian MS Eng. Poet. f.10, fol. 117v; Bodleian MS Eng. Poet. f.16, fol. 1r; Bodleian MS Hearne’s Diaries 30, p. 228; Bodleian MS Malone 23, p. 119; Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 246, fol. 16v; Bodleian MS Tanner 465, fol. 100r; BL MS Sloane 826, fol. 185r; CCRO MS CR 63/2/19, fol. 58r; CUL MS Dd.11.73, p. 69; St. John’s MS S.32, fol. 1r; Folger MS V.a.275, p. 175; Houghton MS Eng. 686, fol. 53r; Huntington MS HM 116, p. 65; Rosenbach MS 1083/16, p. 181

- <sup>1</sup> *Crux*: literally “Cross”. The meaning here seems to be that if the duke (“Dux”) is punished/destroyed (put on the cross; made to suffer the cross or a cross/setback), then king and people (“Rex” and “GreX”) can work together again.
- <sup>2</sup> *Three Subsidies to five would turne*: variant sources inflate the figures to five and ten, respectively. The essential point remains the same: with Buckingham gone, Charles can expect a more generous parliament.
- <sup>3</sup> *That Dux...again*: that the Duke has the power to punish but is not subject to punishment.
- <sup>4</sup> *on Dux may currat Lex*: that the law may take its course on the Duke; i.e. that Buckingham should be judicially punished (perhaps through the kind of parliamentary impeachment thwarted in 1626) for his crimes.



**Oi16 Come heare, Lady Muses, and help mee to sing**

*Notes.* The refrain suggests that this song against Buckingham may have been set to the popular ballad tune “The Clean Contrary Way” (Simpson 109). Three fiddlers were tried and convicted of seditious libel after performing this song at Ware, Buckinghamshire, and at Staines, Middlesex, in the late spring and early summer of 1627.

“A Song”

Come heare, Lady Muses, and help mee to sing,

    Come love mee whereas I lay

Of a Duke that deserves to bee made a King

    The cleane contray way

    O the cleane contrary way.

5

Our Buckingham Duke is the man that I meane

    Come love mee &c

On his shoulders the weale<sup>1</sup> of the Kingdome doth leane

    The cleane contrary &c

    O the cleane contrary &c

10

O happiest Kingdome that ever was ken'd<sup>2</sup>

    Come love mee &c

And happie the King that hath such a Frend

    The cleane contrary &c

    O the cleane &c

15

Needes must I extoll his worth and his blood

    Come love me whereas I lay

And his sweet disposition soe milde and soe good

    The cleane contrary way

    O the cleane contrary way.

20

Those innocent smiles that establish his face

Come love mee &c

Who sees them not tokens of goodnes and grace

The cleane contrary &c

O the cleane &c

25

And what other Scholler could ever arise

Come love mee &c

From a Master<sup>3</sup> that was soe sincere and wise

The cleane &c

O the cleane &c

30

Who if hee could now from his Grave but ascend

Come love mee &c

Would surely the trueth of his service commend

The cleane contrary way

O the cleane &c

35

The King understands how hee honours his place

Come love mee &c

Which is to his Majestie noe little grace

The cleane &c

O the cleane &c

40

And therefore the Government justly hath hee

Come love mee &c

Of horse for the land and shipps for the Sea<sup>4</sup>

The cleane &c

O the cleane &c

45

What though our Fleet bee our Enemies debtor

Come love mee &c

Wee brav'd them once and wee'l brave them better

The cleane contrary way

O the cleane &c

50

And should they land heere they should be disjoynted

Come love mee &c

And finde both our horse and Men bravely appointed

The cleane &c

O the cleane &c

55

Then let us sing all of this noble Dukes praise

Come love mee &c

And pray for the length of his life and his daies

The cleane &c

O the cleane &c

60

And when that death shall close up his Eyes

Come love mee &c

God take him up into the skies

The cleane &c

O the cleane &c

65

**Source.** BL MS Sloane 826, fols. 164v-166v

**Other known sources.** Bodleian MS Add. C.302, fol. 18r; Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 26, fol. 61r; BL MS Add. 58215, fol. 173v; Rosenbach MS 1083/16, p. 196

Oi16

<sup>1</sup> *the weale*: the good; the welfare.

<sup>2</sup> *ken'd*: seen.

<sup>3</sup> *Master*: James I.

<sup>4</sup> *Government...shipps for the Sea*: Buckingham was Master of the Horse and Lord Admiral.

### Oi17 There is a man, a Plauge uppon him

*Notes.* A variant source of this poem on Buckingham presents it as a song, with the refrain, “take him divell divell divell take him / god forsake him divell take him” (NLS Advocates MS 33.1.7, vol. 24). The fiddlers at Staines and Ware who performed “Come heare, Lady Muses, and help mee to sing” in the spring and early summer of 1627, also performed “There is a man, a Plauge uppon him”.

There is a man, a Plauge uppon him  
who hathe taen many thinges uppon him  
Papistes, Protestants, curse and banne him  
the Devill his Father scarce can stand him  
They Lower House they did thunder itt 5  
the upper house they did grumble itt,  
his necke from his shoulders they could not sunder itt,  
which made the people much to wonder itt:<sup>1</sup>  
Indeade he was but a younger brother  
the fourth Sonne to the knight his father 10  
A Chambermayde he had to his mother,<sup>2</sup>  
and this from his cuntryefoulkes wee gather  
he came to the courte and grewe Cupp bearer,<sup>3</sup>  
unto the Kinge he still grew nearer,  
In his eye he semed a Pearle 15  
sate downe a viscount, and rose upp an Earle<sup>4</sup>  
Indeade he had a verie faire face  
wich was the cause he came in grace  
Fairely he could tripe a Gallyard<sup>5</sup>  
and please<sup>6</sup> the ladies with his stalliard,<sup>7</sup> 20  
when warres did plauge the palsgraves land<sup>8</sup>  
this man in favour great did stand  
goode Kinge James he ruled so

iff he said yea, none durst saye no.  
thus I learne my soung to singe  
off the tale off the begger and the kinge,  
and I wishe when death undoes him  
he maye rest in the Devills bosome.

25

**Source.** CCRO MS CR 63/2/19, fol. 58r

**Other known sources.** NLS Advocates MS 33.1.7, vol. 24, fol. 78r

Oi17

<sup>1</sup> *They Lower House...much to wonder itt:* allusion to the attempted impeachment of Buckingham by the 1626 Parliament.

<sup>2</sup> *Indeade he was...to his mother:* slurs on Buckingham's obscure social origins were common. He was the fourth son of Sir George Villiers of Brooksby, Leicestershire. His mother, Mary Beaumont, was Sir George's second wife. They met when Mary was, in Roger Lockyer's words, "serving as companion and waiting-woman to her richer relatives" (Lockyer 5).

<sup>3</sup> *Cupp bearer:* Buckingham's first court office was as a Cupbearer to King James I.

<sup>4</sup> *sate downe a viscount, and rose upp an Earle:* Buckingham was made Viscount Villiers in August 1616 and Earl of Buckingham in January 1617.

<sup>5</sup> *Gallyard:* galliard; a type of dance.

<sup>6</sup> *plaise:* i.e. please.

<sup>7</sup> *stalliard:* obscure; the NLS Advocates MS version has "talliard", which is equally obscure. Presumably the word had some bawdy meaning.

<sup>8</sup> *when warres did plauge the palsgraves land:* allusion to the invasion and occupation of the Lower and Upper Palatinate in 1620-21 by Spanish and Bavarian forces. The Palsgrave was Frederick V, Elector Palatine, and son-in-law of James I.

## Oii Parliament and Poison (1626)

### Oii1 when the uncivill civill peace of State

*Notes.* The date of this poem is difficult to establish with precision. It might have been written during the delays preceding the 1627 expedition to the Ile de Ré outside the besieged French Protestant stronghold of La Rochelle, or during the delays before the second expedition planned for the summer of 1628. But it may instead date from earlier in the La Rochelle crisis, perhaps from the period 1625-26. In any case, the political punch of the poem comes in its last line, lamenting the reversal of proper authority brought on by the excessive power of Buckingham in the late 1620s.

“Upon the slowed provision for Rochell”

when the uncivill civill peace of State  
makes such as live in peace unfortunate  
then men of warre are streight brought to this passe  
the stoutest Lion proves the Cravenest Asse  
and those wont fight<sup>1</sup> with men of all condicions  
nowe fight with none for they have no Commissions<sup>2</sup>  
who doubts this state let him on that state looke  
wheras the Duke’s a king the king a Duke.

5

**Source.** BL Add. MS 29492, fol. 55v

Oii1

<sup>1</sup> *those wont fight*: this phrase remains ambiguous. It could be read either as “those wont to fight”, or as “those won’t fight”.

<sup>2</sup> *Commissions*: i.e. commissions as officers. Buckingham’s awarding of commissions for the Ré expedition aroused a certain amount of criticism.

## Oii2 It makes mee to muse to heare of the Newes

*Notes. The tone of this song's prediction that Buckingham would lead a Protestant conquest of Europe may very well be ironic; however, it seems almost certain that the poem dates from before Buckingham's actual departure for the Ile de Ré in late June 1627, a period in which the Duke and his artistic clients were busy fashioning the favourite anew as a military hero in the making.*

### "A Song"

It makes mee to muse to heare of the Newes

That Men doe report of the Duke,

Let us bee content with the money thats spent<sup>1</sup>

Hee'l put all our Foes to rebuke.

Hee'l cool France and Spaine, and quiet the Maine,

The Dunkerks<sup>2</sup> passage hee'l stopp:

To stay all commotion hee'l plough up the Ocean,

God send him a good harvest cropp.

5

Nay at a word, like Edward the third,<sup>3</sup>

Hee'l make the proud French to tremble,

Like Henry the fift<sup>4</sup> hee'l make them to shift

And runne with their limbes soe nimble.

10

Nay at his owne cost, hee, all that is lost

Will restore to the crowne againe,

Then Callis will hee take, with Normandie,

And all the rest of Aquitaine.<sup>5</sup>

15

Nay't may bee his chance but to conquer all France,

Where Henry the sixt was crowned:<sup>6</sup>

Then what other Man like our Buckingham

Shall through the world bee renowned.

20

Then hee casts his accounts to the Apinine Mounts,<sup>7</sup>  
And the Alps for to take his way,  
Where the Emperor for feare, when hee sees him there  
Will deliver him Bohemia.<sup>8</sup>

Nay many Men hope hee'l subdue the Pope 25  
And discover that Man of sinne,  
The isles in the way, in the midland Sea<sup>9</sup>  
For certaine hee will take in.

And then hee will meet with the West Indie Fleet,<sup>10</sup>  
And of them hee will take fast hold, 30  
And bring them away for England a pray,  
And choke us with silver and gold.

**Source.** BL MS Sloane 826, fols. 166v-167v

**Other known sources.** Bodleian MS Malone 23, p. 104

Oii2

<sup>1</sup> *the money thats spent*: allusion to the great fiscal burdens placed on the English by the necessities of military mobilization.

<sup>2</sup> *The Dunkerks*: the Dunkirk pirates, a serious threat to English shipping in this period.

<sup>3</sup> *Edward the third*: King Edward III (reigned 1327-1377) led the English in the first phases of the Hundred Years' War with France.

<sup>4</sup> *Henry the fift*: Henry V defeated the French at Agincourt in 1415.

<sup>5</sup> *Callis...Aquitaine*: territories in France once under the control of the kings of England.

<sup>6</sup> *Henry the sixt was crowned*: King Henry VI, son of Henry V, was crowned King of France in Paris in 1431.



<sup>7</sup> *Apinine Mounts*: the Apennine Mountains of Italy.

<sup>8</sup> *the Emperor...Will deliver him Bohemia*: the Holy Roman Emperor Ferdinand II was King of Bohemia. In 1618-1620, Bohemian Protestant rebels had toppled Ferdinand and offered the throne to Frederick V, Elector Palatine, and brother-in-law of Charles I. Imperial forces drove Frederick from Bohemia late in 1620.

<sup>9</sup> *midland Sea*: Mediterranean Sea.

<sup>10</sup> *the West Indie Fleet*: the treasure ships bringing to Spain silver and gold mined in the Spanish American possessions.

### Oii3 Great Buckinghame

*Notes. The likeliest date for this poem is the period preceding Buckingham's departure for the Ile de Ré in late June 1627. Suspicions of Buckingham's cowardice were common during this period, and were intensified after the abject failure of the Ré expedition.*

Great Buckinghame

hath spred a fame

that soone he will be gone

But what say some

that times not come

till sure the thirtie one<sup>1</sup>

which beinge past

Hee'le then make hast

and make noe longer stay

if this be soe

hee'le never goe

and thus the most men say.

He hath a trick

that hele be sick

to find his Doctors sport

and they must say

he needs must stay

Soe cheates the vulger sort.

But soft Sir knave

we often have

had triall of that shift

we know the cause

Of your longe pause

Your whole Intent & drift.

you would not goe

5

10

15

20

25

the matters soe  
     You would avoyd the warr  
 you thinke to have  
 your bodie safe  
     in England as you are 30  
 I wonder here  
 the whores staye cleere  
     the Dukes most mightie presse<sup>2</sup>  
 Because not one  
 but these alone 35  
     to him can have accesse.  
 Tis said the kinge  
 the Duke will bringe  
     to portsmouth<sup>3</sup> if he may  
 and then I hope 40  
 the D:<sup>4</sup> and pope  
     will beare him quite away.

**Source.** Bodleian MS Eng. Poet. c.50, fol. 27r

Oii3

<sup>1</sup> *the thirtie one*: presumably a reference to the thirty-first day of the month in which this poem was written (possibly, therefore, May or March).

<sup>2</sup> *the Dukes most mightie presse*: the meaning of “presse” here is a little unclear. It might have a bawdy innuendo, but it might also refer to the pressing of men for the army to go to Ré.

<sup>3</sup> *Tis said...to portsmouth*: Charles I visited the fleet at Portsmouth in early June 1627.

<sup>4</sup> *the D*: the devil.

#### Oii4 In reading these my Lord youll see I've gott

*Notes.* This verse, written as a petitionary letter to an unnamed (and, perhaps, entirely notional) patron, from an inmate in one of London's debtors' prisons, is primarily a satirical evocation of the experience of imprisonment. However, the section following line 39 describes the political talk that takes place in the prisoners' "parliament", talk that includes gossip on the Duke's planned voyage to Ré, continuing resistance to the Forced Loan, the religion of Charles's French Queen, Henrietta Maria, and the promotion of Richard Neile, Bishop of Durham, to the Privy Council.

In reading these my Lord youll see I've gott

What Dives<sup>1</sup> in the Parable could not

Hee could not send abroad amongst his frends

The storie of his prison, and the feinds,

Or tell the yet free people what intent

Heaven had on him in his imprisonment<sup>2</sup>

In this full point wee differ too I thinke

Hee had the greatest fire I the most drinke<sup>3</sup>

Nor cann it be deny'd him damned wee knowe

For what the miser had, I what I owe

Hee but one debt, one reckoning had to pay

One creditor, one judge, one judgment day.

But I of all these have a tallie more

Then Lazarus had ulcers<sup>4</sup> at his doore.

Onely my blessing is I've leave to tell.

The storie and condition of my hell

The spiritts which confine, not guard mee heere

Whome wee call keepers, and the case is cleere,

They keep indeed our feet they should not stray

Yett wee keepe them and for our mischeifes pay<sup>5</sup>

These feed on the leane soules of captiv'd men

And what is left by Fortune must feast them,

5

10

15

20

Of all sorts and conditions heere remaine  
 Soules by the Mercer and the Taylor slaine  
 The bankrupt Tradesman & the needy knight 25  
 The outlaw'd Lawyer, and whose damn'd outright  
 The thirstie Prodigall young gent, or hee  
 Who hath nought left of his last legacie  
 All ages, all degrees, all sorts heere lye  
 From Jew to Christian, truth to honestie 30  
 And as Saint Peter as the storie teach't  
 Unto the soules which weere in Lymbo preacht  
 Soe hither to bewaile our Martyrdomes  
 A travelling Apostle sometimes comes  
 Who for our Saboath, Turnips, Irish beefe 35  
 Gives to our Soules, as poore and thinne releife  
 Journinen<sup>6</sup> Levits,<sup>7</sup> who are more perplext  
 Where they shall dyne, then to devid there text  
 Heere a perpetuall parliament doth sitt  
 Which I doe not comend for speach or witt, 40  
 Att this wee all are speakers, and each brings  
 Affaires of state to light, closett of kings  
 Wee knewe at first the Duke<sup>8</sup> but mock't the people  
 And durst not goe from sight of old Powles<sup>9</sup> steeple  
 That the shipp beife would stincke & make him sicke 45  
 His wife and mother<sup>10</sup> would growe Luniticke  
 If hee departed, That the Queene<sup>11</sup> should pray  
 And kneele unto my soveraigne for his stay,  
 That the Northampton knights<sup>12</sup> when hee is gone  
 Will pay their mony doubly every one. 50  
 And in last session heere it was inserted  
 The Queene should nowe be crown'd shee was converted,<sup>13</sup>  
 When Durham preacht, for which with us 'tis sayd

His honor was one of the counsell made<sup>14</sup>  
 And though wee heere noe subsidies can give 55  
 Since more then halfe our court can hardly live,  
 But in the strength of hope, and such strang newes  
 As their invention, and tymes frailtie brewes.  
 Yet I could wish the king could find a tricke  
 Like what is done in our state polliticke 60  
 I meane for thrift, what food it would preserve  
 Within his store, yet not the soldiours sterue,  
 If all his fighting men could be content  
 As wee doe heere, to make the whole yeare lent  
 Wee have our femall spiritts heereto, but my lord 65  
 I must not of these creatures talke a word  
 For knewe the people of the world what sport  
 Wee have in hell, heere, with this wanton sort  
 They would confesse in this wee are divine  
 Where every Pluto has his Proserpine<sup>15</sup> 70  
 Heere is Elizium<sup>16</sup> too, a Garden where  
 The ground & trees noe grasse, noe fruit do beare,  
 And heere I could upon this barren plott  
 Discourse as freely as it wanted not  
 The blessings stored fruitfull Eden, noe 75  
 I will noe further in this story goe.  
 Lett it suffice Elizium comes to mee  
 When I your favour & your person see.

**Source.** Bodleian MS Malone 23, pp. 58-61

**Other known sources.** Folger MS V.a.276, part 2, fol. 33v

- <sup>1</sup> *Dives*: “The Rich Man”. The parable of Dives and Lazarus is told in Luke 16.19-31.
- <sup>2</sup> *Hee could not send...his imprisonment*: tormented in hell, Dives was unable to send a message back to his brethren to warn them of the costs of their sinful living (Luke 16.27-31).
- <sup>3</sup> *Hee had the greatest fire...drinke*: in Luke 16.24, Dives begs Abraham to send Lazarus, to him “that he may dip the tip of his finger in water, and cool my tongue; for I am tormented in this flame”.
- <sup>4</sup> *Lazarus had ulcers*: Lazarus, lying at Dives’ gate, is described as “full of sores” (Luke 16.20).
- <sup>5</sup> *wee keepe them...mischeifes pay*: early modern prisoners paid fees to their keepers.
- <sup>6</sup> *Journinen*: probable scribal error; “Journeymen” is a better reading.
- <sup>7</sup> *Levits*: preachers, priests.
- <sup>8</sup> *Duke*: Buckingham.
- <sup>9</sup> *Powles*: St. Paul’s Cathedral, London.
- <sup>10</sup> *wife and mother*: Buckingham’s wife, Katherine Villiers, Duchess of Buckingham; and mother, Mary Villiers (subsequently married to Sir Thomas Compton), Countess of Buckingham. News reports circulating in this period claimed that Buckingham’s mother was convinced her son would be assassinated on the voyage to Ré.
- <sup>11</sup> *Queene*: Henrietta Maria.
- <sup>12</sup> *Northampton knights*: allusion to the group of Northamptonshire gentry, led by Richard Knightley, who refused to pay the extra-parliamentary tax (commonly known as the Forced Loan) levied by the King in the aftermath of the 1626 Parliament (Cust, *Forced Loan* 233-34).
- <sup>13</sup> *The Queene...was converted*: Charles I was crowned in February 1626; his wife, the Catholic French princess Henrietta Maria, refused to be crowned alongside him because of her religious scruples at participating in a Protestant religious service. Henrietta Maria never converted to Protestantism.
- <sup>14</sup> *When Durham preacht...one of the counsell made*: Richard Neile, Bishop of Durham, and a leading Arminian cleric, was appointed to the Privy Council in April 1627.
- <sup>15</sup> *Pluto...Proserpine*: Pluto, the king of Hades, and Proserpina, the queen.
- <sup>16</sup> *Elizium*: Elysium, the residence of the blessed in the land of the dead.

**Oii5 And wilt thou goe, great Duke, and leave us heere**

*Notes.* This is by far the sharpest and widest-circulated of the attacks preceding Buckingham's expedition to the Ile de Ré in the summer of 1627. On the possible attribution of this poem to John Marston, see Brettle.

“Upon the Duke of Buck. his going to Ree”

And wilt thou goe, great Duke, and leave us heere

Lamenting thee and eke thy Pupill deare

Great Charles? Alas! who shall his Scepter sway,

And Kingdome rule now thou art gone away?

Are there noe Whores in Court to stay thee? Must

5

Thy hate to France and Spaine exceed thy Lust?

Hast thou no Neece to marry? Cannot an Inne

Or bawdyhouse afford thee any kinne

To cuckold Lords withall?<sup>1</sup> Hast not a Foe

To poison heere at home?<sup>2</sup> And wilt thou goe

10

And thinke the Kingdome plagu'ed sufficiently?

Most gracelesse Duke, wee thanke thy charitie,

Wishing the Fleet such speed, as thou but lost,

Though wee bee conquer'd, wee have quitted cost.

**Source.** BL MS Sloane 826, fol. 161r

**Other known sources.** Bodleian MS Douce f.5, fol. 21v; Bodleian MS Eng. Poet. c.50, fol. 13v; Bodleian MS Malone 23, p. 105; Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet 26, fol. 80v; Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet 160, fol. 198r; BL Add. MS 10309, fol. 42r; BL MS Sloane 1792, fol. 5r; Houghton MS Eng. 1278, item 14; Huntington MS HM 742, fol. 1v; Rosenbach MS 239/27, p. 57

Oii5

<sup>1</sup> *Hast thou no Neece...cuckold Lords withall:* allusion to Buckingham's notoriously aggressive pursuit of socially and politically advantageous marriages for his close (and distant) kindred.



<sup>2</sup> *Hast not a Foe...at home*: George Eglisam, a former physician to James I and to James, the Marquis Hamilton, published a tract in 1626 accusing Buckingham of poisoning the King, Hamilton and several other nobles who had crossed his intentions at court.

**Oii6 Charles would yee Prevaile your foes, thine better Lucke**

*Notes.* This punning epigram on Buckingham's 1627 expedition to the Ile de Ré is commonly attributed to William Drummond.

“Of the Isle of Rhees”

Charles would yee Prevaile your foes, thine better Lucke

Send forth some Drake and keep at home the Ducke.<sup>1</sup>

**Source.** NLS MS 2062, fol. 220r

**Other known sources.** Drummond 2.245

Oii6

<sup>1</sup> *Send forth some Drake...the Ducke*: this line depends on a number of puns. “Drake” is a male duck, a type of cannon, and the surname of the Elizabethan naval hero Sir Francis Drake. The “Ducke”, effeminized and unmilitary, is a pun for the “Duke”, Buckingham.

## Oii7 Rejoyce brave English Gallants

*Notes. This mocking song on Buckingham's expedition to the Ile de Ré dates from the early months of the campaign when the news was, for the most part, encouraging. The libel's taunts at Buckingham's sexual and culinary appetites and his military incompetence are repeated in many of the other attacks on the favourite in 1627. Bellany ("Raylinge Rymes" 301-02) places the poem in context of the evolving libellous image of the Duke.*

### "A Song"

Rejoyce brave English Gallants

Whose Auncestors wonne France<sup>1</sup>

Our Duke of Buckingham is gone

To fight and not to daunce.

Beleive it; for our Ladies

5

His absence greatly mourne,

And swear they'l have noe Babies

Untill hee doth retourne.

They feare him very sore,

But hope hee's wondrous strong,

10

And therefore they doe thinke hee will

Bee with them er't bee long.

But they and every Man

Are glad that loves a Wench,

That since hee's gone, hee's gone to kill

15

His Enemie the French.<sup>2</sup>

They sing how many thousands

With him of worth there bee,

Of whom the worst amongst them all

Is better skilld then hee.

Besides a gallant Fleet of Shipps

20

That with him still must stay,  
Either that they may fight with him,  
Or with him runne away.

His Army was twelve thousand, 25  
Well nombred on our shore,  
Besides his Pasties and bakt meates,  
Which were as many more,  
Besides his many Partridges,  
His Quailes and many Pullen, 30  
That it is thought a greater hoast  
Than Harry led to Bullen.<sup>3</sup>

At last hee is for France  
After his thus long tarrying,  
Hee stay'd but for his victualling 35  
And for some kinsfolks marrying.<sup>4</sup>

But now hee is at Sea  
Where hee commaunds amaine  
Whence all true Englishmen doe hope  
Hee'l ne'er come back againe, 40

Without such Victories and spoiles  
From that proud and rich people  
That England all must ring of them  
And ev'rie flattering steeple.

For he doth threaten sore, 45  
And Frenchmen greatly feare  
Hee'l have a Royall Subsedie  
In France as well as heere.

For when hee came to land

His Soldiers, that were starting, 50  
Hee stood behinde and backt them soe  
That they have won Saint Martin.<sup>5</sup>  
Yet at the first Encounter  
The Frenchmen were soe hott,  
Our Englishmen were like t'ave been 55  
Devour'd in a showre of shott.

But though they did prevaile  
Against us at the first,  
Yet wee bore up so well againe  
That wee gave them the worst. 60  
This was noe sooner done,  
But Grymes<sup>6</sup> posts to the King,  
Where all that hope by flatterie  
To bee preferr'd doe singe.

They ranck the Duke with Bevis, 65  
This skirmish they doe place  
Before the Cowe of Dunmowe heath  
And next to Chevy Chase,<sup>7</sup>  
And sweare that through our Chronicles  
Wee farr and neere doe wander 70  
Before that such an one wee finde  
Imploy'd as a commauder.

Algiers, Cales, and Guyana<sup>8</sup>  
Were spoild before they went,  
They had commission to doe naught 75  
But onely to bee sent.  
And i'st not a great wonder  
That hee should compasse more

Than all our old Sea-Captaines  
That never fought before. 80

Returne then glorious Duke  
Unto thy old commaund  
For though th'art Admirall at Sea  
Th'art admirable at land.  
Heere thou commaunds the Sea, 85  
Religion, and the States  
Art Admirall of our Bishops Seas<sup>9</sup>  
Aswell as of the Straites.

Or do'st thou stay soe long  
To love thine Enemie, 90  
And stay with him because thou think'st  
Hee hates thee lesse than wee?

Ne'er fear: For men must love thee  
When they behold thy glorie  
To fill two leaves in a Currant<sup>10</sup> 95  
Or bee a Bishops Storie.

London, prepare thy Faggotts<sup>11</sup>  
Against the Dukes returne,  
And see thou hast them readie  
Layd for the Duke to burne. 100  
For hee deserves them all,  
All that thou canst lay on,  
I thinke his greatest Enemies  
Will sweare it, every one.

So God preserve our noble King 105  
And send him long to Raigne,

And gett a boy that shall enjoy  
England and France againe  
God blesse the Church and Parliament,  
Our Queene<sup>12</sup> God blesse, and Wee,  
And send us Peace that ne'er shall cease,  
But that wee all agree.

110

**Source.** BL MS Sloane 826, fols. 167r-171r

Oii7

- <sup>1</sup> *Whose Auncestors wonne France*: alluding to the (temporary) conquests of French territory during the Hundred Years' War of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.
- <sup>2</sup> *His Enemie the French*: the last four lines of this stanza depend on the pun in the tail. "The French" was a common term for syphilis ("the French pox").
- <sup>3</sup> *Than Harry led to Bullen*: allusion to Henry VIII's large-scale military expedition to France and his siege and capture of Boulogne in 1544.
- <sup>4</sup> *some kinsfolks marrying*: Buckingham was an aggressive promoter of politically and socially advantageous marriages for his kindred.
- <sup>5</sup> *Saint Martin*: the chief town on the Ile de Ré. Buckingham took the town of St. Martin early in the expedition, but had to besiege the French force in the citadel of St. Martin from July to October 1627 before a failed assault on the fort forced the English to retreat.
- <sup>6</sup> *Grymes*: Richard Graham, one of Buckingham's clients, who brought news of the first phase of the Ré expedition back to court.
- <sup>7</sup> *They ranck the Duke...Chevy Chase*: these lines mock Buckingham by ironically comparing his achievement in the early days on Ré with legendary battles (like Chevy Chase) and the actions of heroes (like Sir Bevis of Southampton), celebrated in the English broadside ballad tradition.
- <sup>8</sup> *Algiers, Cales, and Guyana*: alludes to earlier, apparently less successful naval expeditions: Sir Robert Mansell's expedition against the Barbary pirates in Algiers in 1620-21, Wimbledon's Cadiz expedition of 1625, and Raleigh's second voyage to Guiana in 1617-18.
- <sup>9</sup> *Admirall of our Bishops Seas*: a pun on "bishops' sees", implying that Buckingham controls the

allocation of appointments to bishoprics.

<sup>10</sup> *Currant*: coranto; a printed serial newsbook. An authorized serial newsbook reported Buckingham's exploits on Ré.

<sup>11</sup> *Faggotts*: firewood for the celebratory bonfires in the case of Buckingham's victorious return. Of course, the subtext here is that the firewood could also be used to burn the duke.

<sup>12</sup> *Our Queene*: Charles I's wife, Henrietta Maria.



### Oii8 Why was the varlett sent into the meane

*Notes.* The 17 August 1627 issue of the official newsbook on the Ré expedition featured a report of an assassination attempt on Buckingham by a so-called “Disciple of the Jesuites” acting on the orders of the commander of the citadel of St. Martin (A Continued Journall, 17 August 1627, 14). The 30 August issue included a foldout picture of the assassin’s weapon—“a strange and dangerous Poynado”—which had been brought over to England and “delivered unto the Dutches of Buckinghame”. Buckingham, in the act of what the newsbook termed “a noble and mercifull Generall”, pardoned his attempted assassin (A Continued Journall, 30 August 1627, tp, 1-2). This libel casts a rather more sceptical eye on the whole affair, undercutting the considerable boost the Catholic assassination plot might have given to Buckingham’s much cherished and always tenuous reputation as a Protestant hero.

“the duke at the Isle of Ree sent a knife into England wherewith a varlet should have stab’d him. ut dicitur.”

Why was the varlett sent into the meane<sup>1</sup>  
and the knife heere that should thy grace have slaine  
Great Duke we thinke thy polecie discreete  
to take such care those two should never meete

Yet since we cannot vindicate thy foe  
unles we might his name or beinge know  
o send him hither, whilst him we pursue  
we doe mistake him for the wanderinge Jewe.<sup>2</sup>

5

**Source.** Bodleian MS Eng. Poet c.50, fol. 27r

Oii8

<sup>1</sup> *the meane*: the main; the mainland of France. *A Continued Journall* reported that after questioning the assassin, Buckingham “sent him back to the prison, and after three dayes pardoned him, and sent him over into the mayne” (17 August 1627, 14).

<sup>2</sup> *the wandering Jew*: medieval anti-semitic legend told of the Jew who, after insulting Christ, was sentenced to wander the earth until Christ's return on Judgement Day.

### Oii9 One askte me, why I mournde

*Notes.* After the failure of the English assault on the citadel of St. Martin on 27 October 1627, the expeditionary force had little option but to leave the island. The 29 October retreat was a disaster. French troops attacking from the rear slaughtered many English soldiers and officers as they tried to make their way across a poorly defended narrow bridge to the ships. Among the dead was one of Buckingham's colonels, Sir John Radcliffe, who is mourned, at Buckingham's expense, in this poem.

One askte me, why I mournde?

because I walkt in blacke?

I answered; for a Duke:

Yett did not crye alacke;

hath death, quoth he, and smilde,

done us soe good a tourne?

But then I cryde, alas

noe: that's the cause I mourne;

For noble Ratclyffs loss

Fallen; with our aunciente glorie

I truly mourne; and for his lyffe,

could wishe Dukes Fatall storye.

5

10

**Source.** CCRO MS CR 63/2/19, fol. 60r

Oii9

### Oii10 Oure crossrow's turnd, a signe off monstrous luck

*Notes.* This tricky verse from William Davenport's commonplace book is a lament on the defeat at Ré and a bitter indictment of Buckingham's personal responsibility for the disaster. While the general meaning of the poem seems clear enough, some of the allusions remain very obscure.

Oure crossrow's<sup>1</sup> turnd, a signe off monstrous luck  
when D.<sup>2</sup> ledd the Englishe cross,<sup>3</sup> over St. Gorges brooke,<sup>4</sup>  
who better knewe to courte, and kiss his hande  
then how to guide an hoste bye sea or lande  
theire hath bene D D<sup>5</sup> could conquer Townes, 5  
and make all France to fflye  
this D. can better conjure Crownes,  
and runne away ffrom Ree  
And leave oure noble English buddes,  
a praye to'th pockye French, 10  
when D. lyke Dorus<sup>6</sup> darnige stode;  
O: that the Madrille wenche<sup>7</sup>  
had changde her smocke, for Hercules shirte,<sup>8</sup>  
when this Adulterouse D.  
was cousoned, with a common cutte,<sup>9</sup> 15  
and changde P. for a C.B.<sup>10</sup>  
Our brave men had breathed still,  
our Cuntrye loste no grace;  
God graunte the next greatte Gennerall  
better deserve, his place. 20

**Source.** CCRO MS CR 63/2/19, fol. 60r

Oii10

<sup>1</sup> *crossrow's*: cross-row; the alphabet.

<sup>2</sup> *D.*: Duke of Buckingham.

<sup>3</sup> *the Englishe cross*: the battle standard of the English was the red cross of St. George.

<sup>4</sup> *St. Gorges brooke*: the exact reference is unclear. St. George's Channel is between Wales and Ireland; however, this may simply refer to the English Channel.

<sup>5</sup> *D D*: probably "Dukes" plural, or perhaps "fifty" (i.e. Roman numeral D) dukes.

<sup>6</sup> *Dorus*: the poet is probably comparing Buckingham to Dorus, the shepherd pseudonym of the prince Musidorus in Philip Sidney's *Arcadia*. The allusion is possibly to the scenes in the *Old Arcadia* in which Musidorus, conquered by love, is, in Worden's words, "plunged into idleness and self-absorption", neglecting to take up the call of arms (*Sound of Virtue* 299).

<sup>7</sup> *Madrille wenche*: Madrid girl. This and the following lines seem to allude to Buckingham's alleged womanizing in Madrid in the summer of 1623.

<sup>8</sup> *Hercules shirte*: the Greek hero Hercules' jealous wife poisoned a garment he wore, burning his skin and precipitating his death.

<sup>9</sup> *cutte*: northern slang for whore.

<sup>10</sup> *changde P. for a C.B.*: meaning obscure; perhaps bawdy, developing in a coded manner the suggestions raised in the preceding lines.

### Oii11 The noblest brave profession

*Notes. In the only known source, William Davenport's commonplace book, this poem lamenting the decay of English military virtue in the aftermath of the Ré disaster is attributed to "E.K.", the author of several other unique verses in the Davenport collection.*

The noblest brave profession

that ether is or hath bene

was for to bee, A souldeir true

and their to live, and dye in,

when great Elyza<sup>1</sup> raigned

the glorie of all weomen

her souldyers Fame, rounge through the world

their deedes yet matched by noe man.

Ould Souldyers heades, were decked

with bayes<sup>2</sup> and not with willowes,<sup>3</sup>

their armes were then their cheefe delighte

their armores, were their pillowes.

5

10

Her Generalls noblye valient

performed the partes of Cæsar,<sup>4</sup>

her Captaynes Acts were lyke to Kinges,

comparde, to most off these are,

From all the partes of Belgyke

that states have in submission,

The Englishe beate the Spaniards awaye,<sup>5</sup>

to Fight the<sup>6</sup> had Commission.

Ould Souldyers heades, were decked

with bayes and not with willowes,

their Armes, were then their cheiffe delight

their Armores, were their pillowes.

15

20

When Noblemen, were Leaders, 25  
     New uppstartes,<sup>7</sup> not Commaunders,  
 Our English, bare the pryze from Cales,<sup>8</sup>  
     and Newport<sup>9</sup> too, in Flaunders,  
 Through all the world then sounded,  
     the glorie off this Nation 30  
 Our Captaynis victors, came awaye  
     they fought not by Commission.<sup>10</sup>  
         Ould souldyers heades, were decked  
         with bayes and not with willowes  
         theire Armes, weare then theire cheiffe delighte 35  
         theire Armors, weare theire pillowes.

Lett bragginge Frenchmen pratle  
     off Rees, late treacherous glorie  
 but see, iff Poytyers<sup>11</sup> can bee found,  
     within theire ancyent storye 40  
 Our redd Cross<sup>12</sup> that daye dasseled  
     the eyes off theire St. Dennys<sup>13</sup>  
 as Englandes henries,<sup>14</sup> men did playe  
     with Frenchmens heades at Tennyes  
         Ould Souldyers heades were decked 45  
         with bayes, and not with willowes,  
         theire Armes were all theire cheeff delight  
         theire Armors, were theire pillowes.

St. Gorge,<sup>15</sup> had once the name  
     to leade, our English collours, 50  
 Duke Gorge, doth now usurpe the same  
     which causeth all our dolors,  
 come now his mynions<sup>16</sup> brave  
     that, this proffession enterde

Letts heare the acts, you have nobley donne 55  
     with him since first you venterde  
         decke not youre heades with bayes  
         For feare off after willowes  
         First bloude youre armes, trye iff youre heades  
         can sleepe on Iron pillowes 60

You traveled once to Cades<sup>17</sup>  
     some secrett plott to cover,  
 More honnor, had you gotte at home,  
     Dunkerkes, to have kepte from Dover,<sup>18</sup>  
 Ould honored Essex stepps, 65  
     his noble sonne, was treadinge,  
 Commission basely, cald him backe,  
     and blamed, his Forward leadinge.<sup>19</sup>  
         See that you decke youre heades  
         noe more with bayes, but willowes, 70  
         goe change youre Armes, For liverie cloakes<sup>20</sup>  
         and make youre plumes, youre pillowes.

Youre False pretence, For Rochell<sup>21</sup>  
     made the Enymie, laughe and wonder,  
 Youre Ordinance, would have made you awaye 75  
     lyke lighteninge joynde with thunder,  
 waste Feare benumbed youre senses,  
     or that False Lordes<sup>22</sup> Commission?  
 whose projects shew he would christians drawe,  
     to Anticristes profession<sup>23</sup> 80  
         Youre heades in steadd off bayes,  
         are deckt, with beades and crosses<sup>24</sup>  
         t'were better, you had noe heades att all,  
         then bringe, these shames & losses



Youre Action late att Ree 85  
     would it, might bee Forgotten,  
 the Shame off it, will still remaine,  
     when youre base bonnes, are rotten,  
 the Loss off roall Ratsclyffe,<sup>25</sup>  
     whose bloode, lyke Abells, (cryinge, 90  
 with Rich and Brett,<sup>26</sup> and brave men moe)  
     on great Gorge, For revenginge.  
         The Bayes, should decke youre heades,  
         crowne those true honored graves,  
         that, bravelye Fought, and noble dyed, 95  
         when you runne, most lyke slaves.

It is not Crates off Feasants,  
     off partridge, quailles, and Rayles,  
 to batter downe St. Martin's Forte,<sup>27</sup>  
     nought, pastye crust avayles. 100  
 was it Ignorance or Feare,  
     his grace, that soe distracted,  
 naye rather, it was some treacherous plott,  
     in blood, that must be acted  
         Keepe home, and plaunt younge willowes, 105  
         send valyent men for trenches,<sup>28</sup>  
         youre armores, change for reevellinge sutes,  
         and dance, amoung youre wenches.

Foole Lambe,<sup>29</sup> that lewde Impostar  
     his Maister saffe to enable, 110  
 sent a devill armed lyke his Lorde,  
     that close sate, coyld in cable  
 this Generalls, generous action,  
     to his glorie be it spoaken,

Deserves, to have Sejanus ende<sup>30</sup>

115

or in the Geamonies<sup>31</sup> broaken

In stead off honoring Lawrell

If fortune, happ to Faltere

A hatchett<sup>32</sup> I hope will crowne his head

or decke him with a halter<sup>33</sup>

120

**Source.** CCRO MS CR 63/2/19, fols. 62v-63r

Oii11

<sup>1</sup> *Elyza*: Elizabeth I.

<sup>2</sup> *bayes*: the laurel wreath of victory.

<sup>3</sup> *willowes*: a sign of mourning.

<sup>4</sup> *Cæsar*: Julius Caesar, the great Roman general.

<sup>5</sup> *From all the partes...Spaniards awaye*: allusion to English military assistance to the Netherlandish rebellion against the Spanish during Elizabeth's reign, which had resulted in the creation of the United Provinces (the "states") in the northern part of the Netherlands.

<sup>6</sup> *the*: i.e. "they".

<sup>7</sup> *New uppstartes*: socially obscure men promoted to office and position, with Buckingham being the intended contemporary example.

<sup>8</sup> *Cales*: Cadiz. The allusion is to Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex's, capture of Cadiz in 1596.

<sup>9</sup> *Newport*: Nieuwpoort, a town in Flanders. An English contingent fought in the (at best) pyrrhic Dutch victory at Nieuwpoort in 1600.

<sup>10</sup> *they fought not by Commission*: the meaning of this phrase is a little opaque. It may refer here to the disputes in 1627 about who was—and who was not—the recipient of a military commission in Buckingham's expeditionary force.

<sup>11</sup> *Poytyers*: Poitiers. An English army under the command of Edward the Black Prince, son of Edward III, inflicted a major defeat on the French at the battle of Poitiers in 1356.

- <sup>12</sup> *redd Cross*: the red cross of St. George; the English battle flag.
- <sup>13</sup> *St. Dennys*: St. Denis, patron saint of France. The French battle flag, the oriflamme, was the flag of St. Denis.
- <sup>14</sup> *Englandes henries*: the poet seems to have confused his English kings here; Edward, the Black Prince, not Henry V, was the victor at the battle of Poitiers.
- <sup>15</sup> *St. Gorge*: St. George, patron saint of England, whose flag was the battle standard of the English.
- <sup>16</sup> *mynions*: minions; favourites.
- <sup>17</sup> *Cades*: Cadiz. The English had tried but failed to attack Cadiz in a naval expedition in 1625.
- <sup>18</sup> *Dunkerkes...from Dover*: i.e. the fleet would have won more honour if it had focused on protecting English ports like Dover from the ravages of the Dunkirk pirates.
- <sup>19</sup> *Ould honored Essex...Forward leadinge*: Robert Devereux, 3rd Earl of Essex, and son of the great Elizabethan hero, was one of the commanders in the 1625 voyage to Cadiz. These lines appear to refer to an incident on the voyage in which Essex was forced to abandon an attempt to seize Spanish ships because of lack of support (*Lockyer 282*).
- <sup>20</sup> *liverie cloakes*: cloaks bearing the badge of a person's lord.
- <sup>21</sup> *False pretence, For Rochell*: this may refer to the planned fleet to succour the Huguenots of La Rochelle early in 1626. The mission was aborted, thus perhaps prompting the allegation that the help promised the Huguenots had never been sincerely intended.
- <sup>22</sup> *False Lordes*: presumably a reference to Buckingham. The poem is still addressing the Duke's "minions".
- <sup>23</sup> *Anticristes profession*: i.e. Catholicism. In transcribing the poem, William Davenport inserts in the margin, as though considering an alternate reading, the word "submission".
- <sup>24</sup> *beades and crosses*: rosary beads and crosses, symbols of Catholicism.
- <sup>25</sup> *Ratclyffe*: Colonel Sir John Radcliffe, killed in the retreat from Ré, 29 October 1627.
- <sup>26</sup> *Rich and Brett*: Sir Charles Rich and Sir Alexander Brett, both killed in the retreat from Ré, 29 October 1627.
- <sup>27</sup> *St. Martin's Forte*: the citadel of St. Martin on Ré. The English laid siege to St. Martin for several months before attempting an assault late in October 1627.

28 *trenches*: trenchers; plates and knives for feasting.

29 *Foole Lambe*: John Lambe, astrologer, magician and convicted witch and rapist, who was believed to be Buckingham's assistant.

30 *Sejanus ende*: Sejanus, the mighty favourite of the corrupt Roman Emperor Tiberius, was executed on the order of the Senate and his body dragged to the Tiber by the Roman mob.

31 *Geamonies*: the scala Gemoniae, "steps on the Aventine Hill [in Rome] leading to the Tiber, to which the bodies of executed criminals were dragged to be thrown into the river" (*OED*).

32 *A hatchett*: allusion to the executioner's axe.

33 *halter*: hangman's noose.

## Oii12 And art return'd againe with all thy Faults

*Notes.* This is probably the most significant of the libels penned in the wake of the English defeat at Ré. The widely copied poem focuses blame for the defeat squarely on Buckingham's shoulders and depicts the Duke as a cynosure of all kinds of scandalous corruption. The poem also engages in a discussion of military tactics, adding its voice to a quite vibrant contemporary debate about the strategic mis-steps at Ré. At one point, the poet claims to have "lost a share" of the English blood spilt on Ré. Whether this suggests the poet took part in the campaign, or whether it implies he lost a blood relative there, is unclear. In one source, the poem is ascribed to John Heape (Bodleian MS Ashmole 38), but no historian has yet identified a "Heape" among the soldiers known to have fought at Ré. The politics of the poem are discussed at length by Bellany ("Raylinge Rymes" 302-04), and more briefly by G. Hammond (149).

"Upon the Dukes Returne. In Ducem Reducem"

And art return'd againe with all thy Faults,  
Thou great commauder of the All-goe-naughts,<sup>1</sup>  
And left the Isle behinde thee? Whats the matter?  
Did Winter make thy chopps begin to chatter?  
Could not the surging and distemper'd Seas 5  
Thy queasie stomach (gorg'd with sweet-meates) please?  
Or did'st thou sodainly remove thy station,  
Through Jealousie of Hollands supplantation?<sup>2</sup>  
Or was't for want of Wenches? Or did'st feare  
The King (thou absent) durst wrong'd Bristoll<sup>3</sup> heare? 10  
Or didst thou hasten (headlong) to prevent  
A fruitlesse hop'd-for needfull Parliament?  
All these, noe question, with a restlesse motion  
Vext thy bespotted soule, as that black Potion  
Tortur'd the noble Scott, whose Manes tell 15  
Thy swolne Ambition made his carkasse swell.<sup>4</sup>  
But there's a reason worse then these: they say  
The Frenchmen beate thee, and thou ran'st away.

Can this bee true? Could not thy glorious boasts,  
 Before thy goeing, fright them from their coasts? 20  
 Could not thy Titles feare them? Nor thy Lambe's  
 Protection safeguard from thee those French Ramms?  
 Could not thy Cambridge Pupills<sup>5</sup> zealous Praiers  
 (Compos'd of Brownist and Arminian<sup>6</sup> Ayres)  
 Confound thy Foes? Or ells did their distraction 25  
 Make in thy happlesse hope the helplesse fraction?  
 Nor could thy Parliamento-Mastix<sup>7</sup> Vowes  
 Prevaile t'impose the Garland on thy browes?  
 Could not thy chaplaine,<sup>8</sup> London's Sacrifice,  
 Nor move, nor suffocate the destinies, 30  
 That sends from's paunches Altar more fumes forth  
 Of smoake and vapours then Landaffe is worth?  
 Could not thy Mothers Masses,<sup>9</sup> nor her Crosses,  
 Nor Sorceries prevent these fatall losses?  
 Nor Regal Wishes, nor Imbraces neither, 35  
 Nor th'Armies valour, nor all these together?  
 "Hence we collect: To those that wilbee vitious,  
 "Praie who will praie, Heaven will not bee propitious.  
 "God's deafe to those that will not hear the cries  
 "Of their oppressed Subjects Injuries. 40  
 "Happie successe then great attempts attends  
 "When those commaunds vertue and skill commends.  
 "Thy Sinne, Gods Justice, and the Kingdomes curse,  
 "Makes mee admire thy Fortunes were noe worse.  
 Now I have spoke enough, I know, great George, 45  
 (If I were knowne) to make thy Rage disgorge  
 Its venome on mee: yet, for all this hate,  
 Lets (at this distance) but expostulate.  
 How could this Voyage have such sadd effect

Without close treacherie, or grosse neglect? 50  
 Thou had'st a Navy Royall, that need not feare  
 All the French Power. This the coast could cleare  
 From all Invasion, and keepe back supplie;  
 The Isle did whollie at thy service lye.  
 Had every part of that small tract of land 55  
 Been with a slender Guard and Feild-peece man'd,  
 Their Entrance, sure, have been impeachd a while,  
 Or their approach echo'd o'er all the Isle.  
 What! were our captaines streight'ned in commission,  
 That they soe landed without Prohibition? 60  
 They durst not, but wee had (they did descrie)  
 A heedlesse Duke, a headlesse companie.  
 But, Oh! What Men or Angels can devise  
 T'excuse thy base ignoble cowardise,  
 That brunt of dangers could soe little bide, 65  
 The very bruite<sup>10</sup> would allwaies make thee hide:  
 And when the bloodie Die of Warr was throwne,  
 And each Mans valour should bee chiefly showne,  
 Was't not a noble part, and bravely playd,  
 To send a shadowe<sup>11</sup> in thy Arms array'd, 70  
 To personate thee in the battaile, while  
 Thou sat'st environ'd with a cable coyle  
 Discharging sugar pellets? Had it not been  
 More noblie done, by death, renowne to winne,  
 Then in an hempen cabbin plagu'd to bee 75  
 With view of the deserved destinie?  
 Oh! when I thinke upon that fatall Feild  
 Wherein soe much brave English blood was spilld  
 (Wherof I lost a share) And when I call  
 To minde those Heroes lamentable fall, 80

Rich, Brett, and Cornwall,<sup>12</sup> with the rest, whose bones  
 Want ev'n a Monument of Pebble-stones,  
 My soule wastes into sighs, My troubled braines  
 To teares, but that a manly heart disdaines  
 Such female follie, And I hope to see 85  
 These worthies deathes (proud France) reveng'd on thee.  
 But is the cause come safely home againe,  
 Tryumphing o'er his conquer'd countrymen,  
 As if such valient leaders mournfull slaughter  
 Were but a subject for such cowards laughter? 90  
 Leave (upstart Greatnes) e're it bee too late  
 Submitt thy self; be govern'd by the state.  
 For if but one yeare more thou lordst it thus,  
 Thou draw'st confusion on thy self and us.  
 Stay, stay at court then, and at Tennys play, 95  
 Measure French Galliards<sup>13</sup> out, or Kil-a-gray.<sup>14</sup>  
 Venus Pavilions<sup>15</sup> doe befit thee best:  
 Perwiggs<sup>16</sup> with Helmetts use not to bee prest.  
 To o're-run Spaine, winne Cales,<sup>17</sup> and conquer France,  
 Requires a Soldier's March, noe Courtiers daunce. 100  
 Let valient skillfull Generalls bee chose,  
 That dare in blood confront their proudest Foes,  
 Then there's some hope wee may repaire our losses  
 And make our Enemies to rue our crosses.  
     Three things have lost our honour (all surmise) 105  
     Thy Trechery, Neglect, and Cowardise.

**Source.** BL MS Sloane 826, fols. 161v-164r

**Other known sources.** Rous 19; Bodleian MS Ashmole 36-37, fol. 50v; Bodleian MS Ashmole 38, p. 133; Bodleian MS Douce f.5, fol. 5v; Bodleian MS Eng. Poet c.50, fol. 27v; Bodleian MS Malone 21, fol. 56v; Bodleian MS Malone 23, p. 106; Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 26, fol. 79r; Bodleian MS Rawl.



Poet. 160, fol. 198r; Bodleian MS Tanner 306, fol. 264r; Bodleian MS Tanner 465, fol. 98v; BL Add. MS 10309, fol. 42r; BL Add. MS 22591, fol. 315r; BL Add. MS 22959, fol. 22v; BL Add. MS 27408, fol. 146r; BL Add. MS 29492, fol. 49v; BL Add. MS 70639, fol. 70v; BL MS Sloane 826, fol. 32r; Brotherton MS Lt. q. 51, p. 207; CCRO MS CR 63/2/19, fol. 63v; PRO SP 16/85/84; Houghton MS Eng. 1278, item 14; Huntington MS HM 198, 1.44; Huntington MS HM 742, fol. 2r; Rosenbach MS 239/27, p. 54

Oii12

- <sup>1</sup> *All-goe-naughts*: punning on the heroic Argonauts who sailed with Jason for the Golden Fleece.
- <sup>2</sup> *Through Jealousie of Hollands supplantation*: the allegation is that Buckingham feared that, in his absence, Henry Rich, Viscount Kensington and Earl of Holland, would supplant him as favourite.
- <sup>3</sup> *wrong'd Bristoll*: John Digby, Earl of Bristol, and former ambassador to Spain. Digby had been barred from court and placed under house arrest since his return from Spain in 1624. In the Parliament of 1626, the King charged Bristol with treason for his conduct in Spain; Bristol countered by levying charges of treason against Buckingham for his actions in Spain in 1623.
- <sup>4</sup> *black Potion...carkasse swell*: allusion to the allegation, levelled by George Eglisam in 1626, that Buckingham had poisoned James, Marquis Hamilton and King James I. “Manes” means “shade” or “ghost”, or possibly “remains”.
- <sup>5</sup> *Cambridge Pupills*: Buckingham had become Chancellor of Cambridge University in 1626.
- <sup>6</sup> *Brownist and Arminian*: Brownists were radical Protestant separatists; Arminians were followers of the Dutch theologian Arminius and critics of the Church of England’s Calvinist teachings on predestination. Many feared that, under Buckingham’s protection, “Arminianism” was on the rise in the English Church in the mid-1620s.
- <sup>7</sup> *Parliamento-Mastix*: Scourge of Parliament.
- <sup>8</sup> *thy chaplaine*: the identity of Buckingham’s chaplain is difficult to establish. It is possible that the reference to “Landaffe” in the following lines means that the cleric intended is Theophilus Field, Bishop of Llandaff (1619-1627), a Buckingham client.
- <sup>9</sup> *Mothers Masses*: Mary, Countess of Buckingham, had converted to Catholicism several years earlier.
- <sup>10</sup> *bruite*: rumour.
- <sup>11</sup> *shadowe*: substitute disguised as the Duke. Others repeated the same (almost certainly false) allegation.

<sup>12</sup> *Rich, Brett, and Cornwall*: casualties of the Ré expedition, Sir Charles Rich and Sir Alexander Brett. The identity of Cornwall is unclear.

<sup>13</sup> *Galliards*: a galliard is a type of dance.

<sup>14</sup> *Kil-a-gray*: unknown; presumably a courtly dance.

<sup>15</sup> *Venus Pavilions*: the pavilions of the goddess of love (rather than of war).

<sup>16</sup> *Perwiggs*: periwigs; wigs.

<sup>17</sup> *Cales*: Cadiz.

**Oii13 All you that will goe with me**

*Notes.* In the only known source for this rather opaque couplet, John Rous's news-diary, Rous notes that in October 1628, "ere Bartholomewe fayer was done there was a picture sold (to which much running) where in was drawen a naked young woman & besides her or before her one riding on the backe of an ougly ould woman", and "under it" were these lines, on the Ile de Ré expedition.

All you that will goe with me

Ile carry you to the naked Ile of Re

**Source.** BL Add. MS 22959, fol. 28r

**Other known sources.** Rous 31

Oii13

#### Oii14 As sick men feare the cure & startle more

*Notes.* Without resorting to explicit defence of Buckingham, this poem puts a positive spin on what most contemporaries saw as a shameful defeat at Ré. The poet argues that there was no shame in being driven off by vastly superior numbers, and that the English scored a “victory” by escaping with so few losses. In the only known source, the first letter of each line of the poem is missing. The scribe’s practice in earlier poems in the manuscript was to add the initial letter of each line in the ruled margin of each page, in a different colour ink; however, he has omitted to add the initials to this poem. While most of the words are obvious, and we have added the initial letters accordingly, there may be one or two where a different first letter might also work.

As sick men feare the cure & startle more

To feele the surgeons paine then than the sore

And rather then the steele & knife shall cease

There flesh they’le rather putrifie with ease

Thus we dread warr because itt shewes in blood

5

And death & iron; which misunderstood

Affright the eie soe much; we thinke itt sure

A countries ruine, which indeeds the cure

Then like our selves diseasd the Commonwealth

Takes Phisick onlie & letts blood for health

10

Take of this name of warr; it will soone appeare

Theres nothinge fearefull in itt but our feare

Thinke itt an arme lent to maintaine our peace

And make itt safetie which was drowsines

Alas we nickname peace the sleepe of state

15

When tis obnoxious both to sword & fate

And feares all smoakes of warrs: when those our calmes

Proceed not from our strength, but from their almes

That doe forbear of Courtesie & delaie

To crush our naked countrie, when they maie

20

Give me a peace that’s fenc’d from all alarmes

By itt owne power; & thats a peace in armes  
 Thinke itt a hand given to regaine our glorie  
 Which now is onlie livinge in this storie  
 Whilst men that read our Chronicles doe looke 25  
 To match our present vertue with the booke  
 And cannot, whilst the gentrie knowes noe field  
 Nor armes but that the herauld gives their sheild<sup>1</sup>  
 When each noise baffeld us, & we fear'd: more  
 Flie of enemies then a sword before 30  
 And even the lowest nation did dare  
 To be our foes whiles we were foes to warr  
 Thinke but that warr recovers what was lost  
 In honour onlie & itt quitts the cost  
 Thinke itt a sword then in religions hand 35  
 Which now alone unweapond could not stand  
 The sharpe encounters of whole Europes wrath  
 Were itt not arm'd as well with steele as faith  
 Whilst Spaine now knitts with France & France againe  
 Is foes soe much to us as friends to Spaine<sup>2</sup> 40  
 Whilst our profession<sup>3</sup> is defied & wee  
 Maintaininge itt, maintaine an injurie  
 Warr must releeve this too; in warr alone  
 Subsists our honour, peace religion  
 And when this last doth call for wars that man 45  
 That is noe souldier is noe Christian  
 Indeed our triumphs have soe usuall beene  
 Upon those shores we loose when we not win  
 And tis a thinge scarce yett in storie read  
 That we saw Fraunce & Fraunce unconquered 50  
 Thus some that olde of Agincourt<sup>4</sup> can tell  
 And judge of battells by the Cronicle

That after thinges are done of thinges can guesse  
 And measure all thinges meerelie by successe  
 Swear att this bloodshed<sup>5</sup> would have war to kill 55  
 As thriftilie as doth the cittie bill<sup>6</sup>  
 Thirtie a weeke or soe, & wonder why  
 A sword or gunn should strike soe mortallie  
 But valour allwaies masters not the field  
 Tis sometime greate masterie to yeeld 60  
 And some with weaker spiritts have aspir'd  
 A victorie, then others have retir'd  
 Thus those 300 Greekes that kept the straights  
 And held the Persian off att Europe gates<sup>7</sup>  
 Were Victors, although slaine & those that slew 65  
 They vanquisht that soe manie kild soe few  
 But we came safelier of nor need France boast  
 Our handfull could not overcome their hoast  
 Nor they our handfull; twas a brave defeat  
 In disadvantage we could thus retreat 70  
 Even we still orecame & beinge thus  
 In soe much ods they did but equall us  
 Naie we subdued them in not beinge subdued  
 This was a victorie in a multitude  
 Had France stept soe farre on the English shore 75  
 And brave our land & strength att our owne dore  
 Had soe few held us worke soe long in spite  
 Of our neere armie & thats more in sight,  
 Fought with our stone & Forts & which worse dants<sup>8</sup>  
 Then all these putt together their owne wants 80  
 And we thus forc'te them nak'te without supplie  
 And to each man oppos'd a companie  
 And came thus thinlie lopt awaie & stood

There countrie in so cheape a rate of blood  
 This had beene bonefires then & many a bell<sup>9</sup> 85  
 Had runge their joyes out that had scapt soe well  
 In desperate peril tis good luck we have  
 Not shipwrackt all, we conquer what we save  
 Were farre more dangerous then the sea the ground  
 Suckt us up faster then the sword could wound 90  
 Wee thought we singlie had with men to doe  
 But we had skirmish with their salt pitts<sup>10</sup> too  
 Whose graves that not receav'd but made the dead  
 Easy to kill those were first buried.  
 Thus one might slaughter 20 & yett be 95  
 A greater coward in his victorie.  
 Thus fell our Captaines that were in such store  
 Had falne by them had they not falne before  
 Our losse was deere but lett not some base lie  
 And our feares make a worse mortalitie 100  
 Then all our warr, & doe our selves that wronge  
 The french would doe that kill more with their tongue  
 Then twice our number; true, some valiant blood  
 Had beene drawne here but we have left as good  
 If we would thinke but soe, nor can we bee 105  
 Enfeebled by soe small a companie  
 Our murmur onlie can resist our chance  
 Our vertue is as good as when t' wann France  
 Letts rather thinke our English corps upon  
 The French ground their have tane possession 110  
 Which when we prosecute againe we feare  
 Theyle hardly scape soe well as we scapt there.

**Source.** Rosenbach MS 239/27, pp. 14-17

- <sup>1</sup> *Nor armes...their sheild*: i.e. the only arms the gentry know are their coats-of-arms, assigned by the royal heralds.
- <sup>2</sup> *Whilst Spaine...friends to Spaine*: alluding to the Franco-Spanish rapprochement. At this time England was at war with both countries.
- <sup>3</sup> *our profession*: Protestantism.
- <sup>4</sup> *Agincourt*: the English armies under Henry V defeated the French at Agincourt in 1415.
- <sup>5</sup> *this bloodshed*: i.e. the fighting on the Ile de Ré.
- <sup>6</sup> *the cittie bill*: i.e. the Bills of Mortality that published names of the dead in London.
- <sup>7</sup> *300 Greekes...att Europe gates*: allusion to the 480 BC battle of Thermopylae (literally “the warm gates”) in which a force of 300 Spartans led by Leonidas withstood for several days an assault by the massive forces of the Persian king Xerxes before being destroyed.
- <sup>8</sup> *dants*: daunts.
- <sup>9</sup> *bonfires...bell*: bonfires and bell-ringing were traditional forms of celebration.
- <sup>10</sup> *salt pitts*: retreating to their ships, the English army had to cross treacherous salt marshes.



## Oiii The Ile de Re (1627)

### Oiii1 O Admirall! Since thou camst back againe

*Notes. It is unclear whether this poem refers to Buckingham's opposition to the calling of the 1628 Parliament or to his wish to see it dissolved once it had begun to sit. In either case, the libel is perhaps most striking for its explicit allusion to the possibility of assassination as a solution to the Buckingham problem.*

“Upon the Duke Buckingham his opposition to the Parliament”

O Admirall!<sup>1</sup> since thou camst back againe  
more base from Rhee,<sup>2</sup> then Cecill did from Spaine<sup>3</sup>  
Since thou hast bin againe receaved at Court  
beyond thy owne conceite beyond Reporte.  
Since thou hast guilt of all the bloud Rhee spent 5  
must thou still live to breake a Parliament!  
hath no witch poyson! not one man a dagger  
or hath our Coward Age forgott to swagger  
no! no! Greate George! it is nor them nor thee  
tis not thy Charmes tis not thy Venery<sup>4</sup> 10  
though these doe much, tis none of them doe this  
tis nought that does it but our owne Amisse  
would each of us mend one, though thou mend none  
then all thy plots were straightwaies overthrowne  
till then thou thrivst & till then mayst thou still 15  
as hangmen doe by the lewd peoples ill.  
if once we prove (as once we may prove) good  
then, than thy Brother thou wilt prove more wood.<sup>5</sup>  
meane while this is the state of our lost land  
thou standst we fall & when thou fallst we stand. 20

Source. BL Add. MS 29492, fol. 55r

Oiii1

<sup>1</sup> *Admirall*: Buckingham was Lord Admiral.

<sup>2</sup> *Rhee*: the Ile de Ré, where Buckingham had led the ill-fated English expedition of 1627.

<sup>3</sup> *Cecill did from Spaine*: alluding to the failed 1625 expedition to Cadiz led by Edward Cecil, Viscount Wimbledon.

<sup>4</sup> *Venery*: sexual sins. Buckingham was commonly depicted in the later 1620s as a sexually voracious womanizer.

<sup>5</sup> *thy Brother...prove more wood*: “wood” here means “insane”, and thus the allusion is to Buckingham’s brother John Villiers, Viscount Purbeck, who suffered notorious bouts of madness during the 1620s.

## Oiii2 The wisest King did wonder when hee spy'd

*Notes.* This poem, by Richard Corbett, was widely circulated, most often paired with the answer-poem, “The warrlike King was troubled when hee spy’d”. Both poems have been printed and annotated elsewhere—by Bennett and Trevor-Roper in *Corbett, Poems*, and by V.L. and M.L. Pearl (“Richard Corbett’s”). McRae (*Literature 175-78*) explores the religio-political and literary significance of this satiric exchange, which, despite the title’s allusion to parliament’s June 1628 attacks on Buckingham, focuses chiefly on religious and ecclesiastical controversies.

“Verses supposed to bee made by Dr. Corbet Bishop of Oxford against the opposing the Duke in Parliament 1628”

The wisest King did wonder when hee spy'd  
The Nobles march on Foot, their Vassalls ride.<sup>1</sup>  
His Majestie may wonder more to see  
Some that will needs bee Kings aswell as hee:  
A sadd presage of daunger to this land, 5  
When lower strive to gett the upper hand;  
When Prince and Peares to Peysants must obey,  
When lay-men must their Teachers teach the way<sup>2</sup>  
When Prym and Prinn and Jourdan<sup>3</sup> must define  
What Lords<sup>4</sup> are hetrodox, and what divine, 10  
Good brother Brough, Elder of Amsterdam  
Shutt up at home your wilde Arminian Ramm,<sup>5</sup>  
If heere hee comes, these men will cutt his throat,  
Blest Buchanan<sup>6</sup> sings them a sweeter note,  
Hee teacheth how to curbe the power of Kings, 15  
And shewes us how to clipp the Eagles Winges,  
It is a Paritie<sup>7</sup> must sett all right,  
Then shall the Gospell shine like Phœbus<sup>8</sup> bright,  
Our Consistorian Fabrick<sup>9</sup> is the thing  
Wee must reare up in spight of Church and King,

Against the Papists wee have gott the day,  
Blinde Bishops<sup>10</sup> onely now stande in our way,  
But wee will have a trick to tame their pride,  
Tonnage and Poundage<sup>11</sup> ells shall bee deny'de.

**Source.** BL MS Sloane 826, fol. 153r-v

**Other known sources.** Corbett, *Poems* 82; Corbett, “Richard Corbett’s” 32; Rous 42; Bodleian MS Malone 23, p. 116; Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 26, fol. 8v; Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 62, fol. 42v; Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 84, fol. 72r; BL Add. MS 22118, fol. 36v; BL Add. MS 22959, fol. 35v; BL Add. MS 29996, fol. 70v; BL Add. MS 35331, fol. 28r; BL Add. MS 61683, fol. 68r; BL MS Egerton 2541, fol. 118r; BL MS Harley 6383, fol. 29r; BL MS Lans. 491, fol. 184v; BL MS Sloane 1479, fol. 47r; CUL MS Dd.11.73, fol. 102v; St. John’s MS K.56, no. 30

Oiii2

<sup>1</sup> *The wisest king...Vassalls ride*: alluding to Ecclesiastes 10.7 in which the author— usually identified as Solomon—notes, “I have seen servants upon horses, and princes walking as servants upon the earth”.

<sup>2</sup> *When lay-men...teach the way*: Walter Yonge (BL Add MS 35331) believed this line referred to a controversial Puritan tract, *Maschil Unmasked*, by a London draper, Thomas Spencer. Both Pearl and Pearl and Bennett and Trevor-Roper argue, however, that the line refers to the House of Commons’ committee on religion.

<sup>3</sup> *Prym and Prinn and Jourdan*: John Pym, William Prynne and Ignatius Jordan. John Pym was a leading anti-Arminian MP; Ignatius Jordan a notoriously Puritan MP; and William Prynne a Puritan polemicist and pamphleteer.

<sup>4</sup> *Lords*: in this context probably bishops.

<sup>5</sup> *Good brother Brough...wilde Arminian Ramm*: perhaps an allusion to William Brough, Rector of St. Michael in London, who was later accused of teaching “the errors of Arminianism, of universal grace and free-will in man fallen, and the apostacy of the saints” (qtd. in Tyacke 196). Arminianism had begun in the United Provinces (hence the reference to Amsterdam). The rise of Arminianism in England was a source of great concern in the parliamentary sessions of 1628 and 1629. Pearl and Pearl argue that “Ramm” is an allusion to the French logician Petrus Ramus.

<sup>6</sup> *Blest Buchanan*: George Buchanan, sixteenth-century Scots Calvinist who defended the right of resistance to an ungodly monarch.

<sup>7</sup> *Paritie*: equality of rank in the Church—i.e. a Presbyterian rather than an episcopal system of Church government. Anti-Puritan discourse routinely assumed that Puritan demands for parity in the Church implied a Puritan desire for social and political parity in the commonwealth.

<sup>8</sup> *Phœbus*: the sun.

<sup>9</sup> *Our Consistorian Fabrick*: a Presbyterian system of Church government.

<sup>10</sup> *Blinde Bishops*: Walter Yonge identifies three such “Blinde Bishops” in a marginal note: William Laud, Bishop of London, Richard Neile, Bishop of Winchester, and Samuel Harsnett, Bishop of Norwich (BL Add. MS 35331). All three were noted anti-Puritans and suspected Arminians.

<sup>11</sup> *Tonnage and Poundage*: a customs levy usually granted by parliament to a king for life at the beginning of his reign. Parliament had failed to make this grant in 1625, but Charles I had continued to collect the tax anyway, prompting parliamentary protests in 1626, 1628 and 1629.

### Oiii3 The warrlike King was troubled when hee spy'd

*Notes.* This response to Richard Corbett's "The wisest King did wonder when hee spy'd" achieved a circulation almost as wide as Corbett's poem. The poem offers a pro-Puritan and anti-episcopal response to Corbett's earlier conflation of Puritanism with social and political radicalism (see McRae, *Literature* 175-78).

#### "An Answer to the same Lyne for Lyne"

The warrlike King was troubl'd when hee spy'd  
His darling Absolons aspiring pride.<sup>1</sup>  
His Majestie may more disdain to see  
Some Preist that would bee King aswell as hee.  
A sadd presage of danger to the land, 5  
When Prælats strive to gett the upper hand,  
Where Prince and Peare the Clergie must obey,  
Where laymen may those Teachers teach the way,  
When Prym and Prinn, even Jourdan<sup>2</sup> may define  
What Prelat's hetrodox, and what divine. 10  
Pelagian broode, elder then Amsterdam,  
Garland your Bull, court your Armenian Ramm,<sup>3</sup>  
The commons, if they can, will clense their throats,  
And make them with Buchanan<sup>4</sup> sing clearer notes,  
And teach them how that Parliaments and Kings 15  
Can crush their Pride, and clippe their Eagles wings,  
It is this Paritie<sup>5</sup> must sett all right,  
Then shall the Gospell shine like Phœbus<sup>6</sup> bright,  
True Protestant Religion is the thing  
Wee must reare up to honour Church and King. 20  
Against the Papists wee should have the day,  
If some blinde Bishops stood not in the way,  
But they will finde a tricke to hold their Pride

Though Tonnage Poundage<sup>7</sup> never bee deny'd.

**Source.** BL MS Sloane 826, fols. 153v-154r

**Other known sources.** Corbett, *Poems* 83; Corbett, "Richard Corbett's" 32; Bodleian MS Ashmole 36-37, fol. 75r; Bodleian MS Malone 23, p. 117; Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 84, fol. 71r; BL Add. MS 29607, fol. 1r; BL Add. MS 35331, fol. 30v; BL Add. MS 61683, fol. 67r; BL MS Harley 6383, fol. 34v; BL MS Sloane 1479, fol. 47v

Oiii3

<sup>1</sup> *The warrlike King...aspiring pride*: allusion to the story of Absalom's revolt against his father, King David (2 Samuel 13-20).

<sup>2</sup> *Prym and Prinn, even Jourdan*: John Pym, William Prynne and Ignatius Jordan. Pym was a leading anti-Arminian MP; Jordan a notoriously Puritan MP; and Prynne a Puritan polemicist and pamphleteer.

<sup>3</sup> *Pelagian broode...Armenian Ramm*: the exact meaning of this knotty couplet is unclear. Pearl and Pearl suggest that "broode" "may be the Dutch broeder, brother", and argue that "the phrase may be an elaborate pun to mean that the Dutch 'brother' who follows the doctrines of Pelagius (the fifth-century British monk who denied original sin and predestination: in Calvinist eyes a precursor of Arminius) accepted a heresy which was even older than Amsterdam, whereas an elder he served even the papal bull and the Arminian Ramist" (39 n.34).

<sup>4</sup> *Buchanan*: George Buchanan, sixteenth-century Scots Calvinist resistance theorist.

<sup>5</sup> *Paritie*: equality in Church government. Walter Yonge's copy has "purity" (BL Add. MS 35331; Pearl and Pearl 39 n.35.)

<sup>6</sup> *Phæbus*: the sun.

<sup>7</sup> *Tonnage Poundage*: tonnage and poundage was a customs levy usually granted by parliament to a king for life at the beginning of his reign. Parliament had failed to make this grant in 1625, but Charles I had continued to collect the tax anyway, prompting parliamentary protests in 1626, 1628 and 1629.

#### Oiii4 Excuse me Eliott if I heare name thee

*Notes.* The title of this poem alludes to the Commons' session of 11 June 1628, in which MPs debated whether the House should formally name the Duke of Buckingham in their Remonstrance to the King as the cause of the grievances afflicting the nation. Many of the speakers listed in the poem—and some of the language and arguments attributed to them—can also be found in the surviving parliamentary diaries' accounts of the 11 June debate (see Proceedings in Parliament, 1628 4.245 ff.). Some lines in the poem, however, allude to speeches made during earlier debates. The more common version of this poem does not include the final twelve lines found in our chosen source. Proceedings in Parliament, 1628 (6.245-246) prints a copy from University of Edinburgh Library MS Laing III 493, fols. 30-31, and cites another copy in Dr. Williams's Library, London, MS R.M. 31 E. The Laing copy lacks the final twelve lines of our chosen version, but does include extra passages (of eight and six lines respectively) at two points in the middle of the poem. We have included these lines in the notes.

“Upon the nameinge of the Duke of Buckingham the Remonstrance”

Excuse me Eliott<sup>1</sup> if I heare name thee

the tyme requires itt since fewe honest bee

and learned Selden<sup>2</sup> for thy pregnant witt

to be then named lett itt not seeme unfitt

I shall not spare to put you two in one,

5

since honest Longe hath made the motion<sup>3</sup>

tis due you to the world be understood

more then Roomes Cato,<sup>4</sup> hee who dust<sup>5</sup> be good

When Cesar must be badd for the greate duke

feares nothinge more then the severe rebuke

10

tis Buckingham wee doe not feare the woord

for Cooke<sup>6</sup> to name him now hath found record

what though that Beecher<sup>7</sup> will their words relate

and Spencer<sup>8</sup> take exceptions to dilate

Jordane<sup>9</sup> who neere did sweare nowe moveth that

15

Hele have a bill against his Spanish hatt



hee doth not love his clothes, protests the man  
 was made the Dukes of an Armenian<sup>10</sup>  
 and doth beleve the tother will stay fort  
 before he getts the place hee seekes at Court 20  
 but May<sup>11</sup> makes mouthes, and tells you as a freind  
 to name the man were not to woorke your end  
 and why saith Mr. Bish<sup>12</sup> I never reade  
 but of one namelesse and hee indeed  
 to hell did goe, as you shall plainly finde 25  
 in Luke the Sixt one damned of the kinde  
 Quoth Captaine Charles<sup>13</sup> you are mistooke that's flatt  
 his name was Dives I can tell you that  
 but Mr. Nicholas<sup>14</sup> speakes uppon his word  
 twas those imployed, who did abuse his lord 30  
 brave Mansell<sup>15</sup> tells them they were cowards all  
 Imploid to Calles and first their generall  
 not soe quoth Sir John Maynard<sup>16</sup> I knowe more  
 and will you tell that you neere heard before  
 there was a forte built on a Nook of land 35  
 twas cald Pomfall<sup>17</sup> bravely by Spaniards mand  
 hee at the fort as tis to many knowne  
 two thousand shott did make, nere hurt a stone  
 but they all runn away and to be shorte  
 bravely Wimbleton<sup>18</sup> he then tooke the forte 40  
 Sir Edward Giles<sup>19</sup> as angry said that hee  
 would have him named, as it was fitt to bee<sup>20</sup>  
 and Valentine<sup>21</sup> clappinge his hand on his brest  
 stoutly resolves that soe hee thinks itt best  
 this prejudiciall judgment Kinge afords 45  
 even as Sir Elliott<sup>22</sup> did expresse his words  
 but pardon pray the rime for the pretence

and take his meaninge for his little sence  
 for sure it was, because hee had not dyn'd  
 which made him that his witts hee left behind 50  
 for there from 7 till 7 came againe  
 wee fastinge satt, which well might tame his braine  
 the dreames expired the flocks are safely kept  
 for ever since Sir Nethersall hath slept  
 longe may hee sleepe and never wake againe 55  
 untill that his Bellweather hath Conquerd Spaine<sup>23</sup>  
 But Willy<sup>24</sup> Diggs,<sup>25</sup> alasse was sicke that day  
 his doubtfull minde could not indure the fray  
 And soe was Roringe Robin<sup>26</sup> for well hee did foresee  
 for speakinge truth that chidden he should bee 60  
 and honest Howtham<sup>27</sup> that some cake had gott  
 Cookes<sup>28</sup> angry dogge did eate itt every Jott  
 when hee inraged did fall uppon his skin  
 fearinge leaste else hee might have bitt his shin  
 then holy Lawrence<sup>29</sup> tells a heathen fable 65  
 of Jove and Junoes daughter marrigable<sup>30</sup>  
 and still in zeale turnes upp the white ofs eye  
 as if he ment to fetch them from the sky  
 then Viscount Slygo tells us a longe story  
 of the supply,<sup>31</sup> as if he sunge John Dory<sup>32</sup> 70  
 thats not the pointe quoth Littleton<sup>33</sup> the stoute  
 read but the order himselfe will see hees out  
 up starts Ansley<sup>34</sup> at every turne and moved  
 will you condeme the D<sup>35</sup> befort be proved  
 Nay saith bawlinge Dawson<sup>36</sup> I will sacrafice 75  
 my life for him, and out of the dores hee flyes<sup>37</sup>  
 For Mr. Speaker<sup>38</sup> you in danger are  
 and if the Dunkerks<sup>39</sup> come they will you scare

here att the windowes they will plucke you out  
 if that on London bridge they keepe not scout 80  
 all that longe while satt Wentworth<sup>40</sup> at the barr  
 bravely expectinge the issue of the warr  
 till att the last hee sawe that the report  
 will keepe him longer att that hungry sport  
 but lastly Wainsford<sup>41</sup> the question well did frame 85  
 and valliently put in his gracious name  
 then little Jackson<sup>42</sup> rored itt out well moved  
 as if his sides were bell mettle approved  
 tell mee who could say more then hee  
 that range the forebell att the subsidy 90  
 of pluckinge of the maske from the Kings eye  
 thereby to see the Kingdoms missery  
 But when the D<sup>43</sup> the cause should be exprest  
 who could say lesse, his clapper was at rest  
 when Sir Andrewe Corbett<sup>44</sup> had given him a sapp 95  
 Sir Thomas Bromley<sup>45</sup> then threwe upp his capp  
 But Robin Harley<sup>46</sup> cried soft I pray Sirs  
 for on this point I thinke wee ought to stay Sirs  
 And for Gods wisdome thinke uppou Ephestion<sup>47</sup>  
 whether itt be fitt to putt itt to the Question. 100

**Source.** BL MS Harley 6057, fols. 52v-53v

**Other known sources.** *Proceedings in Parliament, 1628*, 6.245-46; Bodleian MS Malone 23, p. 110; Bodleian MS Tanner 465, fol. 100v; BL Add. MS 10309, fol. 40r; BL MS Sloane 826, fol. 154v; Folger MS V.b.277, fol. 98r; Houghton MS Eng. 1278, item 13

Oiii4

<sup>1</sup> *Eliott*: Sir John Eliot, MP for Cornwall, a leading critic of Buckingham in 1626 and 1628, and the architect of the 1628 Remonstrance.

- <sup>2</sup> *learned Seldon*: John Selden, MP for Ludgershall, Wiltshire, lawyer and antiquarian.
- <sup>3</sup> *Longe hath made the motion*: Walter Long, who made the motion to name Buckingham as the cause of the evils enumerated in the Remonstrance.
- <sup>4</sup> *Roomes Cato*: M. Porcius Cato, Roman politician and leading Stoic, who fought against Julius Caesar in the civil wars. Cato committed suicide rather than be captured by Caesar.
- <sup>5</sup> *dust*: probable scribal error; read “durst” or “darst”.
- <sup>6</sup> *Cooke*: Sir Edward Coke, leading MP and former Lord Chief Justice under James I.
- <sup>7</sup> *Beecher*: Sir William Beecher, MP and a Clerk of the Privy Council (and thus likely to report the speeches in the Commons to the King and Council).
- <sup>8</sup> *Spencer*: for Richard Spencer’s speeches against naming the Duke, see *Proceedings in Parliament, 1628* 6.248, 266.
- <sup>9</sup> *Jordane*: Ignatius Jordan, the notoriously Puritan MP for Exeter. None of the diarists records a Jordan speech in the 11 June debate on the naming of the Duke.
- <sup>10</sup> *Armenian*: i.e. Arminian; a follower of the anti-Calvinist Dutch theologian Arminius. The rise of Arminianism in the English Church was one of the evils attributed to Buckingham in the Remonstrance.
- <sup>11</sup> *May*: Sir Humphrey May, who argued against naming the Duke (see, e.g., *Proceedings in Parliament, 1628* 4. 246).
- <sup>12</sup> *Mr. Bish*: Edward Bysshe.
- <sup>13</sup> *Captaine Charles*: Charles Price. One diarist’s report helps clarify the exchange between Bysshe and Price. In the report, Bysshe states that, “I think the Duke will take it for a dishonor if he be not named. I never heard of any man without a name but one, and that was the rich man in the Gospel”. Price counters, “The gentleman has mistaken his text, the man’s name was Dives” (*Proceedings in Parliament, 1628* 4.268). The two are alluding to the parable of Dives and Lazarus in Luke 16.19-31 (not “Luke the Sixt”).
- <sup>14</sup> *Mr. Nicholas*: Edward Nicholas, a Clerk of the Privy Council and Secretary to the Admiralty. Nicholas spoke in defence of Buckingham on 11 June and during other debates on the charges against him.
- <sup>15</sup> *Mansell*: Sir Robert Mansell, MP and former Vice-Admiral of the Narrow Seas. These lines refer to a speech Mansell made on 6 June 1628 during the Commons’ discussion of the failed Cadiz expedition of 1625. Mansell blamed the failure of the expedition on “error and want of judgment” in the planning,

and lack of “valor in the undertaking of the business” (*Proceedings in Parliament, 1628* 4.160).

<sup>16</sup> *Sir John Maynard*: Maynard spoke on the Cadiz expedition during the debate on 6 June 1628. The details in the next seven lines mostly correspond to the diarist’s account of his speech in *Proceedings in Parliament, 1628* 4.160.

<sup>17</sup> *Pomfall*: i.e. Puntal.

<sup>18</sup> *Wimbleton*: Edward Cecil, Viscount Wimbledon, the commander of the Cadiz expedition.

<sup>19</sup> *Sir Edward Giles*: the diarists do not record a speech by Sir Edward Giles on 11 June.

<sup>20</sup> *bee*: the Laing MS copy includes an extra eight lines at this point. They run as follows:

But Onslow, as engaged, often moved  
For want of other sense, to have it proved.  
When Marten failed in his philosophy,  
Scudamore replied, it was necessity,  
The cause of these effects, which if removed  
(As for his honor sake it him behooved),  
Favors should come alone; so Griffith spake,  
Much to no purpose, few did notice take.

5

(*Proceedings in Parliament, 1628* 6.245). The MPs named in these lines are Sir Richard Onslow, Sir Henry Marten, Sir John Scudamore and John Griffith (a client of Buckingham).

<sup>21</sup> *Valentine*: Benjamin Valentine. The surviving diaries do not record Valentine speaking during the 11 June debate, but these lines might refer to his widely-copied speech of 5 June in which he “protests he fears this great man has soldiers every place to cut our throats” and moved the House “to have him voted...the common enemy of the kingdom” (*Proceedings in Parliament, 1628* 4.125).

<sup>22</sup> *Sir Elliott*: variant sources read “Sir Estcourt” or “Sir Escot” (*Proceedings in Parliament, 1628* 6.245). This is Sir Giles Estcourt who, during the 11 June debate, ventured that, “We go about to tax the King’s judgment in taxing this man thus”. Sir John Eliot rebuked Estcourt and demanded he go to the bar to answer for this imputed charge against the House. Estcourt offered a face-saving explanation for his words, and an apology (*Proceedings in Parliament, 1628* 4.247).

<sup>23</sup> *the dreames...Conquerd Spaine*: allusion to Sir Francis Nethersole’s speech of 12 April 1628, in which he told the Commons of his dream of the previous night: “Methought I saw two fair and goodly pastures. The one an enclosure, the other common. The common had a fair flock of sheep in it. The enclosure had only a goodly bellwether [‘the leading sheep of a flock’ (*OED*)]. I found there was a

division betwixt these grounds by a great deep ditch, and a narrow, narrow bridge to join them together. I saw the bellwether hasting to the common to invite the sheep to eat with him, but the narrow bridge hindered his passage. Whereupon a poor sheep said, ‘There is no means for him to pass. Let us all lie down upon our bellies, that the bellwether may pass over us’” (*Proceedings in Parliament, 1628* 2.434-35).

<sup>24</sup> *Willy*: probable scribal error; read “wily”.

<sup>25</sup> *Diggs*: Sir Dudley Digges.

<sup>26</sup> *Roringe Robin*: Sir Robert Phelips (*Proceedings in Parliament, 1628* 6.246 n.3). The allusion may be to Phelips’s speech of 5 June (*Proceedings in Parliament, 1628* 4.119).

<sup>27</sup> *Howtham*: Sir John Hotham. The meaning of the anecdote in this and the following three lines is obscure.

<sup>28</sup> *Cookes*: it is not clear whether this is a reference to Sir Edward Coke.

<sup>29</sup> *holy Lawrence*: perhaps Lawrence Whitaker, MP and Clerk of the Privy Council. There appears to be no account of this “heathen fable” in the surviving diary reports of the Parliament. The poet uses anti-Puritan language—noting that Whitaker “in zeale turnes upp the white ofs eye”—and this fits with Whitaker’s reported speeches that indicate he was, at the least, a fervent anti-Papist (see, e.g., *Proceedings in Parliament, 1628* 4.151).

<sup>30</sup> *Jove and Junoes daughter marrigable*: Jove and Juno were king and queen of the gods, and their daughter Hebe or Juventas, goddess of youth, was married to Hercules. Without evidence of the actual speech, it is difficult to apply these mythological allusions to contemporary political circumstances. One possible link is that Hebe was displaced as cupbearer to the gods by Ganymede—to whom Buckingham was often compared in the early 1620s. Alternatively, the allusion could be to Elizabeth, the daughter of James I, who had married Frederick V, Elector Palatine, a leader of the beleaguered Protestant cause on the continent.

<sup>31</sup> *Viscount Slygo...of the supply*: Sir John Scudamore held the Irish title of Viscount Sligo. This refers to Scudamore’s speech of 5 June, in which he argued that to win the King’s love the Commons should move ahead with the subsidy grant to the Crown (*Proceedings in Parliament, 1628* 4.120).

<sup>32</sup> *John Dory*: a popular ballad (see Simpson 398-400).

<sup>33</sup> *Littleton*: there were two Littletons in the Commons in 1628, Edward and Thomas. A “Mr. Littleton” responded to Scudamore’s attempt to move consideration of the subsidy on 5 June (*Proceedings in Parliament, 1628* 4.121).

<sup>34</sup> *Ansley*: Sir Francis Annesley. The allusion is to his remarks on 5 June (*Proceedings in Parliament,*

1628 4.127).

<sup>35</sup> *the D*: the Duke of Buckingham.

<sup>36</sup> *Dawson*: Sir George Dalston.

<sup>37</sup> *flyes*: variant versions include the couplet, “And Valentine, clapping his hand on’s breast, / Stoutly resolves, yea now I thinke it best”, here rather than earlier in the poem (e.g. BL MS Sloane 826).

<sup>38</sup> *Mr. Speaker*: Sir John Finch was Speaker of the Commons in 1628.

<sup>39</sup> *Dunkerks*: pirates based in the Southern Netherlands port of Dunkirk, who preyed on English shipping in this period.

<sup>40</sup> *Wentworth*: Sir Thomas Wentworth, MP for Yorkshire.

<sup>41</sup> *Wainsford*: Christopher Wandesford. These lines probably allude to Wandesford’s remarks on 11 June (see *Proceedings in Parliament, 1628 4.268*).

<sup>42</sup> *Jackson*: Sir John Jackson. If Jackson spoke on 11 June, the diarists did not record his speech.

<sup>43</sup> *the D*: the Duke of Buckingham.

<sup>44</sup> *Sir Andrewe Corbett*: during the 11 June debate, Sir Andrew Corbet endorsed Wandesford’s conclusion that Buckingham’s excessive power “and the abuse of it has been the cause of those evils that have befallen us” (*Proceedings in Parliament, 1628 4.268*).

<sup>45</sup> *Sir Thomas Bromley*: Sir Thomas Bromley was MP for Worcestershire. His speech (or cap-throwing) on 11 June is not recorded in the surviving diaries.

<sup>46</sup> *Robin Harley*: Sir Robert Harley, MP and Master of the Mint. During the 11 June debate, Harley was reluctant to name the Duke in the Remonstrance because he felt they could still reform him and “make him a good instrument of the good of the kingdom” (*Proceedings in Parliament, 1628 4.266*).

<sup>47</sup> *Ephestion*: the OED defines “ephestian” as domestic as opposed to foreign. Perhaps the meaning here is that Harley is asking MPs to ponder the domestic consequences of their actions.

### Oiii5 Avaunt you giddie-headed Multitude

*Notes.* Presented as Buckingham's riposte to the charges levelled at him by the House of Commons, this libel not only incorporates some of the complaints from the Remonstrance, but also adds to them allusions to other, even wilder, allegations against the Duke. The poet's impersonation of Buckingham's arrogant tone and assertions of invulnerable superiority nicely capture contemporary fears about the dangerously overmighty favourite (McRae, *Literature* 135-36). In one source this poem is attributed to I.S. (Bodleian MS Ashmole 38). This is possibly a reference to James Smith, the attributed author of a later libel on Buckingham, "You auntient Lawes of Right; Can you, for shame".

"The Copie of his Graces most excellent Rotomontados<sup>1</sup> sent by his Servant the Lord Grimes<sup>2</sup> in answere to the Lower house of Parliament. 1628."

Avaunt you giddie-headed Multitude,  
And doe your worst of spight: I never su'd  
To gaine your Votes, though well I know your ends  
To ruin mee, my Fortunes, and my Friends;  
Which had I fear'd, how easie had it been 5  
By quick prevention to avoyde your teene,  
And eas'd your tedious Journies, Speeches, Witts  
At first, by once prohibiting the Writts  
That calld you hither to a good intent,  
Not cause a brabbling confus'd Parliament? 10  
For in my power it was (maugre each Foe)  
To say it should, or it should not bee soe.  
Or fear'd I yet your Malice or your spight  
(Too weake poore Men at once mee to affright)  
Is not my Power as great, and eake the same 15  
To send you home as wise as when you came?  
Tis not your threat to take mee from the King  
That on my passions worketh any thing;  
Nor questioning my counsells or commaunds,



How with the honour of the State it stands, 20  
 That I lost Ree,<sup>3</sup> and with such losse of Men  
 As scarcely Time can e'er repaire againe  
 Shall aught affright mee; Or the care to see  
 The Narrow Seas from Dunkirks cleere and free;<sup>4</sup>  
 Or that you can inforce the King beleive 25  
 I from the Pirats a third share receive;  
 Or that I correspond with forreyne states  
 (Whether the Kings Foes or confederates)  
 To plott the Ruine of the King and State,  
 As er'st you thought of the Palatinate;<sup>5</sup> 30  
 Or that 500 thousand pounds doe lye  
 In Venice Banke to Spaine his Majestie;  
 Or that 300 thousand more doe rest  
 In Dunkirke for the Arch-duchesse<sup>6</sup> to contest  
 With England, whensoe're th'occasion offers; 35  
 Or that by Rapine I fill up my coffers;  
 Nor that an Office, in Church, State, or Court  
 Is freelie given, but they must pay mee for't;  
 Nor shall you ever prove I had a hand  
 Ith poisoning of the Monarch of this land, 40  
 Or the like hand by poison to intox  
 Southampton, Oxford, Hamilton, Lenox;<sup>7</sup>  
 Nor shall you ever prove, by Magick charmes  
 I wrought the Kings Affection, or his harmes,  
 Or that I need Lambes Philters<sup>8</sup> to incite 45  
 Chast Ladies to give my fowle lust delight;  
 Nor feare I if tenn Vitrii<sup>9</sup> were heere,  
 Since I have thrice tenn Ravillacks<sup>10</sup> as neere.  
 My power shalbee unbounded in each thing,  
 If once I use these words: I, and the King. 50

Seeme wise, and cease then to perturb the Realme,  
 Or strive with him that sits and guides the helme,  
 I know your Reading will informe you soone  
 What creatures 'twere that barkt against the Moone,<sup>11</sup>  
 I'le give you better counsell, as a Frend, 55  
 Coblers their latches<sup>12</sup> ought not to transcend.  
 Meddle with common matters, common Wrongs,  
 To th' howse of Commons common things belongs,  
 Th'are extra sphæram<sup>13</sup> that you treat of now,  
 And Ruine to yourselves will bring, I vowe, 60  
 Except you doe desist, and learne to beare  
 What Wisdome ought to teach you, or your Feare,  
 Leave him the Oare that best knowes how to rowe,  
 And State to him that best the State doth knowe.  
 If I, by Industry, deepe Reache, or Grace, 65  
 Am now arriv'd at this or that great place,  
 Must I, to please your inconsiderate Rage,  
 Throwe downe my Honours? Will naught ells asswage  
 Your furious Wisdomes? True shall the Verse bee yet,  
 There's noe lesse Witt requir'd to keepe then gett. 70  
 Though Lambe bee dead,<sup>14</sup> I'le stand, and you shall see  
 I'le smile at them that can but barke at mee.

From Non-such<sup>15</sup> June 21. 1628.

Yours as you use him

**Source.** BL MS Sloane 826, fols. 157r-159r

**Other known sources.** Bodleian MS Ashmole 36-37, fol. 57r; Bodleian MS Ashmole 38, p. 44; Bodleian MS Locke c. 32, fol. 1r; Bodleian MS Malone 23, p. 113; BL Add. MS 47126, fol. 138v; BL MS Egerton 2725, fol. 80v; CUL Add. MS 79, fol. 47r; CCRO MS CR 63/2/19, fol. 69v; Hatfield House, Salisbury MS 140, fol. 126r; Huntington MS HM 198, 1.157

- <sup>1</sup> *Rotomontados*: i.e. rodomontades; boastful speeches.
- <sup>2</sup> *Lord Grimes*: probably Richard Graham, Buckingham's friend and master of the Duke's horse.
- <sup>3</sup> *Ree*: allusion to Buckingham's failed 1627 expedition to the Ile de Ré. The parliamentary Remonstrance noted the "miserable disasters and ill success that has accompanied all your late designs and actions", and asserted that, contrary to Buckingham's reports of only "a few hundreds" dead at Ré, the real number of casualties was "six or seven thousand" (*Proceedings in Parliament, 1628* 4.315).
- <sup>4</sup> *Or the care...cleere and free*: the Remonstrance blamed Buckingham for the failure to guard the Narrow Seas, allowing the Dunkirk pirates to raid English shipping with impunity (*Proceedings in Parliament, 1628* 4.316).
- <sup>5</sup> *As er'st you thought...Palatinate*: allusion to rumours that Buckingham had connived in the fall of the Palatinate to Catholic forces earlier in the decade.
- <sup>6</sup> *Arch-duchesse*: the Archduchess Isabella, ruler of the Spanish Netherlands.
- <sup>7</sup> *Nor shall you ever...Hamilton, Lenox*: allusion to the widely circulated charges, initially made in a 1626 pamphlet, *The Forerunner of Revenge*, by James I's former physician, George Eglisam, that Buckingham had poisoned the King and several courtiers. Eglisam accuses Buckingham directly of murdering the King and James Hamilton, Marquis of Hamilton. He also hints at evidence that Buckingham also poisoned Henry Wriothsley, Earl of Southampton and Ludovick Stuart, Duke of Lennox. Eglisam does not explicitly allege Buckingham had killed Henry de Vere, Earl of Oxford, but the rumour could be connected to Eglisam's allusion to "the bruit" (i.e. rumour) that "went through London...that all the noblemen that were not of Buckingham's faction should be poisoned, and so removed out of his way" (C2r). In their 1626 attempt to impeach the Duke, the House of Commons had accused Buckingham of "transcendent presumption" in meddling with James I's medical treatment. The 1628 Parliament did not return to the charge.
- <sup>8</sup> *Lambes Philters*: love potions prepared by the astrologer-physician and convicted witch John Lambe, who was widely believed to be in Buckingham's employ.
- <sup>9</sup> *Vitrii*: a variant reading, "Vitryes" (Hatfield House MS Cecil Papers Cecil Papers 140), suggests that "Vitrii" is a corrupt (or confusingly latinized) form of the plural of Vitry, the name of a captain of the royal guard for Henri IV of France at the time of his assassination in 1610 (Mousnier 24).
- <sup>10</sup> *Ravillacks*: allusion to François Ravailac, the Catholic assassin who murdered King Henri IV of France in 1610.
- <sup>11</sup> *barkt against the Moone*: to bark against the moon like a dog means "to rail uselessly, especially at those in high places" (Brewer 79).

<sup>12</sup> *latchetts*: lachets are thongs used to tie shoes. To “go beyond one’s latchet” is a proverbial phrase for meddling with matters that do not concern one (*OED*).

<sup>13</sup> *extra sphæram*: beyond or outside the sphere; i.e. beyond parliament’s competence.

<sup>14</sup> *Though Lambe bee dead*: John Lambe was murdered in the streets of London on 13 June 1628.

<sup>15</sup> *Non-such*: the royal palace at Nonsuch, Surrey.

### Oiii6 Here Dr Lambe, the conjurer lyes

*Notes.* John Lambe—physician, astrolger, convicted witch and rapist, suspected quack, and probable confidence artist—was murdered by a crowd in the streets of London on 13 June 1628. For at least a couple of years, contemporary rumour had assumed that Lambe was in the service of the Duke of Buckingham, providing the favourite with magical potions and charms that were allegedly used to seduce women and to maintain his hold on royal favour. News reports of Lambe’s murder suggest the murderous mob was venting its violent hatred of Buckingham onto the body of his surrogate. The poem is discussed by McRae (Literature 139-140).

#### “An Epitaph on Dr Lambe”

Here Dr Lambe, the conjurer lyes,  
Against his will untimely dies  
The Divell did show himselfe a Glutton  
In taking this Lambe before he was mutton  
The Divell in Hell will rost him there  
Whome the Prentises<sup>1</sup> basted here.  
In Hell they wondred when he came  
To see among the Goats a Lambe.<sup>2</sup>

5

**Source.** Huntington MS HM 116, pp. 96-97

**Other known sources.** BL Add. MS 44963, fol. 37r; BL MS Harley 6918, fol. 83v

#### Oiii6

<sup>1</sup> *Prentises:* contemporary records suggest that apprentices made up a substantial portion of the crowd that murdered Lambe.

<sup>2</sup> *To see among the Goats a Lambe:* a relatively witty pun alluding to Christ’s parable of the Last Judgement (Matthew 25.31-46).

**Oiii7 If heav'n rejoyce, when men leave off to sinne**

*Notes.* This poem was not necessarily written on the occasion of John Lambe's murder, since in some sources it is untitled, and so might easily be applied to another person (e.g. BL MS Sloane 1489). It is therefore possible that a traditional satiric epitaph was appropriated, by at least one scribe, for the specific purpose of attacking Lambe.

“On Dr Lambe”

If heav'n rejoyce, when men leave off to sinne;  
If hell rejoyce, when it a soule doth winne;  
If earth rejoyce, when it doth loose a knave;  
Then all rejoyce, now thou art in thy grave.

**Source.** BL Add. MS 44963, fol. 38r

**Other known sources.** BL MS Sloane 1489, fol. 10v; Folger MS E.a.6, fol. 3r; Folger MS V.a.160, p. 63; Folger MS V.a.180, fol. 79r; Folger MS V.a.275, p. 177; Folger MS V.a.319, fol. 4v

Oiii7

### Oiii8 For Lambe go ringe some bell

*Notes.* In the only known source, the commonplace book of William Davenport, this poem on the murder of John Lambe is immediately followed by another on the same subject (“Heare lyes the Impostar Lambe”), and after the latter is inserted the initials “E.K.,” who is the attributed author of a number of poems in this collection. It is unclear, however, whether this attribution is intended to apply to both poems on Lambe.

#### “Uppon Doctor Lambe”

For Lambe go ringe some bell  
well killed nere coleman street<sup>1</sup>  
his soule I hopes in hell  
where he and’s Lorde<sup>2</sup> must meete.

**Source.** CCRO MS CR 63/2/19, fol. 60r

Oiii8

<sup>1</sup> *coleman street*: a major street in the City of London. Lambe was chased by the crowd down Coleman Street, and was eventually killed nearby on Old Jewry.

<sup>2</sup> *Lorde*: i.e. Buckingham.

### Oiii9 Heare lyes the Impostar Lambe

*Notes.* In the only known source, this poem on the murder of John Lambe is attributed to “E.K.”.

Heare lyes the Impostar<sup>1</sup> Lambe  
Ladie Wyssard<sup>2</sup> brought him hither  
hee’s gon to the devills Dambe  
to stay, till his Loarde<sup>3</sup> come ther.

**Source.** CCRO MS CR 63/2/19, fol. 60r

Oiii9

<sup>1</sup> *Impostar*: some contemporaries feared Lambe possessed real occult or demonic powers; others believed him to be a fraud.

<sup>2</sup> *Ladie Wyssard*: perhaps a corruption of Lady Windsor. Lambe had been convicted in 1622 of bewitching Thomas, Lord Windsor, and rendering him sexually impotent.

<sup>3</sup> *his Loarde*: i.e. Buckingham.



### Oiii10 Our state's a Game at Cards the Councill deale

*Notes.* Versions of this epigram, which can be dated to the middle of 1628, vary in subtle yet significant ways. The version selected here, as well as being clearly dated, is one of the better texts in its representation of power struggles in the state. The poem is discussed by McRae (Literature 144-45).

“This was writt 2 moneths before his death”<sup>1</sup>

Our state's a Game at Cards the Councill<sup>2</sup> deale

The Lawyers shuffle & the Clergie Cutt

The King wynnes, from the loosing publique weale<sup>3</sup>

The Duke keepes stakes, the Courtiers plott, & putt

The Game i'th stock,<sup>4</sup> & thus the Citty<sup>5</sup> Jumpes

Still Crosse, for why? Prerogative<sup>6</sup> is Trumpe.

5

**Source.** Bodleian MS Ashmole 36-37, fol. 174v

**Other known sources.** Bodleian MS Ashmole 38, p. 136; Bodleian MS Eng. Poet. c.50, fol. 13v; Bodleian MS Eng. Poet. e.14, fol. 11v; Bodleian MS Eng. Poet. e.97, p. 31; Bodleian MS Malone 23, p. 119; Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 26, fol. 6v; Bodleian MS Tanner 465, fol. 100r; BL Add. MS 22118, fol. 5v; BL Add. MS 29492, fol. 56r; BL MS Sloane 1458, fol. 24v; NLS MS Advocates 19.3.8, fol. 1v; St. John's MS K.56, no. 74; Folger MS V.a.162, fol. 80r; Folger MS V.a.319, fol. 26v; Folger MS V.a.322, p. 50; Rosenbach MS 239/27, p. 46

### Oiii10

<sup>1</sup> *writt 2 moneths before his death*: i.e. two months before Buckingham's death. Buckingham was assassinated on 23 August 1628.

<sup>2</sup> *Councill*: i.e. the Privy Council.

<sup>3</sup> *publique weale*: public good.

<sup>4</sup> *putt / The Game i'th stock*: in card games, the “stock” is the term for “the portion of the pack of cards which is not dealt out” (*OED*).

<sup>5</sup> *the City*: i.e. the City of London.

<sup>6</sup> *Prerogative*: i.e. the royal prerogative; the King's power to act in certain areas without restraint.

### Oiii11 When onely one doth rule and guide the shipp

*Notes.* This epigram expresses one of the most potent anxieties of the later 1620s—the fear that Buckingham, not Charles, was the real ruler of the state. The poem is discussed by McRae (Literature 142-43).

“On the Duke 1628”

When onely one doth rule and guide the shipp,  
Who neither Card<sup>1</sup> nor Compasse knew before,  
The Master Pilot<sup>2</sup> and the rest asleepe,  
The stately shipp is splitt upon the shore,  
But they awaking, start up, stare, and crye,  
Who did this Fault? Not I, nor I, nor I  
    Soe fares it with a great and wealthie State  
    Not govern'd by the Master, but his Mate.

5

**Source.** BL MS Sloane 826, fol. 181r

**Other known sources.** Bodleian MS Ashmole 38, p. 152; Bodleian MS Malone 23, p. 120; BL MS Egerton 2725, fol. 82v; BL MS Harley 791, fol. 69r; BL MS Sloane 1454, fol. 25v; Folger MS V.a.262, p. 163

Oiii11

<sup>1</sup> *Card*: chart or map.

<sup>2</sup> *Master Pilot*: the King.

## Oiii12 Of Brittish Beasts the Buck is King

*Notes.* Although undated, this verse seems to belong to the months prior to Buckingham's assassination, during which fantasies of the Duke's violent demise began to take definite shape. The poem depends on a hunting metaphor and a pun on Buckingham's name—rendering it as Buck-King-of-Game—that allow the poet to imagine the Duke's bloody death. Holstun (160) has a brief but astute reading of the poem that stresses the degree to which the King is implicated in the attack on Buckingham, and notes the possibly regicidal urges barely concealed in the poem's final four lines. See also McRae, Literature 126-27.

“Upon the D. of B.”

Of Brittish Beasts the Buck<sup>1</sup> is King  
His Game and fame through Europe ringe,  
His horne exalted,<sup>2</sup> keeps in awe  
The lesser flocks; his Will's a Lawe.

Our Charlemaine<sup>3</sup> takes much delight  
In this great beast soe faire in sight,  
With his whole heart affects the same,  
And loves too well Buck-King of Game.<sup>4</sup>

When hee is chac'd, then 'gins the sport,  
When nigh his End, who's sorry for't?  
And when he falls the Hunter's gladd,  
The hounds are flesh'd, and few are sadd:

The Forresters say, Hee alive  
The tender thicketts nere can thrive,  
Hee doth soe barke and pill<sup>5</sup> the trees,  
Thus wee for Game our profitt leese.

The huntsmen<sup>6</sup> have pursu'd this Deare,  
And follow'd him with full careere,  
But such his craft, and such their lott,  
They hunt him oft, but take him not.

5

10

15

20

A Buck's a beast; a King is but a Man,  
A Game's a pleasure shorter then a span:  
A beast shall perish; but a Man shall dye,  
All pleasures fade. This bee thy destinie.

**Source.** BL MS Sloane 826, fols. 184v-185r

**Other known sources.** Bodleian MS Malone 23, p. 103

Oiii12

<sup>1</sup> *Buck*: the male deer.

<sup>2</sup> *His horne exalted*: a sign of victory or triumph—the phrase is biblical in origin (see, e.g., 1 Samuel 2.10).

<sup>3</sup> *Charlemaine*: Charlemagne or Charles the Great; here meaning Charles I.

<sup>4</sup> *Buck-King of Game*: i.e. Buckingham.

<sup>5</sup> *barke and pill*: strip, plunder, pillage.

<sup>6</sup> *The huntsmen*: probably alluding to the MPs who tried and failed to bring Buckingham down in 1626 and 1628.

**Oiii13 To hunt the Doe I have refu'sd**

*Notes.* Using the same pun and hunting metaphors as “Of Brittish Beasts the Buck is King”, this libel presents another fantasy of Buckingham's death, again probably written in the spring or summer of 1628.

To hunt the Doe I have refu'sd  
Which is a sporte by Greate men u'sd.  
Yett shall I love to heare a Cry  
Of hounds when Buck-in-game shall dye.

**Source.** Bodleian MS Ashmole 36-37, fol. 174v

**Other known sources.** BL MS Egerton 2026, fol. 12r

Oiii13

#### Oiii14 The Parliament of late hath oft been broken

*Notes.* This poem on the dissolution of parliaments cannot be dated with absolute precision. The allusion in the first stanza to a parliamentary grant of five subsidies suggests that it may have been composed either after the 26 June prorogation of the first session of the 1628 Parliament, or after the dissolution of the Parliament following the second session early in 1629. During the first session, after extracting concessions from the King in the form of a reluctant royal assent to the Petition of Right, the Commons had voted to grant Charles five subsidies worth of taxation.

The Parliament of late hath oft been broken;  
Whence divers men have diversly thus spoken.  
Because the Parliament at once did give  
Five Subsidies, they could not after live  
Upon their meanes; thence came it (out of doubt)  
That it did breake, and proved banke-route.

5

An other it to steele did thus compare;  
Which heated oft, and quench't, is brickle ware;  
The Parliament hath oft beene in a heate,<sup>1</sup>  
And hath beene quench't as oft; but by this feate,  
'Tis growne to bee so brickle<sup>2</sup> now att last,  
That it doth breake in two, at every blast.

10

One did express his judgment by a Fable;  
There were two potts, the one was strong and able,  
An iron pott; the other was but weake,  
A Pott of Earth, and apter so to breake.  
These undertooke a jorney both one way,  
But that of iron did so oversway,  
That th'Earthen pott did alwaies goe to wracke,  
Hitting, or hitt, it still receiv'd a cracke.

15

This to bee likely cannott bee deny'd,

20

And so hee left it of, to bee apply'd.<sup>3</sup>

**Source.** BL MS Harley 4955, fol. 85v

Oiii14

<sup>1</sup> *The Parliament...in a heate*: alluding to the frequent and often contentious meetings of parliament in the 1620s.

<sup>2</sup> *brickle*: brittle.

<sup>3</sup> *to bee apply'd*: the poet refuses to apply the fable to contemporary political circumstances. At least two readings of the fable are plausible. The first would identify the strong “iron pott” as the King, whose clashes with parliament (the “Earthen pott”) resulted in injury to parliament, not monarchy. The second would identify the “iron pott” as the favourite Buckingham, whose clashes with parliament left him unscathed, and parliament under the King’s displeasure.



### Oiii15 A thinge gott by candle light

*Notes.* This riddling verse is probably a libel on Sir Richard Weston, Chancellor of the Exchequer since November 1621, who was appointed Lord Treasurer in July 1628. The riddle suggests that the target was a financial servant of the Crown—thus the references to “budgett”, “dispurser”, “every purser”, and “Packhorse to the state”—and perhaps uses “Westerne” as a pun on Weston.

A thinge gott by candle light

Noe gentleman & yett a knight

Vertue and vice mixt both together

Noe starke knave nor honest neither

Great Georges budgett the kinges disburser

5

A Westerne plague to every purser

Packhorse to the state, a needlesse evill

The landmans plague the seamans devill

Resolve me this & all in one

And then my riddle is undone

10

**Source.** Rosenbach MS 239/27, p. 47

Oiii15

## P. The Buckingham Assassination (1628)

On 23 August 1628, in the Greyhound Inn on Portsmouth High Street, a disgruntled, melancholic infantry lieutenant, badly wounded during the 1627 expedition to the Ile de Ré, twice passed over for promotion to captain, and owed over eighty pounds in back pay, plunged a cheap knife into the heart of George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham. Gasping an astonished oath, the great favourite fell to the floor, dead, while the assassin retreated unobserved through the ensuing chaos to the inn's kitchen where he would eventually surrender to the Duke's men with the calm admission that "I am the man". He was John Felton, the forty-year-old scion of a minor gentry family from Suffolk that had fallen on hard times. Angry that Buckingham had ignored his case for promotion, and increasingly desperate as he became ever more short of cash, Felton had come across a copy of the 1628 Parliament's Remonstrance against the Duke and had thus come to believe that his private sufferings were but a small part of the sufferings the whole nation had endured under the favourite's corrupt rule. To kill the Duke, Felton imagined, would be an act of personal and national redemption. Before setting out for the Greyhound Inn, therefore, Felton had written and then sewn into his hatband two apologies for the murder: in them, he insisted that he had acted as a patriot, a gentleman and a soldier. He had struck the blow for the public good.

The impact of Buckingham's assassination was immediate and immense, utterly transforming the English political landscape. While the King retreated to his chambers, grief stricken, news of the murder spread across the country, inspiring spontaneous and often reckless outbursts of joy. The assassin was taken under armed guard from Portsmouth to the Tower of London, where he was repeatedly interrogated, possibly under torture, about his motives and accomplices. For three months the authorities attempted to uncover the conspiracy they were sure lay behind the Duke's murder, but the assassin insisted he had acted alone. By late November, the investigation had run its course and Felton was at last put on trial for Buckingham's murder. Tarred by the authorities as a wicked, atheistic criminal who had acted solely to avenge his personal grudges against the Duke, Felton was convicted and sentenced to death. Two days later, on the gallows at Tyburn, he confessed before a crowd of onlookers, and openly repented his crime. After he was hanged, Felton's body was cut down, carried to

Portsmouth and then strung up again to rot in chains.

The assassination, and the trial and execution that eventually ensued, triggered a massive outpouring of political verse, some of which was printed 150 years ago by F.W. Fairholt (*Poems and Songs Relating to George Villiers*), and a more complete collection of which is now published here for the first time. We have grouped the poems into three subsections. The first consists of an array of mocking epitaphs for the Duke, combined with a variety of generically and stylistically ambitious poems couched as dialogues between the murdered Duke and several infernal interlocutors, or as wracked confessions uttered by the Duke's ghost from its new abode in hell. Celebrating—and by implication legitimating—the assassination, many of these verses rake over the charges that had dogged Buckingham in the last few years of his life. In their lines, we meet again all the elements of Buckingham's libellous persona: the witch, the papist, the poisoner, the sexual predator, the monopolist of power, the perverter of justice, the social upstart, the seller of offices, the breaker of parliaments, the betrayer of the Protestant cause, the incompetent villain of the Ile de Ré, the seducer and deceiver of kings.

Our second subsection contains the smaller, but in many ways even more powerful, collection of verse primarily concerned with or addressed to John Felton. The poems celebrate Felton as Buckingham's perfect antithesis: as a patriot hero, the nation's martyr, the epitome of martial manliness and self-sacrifice, the heir of the divinely inspired Israelite assassins and of the republican patriots of ancient Rome, the man whose bravery had liberated king and nation from Buckingham's perverted rule. Alongside their hymns to Felton, a number of these verses also elaborate explicit and occasionally quite legalistic defences of the assassination, now reimagined not as a murder but as an execution of the will of divine justice upon a nefarious criminal.

The third and final subsection collects poems that offer very different responses to the assassination. Some contemporaries were profoundly ambivalent about the manner of Buckingham's demise, and a small group of poems (including two well-known pieces by James Shirley and Owen Felltham) wrestled openly with the event's moral and political complexities. Several other poets—including Thomas Carew and Sir William Davenant, who would later become major participants in Caroline court and literary culture—took a straightforwardly

hostile view of both the assassination and the celebrations that followed it. Others still composed fulsome epitaphs on the murdered Duke, attempting to wrest Buckingham's reputation free from the accumulated grime of years of libellous assault. And finally, some writers inveighed directly at the libellers who had rejoiced at the Duke's death, identifying amidst the hosannas to the heroic Felton the dangerous noise of religious dissent, popular credulity, lower-class disorderliness, and anti-monarchical politics.

In a pathbreaking essay, Gerald Hammond identified in these warring poems clear symptoms of "the country's fragmentation" as "sensibilities became dissociated" (49). Recent work has added to this perceptive diagnosis, discovering in and around the assassination evidence of a profound political crisis. Many of the poems celebrating the assassin or the assassination assumed that Buckingham's murder would instantaneously ease the political tensions of the few past years, reuniting king, people and parliament, and reinvigorating a militant English Protestantism. Yet the poems also reveal how little chance this hope of redemptive transformation ever had of materializing. Beneath explicit avowals of loyalty to the throne, there lurked unresolved questions about the King's responsibilities for his favourite's misrule and fears about his intentions for the future. Sometimes these anxieties pushed quite radical sentiments out into the open. Ranged against the libellers' fears for a nation beset by popery and court corruption, were eloquent voices preoccupied with a different threat, the threat to monarchy, order and hierarchy posed by popular, puritanical and republican political impulses. The libels and the counter-libels thus bear eloquent witness to the perilous state of the nation at the end of Buckingham's life, a nation that was in many ways teetering on the brink of a bitter, and potentially unresolvable, ideological crisis. Since Hammond's work was published, several scholars have offered interpretations of a number of the poems in our collection. The bulk of the commentary has come from literary critics, and includes a major study of representations of Felton by James Holstun (158-186), and important briefer assessments by David Norbrook (50-58) and Andrew McRae (*Literature* esp. 71-75, 133-34). Political historians have been slower to give these materials the attention they deserve. For now, there are readings of several libels in Alastair Bellany's essays ("Raylinge Rymes"; "Libels in Action"), and in his unpublished doctoral dissertation ("The Poisoning of Legitimacy?" ch. 11). A forthcoming study by Bellany and Thomas Cogswell will offer a major reassessment of the

assassination, making extensive use of the libels and counter-libels (*England's Assassin*).

P0

## Pi Mocking Buckingham

### Pi1 lett Charles & george doe what they can

*Notes.* Our chosen version of this widely circulated prophetic couplet was discovered among the papers of George Willoughby, a London scrivener who had business dealings with Buckingham's assassin John Felton. The copy, scrawled onto a petition by one of Willoughby's clients, included the note that the poem was "made presently uppon the death of Doctor Lambe" (died 13 June 1628), indicating that the verse was—or at least was believed to be—in circulation before Buckingham's murder, even if some, like John Rous, did not get a copy until after the event. The authorities' investigations into how Willoughby obtained the couplet reveal some of the ways short libels of this type could circulate orally and in script across social and literacy boundaries in London (PRO SP 16/114/32, 119/25, 119/30).

lett Charles & george doe what they can  
yet george shall dye like Doctor Lambe<sup>1</sup>

**Source.** PRO SP 16/114/32

**Other known sources.** Rous 26; Bodleian MS Tanner 465, fol. 100r; BL Add. MS 22959, fol. 25v; BL MS Sloane 1489, fol. 22r; CUL MS Gg.4.13, p. 106; PRO SP 16/119/25; PRO SP 16/119/30

Pi1

<sup>1</sup> *Doctor Lambe:* John Lambe, astrologer-physician, convicted witch and presumed associate of Buckingham, was murdered by a London mob on 13 June 1628.

## Pi2 Sith number with thy name doth thus agree

*Notes.* Chronograms, which work by assigning numerical values to letters, were a popular contemporary genre with a vaguely prophetic import. This chronogram is of the Latin version of “George, Duke of Buckingham” (“Georgius Dux Buckinghamiae”). By writing the name in Roman script so that “U”s are “V”s, and then assigning numerical values to those letters that correspond to Roman numerals (I [1], V [5], X [10], C [100], D [500], and M [1000]), the chronogrammer discovers the year “1628” hidden in Buckingham’s name. One version of this chronogram and verse (BL MS Harley 4931) states explicitly that they were devised “before his death”.

GeorgIVs DVX BVCKInghaMIae

Sith number with thy name doth thus agree

This yeare shall fatall prove to state or thee.

**Source.** Folger MS V.a.162, fol. 80r

**Other known sources.** D’Ewes, *Autobiography* 1.389; *Wentworth Papers* 303; BL MS Harley 4931, fol. 9r; CUL MS Dd.11.73, fol. 67v; Folger MS V.b.275, fol. 220r

Pi2

### Pi3 Thy numerous name great George, expresseth thee

*Notes.* This version of the Buckingham 1628 chronogram is closely related to “Sith number with thy name doth thus agree”; however, the differences are sufficient to warrant treatment as a discrete item. Some sources have only the first of the two couplets, and in one source the poem is attributed to John Marston (Bodleian MS Ashmole 38, p. 19 and p. 25).

GeorgIVs DVX BVCKInghaMIæ

MDCXXVIII<sup>1</sup>

Thy numerous name great George, expresseth thee

But XXIX<sup>2</sup> I hope, thou ne’re shalt see.

When in his name Anno Domini doth appeare,

Feare not him, nor his lambe,<sup>3</sup> for their deaths are neare.

5

**Source.** Bodleian MS Tanner 465, fol. 100r

**Other known sources.** Rous 25; Bodleian MS Ashmole 38, p. 19 and p. 25; Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 160, fol. 198r; BL Add. MS 22959, fol. 25v; BL Add. MS 29492, fol. 55v; BL MS Sloane 826, fol. 181v

Pi3

<sup>1</sup> *MDCXXVIII*: 1628.

<sup>2</sup> *XXIX*: 29.

<sup>3</sup> *his lambe*: John Lambe, the astrologer-physician, convicted witch and presumed associate of the Duke, was murdered by a London mob on 13 June 1628.



#### Pi4 Anagram on George Villiers

*Notes.* We cannot identify a precise composition date for this anagram, which may in fact pre-date the assassination. The anagram is incorporated into the post-assassination verse “A yere of wonder to the world was 88”, and survives as an independent work in two contemporary manuscripts.

“Anagramma”

GEORGIVS.VILLERIVS.

REGIS.VVLGI.ILLVSOR

prince and people deluder

**Source.** BL Add. MS 29492, fol. 55v

**Other known sources.** CUL MS Dd.11.73, fol. 69r

Pi4

## Pi5 A yere of wonder to the world was 88

*Notes.* This poem comments on and combines the Buckingham 1628 chronogram, two lines from verses that typically accompanied the chronogram, and the “Georgivs Villerivs” anagram. The final product is a prophecy of Buckingham’s death, imagined significantly as a providential deliverance comparable to the defeat of the Spanish Armada forty years earlier. Whether the prophecy pre-dates or post-dates the assassination is uncertain.

“Chronogrammata”

“Gorgius dux Buckinghamia. 1628”

A yere of wonder to the world was 88.<sup>1</sup>

What wonder shall we expecte from 28.

If fate to name doth answer thus in numbers

Then in this yere shall sure appeare some wonders

sith number with thy name do thus agree

this yeere is fatall to the state or thee

for not thy chronogram alone is fearefull

But thy Anagram with it is direfull. {Georgius Villerus

{Regis, Vulgi, Elusor:<sup>2</sup>

5

**Source.** Bodleian MS Eng. Poet. f.10, fol. 96v

Pi5

<sup>1</sup> *A yere of wonder...was 88*: 1588 saw the defeat of the Spanish Armada, an occasion still commemorated in 1620s’ England as a spectacular example of God’s providential deliverance of the Protestant nation.

<sup>2</sup> *Regis, Vulgi, Elusor*: “deceiver of the King and the people”.

### Pi6 The Shepherds struck, The sheepe are fledd

*Notes.* This couplet depends on the pun on the surname of Buckingham's associate John Lambe, the astrologer-physician and convicted witch murdered in London in June 1628. The "Wolfe" is Buckingham, and the shepherd who kills him is John Felton.

"On the D."<sup>1</sup>

The Shepherds struck, The sheepe are fledd,  
For want of Lambe<sup>2</sup> the Wolfe is dead.

**Source.** BL MS Sloane 826, fol. 185r

**Other known sources.** Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 84, fol. 74r

Pi6

<sup>1</sup> *the D.*: the Duke.

<sup>2</sup> *Lambe*: John Lambe.

**Pi7 Thus Buck-in-game, Felt-one did soone abate**

*Notes.* This couplet alludes to earlier violent fantasies of Buckingham's death that also used the metaphor of the hunt to imagine the destruction of the "Buck-in-game" (see, e.g., "Of Brittish Beasts the Buck is King" and "To hunt the Doe I have refu'sd"). The sole extant copy of this couplet is in William Davenport's commonplace book.

Thus Buck-in-game,<sup>1</sup> Felt-one<sup>2</sup> did soone abate  
his pryde; the troble, off our English state

**Source.** CCRO MS CR 63/2/19, fol. 71r

Pi7

<sup>1</sup> *Buck-in-game*: the pun is on the buck, or male deer, being hunted (in the game), and Buckingham.

<sup>2</sup> *Felt-one*: i.e. Felton. The couplet's logic and transcription demand this be read as a pun. One possible reading of the pun would force us to paraphrase the couplet thus: "Thus Buck-in-game, being felt (here meaning something like 'detected'), one man did soon abate his pride, which had been the trouble of our English state".

## Pi8 England was sick, a plewresey possest her

*Notes.* Missing pages in the manuscript mean we only have an abruptly truncated version of this poem. What remains in the fragment, however, suggests that we can date the poem to the period after Buckingham's assassination in August 1628. The past tense of the opening clause suggests that the sickness caused by Buckingham has now been cured, and in all likelihood the rest of the poem would have continued on to describe how, after parliament and the King had failed to do so, John Felton's actions bled the patient and cured the nation's disease.

“Other verses made of the said Duke about the same time”

England was sick, a plewresey<sup>1</sup> possest her

a raging greife did long molest her

Two senates to fynde out this sore long sought<sup>2</sup>

& found a member<sup>3</sup> neare the head,<sup>4</sup> was naught

full fraught with blouddy humors,<sup>5</sup> sweld so high

the head was scarcely seene when it stood by

To cure this bodie straight it was decreed

this ulcerated member needs must bleed<sup>6</sup>

It was so faire, that though the head did see

it caus'd the greife, & fear'd the remedie,

5

10

**Source.** CUL MS Gg.4.13, p. 106

Pi8

<sup>1</sup> *plewresey*: in contemporary usage, “a pleurisy” could refer either to the chest ailment (caused by an inflammation of the sacs around the lungs), or more generally to the existence of dangerous excess.

<sup>2</sup> *Two senates...long sought*: reference to the attempts by the 1626 and 1628 Parliaments (the “Two senates”) to remove or curb Buckingham's power through impeachment (1626) and a Remonstrance to the King (1628).

<sup>3</sup> *a member*: a part of the body; here signifying Buckingham.

<sup>4</sup> *the head*: here signifying the King, Charles I.

<sup>5</sup> *blouddy humors*: in classical medicine, blood was one of the four essential fluids or humours in the human body. An imbalance in the bodily humours, in this case an excess of blood, would cause sickness.

<sup>6</sup> *To cure this bodie...must bleed*: bloodletting was the common cure for humoral excess.

## Pi9 Lord, what are wee, that thou shouldst thus respect

*Notes.* The sole known version of this poem is found in a manuscript that also contains a copy of the religious scholar Sebastian Benefield's commentary on the biblical book of Amos. Depicting Buckingham variously as the overgrown branch of the vine, the worm, the ravenous beast, the weeds corrupting the biblically resonant "vineyard" of the nation, this poem interprets (and legitimizes) the Duke's assassination as God's providential intervention to save his suffering Englishmen. In this context, the assassin Felton is reduced to the walk-on role of the husbandman, the agent of God's larger purpose. The poem concludes with the fond hope of national renewal in the wake of Buckingham's death, a strain of optimism found in other writings from the period that naïvely imagined Buckingham's removal as the cure for all of England's ills.

Lord, what are wee, that thou shouldst thus respect  
The sonnes of men? that thou shouldst still protect  
This Land of ours, this Vineyard<sup>1</sup> of thine owne  
This Englands Eden,<sup>2</sup> wherein thou hast sowen  
Thy Word,<sup>3</sup> the tree of life,<sup>4</sup> and as it were 5  
Hast fenc't it round with walls of seas, loe here  
We blesse thy name, and in these sacred layes<sup>5</sup>  
Open our lipps to speake thy glorious prayse:  
And now, mee thinks our eyes behould thy power,  
Thy judgements lord, our hearts ar not to tower 10  
Soe highe as them to reach; but loe we see  
Thou prunest the vineyard as it pleaseth thee.  
That branch that did of late oretop the rest,  
And with his fruitlesse weight the stemme opprest  
That worme that eate the stocke, and spoyled the fruite, 15  
Or else devoured it like a ravenous brute,  
That spreading weed, which choakt the corne, that tare<sup>6</sup>  
Which grew soe fast, and did soe much impayre  
The soyle, in harvest loe the husbandman  
Doth weede him out, and with the shortest spanne 20

Affords him time, and cuts him of that all  
Might take example of his sudden fall  
And now, O Lord, sith thou hast prun'd thy vine  
Preferre the roote with that same hand of thine  
That is Allmightie, lett the branches spring  
And in a thousand fould her fruit forth bring.  
Soe when thou commest unto thy Vineyard, thou  
Maist see th'encease, and lett thy blessing flow.

25

**Source.** BL MS Sloane 1199, fol. 70v

Pi9

- <sup>1</sup> *this Vineyard*: this may allude to Christ's parable of the vineyard (e.g. Matthew 21.28-46).
- <sup>2</sup> *Eden*: the earthly paradise (Genesis 1-3).
- <sup>3</sup> *thou hast sowen / Thy Word*: i.e. established the true religion, Protestantism.
- <sup>4</sup> *the tree of life*: the Tree of Life was located in the garden of Eden (Genesis 2.9), but here refers to the Word, and thus the Protestant religion, that will bring salvation.
- <sup>5</sup> *layes*: songs.
- <sup>6</sup> *tare*: a type of weed that features prominently in Christ's parables of the sower and "the tares of the field" (Matthew 13).



**Pi10 Behold this Obsequie: but without teares**

*Notes.* Buckingham was buried in Westminster Abbey on 18 September 1628, in a subdued, tense and occasionally chaotic nocturnal ceremony. Couplets like this one reveal much of what troubled Buckingham's mourners: for many, if not most, of Buckingham's contemporaries, his death was a time not for grief but for celebration.

“Upon his Funerall”

Behold this Obsequie:<sup>1</sup> but without teares;

The birth of all our Joy, and grave of feares.

**Source.** BL MS Sloane 826, fol. 181v

**Other known sources.** Bodleian MS Malone 23, p. 197

Pi10

<sup>1</sup> *Obsequie:* funeral rites.

**Pi11 This little Grave embraces**

*Notes.* This deliciously economical epitaph mocks the excessive list of offices and titles—“places”—that Buckingham had accumulated in his thirteen years as a royal favourite and has now taken with him to his early grave.

“Epitaph”

This little Grave embraces

One Duke and twentie places.

**Source.** BL MS Sloane 826, fol. 181v

**Other known sources.** Bodleian MS Malone 23, p. 145

Pi11

## Pi12 The pale horse of the Revelation

*Notes.* This is one of a number of libels that allude to Buckingham's supposed last words, a curse let fall at the moment of the dagger's impact. For some contemporaries, the Duke's dying oath was further confirmation of his moral failings. The godly Simonds D'Ewes, for instance, noted that, "it might have been wished that his end had not been so sudden, nor his last words mixed with so impious an expression" (Autobiography 1.382). Holstun briefly explores how this "brilliant epigram...prefigures the way in which radical sectaries would infuse everyday social and political life with chiliastic energies during the next three decades" (181).

"Upon the Dukes death"

The pale horse of the Revelation<sup>1</sup>

Hath unhorst the horseman of our Nation,

And given him such a kick on his side<sup>2</sup>

(At Portesmouth)<sup>3</sup> that hee sware<sup>4</sup> and dy'd.

**Source.** BL MS Sloane 826, fol. 181v

**Other known sources.** Bodleian MS Malone 23, p. 197; Huntington MS HM 116, p. 82

Pi12

<sup>1</sup> *The pale horse of the Revelation:* "And I looked, and behold a pale horse: and his name that sat on him was Death, and Hell followed with him" (Revelation 6.8).

<sup>2</sup> *kick on his side:* Felton stabbed Buckingham in the chest.

<sup>3</sup> *Portesmouth:* Buckingham was assassinated in the south coast naval town of Portsmouth.

<sup>4</sup> *hee sware:* some reports suggest the oath was "God's wounds".

**Pi13 Here lies Leachery, Treachery, Pride**

*Notes.* Like “*The pale horse of the Revelation*”, this epitaph makes much of Buckingham’s alleged dying words.

“Upon the Death of the Duke of Buckingham, who was stabbd An<sup>o</sup> 1628. was made this Epitaph.”

Here lies Leachery, Treachery, Pride,

That swore Gods Wounds, & so he died.

**Source.** BL MS Harley 4931, fol. 9r

**Other known sources.** Bodleian MS Tanner 465, fol. 102v; CCRO MS CR 63/2/19, fol. 71r

Pi13

#### Pi14 Here lyes great George the Glory of our state

*Notes.* Contemporary readers may have recognized that they could change this epitaph's meaning by altering its punctuation. This sole known extant version is punctuated to read as a libel, yet a reader could easily turn the verse into a commendation. For example, the opening four lines could be repunctuated (and thus rewritten): "Here lyes great George the Glory of our state, / Noe way Our Kingdome did him hate. / Wrong did he non, he writed ever, / Disloyall was he counted never". In this manuscript, the first six lines are on one page, and the final couplet at the top of a later page. The poem is discussed by McRae (Literature 49).

"Upon the Duke of Buckingham"

Here lyes great George the Glory of our state  
Noe way, Our Kingdome did him hate,  
Wrong did he, non he writed,<sup>1</sup> even<sup>2</sup>  
Disloyall was he counted, never  
Faithfull he was, in any thing  
Unto his countrie, and to his Noble King  
He did deceave, both Rome, & spayne<sup>3</sup>  
Then wish him Now alive againe.

5

**Source.** Huntington MS HM 116, pp. 47-50

Pi14

<sup>1</sup> *writed*: i.e. righted.

<sup>2</sup> *even*: probable scribal error; read "ever".

<sup>3</sup> *Rome, & spayne*: the charge here is that Buckingham was an agent for the Roman Catholic interest, led spiritually by the Pope in Rome and geo-politically by the King of Spain.

## Pi15 Great Buckingham's buried under a stone

*Notes.* This epitaph focuses primarily on Buckingham's perceived betrayal of the European Protestant cause during the opening decade of what would become the Thirty Years' War.

"Epitaph"

Great Buckingham's buried under a stone

'Twixt heaven and Earth not such a one,

Pope and Papists Freind, the Spaniards Factor,<sup>1</sup>

The Palatines bane,<sup>2</sup> The Dunkirks Protector,<sup>3</sup>

The Danes disaster,<sup>4</sup> The French kings intruder,<sup>5</sup>

Netherlands oppressor,<sup>6</sup> the English deluder,

The Frend of Pride, the Peere of Lust

Th'avaritious actor of things unjust.

5

**Source.** BL MS Sloane 826, fol. 182v

**Other known sources.** Bodleian MS Malone 23, p. 143

Pi15

<sup>1</sup> *Pope and Papists...Spaniards Factor:* Buckingham is here charged as the friend of the Roman Catholic Church and its followers, and as an agent for the Spanish who were understood by many Englishmen to be the military and political arm of the Catholic cause.

<sup>2</sup> *The Palatines bane:* i.e. the Palatine's curse. Buckingham is blamed here for the continued sufferings of the Calvinist Frederick V, Elector Palatine, his wife, Charles I's sister Elizabeth, and the German lands they once ruled. Frederick had accepted the Crown of Bohemia after the Protestant rebellion there in 1618, and as a consequence was driven from his ancestral lands by Catholic forces in 1620-21 (see Section N). Despite both diplomatic and military efforts, the English Crown had been unable to restore the Palatinate.

<sup>3</sup> *Dunkirks Protector:* the port of Dunkirk in the Spanish Netherlands was the base for pirates who preyed constantly on English shipping during this period. As Lord Admiral, Buckingham was held responsible by some parliamentary critics for the English failure to deal with the Dunkirk problem.

<sup>4</sup> *The Danes disaster*: in 1625, Christian IV, the Lutheran King of Denmark, intervened on the Protestant side of the Thirty Years' War to disastrous effect. The English—despite Charles I's wish to aid his relative—failed to assist the Danes, just as they had failed to assist the Palatinate.

<sup>5</sup> *The French kings intruder*: Buckingham led the English war effort against France in 1627-28, and commanded the ill-fated 1627 expedition to the Ile de Ré outside La Rochelle.

<sup>6</sup> *Netherlands oppressor*: the Protestant Dutch United Provinces renewed their war of independence against Spain in 1621, with virtually no military assistance from the English. A vocal body of English opinion believed that the English should fight side-by-side with their Dutch Protestant brethren.

## Pi16 Pride lies heere, Revenge and Lust

*Notes.* One source attributes this libellous epitaph to John Felton (Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 26). While we can be almost certain that Felton himself did not write the poem, the attribution may suggest one contemporary's willingness to impute Felton's actions to his horror at the favourite's crimes enumerated in poems like this one.

### "Epitaph"

Pride lies heere, Revenge and Lust,  
Sorcerie<sup>1</sup> and Averice, all accurst:  
A great one base, a rich one poore,  
Hee that consum'd the Kingdomes store,  
Alive and dead of all good abhorr'd, 5  
Because that all Ill doe hee dar'd.  
The Law to death had him condemn'd,<sup>2</sup>  
Hee Death and Law both then contemn'd;  
His life not lov'd, nor mourn'd his death,  
Cause long hee drew condemned breath, 10  
Hee sinfull liv'd, and dy'd with shame,  
His flesh now rotts, soe Buckingham.  
(O sodaine change) Heere doth hee lie,  
That feareles livd dyd fearfullie.  
Hee was not sick: What did betide? 15  
A stroke was given, hee swore<sup>3</sup> and dy'd.  
Hee's gone all say: O but whither?  
Birds of a winge flie together:  
Lambe<sup>4</sup> was sent a place t'out-looke,  
And where Lambe is there's the Duke: 20  
Now their Villanies they doe scann,  
Lambe the Doctor, Duke the Man;  
After-times their tricks will shew,



Not one of thousands now that know,  
And then to this shall added bee,  
'Gainst justice liv'd they,<sup>5</sup> soe did dye.

25

**Source.** BL MS Sloane 826, fol. 182r-v

**Other known sources.** Bodleian MS Malone 23, p. 196; Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 26, fol. 33v

Pi16

<sup>1</sup> *Sorcerie*: charges linking Buckingham to the practice of demonic witchcraft hinged on two of the Duke's relationships: with his mother, Mary Compton, Countess of Buckingham, who was often casually branded a witch; and with his alleged associate, the astrologer-physician and convicted witch John Lambe.

<sup>2</sup> *The Law to death...condemn'd*: this, of course, was not technically true, but some contemporaries took the House of Commons' 1626 impeachment of Buckingham as equivalent to a judicial sentence that had never been executed.

<sup>3</sup> *hee swore*: some reports claimed that Buckingham's last words were the oath "God's wounds" (see "The pale horse of the Revelation" and "Here lies Leachery, Treachery, Pride").

<sup>4</sup> *Lambe*: John Lambe, murdered by a London mob on 13 June 1628.

<sup>5</sup> *'Gainst justice liv'd they*: this phrase may refer generally to the crimes of the two men, but it may also allude to the actual judicial sentences against them: Buckingham's impeachment by the Commons in 1626, and Lambe's convictions (both pardoned) for witchcraft and rape.

### Pi17 Fortunes darling, Kings Content

*Notes.* In a mere fourteen lines, this libellous epitaph manages to allude to a diverse array of Buckingham's alleged transgressions, religious, administrative, fiscal, military and sexual. The poem is discussed by McRae (Literature 46-47).

#### "Epitaph"

Fortunes darling, Kings Content,  
Vexation of the Parliament,  
The Flatterers deitie of State,  
Advancer of each money-mate,<sup>1</sup>  
The divells Factor<sup>2</sup> for the purse, 5  
The Papists hope, the Commons Curse,  
The Saylor's Crosse, the Soldiers greife,<sup>3</sup>  
Commissions blanke,<sup>4</sup> and Englands theife,  
The Coward at the Ile of Ree,<sup>5</sup>  
The bane<sup>6</sup> of noble Chivalrie, 10  
The night-worke of a painted dame,<sup>7</sup>  
Confederate with Doctor Lambe.<sup>8</sup>  
All this lies underneath this stone,  
And yet (alas) heere lies but one.

**Source.** BL MS Sloane 826, fol. 183r

**Other known sources.** Bodleian MS Malone 23, p. 143

#### Pi17

<sup>1</sup> *money-mate*: this term is obscure, but presumably refers to men who would bribe Buckingham for office or advancement.

<sup>2</sup> *Factor*: agent.

<sup>3</sup> *The Saylor's Crosse, the Soldiers greife*: Buckingham was frequently blamed for the miseries endured by English soldiers and sailors during the military mobilization of 1624-28. These included not only the sufferings experienced during the hapless military campaigns, but also a chronic shortage of pay and provisions.

<sup>4</sup> *Commissions blanke*: perhaps “a nullifier of commissions”. The exact nature of the commissions in question is not clear, but they may be military (Buckingham’s appointments as officers were frequently controversial) or commissions to act in a judicial role, such as a Justice of the Peace.

<sup>5</sup> *The Coward at the Ile of Ree*: allusion to Buckingham’s alleged cowardice as commander of the 1627 expedition to the Ile de Ré. Some of the rumoured acts of cowardice were aired by the libels on Ré collected in Section O.

<sup>6</sup> *bane*: curse.

<sup>7</sup> *The night-worke of a painted dame*: this line is somewhat obscure. “Night-work” is literally work done at night, but often with a sinister or immoral overtone; a “painted dame” is a woman wearing cosmetics, with cosmetics often symbolizing deceit, the sin of pride, and sexual corruption. We can suggest at least two possible readings: the first would treat the line as an allusion to Buckingham’s alleged sexual transgressions (i.e. he spends his nights with whores); the second would treat the line as an allusion to Buckingham’s mother—Mary Compton, Countess of Buckingham, frequently vilified as a witch, papist and whore—whose “night-worke” (i.e. sexual activity) produced the Duke.

<sup>8</sup> *Doctor Lambe*: John Lambe, astrologer-physician, convicted witch and Buckingham’s alleged associate.

**Pi18 Heere lies a gracious graceles Peere**

*Notes. Like “Fortunes darling, Kings Content”, this epitaph economically weaves together a wide array of charges against the late Duke. The poem also uses Buckingham’s scandalous reputation as a poisoner—his “trade” was “Murther”—to legitimate the assassin Felton’s morally and legally troubling decision to take the law into his own hands.*

“Epitaph”

Heere lies a gracious graceles Peere,  
Of King belov’d, to ’s countrie deere,<sup>1</sup>  
That did both Foot and horse commaund,  
And beare the sway by Sea and Land;<sup>2</sup>  
To death which many thousand sent<sup>3</sup> 5  
Ere hee receiv’d the death hee lent.  
Nor Law nor Justice had to doe  
With what his Will consented to,  
Nor was there any question made  
With him of Murther:<sup>4</sup> ’twas his trade: 10  
And will his Ghost bee angrie trowe<sup>5</sup>  
If any other<sup>6</sup> should doe soe?  
Can any thinke his scholler naught  
For doeing that himself hath taught?  
But he that killd this killer thus, 15  
Did it to save himself and us:  
Thus farr then with him wee’l dispence,  
Hee did it in his owne defence,<sup>7</sup>  
Besides, his Act redeem’d agen  
Great multitudes of honest Men. 20  
Then all the Fault, and all the Wrong  
Was, that hee let him live soe long.

**Source.** BL MS Sloane 826, fol. 183r-v

**Other known sources.** Bodleian MS Malone 23, p. 144; BL MS Egerton 2725, fol. 82r; St. John's MS K.56, no. 22

Pi18

<sup>1</sup> *deere*: pun on the double meaning of “dear”, as cherished and as costly, with the implication that although Buckingham was cherished by his king, he was costly to his country.

<sup>2</sup> *That did both Foot...and Land*: Buckingham was Lord Admiral and commander of the English army during the war with France in 1627-28.

<sup>3</sup> *To death which many thousand sent*: news reports estimated the English casualties suffered during the 1627 expedition to the Ile de Ré in the thousands.

<sup>4</sup> *Murther*: the murders in question were the alleged poisonings of James I and a handful of rival courtiers. The charges were first levelled in George Eglisam's 1626 pamphlet, *The Forerunner of Revenge*, and later repeated in many libels.

<sup>5</sup> *troue*: true.

<sup>6</sup> *any other*: i.e. Felton.

<sup>7</sup> *Hee did it in his owne defence*: i.e. if Buckingham was a mortal threat to the whole nation (including the assassin), Felton acted in self-defence and was thus no murderer.

**Pi19 Had our great duke bene Joseph then might we**

*Notes.* This slightly opaque epitaph is difficult to date with precision. If the allusion to “his gaudie tombe” refers to the splendid monument to the Duke erected by his widow in the Henry VII chapel in Westminster Abbey, then this verse must date from the era of the tomb’s construction and completion in the early 1630s.

Had our great duke bene Joseph then might we  
have left a roll to our posteritye  
Like the Dynasties old:<sup>1</sup> but now that roome  
must empty stand, only his gaudie tombe  
Shall keep that epithet & title still  
Duke in opposing goodnes great in ill.

5

**Source.** Houghton MS Eng. 1278, item 8

Pi19

<sup>1</sup> *Had our great duke...Dynasties old:* Joseph, the son of Jacob, was the progenitor of one of the twelve tribes of Israel (Genesis 49.22-26). These lines appear to imply that Buckingham’s early death prevented him from establishing a sizeable tribe of his own, unlike Joseph, who was described as “a fruitful bough, even a fruitful bough by a well; whose branches run over the wall” (Genesis 49.22). At his death, Buckingham left two children, and a son was born posthumously in 1629. Statues of his children appear on Buckingham’s funeral monument in Westminster Abbey.

## Pi20 Great potent Duke, whom fortune rais'd soe high

*Notes.* In the poem “Away, away, great George, o come not here”, Buckingham’s shade laments that “each Letter of my Name shalbe / A Theame for their Inventions, to let flee / Abroad to all the World, even my black Deeds”. This cleverly worked acrostic is a neat example of what he meant.

### “An Acrostic”

Great potent Duke, whom fortune rais'd soe high,  
Even to the height of greatest Majesty;  
Our Admirall<sup>1</sup> admir'd, not for his birth  
Regarded;<sup>2</sup> now is dead, & of noe worth,  
Gone with his fame to blisse, or what is worse, 5  
Ever to live, or die in damned curse.  
Vile is thy name, worse were thy ends,  
Ill were thy acts, few were thy freinds,  
Lust rul'd thy heart, pride did the sway,  
Life loath'd thy breath, Felton did the slay. 10  
Even such thou wert, just was thy fate,  
Rais'd from the dust, pulld from thy state.  
Soe now adeiw, brave Duke, not Englands freind:  
For want of letters, heere I am to end.

**Source.** Bodleian MS Tanner 465, fol. 102v

Pi20

<sup>1</sup> *Admirall*: Buckingham was Lord Admiral.

<sup>2</sup> *not for his birth / Regarded*: Buckingham’s relatively humble—if nevertheless gentle—family background was a target for his critics throughout his ascendancy. This poem repeats the slur later, when describing the Duke as “Rais'd from the dust”.

## Pi21 And art thou dead! who whilome<sup>1</sup> thought'st thy state

*Notes.* This verse marries the conventional theme of the sudden death of a great man, with several specific allusions to Buckingham's scandalous reputation for lust, excess and luxury. The poem ends with the relatively sympathetic, though theologically awkward, hope that Buckingham might eventually be saved after a thousand years of suffering in purgatory.

And art thou dead! who whilome<sup>1</sup> thought'st thy state

To bee exempted from the power of Fate!

Thou, that but yesterday (illustrious bright,

And like the Sunne) did'st with thy pregnant light

Illuminate inferior Orbs! Shall death

5

Bereave thee, in a moment, of that breath

Whereby soe many liv'd? Did not thy hand

Monopolize the glorie of this land?

Did not thy smiles or frowns make Princes kneele?

Did not thyne Enemies thy Vengeance feele?

10

Did not thy Atlas<sup>2</sup> shoulders seeme to beare

The pleasant burthen of this hæmispheare?

Or was thy power lesse in the watrie world?<sup>3</sup>

For, whether forreyne Armes, or billowes curl'd

Conspir'd the Merchants wreck; did they not bring

15

To thee a sweet and peacefull Offering?

The Sea thy power (her Neptune)<sup>4</sup> oft did feele,

Her fomie clouds submitting to thy keele.<sup>5</sup>

What though, Mars-like, to Pallas thou didst yeild?<sup>6</sup>

Yet thou of Venus<sup>7</sup> ever had'st the Feild.

20

The Nymphes,<sup>8</sup> whose browes bright wreathes of honour twine,

Judg'd thee to bee a Man neere halfe divine,

And freely would expose unto thy pleasure

The curious virtues of their hidden treasure.



Of honour, power, and pleasure, thou mightst bee 25  
 To all the world a just Epitomie.  
 Yet thou, even thou, like other Men art dead,  
 And to th' infernall shade thy spiritt's fledd;  
 Which thou had'st sooner done, if Men had thought  
 By such a wound thy death might have been wrought. 30  
 Where's now thy Riches, power, thy splendour, lust?  
 And though extracted from ignoble dust,<sup>9</sup>  
 Yet thou, like Lucifer,<sup>10</sup> did'st still aspire,  
 And scorn'dst those hopes that did not mount thee higher.  
 Where's thy Ambition, Pollicie, and Hate? 35  
 Thy Pleasures to thy soule incorporate;  
 Thy curious fare;<sup>11</sup> unlimited excesse?  
 The splendour of thy Ivorie Pallaces?  
 What boots<sup>12</sup> it that the worlds farr Ends for thee  
 Made contribution to thy Luxurie? 40  
 Where bee thy Friends, thy hopes, thy favour; which  
 Might both thy self and many more enrich,  
 Had'st thou not play'd the Prodigall, and spent  
 Without foreseeing of this dire event?  
 All these have left thee, like a blast or breath; 45  
 And thou, now swallowed by the Jawes of death,  
 For all thy quondam<sup>13</sup> power, thy Name shall bee  
 For ever hatefull to Posteritie.  
 Yet I could wish one thing for thee, belowe,  
 In those infernall shades where thou do'st goe, 50  
 Thou mightst a Purgatorie<sup>14</sup> finde, wherein  
 A thousand yeares might expiate thy sinne,  
 By purging those deepe staines, and vices fowle,  
 Which in thy life-time did infect thy soule,  
 That soe, at last, thou mightst enjoy that blisse 55

Where our Creator and Redeemer is.

**Source.** BL MS Sloane 826, fols. 178v-179v

**Other known sources.** Bodleian MS Malone 23, p. 198; PRO SP 16/114/70; Huntington MS HM 198, 1.159

Pi21

<sup>1</sup> *whilome*: once.

<sup>2</sup> *Atlas*: in classical mythology, Atlas supported the heavens on his shoulders.

<sup>3</sup> *Or was thy power...watrie world*: allusion to the power and profits that accrued to Buckingham as Lord Admiral.

<sup>4</sup> *Neptune*: Neptune god of the sea.

<sup>5</sup> *keele*: the bottom timber of a ship, running from stern to bow.

<sup>6</sup> *What though...thou didst yeild?*: Mars was the god of war; Pallas Athena, a goddess of wisdom and war. This line might be a general comment on Buckingham's military adventures and their failures, but it might also allude more specifically to the incident in Book 5 of Homer's *Iliad*, in which Mars (Ares) is wounded in the battle for Troy by the Greek warrior Diomedes and the goddess Athena.

<sup>7</sup> *Venus*: goddess of love.

<sup>8</sup> *Nymphes*: goddesses. In this and the following three lines, these nymphs are the ladies who succumbed to Buckingham's sexual charms.

<sup>9</sup> *extracted from ignoble dust*: Buckingham's relatively humble (yet gentle) social origins had long been a focus of criticism.

<sup>10</sup> *Lucifer*: Satan, driven from heaven for his pride and ambition.

<sup>11</sup> *Thy curious fare*: the exotic foods served at Buckingham's banquets.

<sup>12</sup> *boots*: benefits.

<sup>13</sup> *quondam*: sometime.

<sup>14</sup> *Purgatorie*: the Roman Catholic Church taught that purgatory occupied a middle place in the

afterlife, between heaven and hell, and that sinners sent there would suffer and pay the price of their sins before ascending to heaven. English Protestants believed purgatory to be a popish fiction.

## Pi22 Pale death, with Iron hand, hath struck a blowe

*Notes. Densely crammed with biblical and classical allusions, this poem is particularly concerned with Buckingham's thoroughly corrupt exercise of political power and patronage.*

“A Satyre on the D. of B.”<sup>1</sup>

Pale death, with Iron hand, hath struck a blowe,

And in Earths duskie Cabbin sunke belowe

A little world, that deem'd to sore more high

Then his horizon, or the fleeting skie.

His Courting Lady-hand,<sup>2</sup> with mickle<sup>3</sup> ease

Disastrouslie could spann our Albion<sup>4</sup> Seas:

Our brasen Wall<sup>5</sup> daunc'd on the brinish Wave,

Thinking, through him, Europa to outbrave.

He usd the meanes: For with his darting Eyes

(More then the Basilisks<sup>6</sup> or Babells Spies)<sup>7</sup>

Whatso'er intended, or wheresoever meant,

Chamelion like,<sup>8</sup> hee slilie would prevent.

The Brittain Crownetts<sup>9</sup> and the Clergies bookes

Were vaild<sup>10</sup> or burnt at's Ganimedean<sup>11</sup> looks.

A Kingdomes Councell fix'd, entirely one,

Were with a smile impugn'd by him alone

Our bright sunne-sett, and orient morning sunne

This Syren<sup>12</sup> hath eclipsed and o're-runne:

Parents made childlesse, children lost their Syres,

Worthies their honour, just their good desires:

The poore were polled,<sup>13</sup> the rich were neatly shav'd

The dastard<sup>14</sup> mounted, and the stout<sup>15</sup> outbrav'd;

Blockheads made Bishops, when the reverend Gowne

Like Homer waited for his smile or frowne,<sup>16</sup>

5

10

15

20

Barons Bankrupts, and Shop-men Barons made, 25  
 Knaves Knights, the course of auntient Knighthood stay'd.  
 The yealding nature of a pious King,  
 Whose worthie praises through the world doe ringe,  
 This Mans excessive power too much abus'd,  
 And by abortive means before not us'd, 30  
 That hee might mount Favorites honey tasted,  
 Whilst others vitall powers by poison wasted.<sup>17</sup>  
 Oh heavens! What doe I? Alas, hee's dead,  
 And's burd'nd soule untimely from him fledd.  
 Burie his Faults. Ile say no more then: Why? 35  
 Soe much in zeale to warne Posteritie  
 That all Icarian flights are vaine,<sup>18</sup>  
 And thunder-shaken from his waine  
 Shall Phaeton slide,<sup>19</sup> The hoast not rest  
 Till Achan die,<sup>20</sup> and Gibbions beast 40  
 Shall prove a Goad and thornie sting,  
 And happilie repentance bring,<sup>21</sup>  
     And know Promotion at his best  
     Findes death in earnest, not in jest.

**Source.** BL MS Sloane 826, fols. 180r-181r

**Other known sources.** Bodleian MS Malone 23, p. 200

Pi22

<sup>1</sup> *D. of B.*: Duke of Buckingham.

<sup>2</sup> *Courting Lady-hand*: although a number of specific readings of this phrase are possible, the general intent is to effeminize Buckingham and thus implicitly to explain why his military adventures, alluded to in the following lines, were so disastrous.

<sup>3</sup> *mickle*: great.

- <sup>4</sup> *Albion*: English.
- <sup>5</sup> *Our brasen Wall*: this phrase literally means “our brass (or strong) wall”, and refers to the English navy which Buckingham had commanded as Lord Admiral.
- <sup>6</sup> *Basilisks*: the eyes of the basilisk, a mythical serpent-like creature, killed all who looked into them.
- <sup>7</sup> *Babells Spies*: the story of the building of the tower of Babel is told in Genesis 11. In this context, Babel is probably a synonym for the Catholic threat, and thus Babel’s spies are Catholic spies.
- <sup>8</sup> *Chamelion like*: the ability to shift appearances like the chameleon lizard.
- <sup>9</sup> *The Brittain Crownets*: the coronets worn by the English and Scottish nobility, who had to submit to Buckingham’s power.
- <sup>10</sup> *vaild*: removed.
- <sup>11</sup> *Ganimedian*: the adjective derives from the name of the mythical Trojan boy Ganymede, kidnapped by a besotted Zeus and taken to serve as his cupbearer on Olympus. Ganymede was commonly used as a term for a homosexual sodomite, and had been applied to Buckingham by libels attacking his relationship with King James I (see Section L).
- <sup>12</sup> *Syren*: the sirens were sea nymphs whose songs could charm any who heard them.
- <sup>13</sup> *polled*: plundered.
- <sup>14</sup> *dastard*: base coward.
- <sup>15</sup> *stout*: brave, manly.
- <sup>16</sup> *Blockheads made Bishops...smile or frowne*: the political meaning of these two lines is clear enough; the poet is lamenting Buckingham’s corrupt control of patronage and promotion within the English Church. Incompetents were made bishops, and clerical hopes for promotion depended solely on Buckingham’s personal favour or disdain. The allusion to Homer is obscure, though it is probably drawn from the rich tradition of speculation about the epic poet’s life and times.
- <sup>17</sup> *And by abortive means...poison wasted*: allusion to the allegations that Buckingham had secured his position at court by poisoning several courtiers and King James I. The allegations were first made explicitly in George Eglisham’s 1626 pamphlet, *The Forerunner of Revenge*, but quickly became a routine part of libellous attacks on the favourite.
- <sup>18</sup> *all Icarian flights are vaine*: Buckingham’s phenomenal ascent is compared here to the classical story of the flight of Icarus, who flew too close to the sun with wings sealed with wax. Icarus’s fall,

when the sun melted the wax, is used here as a parable of the inevitable downfall of the aspiring court favourite who rose too high.

<sup>19</sup> *And thunder-shaken...Shall Phaeton slide*: the myth of Phaeton, commonly used by contemporaries to describe the perils of surrendering royal authority to ill-qualified favourites, describes how Phaeton persuaded his father Phoebus, god of the sun, to allow him to drive the chariot (“waine”) of the sun for a day. Phaeton was unable to drive the sun safely and was struck dead by Jove’s thunderbolt to prevent the sun crashing into the earth.

<sup>20</sup> *The hoast not rest / Till Achan die*: the story of Achan is told in Joshua 7. After Joshua’s conquest of Jericho, his follower Achan stole an “accursed thing” from the ruined city. God punished Achan’s sin by allowing the armies of the City of Ai to defeat Joshua’s troops (“The hoast”). Only after Joshua discovered Achan’s offence and killed him was God’s wrath assuaged. The implication here is that only after Buckingham’s justly merited death would England—and English military might—flourish again.

<sup>21</sup> *Gibbions beast...repentance bring*: the allusion, in this context, is a little obscure. It may refer to the biblical account of the punishment (hence the reference to the “Goad”—a whip or scourge—and “thornie sting”) given to the city of Gibeon. In Joshua 9, the Gibeonites trick Joshua into guaranteeing them protection from his campaign of military conquest. Joshua, obliged to spare their lives, opts in retribution to reduce the Gibeonites to the status of “hewers of wood and drawers of water”: “Now therefore ye are cursed, and there shall none of you be freed from being bondmen” (Joshua 9.23). Alternatively, it is possible that the phrase might refer to “Gideon’s best”, which could stand for the select force of 300 Israelite troops who, under the command of the Judge Gideon, defeated the overwhelming force of the Midianites (Judges 7-8).

### Pi23 Great Gorge, and art thou gonne

*Notes.* In the only known source, this poem is attributed to “ E.K. ”, the author of several other poems in William Davenport’s collection.

Great Gorge, and art thou gonne?

t’were childishe for a man to moane

for one soe well departed.

thou hast thy cuntryes free good wille

although it’s plaine, thou livinge still

to her was hollowe harted.

I will not slander one that’s dead

to saye that Buckinghame is fledd

to any place off reste,

Or that hees in cælestiall sleepe

or Christians true for him doe weepe

or holy crosse him bleste,

Yett I am sure hele ryse againe,

I will not saye to eternall paine

which he soe well deserved.

Could not the reliquices<sup>1</sup> off his Lambe<sup>2</sup>

or his owne deere Idolatrous Damme<sup>3</sup>

From Felton him preserve.

But I will leave this censure free

to any that will Judge for mee

how god hath him disposed;

I am pleased; he lived and dyed mounst French<sup>4</sup>

he wanted but a Madride wench<sup>5</sup>

his eyes, for to have closed.

5

10

15

20

**Source.** CCRO MS CR 63/2/19, fol. 69r



- <sup>1</sup> *reliquices*: the relics of saints, and thus objects of specifically “popish” veneration.
- <sup>2</sup> *Lambe*: Dr. John Lambe, astrologer-physician, convicted witch and presumed associate of Buckingham.
- <sup>3</sup> *own deere Idolatrous Damme*: Buckingham’s mother (“Damme”), Mary Compton, Countess of Buckingham, was a known Catholic convert and thus, in Protestant eyes, “Idolatrous”.
- <sup>4</sup> *he lived and dyed mounst French*: although this line refers generally to Buckingham’s moral foreignness, it may also allude specifically to his travels in France as a young man and during his court ascendancy, his military expedition to France in 1627, and to the fact that in the room with him when he was assassinated were several prominent Huguenots, there to consult with Buckingham about the relief of La Rochelle. The “french” was also common slang for syphilis.
- <sup>5</sup> *Madride wench*: like the similar allusion to the “Madrille wench” in “Oure crossrow’s turnd, a signe off monstrous luck” (like this poem, only found in William Davenport’s collection), this seems to refer to Buckingham’s alleged sexual adventures in Madrid in 1623.

## Pi24 Thou that on topp of Fortunes wheeles did mount

*Notes.* Like so many of the libellous epitaphs addressed to the Duke, this poem integrates a broad selection of the scandalous charges that had been circulating at least since the mid-1620s. These charges range from the sale of offices to the breaking of parliaments, from corruption and incompetence as Lord Admiral to the poisoning of his political enemies. The poet's pointed complaints about Buckingham's treatment of the City of London and its citizens suggest that this verse might be the work of a Londoner.

“On the death of Georg Duke of Buckingham”

Thou that on topp of Fortunes wheeles did mount  
that on mens' shoulders wonted wast to rid<sup>1</sup>  
art summond now to yeelde upp thyne account  
& answer for thy treacherie & pride  
Thou must appeare beefore a righteous Judge 5  
( 'tis none of those that weere of thine owne makeing)<sup>2</sup>  
to shew the cause why commons did so grudge  
against thee with loude cries and hearts akeing  
Thou must not hope for tryall at Kings bench<sup>3</sup>  
nor at the barr of common pleas<sup>4</sup> appeare 10  
the one doth say thou smelst too much of French  
the other thinks hee bought his place too deare<sup>5</sup>  
Thy selfe from judgment yet thou canst not hyde  
thy case shall not bee seene by learned Cooke<sup>6</sup>  
beefore the cheefest Judge<sup>7</sup> thou must be tryde 15  
who will afright thee with his glorious looke  
There thou must show an execrable thing  
how thou so savage a wicked wretch could bee  
to kill thy sacred soveraigne lord and king,  
that had so honored & exalted thee 20  
Bee sure there thou questioned must bee

for Richmond Oxford Marquesse Hambleton<sup>8</sup>  
 for thy false dealing at the Ile of Ree<sup>9</sup>  
 for brave Southampton & his noble sonne<sup>10</sup>  
 Thou must make answer for thy admiralls place 25  
 wherein from native place thou didst purloyne  
 to thyne owne mother Brittaines great'st disgrace  
 great store of shipps of ordinance and coyne<sup>11</sup>  
 Lett who will search all moderne histories  
 yet by his reading hee shall never finde 30  
 in anie man so manie treacheries  
 loyall to bee, whom Princs love should binde  
 Thou daily stood'st in feare of Parliaments  
 the lower house thou never could'st endure  
 which caus'd them broken upp in discontents<sup>12</sup> 35  
 but now the lowest house<sup>13</sup> will keepe thee sure  
 Faire London, ever to hir kings most kinde  
 at all times past their wants for to releive<sup>14</sup>  
 could no tyme anie frendly favour finde  
 thy envyous mynde still stryveing her to greive 40  
 A citizen that cravd what thou didst owe him  
 if hee unto thy presence weere admitted  
 On him thou lookdst as if thou didst not know him  
 or for his boldness hee was straight committed.<sup>15</sup>

**Source.** Bodleian MS Dodsworth 79, fol. 158v

Pi24

<sup>1</sup> *rid*: i.e. ride.

<sup>2</sup> *none of those...thine owne makeing*: Buckingham wielded immense influence over all appointments to office during the 1620s.

- <sup>3</sup> *Kings bench*: the court of King’s Bench, located in Westminster Hall, was the chief court for Crown prosecutions at common law.
- <sup>4</sup> *common pleas*: the court of Common Pleas, located in Westminster Hall, was “*par excellence* the court for civil actions between private parties, especially for cases which involved property” (Aylmer 45).
- <sup>5</sup> *the one doth say...too deare*: presumably a reference to the two Lord Chief Justices of King’s Bench and Common Pleas, Nicholas Hyde (appointed 1627) and Thomas Richardson (appointed 1626). The two lines incorporate a pair of charges against Buckingham: that he “smelst too much of French”, which puns on “French” as foreign and Catholic, and “the french”, slang for syphilis; and that he sold judicial offices. One contemporary noted that the “Lord Chief Justice’s place of the Common Pleas lay void a term to see who would give most. It stood at £30,000 a great while. Serjeant Richardson gave 14 M (i.e. £14000) for it”. Other news reports stated that Richardson gave £7000 or £17000 (*Proceedings in Parliament, 1626*, 4.349 and n.64).
- <sup>6</sup> *learned Cooke*: Sir Edward Coke, former Lord Chief Justice.
- <sup>7</sup> *the cheefest Judge*: i.e. God.
- <sup>8</sup> *There thou must show...Marquesse Hambleton*: allusion to the charges—first levelled in the 1626 pamphlet, *The Forerunner of Revenge*, by a former royal physician, George Eglisam—that Buckingham had poisoned James I and several rival courtiers. Eglisam accused Buckingham of murdering the King and James Hamilton, Marquis of Hamilton, and hinted also that he poisoned Ludovick Stuart, Duke of Lennox, who held the English title of Duke of Richmond. Eglisam did not explicitly allege that Buckingham had killed Henry de Vere, Earl of Oxford—as claimed in “Avaunt you giddie headed multitude”—but Eglisam had noted the rumour that all Buckingham’s enemies were to be poisoned.
- <sup>9</sup> *false dealing at the Ile of Ree*: allusion to charges of Buckingham’s misconduct during the 1627 expedition to the Ile de Ré (see Section O).
- <sup>10</sup> *brave Southampton & his noble sonne*: in 1624, Henry Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton, and his eldest son James, led a troop of English volunteers to assist the Dutch against the Spanish. Both father and son became ill in the Netherlands and died. Several verse libels and George Eglisam’s 1626 pamphlet, *The Forerunner of Revenge*, alleged that Buckingham had poisoned Southampton.
- <sup>11</sup> *Thou must make answer...ordinance and coyne*: reference to Buckingham’s alleged corruption and misconduct as Lord Admiral, which formed part both of the impeachment charges and the Remonstrance against him in the 1626 and 1628 Parliaments, respectively.
- <sup>12</sup> *Thou daily stood’st...discontents*: Buckingham was the subject of parliamentary attacks throughout

the 1620s, particularly in 1626 and 1628, and was frequently blamed for the Crown's decisions to dissolve or prorogue the assemblies.

<sup>13</sup> *the lowest house*: i.e. hell.

<sup>14</sup> *Faire London...for to relieve*: the cash-strapped English Crown frequently received loans from London mercantile interests.

<sup>15</sup> *committed*: imprisoned.

## Pi25 What once was said by valiant Tomyris

*Notes.* This poem ranges widely in its allusions, beginning with a scene from Herodotus and ending with the refrain to a popular anti-Buckingham song from 1627.

“On the duke of Buckingham”

What once was said by valiant Tomyris

to mightie Cirus haveing lost his head<sup>1</sup>

applied to thee will not bee thought amisse

for thou more worthie blood then hee hast shedd<sup>2</sup>

The witch thy mother<sup>3</sup> that old rotten drabb<sup>4</sup>

5

with hir inchantments & her conjuring tricks

could not defend thy bodie from the stabb

nor keepe thy soule from Acharon & Stix<sup>5</sup>

Thanks to our God for thou art well dispatcht

I trust that shee thy ghost shall shortly follow

10

more plotts by damme<sup>6</sup> and sonne weere never hatcht

pretending faire but haveing hart most hollow

And now that thou art dead wee will rejoyce

and meerly spend the time both night and daie

the fiders boy that hath the lowdest voyce

15

shall sing thy song the cleane contrary waie<sup>7</sup>

**Source.** Bodleian MS Dodsworth 79, fol. 158r

Pi25

<sup>1</sup> *What once was said...lost his head:* Herodotus reports the speech of the Massagetae Queen Tomyris over the corpse of Cyrus, King of the Persians, killed in battle c.530 BC. “After the battle Tomyris ordered a search to be made amongst the Persian dead for the body of Cyrus; and when it was found she pushed his head into a skin which she had filled with human blood, and cried out as she committed this outrage: “Though I have conquered you and live, yet you have ruined me by treacherously taking my

son. See now—I fulfil my threat: you have your fill of blood” (1.214).

<sup>2</sup> *more worthie blood...hast shedd*: the worthy blood here is that of James I and several court nobles allegedly poisoned by Buckingham in the mid-1620s. The poisoning allegations were first levelled in George Eglisam’s 1626 *Forerunner of Revenge*, and later circulated in libels and other underground media.

<sup>3</sup> *The witch thy mother*: Buckingham’s mother, Mary Compton, Countess of Buckingham, was a known Catholic and rumoured witch.

<sup>4</sup> *drabb*: whore.

<sup>5</sup> *Acharon & Stix*: Acheron and Styx, two of the rivers of Hades, the classical realm of the dead.

<sup>6</sup> *damme*: mother.

<sup>7</sup> *the fiddlers boy...cleane contrary waie*: the notorious libellous ballad against Buckingham, “Come heare, Lady Muses, and help mee to sing”, performed by fiddlers at Ware and at Staines in the spring of 1627, includes the refrain, “The clean contrary way”.

**Pi26 If good mens graces in heaven with them abide**

*Notes.* Like “What once was said by valiant Tomyris”, this libel’s conclusion alludes to the infamous ballad against Buckingham, “Come heare, Lady Muses, and help mee to sing”, which includes the refrain, “The clean contrary way”. The opening three lines depend in part on a pun on grace, as both divine grace and the appropriate form of address for a duke.

If good mens graces in heaven with them abide,  
Then sure the Duke his Grace is stept aside.  
All rimers now make Musick of his Grace;  
'Twere noe good part to play upon the base.  
What fidders sung, now all may freely say,  
The Duke is gone, the clean contrary way.

5

**Source.** Bodleian MS Tanner 465, fol. 104r

Pi26



## Pi27 Great Duke, which art commaunder of the Seas

*Notes.* This is the longer of two poems written as dialogues between the murdered Buckingham and Charon who, in classical mythology, was the ferryman of the dead across the rivers of the underworld (cf. “At Portsmouth Duke I will no longer stave”). This libel is milder than most, opening with Charon intending to take Buckingham to “Elysium” (though that hope is later seemingly contradicted), and concluding with a theologically problematic—essentially Roman Catholic—suggestion that the Duke might eventually rise to heaven after a period of punishment in purgatory.

“A Dialogue Betweene Charon and the D.”<sup>1</sup>

Great Duke, which art commaunder of the Seas,<sup>2</sup>  
Make haste to Portsmouth,<sup>3</sup> if thy highnesse please;  
For there my boate is ready to convey  
Thy soule to the Elizeum:<sup>4</sup> come away.

Duke.

Whose is that voice that soundeth in myne eare? 5  
Meethinks 'tis Carons: See, hee doth appeare.  
Who sent thee, Caron, that thou makst such haste  
For to remove my blisse, to have mee plac't  
Among the Furies,<sup>5</sup> that ne're see bright day?  
But I must goe: Caron calls, Come away. 10  
Come Felton then, and execute thy will,  
Who are prepar'd great Georges blood to spill.  
Yet, give mee leave, before I see my end,  
One poore Petition through the skies to send,  
For to sollicite him that rules the heaven, 15  
And that my spotted soule may bee forgiven.

Charon.

Thou art too tedious, and dost stay too long:  
Noe time is lent thee. Come: you must among

Those that on earth could finde noe time to pray  
 Till I come for them: Therefore come away. 20  
 For if thy conscience doth not thee accuse,  
 In that thy God and King thou didst abuse;  
 Then make noe question of thy doeing well,  
 Thy soule shall onely passe with mee through hell,  
 Where thou content must bee to stay a while, 25  
 To clense thy conscience, which thou didst defile:  
 And if from thence to blisse thou finde a way,  
 Thou leave shalt have: But now I will not stay.  
         Duke.  
 Then farewell Joyes: Ile bee content to dwell  
 A thousand yeares in Purgatorie<sup>6</sup> or hell, 30  
 Soe that I may at last but purchase heaven,  
 And rest with him whose blood for mee was given.<sup>7</sup>

**Source.** BL MS Sloane 826, fols. 187v-188r

Pi27

<sup>1</sup> *the D.:* the Duke.

<sup>2</sup> *commaunder of the Seas:* Buckingham was Lord Admiral of England.

<sup>3</sup> *Portsmouth:* Buckingham was assassinated in the naval town of Portsmouth, on the south coast of England.

<sup>4</sup> *the Elizeum:* the Elysian fields, the dwelling place of the blessed souls in the classical underworld.

<sup>5</sup> *Among the Furies:* the three avenging goddesses known as the furies were usually described as dwelling beneath the underworld and being responsible for inflicting torments on the damned. This destination seems to contradict Charon's opening suggestion that he was to take Buckingham to "the Elizeum".

<sup>6</sup> *Purgatorie:* the middle place between hell and heaven in which, according to Catholic belief, the souls of the dead could suffer for a period of time to pay off the debts of their accumulated sins.

Protestants believed that purgatory was a “popish” fiction.

<sup>7</sup> *him whose blood...given:* i.e. Christ.

**Pi28 At Portsmouth Duke I will no longer staye**

*Notes.* This poem is the shorter of the two surviving dialogues between Buckingham and Charon, ferryman of the dead (cf. "Great Duke, which art commaunder of the Seas"). The last three speeches (i.e. the last six lines) may be unique to our chosen source.

"The Admiralls ferriman, Duke Buckingham"

Charon. At Portsmouth<sup>1</sup> Duke I will no longer staye

my boat'es at hand, nowe therfore come awaye,

Duke. Who calls greate George? (Charon.) tis Charon that commaunds

thy guilty ghost to goe him none withstands.

Duke. but whither must I goe? (Charon.) to land at Styx<sup>2</sup>

5

from whence you had your stratagemes and trickes.

Duke. nay pritheee stay, sweete Charon, thou shalt see

that if George lives, then all shall come to thee.

Charon. pish<sup>3</sup> come I saye! my boate shall stay for none.

thy sweete perfumed sins will fill't alone,

10

yf not thy Titles.<sup>4</sup> (Duke.) Sure thow'lt stay a while

that I may Charles a little more beguile

Charon. No no I cannot, Felton make no delaye

if thou lov'st Charles send me proud George awaye

Duke. Am I of sea & land that greate Commaunder<sup>5</sup>

15

when this small boate doth scorne I should command her

sweete pleasures, honors, titles, fortune brittle,

Adieu, I have no tittle to a tittle.<sup>6</sup>

Charon. ho, ho! now welcome George; no soule shall more

For these twelve moneths be lanced from this shoare

20

but see my bottome sinkes whence comes this weight

Duke. Greate Brittaines burdthen is thy heavy freight

Charon. then use thy art Charon to gaine the strand<sup>7</sup>

this wood till nowe was ne're so basely man'd.

**Source.** BL Add. MS 29492, fol. 56r-v

**Other known sources.** Bodleian MS Douce f.5, fol. 13v; Bodleian MS Eng. Poet. e.14, fol. 19r; Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 26, fol. 14r; Bodleian MS Tanner 465, fol. 103r; BL MS Sloane 826, fol. 188r; BL MS Harley 791, fol. 57r; St. John's MS K.56, no. 22; St. John's MS S.32, fol. 42v; Rosenbach MS 240/7, p. 60

Pi28

- <sup>1</sup> *Portsmouth*: Buckingham was assassinated in the southern English town of Portsmouth.
- <sup>2</sup> *Styx*: a river in Hades, the classical realm of the dead.
- <sup>3</sup> *pish*: an exclamation of contempt.
- <sup>4</sup> *Titles*: Buckingham held a number of titles in addition to his dukedom, including Earl of Coventry and Baron Whaddon. His list of offices was longer still.
- <sup>5</sup> *of sea & land...Commaunder*: Buckingham was Lord Admiral and the commander of English armies at the Ile de Ré in 1627.
- <sup>6</sup> *a tittle*: a tiny amount.
- <sup>7</sup> *strand*: shore.

**Pi29 Make haste I pray, launch out your shipps with speed**

*Notes.* The version of this poem printed in the 1644 pamphlet *Hell's Hurlie-Burlie* is titled "The Duke of Buckingham's last voyage, written a little before his death". However, given its subject matter, and its thematic connection with other "Buckingham-in-hell" poems, the libel was most likely composed after the assassination.

"Upon the D. of B."<sup>1</sup>

Make haste I pray, launch out your shipps with speed,

Our noble Duke had never greater need

Of sodaine succour, And those Vessells must

Bee his maine help; For there's his onely trust.

Alas! our English Navie is too poor<sup>2</sup>

5

To serve his turn alone; hee must have more:

Nyne more brave barques<sup>3</sup> besides will help him well,

And make him shew more hideous then hell:

For thither sure his Voyage next will be,

Better for England then the Ile of Ree.<sup>4</sup>

10

The Furies,<sup>5</sup> that can like himself dissemble,

Will either feare indeed, or seeme to tremble,

To heare a thunder then theirs one Note higher

And see even hell it selfe ore-spitt with fire.

O Lucifer,<sup>6</sup> thou must resigne thy crown;

15

For thou shall meet a Duke will put thee downe.

Hee hath a sinne, besides the deadly seaven,<sup>7</sup>

More then e'er hell found out, to make them eaven;

For which (O hell-hounds) if you doe not grant

Him place, you will for ever want

20

Your greatest consort. Let there bee a dearth

Of fire in hell, as there is heere in Earth,

Only through him,<sup>8</sup> And soe noe doubt there shall

If hee once come to bee your Admirall.<sup>9</sup>  
 But why should I perswade you to bestow 25  
 The place and honour on him, that you owe?  
 His Highness shall commaund it, And his Port  
 O'er-sway the greatest Noble in your court.  
 Hee shalbee King there, Sitt in the Kings Throne,  
 Or ells commaund the King; and thats all one. 30  
 Nor shall the Theefe free favours there inheritt  
 By any guift of yours, but by his meritt.  
 Alas, poore Feinds, I grieve at your disgraces;  
 For you must lose your Offices and places;  
 And doe the best in all your powers to doe 35  
 Hee will have all, and that too little too.  
 But why should this bee knowne in hell? perchance  
 The Furies would denie him Entrance,  
 And Pluto,<sup>10</sup> fearing to bee overcome  
 At his owne weapon, not afford him roome 40  
 In his best Pallace. And shall mortall Men  
 Bee troubled with his countenance agen?  
 Noe. Divells take your due: For, if there bee  
 One you can claim in all the world, Its hee.

**Source.** BL MS Sloane 826, fols. 185v-186v

**Other known sources.** *Hell's Hurlie-Burlie* 6; Bodleian MS Malone 23, p. 201; PRO SP 16/114/68

Pi29

<sup>1</sup> *D. of B.*: Duke of Buckingham.

<sup>2</sup> *our English Navie is too poor*: allusion to Buckingham's alleged corruption and mismanagement of naval affairs as Lord Admiral.

<sup>3</sup> *barques*: ships.

<sup>4</sup> *Ile of Ree*: Buckingham commanded the costly and disastrous 1627 military expedition to the Ile de Ré (see Section O).

<sup>5</sup> *The Furies*: the three avenging goddesses who dwelt beneath Hades, the classical realm of the dead, and inflicted punishments on the damned.

<sup>6</sup> *Lucifer*: Satan, the ruler of hell.

<sup>7</sup> *the deadly seaven*: the seven deadly sins are pride, wrath, envy, lust, avarice, gluttony and sloth.

<sup>8</sup> *Let there bee...Only through him*: allusion to the dangerous shortage of gunpowder in England. The 1628 parliamentary Remonstancie against Buckingham included a section on the shortage, which it described as “a strange improvidence (we think your Majesty will rather call it treachery)” (*Proceedings in Parliament, 1628* 4.315).

<sup>9</sup> *Admirall*: Buckingham was Lord Admiral of England.

<sup>10</sup> *Pluto*: ruler of Hades.



### Pi30 No sooner had the worlds most happy knife

*Notes. This poem only survives in a printed copy, published in the 1644 anti-Royalist pamphlet Hell's Hurlie-Burlie. Since the other Buckingham libel in this pamphlet ("Make haste I pray, launch out your shippes with speed") survives in manuscript copies made before the 1640s, we have assumed that this poem also circulated originally as a manuscript libel in the aftermath of Buckingham's murder, and have thus chosen to include it in this edition.*

"The Same Dukes entertainment: Written presently after his death"

No sooner had the worlds most happy knife

Took from the world the most unhappy life,

But straight th'infernall Rout<sup>1</sup> began to roare,

In hell was never such a noise before:

Silence proclaim'd, to th'utmost gate they post,

5

Which open'd, they admit his Graces Ghost.

Th'inferior Fiends, that horror lov'd so much,

Trembl'd at first sight, his aspect<sup>2</sup> was such,

But noting the free welcome to him given,

By him, that for his pride was thrown from heaven<sup>3</sup>

10

His fellowship with laughter all allow,

If ever there were joy in Hell, 'twas now.

After much complementall curtesie

Betwixt the Admirall of Styx<sup>4</sup> and hee,

Along to Plutoe's<sup>5</sup> court they passe in state,

15

(In what he living lov'd still fortunate)

A guard of Feinds and Furyes led the way,

I' the shape of men at armes in battell-ray,<sup>6</sup>

Much like our Citie Souldiers, lately prest,

T'attend his Highnes to my Lord Maiors feast.<sup>7</sup>

20

Pride went before him, ever in his sight,

Lust on his left hand, murther on his right,

Ambition rode, though pride & he were twins,  
 Consorted with the other deadly sins<sup>8</sup>  
 When neere to Pluto's palace-gate he came, 25  
 Who should he meet withall but Dr. Lambe,<sup>9</sup>  
 Who comming towards him, with cap in hand,  
 The company began to make a stand,  
 And note his gesture; when with bended knee,  
 Welcome O high and mighty Prince, quoth he, 30  
 Great Marquesse, Earl, and Duke of Buckingham.<sup>10</sup>  
 His Highnes answering; thanks learned Lam,  
 On went the Doctor without Prohibition,  
 Of all his Titles<sup>11</sup> making repetition,  
 Wherein he utter'd such a deal of geare, 35  
 As made the Devill himself even stink to heare,  
 And frighted Spirits of mean ranck and fashion,  
 Who took his spect<sup>12</sup> to be a Conjurat[i]on.  
 His huge high stile gone over, the Duke bowes,  
 And of his language with his look allowes; 40  
 Lam still proceeds, and thus delaies his Grace:  
 O thou (of men most worthy of this place)  
 Wheres thy deare mother,<sup>13</sup> thy rare mother, tell,  
 (For the word good must not be nam'd in hell)  
 Will she be still her grandsir Devills debter? 45  
 Hath she not yet perform'd the task he set her?  
 Or are there in the world against her will,  
 More honest Nobles to be poyson'd still?<sup>14</sup>  
 At this his Highnesse (smiling) bad him hold;  
 More fire the Devills cried, the Duke's acold. 50  
 Now's the place enter'd that th'Infernalls call  
 The King of lower Tartaries<sup>15</sup> black Hall:  
 At th'upper end, great Pluto sate in state;

The Duke (admitted) with majestick gate,<sup>16</sup>  
 walk'd toward him, posses'd with constant hope 55  
 T'obtain the grace he once receiv'd o'th' Pope;<sup>17</sup>  
 Twice by the way he bow'd, then kneeled down  
 Kist his cloven foot, and show'd his own ball'd crown;<sup>18</sup>  
 His Majesty of hell smil'd at the sight,  
 And all the rest o' the rabble laught out-right. 60  
 Rais'd from his knee, and question'd, he relates  
 His horrible abuse of times and States,  
 Cales<sup>19</sup> he makes mention of, and so goes on  
 To's plot of Rochells sad destruction,<sup>20</sup>  
 Wherein so horrid was the tale he told, 65  
 It made th'amazed hearers seem acold.  
 From first to last, I could expresse it heere,  
 But 'tis too harsh for any Christian eare  
 Valour he had no doubt, that did not shrink  
 To act what others are afraid to think. 70  
 The story ended, Pluto (blushing) rose,  
 Having before nere heard such truths as those:  
 Though thy bad actions (thus he spake) are such  
 As might amongst us merit more than much,  
 Yet since thy fates have suffer'd thee to tell, 75  
 (Perhaps against thy will) the truth in hell,  
 Away with him, he cry'd: the cursed crew,  
 Without more words, their Masters meaning knew,  
 And hence they hurri'd straight the wretched thing,  
 A shadow now, that lately rul'd a King.<sup>21</sup> 80

**Source.** *Hell's Hurlie-Burlie* 7-8

- <sup>1</sup> *Rout*: crowd.
- <sup>2</sup> *aspect*: appearance, look.
- <sup>3</sup> *him, that for his pride...heaven*: Satan was cast from heaven for rebelling against God's rule.
- <sup>4</sup> *the Admirall of Styx*: perhaps intended as a reference to Charon, the ferryman who brought the souls of the dead across the River Styx into Hades, the realm of the dead. On the other hand, this may refer not to a specific denizen of Hades, but simply to the figure who held the same office of Admiral that Buckingham had held in England.
- <sup>5</sup> *Plutoe's*: Pluto was the ruler of Hades.
- <sup>6</sup> *battell-ray*: i.e. battle array; prepared for battle.
- <sup>7</sup> *Much like...Lord Maiors feast*: the "guard of Feinds and Furyes" are here compared to the armed bands of the City of London who accompanied "his Highnes" (which might refer either to the King or, sarcastically, Buckingham) to a feast held by the Lord Mayor.
- <sup>8</sup> *the other deadly sins*: the seven deadly sins included (in addition to pride and lust mentioned here), envy, avarice, gluttony, anger and sloth.
- <sup>9</sup> *Dr. Lambe*: John Lambe, astrologer-physician, convicted witch and suspected associate of the Duke, had been murdered by a London mob in June 1628.
- <sup>10</sup> *Marquesse, Earl, and Duke of Buckingham*: Buckingham held all three titles; he was created Earl in 1617, Marquis in 1618 and Duke in 1623.
- <sup>11</sup> *all his Titles*: Buckingham held several aristocratic titles in addition to his dukedom, including Earl of Coventry and Baron Whaddon.
- <sup>12</sup> *spect*: look, appearance.
- <sup>13</sup> *mother*: Mary Compton, Countess of Buckingham.
- <sup>14</sup> *More honest Nobles...poyson'd still?*: allusion to the widely reported allegations that Buckingham had poisoned James I and several prominent courtiers. In *The Forerunner of Revenge*, the 1626 tract that first explicitly made these allegations, George Eglissham implied that Buckingham's mother had assisted in the poisoning of King James.
- <sup>15</sup> *Tartaries*: Tartarus was deep below Hades in the classical underworld, but was often used as a synonym for the underworld as a whole.

<sup>16</sup> *gate*: i.e. gait; bearing.

<sup>17</sup> *T'obtain the grace...o'th' Pope*: allusion to Buckingham's supposed allegiance to and support from the papacy.

<sup>18</sup> *ball'd crown*: this unique reference to Buckingham's bald head may allude to the Duke's supposed fondness for wigs.

<sup>19</sup> *Cales*: i.e. Cadiz. The allusion is to the failed 1625 naval expedition to Cadiz, organized, though not commanded, by Buckingham.

<sup>20</sup> *plot of Rochells sad destruction*: the allegation here is that Buckingham deliberately worked for the fall of Huguenot La Rochelle to the Catholic French. Buckingham's disastrous 1627 expedition to the Ile de Ré had been designed to relieve La Rochelle, as had the abortive 1628 mission led by Buckingham's brother-in-law William Feilding, Earl of Denbigh. Buckingham was preparing another expedition to La Rochelle at the time of his assassination.

<sup>21</sup> *lately rul'd a King*: the libel ends with a provocative claim about the extent of Buckingham's power in England.

### Pi31 Great Duke, Although I litle am acquainted

*Notes. Rich in classical allusions, this poem is unique to William Davenport's collection.*

“In Ducem”<sup>1</sup>

Great Duke, Although I litle am acquainted,  
with all the crymes, wherewith thy soule it<sup>2</sup> taynted:  
yet doe thy faults, constrayne my tender muse,  
to curse his harte, that did us all abuse:  
Where is thy devill, and thy Doctor Lambe?<sup>3</sup> 5  
that purchased the, with Charles, so great a name:  
what are they gone, unto the Stygean Lake?<sup>4</sup>  
and would thee soe unkyndlye now forsake?  
No no they went,<sup>5</sup> but to prepare a seate  
For thee accordinge to thy great estate; 10  
Pluto<sup>6</sup> proclaymed had a sollemne feaste  
and bade thy soule to be cheefest gueste:  
Oh strange at first, to get soe great promocion  
with dis:<sup>7</sup> (I saith) it was for pure devocoun,  
thou bare to Lucyffer;<sup>8</sup> then thinke off this 15  
that Felton, meritts everlastinge bliss,  
who caused thee, to gayne that exaltacion  
and sent thee to such a place off recreacion,  
theire maiste thou use, thy magyke and thy charmes,  
thy spells, and figures,<sup>9</sup> can doe litle harme: 20  
with Sysyphus, theire maiste thou rowle the stonne,<sup>10</sup>  
Or els with Tantalus,<sup>11</sup> goe make thy moane:  
Yett all too litle for thy soule to feele,  
Ixion, shall sett thee on his rowlinge wheele;<sup>12</sup>  
Oh: might thy soule, but come againe and tell,

the paynes and travells, that it had too hell:  
 it would require some Homer,<sup>13</sup> to endyte,  
 and all the Poets sett a worke, to wrytte,  
 with penns of steele; their Inike<sup>14</sup> the Ocean sea,  
 their paper, all the leaves that springe in Maye: 30  
 but since it comes not; as I best can foarde,<sup>15</sup>  
 Ile shew you, all its progress in a worde:  
 When it arrived in the Stygean baye,  
 Caron<sup>16</sup> expected then a mightye paye;  
 to pass it over; which the soule soone spied, 35  
 about it middle, at that tyme was tyed  
 a girdle, wch was off great woorke and pryze,  
 called Treacherie: wch did the churle<sup>17</sup> suffyze.  
 A boarde they went; Caron began to rowe,  
 but to remove it, he had much adoee, 40  
 the soule so sinfull, waied the boate soe downe,  
 that Charon stood in feare the boate should drowne,  
 then rose the surges,<sup>18</sup> over all the brime,  
 it botes<sup>19</sup> them not to practyse, then to swimme,  
 for they had drenched bene in that vaste floode, 45  
 but Pluto ayminge, alwayse at his good:  
 was wandered past the bankes off Cocytus<sup>20</sup>  
 towardes Stixe Lake, when that it happened thus,  
 and seeinge both of them soe nighe bespent,  
 it forced Dis, their case for to lament: 50  
 since both were servaunts true without controule;  
 Charon had brought him manye a welcome soule,  
 And Gorge, as willinge came, as any other  
 which made the devill, adopte him for his brother:  
 hee toake his soul, and Proserpine,<sup>21</sup> it cherishte, 55  
 that but for them, throughe weight off sinns had perishte:

err that it could attayne th'appoynted place,  
wich Radamanthe<sup>22</sup> out off a speciall grace,  
att the solycytinge off Docter Lambe,  
ordayned for it gainst it thither came. 60  
Thus have I shewed you in a worde or towe,  
the progress straunge, wich some maye judge untrewe,  
off Villeir's soule, from this our Brittish Ile,  
to pale Avernus<sup>23</sup> in a litle whyle;  
Mægera and Alecto<sup>24</sup> make it myrthe 65  
for Treacherie committed here on earth:  
but yett before I make a fynall ende,  
his vice, not vertue, needes I must commende,  
Iff Conjuracions, Carrecters and spells,  
Circles, and figures, furyes, feends of hell; 70  
and all enchauntments, were off any merrytte  
then might thy soule, Elyzean Joyes<sup>25</sup> enherrytte:  
wee weptt dere Duke: and soung a dolefull sounge,  
because thou lived amounge us, here soe lounge  
but now thou art gonne, our Joyes beginne to dubble, 75  
hopinge thy lyke will never more us troble:  
Caynns deare blessinge,<sup>26</sup> light uppon thy harte,  
Oedipus Joyes<sup>27</sup> unto thy soule revertte:  
soe Duke, no otherwyse my leave I take,  
but unto God this sole request doe make; 80  
to villyffye all men off thy condicions  
and keepe our Charles, under his saffe tuition.

**Source.** CCRO MS CR 63/2/19, fols. 70v-71r



- <sup>1</sup> *In Ducem*: “On the Duke”.
- <sup>2</sup> *it*: probable scribal error; read “is”.
- <sup>3</sup> *thy devill, and thy Doctor Lambe*: John Lambe, astrologer-physician, convicted witch and alleged associate of the Duke, was sometimes dubbed “the Duke’s devil”. However, while this line could be read as “Doctor Lambe, thy devil and thy doctor”, the plural “they” in the next line but one implies that “thy devill” is not Lambe but a second person. One possible candidate is the Irishman Pierce Butler, who fled England in 1626 after the Commons began investigating stories that he had given Buckingham some kind of magical amulet which would keep him in royal favour.
- <sup>4</sup> *Stygean Lake*: the lake of Styx in the classical underworld.
- <sup>5</sup> *they went*: John Lambe was murdered by a London mob in June 1628. The line implies that the other “devill” was also dead by this time.
- <sup>6</sup> *Pluto*: ruler of the classical realm of the dead.
- <sup>7</sup> *dis*: i.e. Dis; another name for Pluto.
- <sup>8</sup> *Lucyffer*: Satan.
- <sup>9</sup> *thy magyke...and figures*: Buckingham allegedly used sorcery to maintain his power; usually this charge is connected to Buckingham’s relationships with John Lambe and his mother, Mary Compton, Countess of Buckingham.
- <sup>10</sup> *Sisyphus...rowle the stonne*: in the classical underworld, Sisyphus was punished by being forced in perpetuity to roll a stone up a hill only to watch it roll back down again.
- <sup>11</sup> *Tantalus*: in the classical underworld, Tantalus was punished by being tormented with hunger and thirst while having water and food in sight but forever just beyond his grasp.
- <sup>12</sup> *Ixion...rowlinge wheele*: in the classical underworld, Ixion was punished by being chained to a perpetually rolling wheel.
- <sup>13</sup> *Homer*: the ancient Greek epic poet. Book 11 of Homer’s *Odyssey* includes descriptions of Sisyphus’ and Tantalus’ torments in the underworld.
- <sup>14</sup> *Inike*: i.e. ink.
- <sup>15</sup> *foarde*: i.e. afford; perform.
- <sup>16</sup> *Caron*: Charon was the ferryman whose boat brought the shades of the dead across the rivers of the

**Pi32 Away, away, great George, o come not here**

*Notes.* This dialogue between the shades of Buckingham and his alleged client, John Lambe, the infamous astrologer-physician and convicted witch who had been murdered two months before the Duke, manages to encompass a larger than usual indictment of Buckingham's alleged crimes as favourite. Although there is no reason not to assume that the poem dates from the time of Buckingham's assassination, the only known version is in an eighteenth-century manuscript, containing a handful of pieces on Buckingham and Felton.

Lambe. Away, away, great George, o come not here:

For then in torments thou must bear a share.

Duke. Oh now its too late: Thy Councill's all in vaine:

The Castle so long beseidg'd at last is tane.

Thow shouldst have told me this, before that I,

By Murther,<sup>1</sup> Pride, Lust, & fowle Treacherye

Had spotted my white Soule: but then didst thou

Uphold me in my sins;<sup>2</sup> for which I now

Am damn'de, & have the Lande of Canaan<sup>3</sup> lost,

And in the Depth of deepest Miseries tost.

Then whether should I goe, but where thow art?

That of my Paines as Pleasures<sup>4</sup> thow must take Part.

L. Goe hence I say: if Plutoe<sup>5</sup> once drawe neare,

Thy Titles,<sup>6</sup> nor thy Honours shall not beare

Thee from his ravening Pawes.

D. Alas! the're gone,

And e're this Time dispearst: not one alone

Shall ever have agayne soe many Honours

Heapt on his Head; which to me were false Banners.

Yet Titles, Honours, Places, Charles his Love,

My Life to spare could not stout<sup>7</sup> Felton move:

His powerful Hand hath sett my Spirit free,

5

10

15

20

And sent my Soule to endles Miserye.  
 O Famous Felton! thy Valour yet I love;  
 But of thy heedles Deed do not approve: 25  
 Because thou leftst me neither Time nor Space,  
 To call to God for Mercie, Pardon, Grace:<sup>8</sup>  
 Nor yet to Charles, my honoured Lord & King,  
 To beg his Pardon, & confes each Thing,  
 That I gainst him, his Kingdome, & his state, 30  
 That either heretofore, or now of late,  
 I have attempted, or intended to act,  
 As well as that I have done: yet your Fact  
 I know's approv'd of all; for that all did  
 Hate me; & though at sometimes close they hidd 35  
 The Rancour of their Malice, yet now at last  
 They let their Sluices ope, which runnes at waste.  
 I know each Letter of my Name shalbe  
 A Theame for their Inventions,<sup>9</sup> to let flee  
 Abroad to all the World, even my black Deeds, 40  
 Which from their black Penns shall receive black Weeds.  
 My deeds on Seas, in Countrey, Court & Cittie,  
 Shalbe unto their Song the finall Dittie.  
 On Seas, from first to last they'le discant on  
 The Honour in Argiers Voyage wonne: 45  
 When as stout Mansfeild, by my stronger Hand  
 Was made retorne again into this Land;  
 Which did more Hurt unto the English Nacion,  
 Then since the Fabricke of the World's Creacion.  
 For then the Turks made Havocke of our men, 50  
 And Shippes, & none would spare; which proved then  
 A Disadvantage to our Kingdom:<sup>10</sup> Next  
 That to Cales, when as proud Cicill vext,

When Essex for his Life was forc'd to fly;  
 Or else as Cales great Gates most basely die.<sup>11</sup> 55  
 By me, they say, the Pallatinate was lost,  
 And when fresh Supply should be gone, I crost  
 It; & kept backe the Ayde;<sup>12</sup> at last I sent  
 Brave Oxford over, unto whose Life I lent  
 Some few Dayes, & then did take it from him, 60  
 With Southampton's;<sup>13</sup> soe I confes my Cryme.  
 A Navie was prepar'de, & richly mann'de,  
 Where Neptune's<sup>14</sup> angrie Waves being past, we land  
 At Martin's Iland; where landing, march, intrench,  
 Assault, retreat our men were fain: Revenge 65  
 Then came too late: the best Commanders gone,  
 And many brave Soldier was lying tread uppon  
 Together with Shipping of our men; even all  
 Doth make me call'de, a treacherous Generall.  
 Yet I came Home, when betters farr wer slaine, 70  
 And for their Valour more Honour they may claime.<sup>15</sup>  
 Yet Charles was glad to see me in England's Shore:  
 Yet People's Countenance shew'de what in Heart they bore.  
 And now the last Ayde which to poor Rochell went,  
 Was thought in Earnest; but in Jeast 'twas sent.<sup>16</sup> 75  
 All this the seas cann witnes of my Crime.  
 But leaving these, then come to our owne Clyme,  
 And in the Countrey shewe my Deeds sett forthe,  
 How that I rackt their Rents<sup>17</sup> to twice their Worth;  
 Tooke from them what I pleas'de, & to others gave it; 80  
 And all must be as I myselfe must have it.  
 In which I farr surpassed all before,  
 And for one bad Deed here, there was a Score.  
 For what with Poyson, Treason & base Treacherie,

My Deedes, like Night, would darke the very skie. 85  
 Whoe was it there, except great Charles alone,  
 That did not to me bend even to the Ground?  
 Such was the over-topping Topp of my  
 Ambicion: but at last being come thus high,  
 I had a Fall: but not in Charles his Love; 90  
 For that is firmly placed, & will not move;  
 Untill his Eyes shall opened be, & finde  
 All my fowle Deedes that I have left behinde  
 Doe clearly manifest as well to him, as other,  
 That with the Charmes & Magicke of my Mother,<sup>18</sup> 95  
 I have bewicht his Senses, soe that he  
 Could not my Treason nor Offences see,  
 That I committed in Country, Court & State:  
 Nor in Religion how I sett Debate.<sup>19</sup>  
 And how of Justice I have sold the Place 100  
 Unto the Badd, whoe soe altered the Case,  
 As pleased me, or best serv'de for my Ends:  
 Nor how I have enrich'de my base-born Friends.  
 In Cittie eke<sup>20</sup> their Cryes breakes ope the Gates,  
 And for their Fortunes doe declare their Hates, 105  
 To me, for that I fetcht, & never meant to pay:  
 Which now hath brought their States unto Decay.  
 And since, dear Lambe, by the I had this Arte,  
 To cozen King and Kingdome, Its fitt I smarte.  
 And since we have liv'de in Pleasure both together, 110  
 God's just in all, which will not now let us sever.  
 England farewell! thy Curse I ame sure I have;  
 And in Abundance they will fill my Grave.  
 What care I for them! here then ends my Labour,  
 That as liv'de, soe I dyed in Charles his Favour. 115

- <sup>1</sup> *Murther*: the allusion is to Buckingham's alleged poisonings, specified in detail later in the poem.
- <sup>2</sup> *then didst thou...my sins*: Lambe was alleged to have provided magical assistance to facilitate Buckingham's murders and sexual conquests.
- <sup>3</sup> *Lande of Canaan*: the promised land; in this case, heaven.
- <sup>4</sup> *Pleasures*: this may be meant to refer generally to the pleasures Buckingham enjoyed as favourite; however, there may also be a specific allusion to the sexual pleasures that Buckingham was alleged to secure using Lambe's love potions.
- <sup>5</sup> *Plutoe*: ruler of the classical underworld.
- <sup>6</sup> *Thy Titles*: Buckingham held several aristocratic titles in addition to his dukedom.
- <sup>7</sup> *stout*: brave, manly.
- <sup>8</sup> *Because thou leftst me...Grace*: Buckingham's complaint, that Felton's knife left him no time to repent his sins, was echoed by a number of contemporary observers.
- <sup>9</sup> *each Letter...for their Inventions*: apparent allusion to the composition of acrostic libels (see, e.g., "Great potent Duke, whom fortune rais'd soe high").
- <sup>10</sup> *Argiers Voyage...to our Kingdom*: reference to the unsuccessful 1620-21 naval expedition led by Sir Robert Mansell (here, somewhat misleadingly, referred to as "Mansfeild") against the Muslim pirates ("Turks") based in Algiers.
- <sup>11</sup> *Next / That to Cales...basely die*: reference to the failed 1625 naval expedition to Cadiz led by Edward Cecil, Viscount Wimbledon. The specific incident alluded to concerned one of the English commanders, Robert Devereux, 3rd Earl of Essex, who was forced to halt an assault on Spanish ships because of the failure of the main fleet to lend him timely support.
- <sup>12</sup> *By me, they say...the Ayde*: allusion to the failure of the English to prevent the loss of the Palatinate—the ancestral lands of James I's son-in-law Frederick V, Elector Palatine—to Catholic forces in 1620-21, and to the English Crown's subsequent inability to achieve their restoration. The reference to a failure to grant "fresh Supply" may point to the tragically underfunded English expeditionary force under the command of Ernst von Mansfelt, sent to liberate the Palatinate in 1624-25, but decimated by hunger and disease before it could reach German territory.

<sup>13</sup> *Brave Oxford...Southampton's*: Henry de Vere, Earl of Oxford, assumed command of a regiment of Palatine troops in the United Provinces in May 1624, but died in June 1625 at The Hague. Henry Wriothlesley, Earl of Southampton, died at Bergen-op-Zoom in November 1624, after leading a group of English volunteers to fight for the Dutch against the Spanish. George Eglisam's 1626 pamphlet, *The Forerunner of Revenge*, alleged that Buckingham had poisoned Southampton, while several libels levelled the charge that he had poisoned Oxford.

<sup>14</sup> *Neptune's*: Neptune was the god of the sea.

<sup>15</sup> *A Navie was prepar'de... may claime*: reference to Buckingham's 1627 expedition to the Ile de Ré, and to the heavy casualties suffered by the English during the siege of, failed assault upon and disastrous retreat from the island citadel of St. Martin (see Section O).

<sup>16</sup> *Ayde which to poor Rochell...sent*: reference to the abortive late April 1628 mission to relieve the Huguenots of La Rochelle. The expedition was commanded by Buckingham's brother-in-law, William Feilding, Earl of Denbigh.

<sup>17</sup> *rackt their Rents*: raised rents excessively.

<sup>18</sup> *Charmes & Magicke of my Mother*: the Duke's mother, Mary Compton, Countess of Buckingham, was a known Catholic and was frequently alleged to be a witch.

<sup>19</sup> *in Religion how I sett Debate*: perhaps a specific allusion to the 1628 parliamentary Remonstrance's charge that Buckingham was responsible for the rise of anti-Calvinist Arminianism in the Church of England.

<sup>20</sup> *In Cittie eke*: in the City of London also.

**Pi33 My honour, favour, life, & all**

*Notes.* In the only known source, this poem is transcribed among a series of libels on Buckingham's death.

“Another”

My honour, favour, life, & all  
Upon a string did hang, though small,  
Yett strong; for prooffe, noble Peeres  
Could never break't for many yeares  
Yett honour, favour, life is ended,  
And all the plotts, that were entended.  
But what did all this ruine bring?  
A fatall knife did cutt the string.

5

**Source.** Bodleian MS Tanner 465, fols. 102v-103r

Pi33



### Pi34 I that my country did betray

*Notes.* In one source (Bodleian MS Ashmole 38), this popular poem, with its trenchant references to Buckingham's suspected religious unorthodoxy, is attributed to John Heape (to whom the same collection also attributes "And art return'd againe with all thy Faults" and the sympathetic epitaph on the Duke, "Honor, worth, greatnes, and what part so ere"). Some versions begin with the final couplet, and follow with other lines from earlier in the poem (e.g. BL MS Egerton 923). At least one version also adds an extra couplet at the end: "He that in treason his delight doth take, / By treason likely his owne end doth make" (Bodleian MS Tanner 465).

"Prosopopeia.<sup>1</sup> on the D."<sup>2</sup>

I that my country did betray,  
Undid that King that let mee sway  
His sceptre as I pleas'd; brought downe  
The Glorie of the English crowne;  
The courtiers bane,<sup>3</sup> the countries hate  
An agent for the Spanish state,  
The Romists Frend, the Gospells Foe,  
The Church and Kingdomes overthrowe,  
Heere a damned Carcasse dwell,  
Till my soule returne from hell:  
With Judas<sup>4</sup> then I shall inherit  
Such portion as all Traytors meritt.

5

10

If heaven admitt of Treason, Pride, and Lust,  
Expect my spotted soul among the just.

**Source.** BL MS Sloane 826, fol. 185v

**Other known sources.** Rous 29; *Trevelyan Papers* 3.172; Bodleian MS Ashmole 38, p. 14; Bodleian MS Eng. Poet. e.14, fol. 13r; Bodleian MS Malone 23, p. 196; Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 26, fol. 78r; Bodleian MS Tanner 465, fol. 103r; BL Add. MS 22959, fol. 27r; BL Add. MS 44963, fol. 38r; BL MS Egerton 923, fol. 45v; BL MS Sloane 1199, fol. 70r; CUL MS Dd.11.73, fol. 67v; Folger MS V.a.345, p. 315; Rosenbach MS 239/27, p. 318

<sup>1</sup> *Prosopopeia*: i.e. prosopopoeia; “A rhetorical figure by which an imaginary or absent person is represented as speaking or acting” (*OED*).

<sup>2</sup> *the D.*: i.e. the Duke.

<sup>3</sup> *The courtiers bane*: contemporary meanings of bane include both “curse” and “murderer”.

<sup>4</sup> *Judas*: i.e. Judas Iscariot, betrayer of Christ.

**Pi35 Mother / My humble dutie done, I crave**

*Notes. This poem is presented as the Duke's letter from hell to his mother, Mary Compton, Countess of Buckingham.*

Mother

My humble dutie done, I crave  
Your best constructions, in that yow have  
Not heard of mee, since that I sawe yow last  
When I to Portsmouth<sup>1</sup> went from yow in hast.  
The voiage for Rochell,<sup>2</sup> which was then intended 5  
Is stayd, another begun, which now is ended.  
For at Don Plutos<sup>3</sup> Court I am arrived  
Where unexpected honors, I have atcheived  
For when I first sett foote in Pluto's Hall  
There was a strang Comotion, and with all 10  
Ignatius<sup>4</sup> to depose they readie were,  
Who had sate there enthroniz'd manie a yeare  
As Heire-apparant unto Pluto's Crowne.  
But now the guiltie Ghostes will have him downe.  
Soe soone as Hildebrand<sup>5</sup> of this had heard 15  
Hee makes all freinds; hee came to be prefer'd,  
But John the two, and twentieth<sup>6</sup> him withstood.  
As Hildebrand, hee thinkes himself as good.  
Then manie Turkes, and Emperors putt in  
And all of these, did thinke the daie to winne. 20  
Celsus, and Paracelsus<sup>7</sup> both, they swear  
They were much wrongd that they were not the Heire.  
But all theis hurli-burlies ended were  
Soe soone as newes was brought that I was there.  
Then all of them consult, and some resolve 25

On mee those hopefull honors to devolve.  
Soe that I was proclay'nd without debate  
As heire-apparant to th' infernall State.  
Therefore untill yow come, I doe reserve  
A place next to my self, which yow deserve. 30  
Our learned Doctor Lambe,<sup>8</sup> and worthie freind  
To yow himselfe his service doth comend.  
It seemes, that I, and hee by his relation  
Came both one waie to Plutos habitacion.  
Hee is my Secretarie, and doth deale 35  
In all the actions, which I would conceale.  
Your presence heere, I greatlie doe desire,  
For to preferment straight yow maie aspire.  
Don Pluto long hath liv'd a single life  
Who knowes but hee may choose yow to his wife. 40  
If this twixt yow, and him proceed, wee maie  
Our kindred to preferre,<sup>9</sup> have easie waie.  
Thus hoping of your health, begging the same  
I rest

your loving Sonne

Geo: Buckingham.

Ab Inferis die proximo  
post obitum.<sup>10</sup>

**Source.** BL MS Egerton 2026, fol. 64r

**Other known sources.** Bodleian MS Tanner 465, fol. 103v; CUL Add. MS 42, fol. 37r

Pi35

<sup>1</sup> *Portsmouth*: Buckingham was murdered in the south coast town of Portsmouth.

<sup>2</sup> *The voiage for Rochell*: Buckingham was preparing an English expedition to relieve the Huguenots

of La Rochelle at the time of his assassination.

<sup>3</sup> *Don Plutos*: Pluto, ruler of the classical underworld realm of the dead, is here given the Spanish honorific of “Don”.

<sup>4</sup> *Ignatius*: Ignatius Loyola, founder of the Catholic order of the Society of Jesus, the Jesuits, a group widely demonized in Protestant polemic as the most dangerous agents of Catholic Counter-Reformation.

<sup>5</sup> *Hildebrand*: Pope Gregory VII, leader of the eleventh-century Gregorian Reform movement in the Church, and a fierce advocate of papal power against secular authority.

<sup>6</sup> *John the two, and twentieth*: John XXII was a powerful early fourteenth-century pope.

<sup>7</sup> *Celsus, and Paracelsus*: Celsus was an ancient Roman authority on medicine, Paracelsus (Theophrastus Bombastus von Hohenheim) an iconoclastic sixteenth-century authority on medicine, magic, astrology and alchemy.

<sup>8</sup> *Doctor Lambe*: John Lambe, astrologer-physician, convicted witch and alleged associate of the Duke, who was murdered in June 1628.

<sup>9</sup> *Our kindred to preferre*: the excessive rewards—titles, offices, lucrative marriages—showered on the Villiers kindred were a common source of contemporary complaint against Buckingham (see Section L).

<sup>10</sup> *Ab Inferis die proximo/ post obitum*: “From Hell, the day after his death”.

### Pi36 The Argument is cold and sencelesse clay

*Notes.* Presented as the murdered Duke's posthumous confession, this extremely ambitious three-part poem effectively recapitulates Buckingham's crimes through a loosely biographical account of his rise, triumph and ultimate fall. Holstun offers a reading of the poem as part of an exploration of how the assassination poems "repeatedly evoke the language and forms of Renaissance tragedy" (183).

#### "Upon the Duke"

##### The Argument

The Argument is cold and sencelesse clay,  
A breathles subject, very night and day,  
The cold too furious, hot Ambition speaks.  
The senceles to the sensuall (breathles) breaks  
Silence, and preacheth unto mortall breath, 5  
Day of the night, and night is taught of death.  
Suppose but then you heard his Umbra's<sup>1</sup> crie,  
Instructing all from Slave to Majestie.  
Stay (Mortalls) then, in's name,<sup>2</sup> at whose commaund  
Sol's restlesse spheare did quickly stopp and stand 10  
As fixt,<sup>3</sup> and lend mee your Attention:  
Happie the Eares that suck in such prevention  
Of future Evills. Had I hearkened to,  
Or well observ'd (as wise men now will doe  
My Storie) the fresh and obvious Fates 15  
Of soveraigne and domestique Potentates  
Knitt up in blood, I might have hearkened still  
To better secrets, of my Makers will,  
Than State-Pollicie, and so shin'd true  
Honours Starr, to follow, not to eschue. 20  
Then patiently addresse your ears awhile,

Oh heare mee not with a remorselesse smile  
At myne extorted plaints; but rather greive  
You are as I, Sonnes of deluded Eve.<sup>4</sup>

Protasis<sup>5</sup>

No sooner had discretion brought mee in 25  
On this worlds Theater, with naked chinne,<sup>6</sup>  
E're Art had squar'd my rough opinion  
To fitt mee for a Monarch's Minion,<sup>7</sup>  
Or prie into the Arke of State Affaires,<sup>8</sup>  
Or to descend<sup>9</sup> true Honours craggie staires, 30  
Or furrough on the churlish Ocean,<sup>10</sup>  
Or tread a march in warlike motion,  
Or Pietie (the soule of all the rest)  
Had taught mee first to love my countrie best;  
But affectation of a higher state 35  
(The sinne that first of all the heavens did hate)  
Tooke up my utmost thoughts; And, of my time  
On Earth, I spent the very pith and prime  
In the pursuite thereof, And on that Theame  
By day I studied, and at night did dreame, 40  
Wasting the lampe of comtemplation  
On present good, whilst Moderation  
And Mediocritie in Earthly things<sup>11</sup>  
(Which the sweetest contentation brings)  
I view'd as Mottoe's of dejected mindes: 45  
Tis poore Philosophie that noething findes  
But bare Notions of some good heereafter:  
This moved Epicurus<sup>12</sup> unto laughter:  
But through the open Gate of all Excesse,  
In Luxurie and Voluptuousnes, 50  
To tread the broad path of a stately dance,

With Musique, Banquets, and a Ladies glance,  
 This did I think the Milkie way<sup>13</sup> to bliss:  
 The straite and narrow Path I strove to misse.  
 With this bad sophistrie<sup>14</sup> my list'ning will 55  
 Was quicklie caught, and snared fast, untill  
 Nature her Forces did combine with Art  
 To gett possession of my Soveraignes heart  
 (The Center) whence I meant to stretch the Lynes  
 Of my desires (Ambitions) and designes 60  
 To the Circumference of earthly fame,  
 Still coveting a great (not a good) Name.  
 For Fates, or Philtres,<sup>15</sup> worse direction,  
 Wonne my disposers<sup>16</sup> deare Affection  
 That I was entertain'd with great applause; 65  
 And though, on my part, shape<sup>17</sup> was all the cause,  
 Yet was I lodged like some Oracle  
 In's Royall heart, and sett on Pinnacle  
 Of honour; whence, with the perspective glasse  
 Of favour, I behelld the flower and grasse 70  
 Of worldly Pompe; the smooth delightfull plaines  
 Of pleasures, treasures, offices and gaines,  
 Promotions hills, and the risinge bancks  
 Upon the River of Rewards and thanks.  
 And what I saw, I seized on. More yet; 75  
 I saw and searcht the Royall Cabbinett  
 Of seacrets, And from his rich Wisdomes Myne  
 I digg'd those Gemms that made my Actions shine.  
 My dexteritie in state passages,  
 My splendour in forraigne Ambassages, 80  
 My large Revenues, and extreme Expence,  
 Whether of Bountie or Magnificence,



With those high Favours to my kindred done,<sup>18</sup>  
 Were by the beames dispersed from his sunne  
 Of rare Learning, and Liberalitie, 85  
 Exceeding my desert or quallitie  
 But Goodnes powred on a gracelesse heart  
 Like wholesome herbe to Poison doth convert  
 In the Vipers brest, Not halfe soe hatefull  
 To heaven or Earth, as is the man ungratefull. 90  
 And such was I. For that Iberian Fox,<sup>19</sup>  
 That Balaam that layd England stumbling blocks,<sup>20</sup>  
 Warn'd mee of my most slipperie condition,  
 Much subject unto Majesties suspicion  
 And distast: which soon would gett strong head, 95  
 If once Affection were but altered,  
 Upon my Fault, Or some seducing Face,  
 As in myne and my Predecessors case  
 Fell out;<sup>21</sup> Soe that it were discretions deed  
 To have two Kings to Frend<sup>22</sup> upon a need, 100  
 That if I were collapsed in disgrace,  
 I might be sure of a retyring place.  
 To this old Sirens song<sup>23</sup> I did agree;  
 And to bee sure of two Friends I made three;<sup>24</sup>  
 For true assurance of whose loves fruition, 105  
 I did requite it with a blanke commission,<sup>25</sup>  
 With other courtesies which were noe lesse  
 Than meritorious, As his Holinesse<sup>26</sup>  
 Knowes well enough. Thus I from favour drew  
 Disloyaltie; and having gotten new 110  
 Supporting hopes, cast off the old one cleane,  
 And on the yonger Propp began to leane  
 Thus was I haunted with distracting charmes,

To seek new Arts t'increase my Native harmes.  
 Now underpropt from my deserved fall, 115  
 And well defended by the Cædar tall  
 From Justice stroke (which sought and sued long  
 For some redresse of groaning Subjects wrong)<sup>27</sup>  
 The Flood of my Ambition swelld soe high,  
 It overflow'd the bankes of Modestie, 120  
 And with the torrent of unbridled will  
 Swept all away, It spared not to spill  
 The lives and blood of myne own country men,<sup>28</sup>  
 And if I loved One, I hated Tenn,  
 Like to that Tyrant<sup>29</sup> that would often boast 125  
 To make and marr Mankinde hee studied most.  
 Nor was I read in Spanish Politiques,  
 Onely I learn'd some of the Guises<sup>30</sup> tricks.  
 Thus was Justice topsie turvie turn'd,  
 The Commons greived, and the Gentry mourn'd: 130  
 And for my Peeres (they were not my compeeres<sup>31</sup>  
 Though farr my betters both in blood and yeares)  
 I galled and gulld their noble spiritts,  
 And with whisp'ring scandaliz'd their Meritts:  
 Yet, coadjutors<sup>32</sup> to my Ends I found: 135  
 Of English Nobles, all were never sound.  
 Thus did my Pride upon Oppressions Winges  
 Surmount all Presidents that Storie sings.<sup>33</sup>  
 But as the Comets borrowed fires light  
 Blazeth more, and shineth farr more bright 140  
 Then the true fier of the fixed starr,  
 Because it is removed farr  
 From sight; Soe my Ambitions blazon<sup>34</sup>  
 Gave a brighter lustre to bee gaz'd on

By purblinde<sup>35</sup> worldlings, then true honour gott 145  
 By due desert, free from Revenges shott.  
 Catastrophe<sup>36</sup>  
 But, oh, the candle of my Glorie's out,  
 The Comet's vanisht, And Astraea's skout,<sup>37</sup>  
 Inexorable Nemesis,<sup>38</sup> blood-hound  
 Of direfull fate, long hunted, lurking found 150  
 Mee under the covert of dissimulation,  
 And hipocrasies abhomination,  
 Covered with a glorious pretence  
 Of the distressed Rochellers defence.<sup>39</sup>  
 Oh gross contempt to heavens connyving Eye, 155  
 And to my Masters sweet simplicite.  
 But had I stabd Don Olivares<sup>40</sup> dead,  
 Or the French Cardinal<sup>41</sup> basely poisoned,  
 It had been better, then thus to despise  
 And plott the Ruine of heavens Favourite, 160  
 Reform'd Religion: Oh, my Sinons Art,<sup>42</sup>  
 To seeme to bee and not to bee in heart;  
 Of all Impieties, superlative;  
 Had this sinne not been myne, perhapps alive  
 I had been still, and to oldd Age remayn'd, 165  
 Although myne honour was most fowlie stayn'd  
 With other crimes: For, Mercies Influence  
 Drops of the pretious Balme of Indulgence  
 Upon the deepest sin-stabbd souls, save those  
 Who are Truths seeming Friends, yet Foes: 170  
 Such halting, juggling, and newtralitie,  
 Sure is the greatest sin in qualitie.  
 For see Manasses in Idolatrie,  
 In Witchcraft, in bloodshedd, and in tyranny

Deeplie plung'd, and in a desperate case; 175  
 Yet whilst hee was, in heart as well as face  
 Averse to truth, hee mercie found at last,  
 His Errors heald, and all his sorrowes past.<sup>43</sup>  
 But oh, Beehold fourth Henry, the French King,  
 The warning-Peece of Princes, wavering: 180  
 Oh! See his hopes, come to the highest flood,  
 Ebbing (like mine) soe sodainly in blood.<sup>44</sup>  
 And thus, I, Cacus-like<sup>45</sup> (Monster of Men)  
 Was dragg'd, and haled from theevish denne  
 Of lying and Equivocation,<sup>46</sup> 185  
 Winding, and false tergiversation,<sup>47</sup>  
 But<sup>48</sup> the Herculean power and force  
 Of justice; which (before I was a corpse)  
 Had, in the courts of heaven and Earth, complain'd  
 Shee was soe Nose-wip'd,<sup>49</sup> slighted and disdain'd, 190  
 Under honours cloake soe closely muffled,  
 And in my rare Projects soe shuffled,  
 That noble courage 'gan to faint and reele,  
 And faith it self the very symptomes feele  
 Of base despaire, to see the monstrous birth 195  
 Of Nimrods race<sup>50</sup> swarme on our English Earth.  
 But I my self gan stronglie to conclude,  
 The Lambe<sup>51</sup> th Almighty Lyon could delude,  
 And that my Artlesse deere Medea's Art<sup>52</sup>  
 Divine decrees could frustrate quite, and thwart. 200  
 This Impunity Presumption bredd,  
 Atheisme lurkes in a presumptuous head.  
 But oh! The glittering sword is now unsheath'd;  
 The Witches With<sup>53</sup> by Vengeance hand is wreath'd.  
 Justice (like Tamerlayne) hath now display'd 205

His sable flagg,<sup>54</sup> since Mercie was repay'd  
 Thus with contempt; And now (alas) too late  
 I finde and feele what 'tis to prove ingrate.  
 To grace my cuntrye and my Soveraigne,  
 What late I feared most, now full faine 210  
 Would come to (Parliament), and soone submitt  
 On knees unto my poorest Opposite,  
 And for their honours sake bee much more bolld  
 To spill my blood, then I was to gett their golld.  
 O happie, yea thrice happie is the corpse 215  
 Dissociated by the Axe, Nor worse  
 Is to bee thought their constellation  
 Whom the Rope calls unto Meditation  
 Of dissolution;<sup>55</sup> O Mercy rare,  
 To feed the pamper'd flesh with crusts of care, 220  
 And sorrowes soppes, steeped in Angells Wine  
 (Teares) for transgressions: Who would repine  
 At such diasaster! when mutuall Greife  
 Presented to the soule, yealds some Releife  
 To the fainting spiritt, And dearest loves 225  
 Are oft exchang'd with kisses, teares, and gloves  
 At parting; whilst the Tenor<sup>56</sup> sadlie tolls,  
 Begging sweet pardon for their fleeting souls.  
 But I, ah, lamentable wretched I  
 (Favours Mirror) not soe favourablie 230  
 Dealt with as the pinion'd, shack'ld slave,  
 Nor once permitted to intreate or crave  
 Forgiveness, Nor my dying hands or Eyes  
 Once to lift up unto th'offended Skies,  
 But sodainly thus to bee snatchd away 235  
 From Friends, and hopes, and such a golden Pray:

Oh sad Catastrophe, Oh dismall houre,  
 Wherein one stabb cut off the thredd and flowre  
 Of life and Age: Oh broken confidence  
 In any creature subject unto sence: 240  
 Oh my sweet Millions, goodlie Treasures:  
 Oh all my profitts, dignities, and pleasures,  
 Like to the dust by sodaine Whirlwinds caught,  
 Disper'st and scatter'd, even with a thought:  
 Oh bitterest dissociation: 245  
 Oh depth of Justice, Retalliation,  
 For their bellowing blood which lowdlie cries,  
 Ree was a most perfidious Enterprize,  
 Prologue unto Rochells woeful Storie,  
 Sounding Brittaines shame, and Babells glorie:<sup>57</sup> 250  
 Nor is the sorrow least of all the other,  
 That, for my death, none saies, Alas my Brother.  
 Nay hearke; The thundring Jubile of Joy,  
 Ecchoyng from the mouth of every Boy,  
 At my destruction: But, oh the Gall; 255  
 My Murtherer's lamented. Hearke! they call  
 Him, Noble Roman; second Curtius;<sup>58</sup>  
 Undaunted Scævola;<sup>59</sup> that dared thus  
 T'expose himself, to torment, shame, and death,  
 To spoile his countries spoiler of his breath. 260  
 Oh Miserie! Where are you then, my Lords,  
 Whose tongues were lately sharper then your swords?  
 What! Not a word? Oh strange silentium:<sup>60</sup>  
 And you, my black-mouthed Prophetts; what all dumbe?  
 You that of late such Metaphysiques tolld, 265  
 The Kings Prerogative could turne to gold  
 All it toucht,<sup>61</sup> like the tatter'd Chymists stone:<sup>62</sup>

Howle my tragick fall, in a mournfull tone  
 Come write my Elegie: Oh scorned hearse,  
 (Like to my name) not graced with a verse, 270  
 Nor one white line?<sup>63</sup> O strange Antipathie;  
 Heavens and Hearts are all at odds with mee.  
 Go, temporizing Friends<sup>64</sup> then, write your owne  
 Black Epitaphs: yourselves learne to bemoane:  
 Sing your own Dirges to your guiltie soules: 275  
 Goe croking Froggs into your wonted holes  
 Of carnall confidence: but yet, bee sure  
 Long you shall not subsist safe or secure:  
 Th'all-searching hand will finde and pull you thence:  
 The hornes of th' Altar were a poore defence 280  
 For bloodie Joab.<sup>65</sup> Justice hath begun:  
 Some Friends (I feare) must bleed ere shee hath done.  
 Who naked crimes with favour's figg-tree-leaves  
 Hopeth to hide, his wretched soul deceives,  
 As silly Bird is cousin'd with lyme-twiggs,<sup>66</sup> 285  
 Or Fancie with your Lordshipps Perrywiggs.<sup>67</sup>  
 Farewell to Favours; bidd them first adiew,  
 And then (like shadowes) they will follow you.  
 Learne him to feare that can your glories drowne,  
 And make you wretched with one cloudie frowne. 290  
 I sent Aurora<sup>68</sup> breathing from the East:  
 I must bee gone: Faine would I tell the rest,  
 To rapp your mindes with Admiration,  
 What my intentive cogitation  
 Dalli'd with; And who were of the knott 295  
 That did with me my Stratagemms complott.  
 But time prevents. I will remaine your debtor,  
 Till the Post comes with the next false letter.

Mount Pegasus:<sup>69</sup> Adiew my clymbing Frends.

How sodainly the soaring Larke descends.

300

**Source.** BL MS Sloane 826, fols. 171r-178r

**Other known sources.** Bodleian MS Malone 23, p. 145

Pi36

<sup>1</sup> *his Umbra's*: his ghost's.

<sup>2</sup> *in's name*: in His (i.e. God's) name.

<sup>3</sup> *at whose commaund...As fixt*: in the book of Joshua, God stops the sun ("Sol's restlesse spheare") in its tracks, thus prolonging daylight and allowing Joshua's army to complete the slaughter of the Amorites (Joshua 10.12-14).

<sup>4</sup> *Sonnes of deluded Eve*: Buckingham's shade here addresses his audience as fellow sinners, all descendants of Adam and Eve whose transgressions brought original sin into the world.

<sup>5</sup> *Protasis*: in Greek drama, the protasis was the introduction to a play. It was followed, in theory, by an epitasis and a conclusion, the "catastrophe". This transcription of the poem includes a heading for the catastrophe but not for the epitasis.

<sup>6</sup> *naked chinne*: i.e. without a beard. A beardless chin could signify youth in general, but could also hint at effeminacy.

<sup>7</sup> *Minion*: favourite.

<sup>8</sup> *the Arke of State Affaires*: the secrets of state—usually known by their Latin term, *arcana imperii*—reserved in principle only for the King and his closest counsellors.

<sup>9</sup> *descend*: "ascend" is a better reading (Bodleian MS Malone 23).

<sup>10</sup> *furrrough on the churlish Ocean*: sail the rough seas. Buckingham became Lord Admiral in 1619.

<sup>11</sup> *Moderation...in Earthly things*: Buckingham here recounts his rejection of the fundamental moral principle of the Golden Mean, articulated in Aristotle's *Ethics* and long since absorbed into Christian teaching, which holds that moderation ("Mediocritie") in all things is the key to the virtuous life.

<sup>12</sup> *Epicurus*: ancient Greek philosopher, some of whose followers argued (distorting Epicurus's actual



teachings) that the pursuit and enjoyment of sensual pleasure was the supreme good.

<sup>13</sup> *Milkie way*: the *OED* gives three contemporary definitions of “Milky Way”: the galaxy, a glistening path to heaven, and “a region of a woman’s breast”. The latter two seem to work best here.

<sup>14</sup> *sophistrie*: i.e. sophistry; “specious but fallacious reasoning” (*OED*).

<sup>15</sup> *Philtres*: magical potions.

<sup>16</sup> *my disposers*: the King’s; here referring to James I.

<sup>17</sup> *shape*: physical appearance.

<sup>18</sup> *high Favours to my kindred done*: the rewards—of title, office, lucrative marriages and lands—showered on Buckingham’s kin were a source of considerable contemporary critique (see Section L).

<sup>19</sup> *Iberian Fox*: i.e. Spanish fox; in this case probably the notorious Spanish ambassador to England, Don Diego de Sarmiento, Count Gondomar.

<sup>20</sup> *That Balaam...stumbling blocks*: Gondomar is compared here to Balaam, who appears in different guises in scripture, both as a corrupt, false prophet, and (in Numbers 22-24) as a heroic figure who, at God’s urging, refused the request of King Balak of the Moabites to curse the Israelites. The particular allusion here is to the negative image of Balaam in Revelation 2.14: “But I have a few things against thee, because thou hast there them that hold the doctrine of Balaam, who taught Balac to cast a stumblingblock before the children of Israel, to eat things sacrificed unto idols, and to commit fornication”.

<sup>21</sup> *As in myne...Fell out*: Buckingham recalls how Gondomar warned him how easy it is to supplant one royal favourite with another, alluding to how Buckingham himself had displaced James’s previous favourite, Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset, in 1614-15.

<sup>22</sup> *To have two Kings to Frend*: Gondomar advises Buckingham to acquire a second royal protector—the King of Spain—as insurance against losing James I’s favour.

<sup>23</sup> *this old Sirens song*: i.e. Gondomar’s advice. Classical mythology described the songs of the sirens as irresistibly seductive.

<sup>24</sup> *I made three*: this seems to mean that Buckingham added a third protector, who appears in this case, as the following lines indicate, to have been the Pope.

<sup>25</sup> *I did requite...blanke commission*: i.e. Buckingham thanked his sponsors by giving them free rein to act in England as they wished. “[B]lanke commission” here probably means something like a “*carte blanche*”.

- <sup>26</sup> *his Holinesse*: the Pope, Buckingham's "third" friend.
- <sup>27</sup> *And well defended...groaning Subjects wrong*: royal authority ("the Cædar tall") protected Buckingham from parliamentary attempts to bring him to account in 1626 and 1628.
- <sup>28</sup> *It spared not...country men*: possibly an allusion either to the poisoning allegations against Buckingham or to the lives lost during the Ré expedition of 1627.
- <sup>29</sup> *that Tyrant*: "Lewis 11 of France" (marginal note). Louis XI was a notoriously devious monarch.
- <sup>30</sup> *the Guises*: the Guise family led the ultra-Catholic factions during the sixteenth-century French wars of religion.
- <sup>31</sup> *compeeres*: this could mean "equals" or, perhaps more likely in this case, "companions".
- <sup>32</sup> *coadjutors*: assistants.
- <sup>33</sup> *Presidents that Storie sings*: "the precedents that history records".
- <sup>34</sup> *blazon*: heraldic shield.
- <sup>35</sup> *purblinde*: in contemporary usage, this could mean either partially or totally blind.
- <sup>36</sup> *Catastrophe*: in Greek drama, the catastrophe was the conclusion of a play.
- <sup>37</sup> *Astraea's skout*: scout of the goddess of justice.
- <sup>38</sup> *Nemesis*: goddess of vengeance, punisher of crime, and here clearly an agent of justice.
- <sup>39</sup> *glorious pretence...Rochellers defence*: at the time of his murder, Buckingham was preparing a fleet to sail to the aid of the beleaguered Huguenots of La Rochelle.
- <sup>40</sup> *Don Olivares*: Gaspar de Guzmán, Count-Duke of Olivares, was the chief minister of Philip IV, King of Spain.
- <sup>41</sup> *the French Cardinall*: Armand du Plessis, Cardinal Richelieu, chief minister of Louis XIII, King of France.
- <sup>42</sup> *Sinons Art*: the art of deceit. Sinon was the Greek prisoner who convinced the Trojans to let the Trojan horse into their city; he later helped release the Greek soldiers from the horse under cover of night. The implication here is that using Sinon's skills of deception, Buckingham had connived in the ruin of Protestantism.

- <sup>43</sup> *For see Manasses...all his sorrowes past*: allusion to the biblical story of the Israelite King Manasseh, who is depicted in 2 Kings 21 and 2 Chronicles 33 as an idolater who “used enchantments, and dealt with familiar spirits and wizards” (2 Kings 21.6), and who “shed innocent blood very much” (2 Kings 21.16). The account in 2 Chronicles, however, records that, held as a captive in Babylon, Manasseh repented and prayed to God. After God restored him to his throne, Manasseh destroyed the idols he had erected (2 Chronicles 33.11-20).
- <sup>44</sup> *Behold fourth Henry...sodainly in blood*: Henri IV of France had converted to Catholicism in 1593 in order to secure the French throne. The implication of these lines is that the King’s 1610 assassination was a punishment for this religious betrayal.
- <sup>45</sup> *Cacus-like*: in classical myth, the thieving giant Cacus was eventually killed by Hercules.
- <sup>46</sup> *Equivocation*: the use of deliberately misleading language. In contemporary understanding, the masters of equivocation were the Catholic priests who believed that, under interrogation, it was licit to say one thing while meaning another.
- <sup>47</sup> *tergiversation*: literally, back-turning, but with implications of betrayal and deception.
- <sup>48</sup> *But*: probable scribal error; read “By” (cf. Bodleian MS Malone 23).
- <sup>49</sup> *Nose-wip’d*: mistreated, insulted, disdained.
- <sup>50</sup> *Nimrods race*: the biblical Nimrod was “a mighty one in the earth” and “a mighty hunter”, the founder of cities (Genesis 10.8-12). In this period, Nimrod was often taken to be a tyrant.
- <sup>51</sup> *The Lambe*: this is almost certainly a pun on the name of John Lambe, the notorious astrologer-physician and convicted witch who was believed to be an associate of the Duke.
- <sup>52</sup> *my Artlesse deere Medea’s Art*: Medea, the spurned wife of Jason, was known for skill in magic and poison. Buckingham’s “deere Medea” is presumably his mother, Mary Compton, Countess of Buckingham, who was commonly accused of witchcraft by the Duke’s critics.
- <sup>53</sup> *With*: i.e. withe; a wand of willow.
- <sup>54</sup> *Justice (like Tamerlayne)...His sable flagg*: in Christopher Marlowe’s *Tamburlaine the Great, Part One*, the near-Eastern warrior-king Tamburlaine flies a black (“sable”) flag to signal his intent to slaughter his enemy without mercy (see, e.g., the speech of the Messenger, 4.1.47-63).
- <sup>55</sup> *O happie...Of dissolution*: these lines introduce a lengthy section of the poem in which Buckingham laments that his sudden assassination left him no time to repent before death, a troubling point that was admitted even by those who praised Felton’s actions. In this opening, and in the lines that follow, the Duke compares his lot unfavourably with that of condemned felons—whether sentenced to die by

beheading (“Dissociated by the Axe”) or by hanging (“the Rope”)—who were usually given spiritual counsel before their death to prepare them for a public confession and repentance.

<sup>56</sup> *the Tenor*: a type of bell.

<sup>57</sup> *Justice, Retalliation...Babells glorie*: suggestion that Buckingham’s death avenged the blood of those who died during the disastrous 1627 expedition to the Ile de Ré, the failure of which led to the continued suffering of the beleaguered Huguenots of La Rochelle. “Babells glorie” presumably refers to the glory of the Catholic enemy.

<sup>58</sup> *Curtius*: Mettius Curtius threw himself into a chasm in the Roman forum as a patriotic sacrifice for the city.

<sup>59</sup> *Scaevola*: after being captured in an attempt to assassinate the leader of Rome’s enemies, the patriot hero Mucius Scaevola thrust his own right hand into a fire, so amazing his intended victim that he released him and eventually negotiated peace with the Romans. The link between Felton and Scaevola is also made in “Why: is our Age turn’d coward, that no Penn”.

<sup>60</sup> *silentium*: silence.

<sup>61</sup> *my black-mouthed Prophetts...All it toucht*: Buckingham here laments the silence of those who might have been expected to become his apologists. By identifying these “black-mouthed Prophetts” with those who had recently made elevated claims for the scope of the royal prerogative (the royal power to act above or beyond the law), the poet may be alluding to the preachers—in particular, Robert Sibthorpe and Roger Manwaring—who had given controversial sermons in 1627 defending the royal authority to levy the extra-parliamentary forced loan.

<sup>62</sup> *Chymists stone*: i.e. the alchemists’ stone, that would transmute base metals into gold.

<sup>63</sup> *Oh scorned hearse...one white line?*: commendatory elegies were customarily attached to funeral hearses.

<sup>64</sup> *temporizing Friends*: fair-weather friends.

<sup>65</sup> *The hornes...For bloodie Joab*: King David’s nephew Joab was killed, on Solomon’s orders, for the murders of Abner and Amasa. Attempting in vain to escape his fate, Joab had “fled unto the tabernacle of the Lord, and caught hold on the horns of the altar” (1 Kings 2.28-34).

<sup>66</sup> *lyme-twiggs*: twigs coated with a sticky form of sap known as lime and used to trap small birds.

<sup>67</sup> *Perrywiggs*: i.e. periwigs; wigs.

<sup>68</sup> *Aurora*: goddess of the dawn.

<sup>69</sup> *Pegasus*: mythical winged horse.

**Pi37 Ye gastly Spiritts that haunt the gloomy night**

*Notes.* Unlike most of the “Buckingham-in-hell” libels, this striking and lengthy (though possibly incomplete) poem depicts the Duke in a horrifyingly realistic—rather than a comic or classicized—hell. Although the poet lays bare many of the favourite’s sins, he does not dwell on specifics and arguably generates a certain amount of sympathy for the tormented sinner.

“The Duke of Buck: his Gohst”

Ye gastly Spiritts that haunt the gloomy night  
With fearefull howlings all approach my sight  
Lett your sad shrieks like Mandrakes fatal groanes<sup>1</sup>  
m’assistants bee t’expresse the depth of moanes  
and with Infernall Tapers<sup>2</sup> round this place 5  
that each eye may behould my dismall face  
and there those bloody characters unfould  
engraven in envy and ambitious mould  
O let each Accent with compassion pearce  
the Brazen<sup>3</sup> Bulwark of this Universe 10  
That whilst my glowing tongue shall scorch your ears  
your hearts may thawe into a dewe of Teares.  
From pitchy darknes and eternall woes  
Greifes Laborinth, where gnashing sorrowes flowes  
From fyery draggons, and from croaking Toades 15  
With dyrefull yellings, ecchoing dolefull Oades  
From loathsome stench of feinds, from flashing flakes  
from fearfull shadowes and from poysoned lakes  
From darkest dungeon of hells deepe Abisse,  
where joy’s unknowne, but all confusion is, 20  
Loe my poore soule (exil’d to broyling flames  
and doom’d to crall<sup>4</sup> in everlasting streames  
of woe and bitternes) from lowest grave

(through that seald priviledge wee damned have  
 to walke in death; till those immortall steynes 25  
 hatch't in the bosome of our youthfull veynes  
 be purg'd from of the earth) with horror sounds  
 (then those prodigious Ecchoes which rebounds  
 from the fell Nightbirds<sup>5</sup> tunelesse beake) salutes  
 the Machine of this world; which prostitutes 30  
 her knees, to things degenerate from kinde  
 things mortall seeing, but immortall blinde.  
 I Caytiffe<sup>6</sup> now, not long since wing'd with fame  
 made glorious by that stile of Buckinghame  
 the Eye of Kings; chief Steeresman to a state 35  
 Imperious; in honour fortunate  
 A sceptre Scociate,<sup>7</sup> a Sovereign deere  
 the Loadstarr<sup>8</sup> of Great Brittaines hemisphere  
 Fixt in a Royal cave, for none to see  
 but the transparent Eye of Majestye 40  
 Like uncarv'd pumice in a file of pearle  
 A Prince, a duke, a Marquesse & an Earle  
 A Count, a Viscount, Lord & Knight<sup>9</sup> and all  
 of vyolent birth; but of more vyolent fall  
 Who kick't at heavens bright browe with scornfull heele 45  
 making Olimpus<sup>10</sup> stoope, and Atlas<sup>11</sup> kneele  
 As if in Phoebus<sup>12</sup> chaire he meant to Raigne  
 and court bright Cinthia<sup>13</sup> in great Charles wayne<sup>14</sup>  
 and with the gods from Pole to Pole rechase  
 Heaven's starry Nymphs,<sup>15</sup> along the Milky rase<sup>16</sup> 50  
 Much like that Piramyde by Gyant built,  
 Whose furious pride att heaven did run a tilt  
 Striving to scale Joves Towers,<sup>17</sup> make gods to yeild  
 and pitch the collours in Elizeums feilds<sup>18</sup>

Even soe my thoughts, back't on, with strong desire 55  
 Like Lebanons tall cedars<sup>19</sup> still aspires  
 For as the Nurse the little babe doth shew  
 first how to stand, then by degrees to goe  
 Soe nature taught mee, ere I gan to rise  
 being prompt by subtile art, to Nimrodize<sup>20</sup> 60  
 Till that my wings reaching supernal<sup>21</sup> Thrones  
 singeing thei're plumes against the burning zoanes  
 Downe tumbled Pelion, uppon Ossa steepe<sup>22</sup>  
 and both on Icarus in Icarian deepe<sup>23</sup>  
 Thus when I deem'd my acts by fortunes cherish't 65  
 my Anchor broke, and all my fortunes perish't  
 Oft by aspiring wee assume to gett  
 but thereby prove unto ourselves a Nett  
 For when securitye had dul'd desire  
 Which with scorching had pass'd ambitious fyre 70  
 Even in the bloome and springtide of my dayes  
 Fearlesse of wrath and gardlesse of my wayes  
 Amid'st my imperfecions full of bread,  
 heaven showred contagion on my fearing head  
 barring mee out those lasting dores of glorye 75  
 and shutt mee in this fearfull Consistorye  
 Whose utmost secretts to relate and tell  
 the strange inactures<sup>24</sup> of our bayfull<sup>25</sup> cell  
 O man 'twould make thee horidly to looke  
 as if with some revengefull Plannett strooke<sup>26</sup> 80  
 disbulke thy Microfine<sup>27</sup> make thy bloud  
 start from thy azure channells<sup>28</sup> like a flood  
 shatter thy soule to atomes, change thy sight  
 like to the sheeted visions of the night  
 but these ymmortall blazons<sup>29</sup> are forebidd 85



To carnall intellects and therefore hidd.  
 Thou greate directresse of the night<sup>30</sup> stand still  
 till I have gorg'd each yawning eare with fill  
 of direfull storye, make each stepp a station  
 till I have consumate this sadd Narration 90  
 And all yow hoast of heaven withdrawe your eyes  
 least from their vengefull frontlets<sup>31</sup> should arise  
 more horride deluges of cominacion<sup>32</sup>  
 against this wretched compound of damnacion  
 Oh what is man whose Origine and birth 95  
 Conceives their structure from a clodd of earth  
 from a poore abject mould his some of life  
 a living death a magozine of strife  
 Indeede the soule it is Etheriall  
 extract from breath, eterne,<sup>33</sup> which never shall 100  
 suffer corrupcion, else were sinners blest  
 and in the end our sins should fynde a rest  
 If voyd of reason with the soulesse creature  
 we should reteyne, but only sense & feature  
 would I had been a beast, to bee noe more 105  
 Or still lock't upp in Natures unknowne store  
 within those inessentiall shades of peace  
 before conception gave my life increase  
 Oh heaven most cruell to ordeyne creation  
 the harbinger and prologue to damnacion 110  
 To snatch att fraylty by the Infant heele  
 and dash her braines 'gainst hell with hands of steele  
 was I unto my parents acts agreeing?  
 Or did I seale consent unto my being?  
 punish th' offenders, let the act goe free 115  
 offences without actors cannot bee

But sin takes life and soe it chaunces  
 the roote being wither'd, still survives the branches  
 Thus I of our first parents sin partaker<sup>34</sup>  
 did reassay<sup>35</sup> to justle with my Maker 120  
 Till all the elements did gaze with wonder  
 to heare the heavens rebound with earthly thunder  
     Oh ye Inhabitants on th'Elizean dales<sup>36</sup>  
 and did I c'leap<sup>37</sup> yow cruell? reason fayles  
 and they were words on passions anvile forg'd 125  
 temper'd with drugs of woe & so disgorg'd;  
 Ye girded mee with wisdomes swadling cloathes  
 to knowe the Thistle from Vermillion Rose  
 T'have shun'd the perill of that poysonous grape  
 when hell did court mee in an angells shape 130  
 Had grace stept in 'twixt me and Satans kisse  
 I had been rang'd among the Saints ere this,  
 presented Orizons;<sup>38</sup> to greate Johva'hs<sup>39</sup> shrine  
 and chaunted Halleluiah to the Tryne;<sup>40</sup>  
 But when the gods did lend their hand to save mee 135  
 I grapled fast what hell and nature gave mee,  
 Till sinne through custome cauteriz'd my soule  
 makeing lardge passage in't; I dranke that boule  
 Of Hecatts triple ban;<sup>41</sup> scorn'd prohibition  
 made my heart thunderproof gain'st all contrition 140  
 On gloryes ayery topp I strive to fix  
 the standard of my hopes, there to commix  
 the fullnes of my will; though to attaine it  
 I harrow'd<sup>42</sup> (hell) I would throug hell to gaine it  
 Oh sacriledge to heaven, when humane reason 145  
 thus traytors 'gainst her self with blast of treason  
 O nature most accur'st thus to assay

with sugred pills, thy Infant, to betray  
 the bosome suckling which thy paps<sup>43</sup> did cherish  
 thy selfe hath slaughtered by thy hands did perish 150  
 Most like a Stepdame, with Hyena's guiles<sup>44</sup>  
 steeping foule murder under fawning smiles  
 But though thy face to veiwe presents noe steynes  
 yet sable<sup>45</sup> sins lurke in thy purple veynes  
 From fayrest flowers strong poyson oft proceedes 155  
 and fayrest shows, oft harbour fowlest deedes  
 O would Cymerean<sup>46</sup> darknes had possest thee  
 when first to my composure<sup>47</sup> thou adressed thee  
 My pensill had bin guiltlesse of thy forme  
 if metamorphis'd to the vilest worme 160  
 And I in concaves of my Mothers wombe  
 had chang'd my Mansion to a peacefull Tombe.  
 I emulate<sup>48</sup> the happines of Flyes;  
 the least of Natures wonders, in what wise  
 they spend the little breuiate of their tyme 165  
 in harmlesse solace, subject to noe cryme  
 and when the destinyes have clipt their wings  
 from their interments no memoriall springs  
 Noe swelling eyelids, nor obsequious rites  
 their dust no marble cerements<sup>49</sup> invites 170  
 Noe weeping Elegye, noe mournfull freind  
 about their funerall hearses doe attend  
 Noe sting of conscience doth affright their grave  
 in Brasen<sup>50</sup> volumes they their Quietues<sup>51</sup> have  
 In mirth they live, peace they dye, & than 175  
 they are noe more; but 'tis not soe with man  
 When our portent<sup>52</sup> is com'd, that we must goe  
 it is our entrance into greater woe.

The dawne and solstice<sup>53</sup> of our days are sinn  
 and with our Autume doth our feares beginne 180  
 Oh lett that day bee subject of all scorne  
 wherein they said there is a Manchild borne  
 and lett it from all light exiled bee  
 least it disteine lights native puritye  
 Let darknes shadowe it and vayle of Night 185  
 with direful apparitions dread each sight  
 Whil'st howling doggs the night crow and the drake<sup>54</sup>  
 to Goblins, Goasts and Fayryes musicke make  
 And buzzing Screechowles, boding ruthfull things  
 beating each casement with their fatall wings 190  
 and lett their Echoes like to passing bells  
 in order chime my ever dying knells.  
 What bleareyde Plannett, gloring on my birth<sup>55</sup>  
 Could not even then returne mee to the earth  
 O may it bee a gazing stock to all 195  
 and beare the bitter curses of my fall  
 May it bee ever out of course and jarre  
 and by a nickname called the wandring starre  
 Let heaven make warre against it & on earth  
 Let wolves with howlings chardg it with my birth; 200  
 My life is made the glasse, the Schoole, the booke  
 wherein each eye may learne may reade, may looke  
 O lett it drawe from thence a brinish sea  
 and stretch compassion to the highest kea  
 and with my carcasse I beseech you all 205  
 graunt my yet living name a funerall.  
 When first my name in Englands corte was spred  
 and in the eares of all men registred  
 unto some humble cottage would I'd gone

remote from sorrowe, to have liv'd alone 210  
 or in oblivions darkest cell, to have  
 turn'd Anchorite,<sup>56</sup> and digg'd myself a grave  
 And with Heraclitus<sup>57</sup> bewayld our ages  
 whose present acts, their future woes presages  
 Would on tymes swiftest wings I had been borne 215  
 into some desert, helpless and forlorne  
 and there both night and day ever to weepe  
 till age should charme me with eternall sleepe  
 Would I had led my life uppon the playnes  
 guiding my flocks 'mong'st other Shepard swaines 220  
 and there worne out my little phyle of dayes  
 chaunting my pretty lambs with roundelayes<sup>58</sup>  
 then had my acts, and with my acts my name  
 perish't together, and escaped shame.  
 But wounds past cure cannot be film'd<sup>59</sup> with care 225  
 but every thought still adds unto despaire  
 What the impartiall preassign'd to bee  
 Inviolate standeth, as the Medes decree,  
 Mortalles may strive and striving often gayne  
 but when gainst heaven they strive, tis all in vayne.<sup>60</sup> 230  
 Now did my glorye spred its goulden wings  
 and by the sacred influence of Kings  
 like to the flowers in continewall prime  
 Covers the face of Brittaines beauteous clyme  
 As some portenteous figure in the Ayre 235  
 (precedent to some Omen) doth declare  
 The fearce occurences of strange events  
 drawne the eyes of all the Elements  
 as wondergazers and attendants on it,  
 Whil'st each conjecture ruminates uppon it:<sup>61</sup> 240

Soe flock't together all the kingdomes eyes  
 Contract as in one browe to my arrise;  
 Not dreaming that my blazing did pefate<sup>62</sup>  
 a declination to their palmye state  
 or my advancement groundwork and imitation<sup>63</sup> 245  
 to Murders, Treasons, Incest<sup>64</sup> and ambition.  
 But as a huge and massy cannon, if  
 rays'd on the sommets of some towring cliffes  
 with greater violence and more commaund  
 batters all oppositions that withstand 250  
 his potent volleys, whilst the neighbouring rocks  
 start at the roare of his Cyclopean shocks<sup>65</sup>  
 and with the terror of his thunder fills  
 the fields, the valleys and the lesser hills;  
 Soe I advanced by a Regall powre 255  
 on each repugnant Thunderbolts did showre  
 subduing Heroes to my conquering beck<sup>66</sup>  
 setting my foote on each retorting<sup>67</sup> necke  
 that durst presume to parallell my grace  
 or cover mischief with a better face. 260  
 Greate Albions Monarch<sup>68</sup> whose divinest hand  
 first fix't my foot steppes upon gloryes land  
 (whereto I rush't as to a second birth)  
 where every hillock was perfum'd with mirth,  
 each sprigg was gould, each feild a spangled mead<sup>69</sup> 265  
 bestraw'd with dyamonds and with a purple spread  
 whose glittering paths my servile<sup>70</sup> heele unus'd  
 to tread with majesty, I base abus'd  
 deceaving him whose heart was foe to guile  
 guilding my Temples with a Judas<sup>71</sup> smile 270  
 And as the kidd which pastimes on the plaines

forsakes the tender dugg,<sup>72</sup> the wanton traines<sup>73</sup>  
 of bubling founteines and the honyed feild  
 with abundance doth her fatness yeild  
 And battons on some craggy mounteyne, where 275  
 the eye of safety never slept, but feare  
 Fills hope with desperacion; I soe did I  
 Clyming to chaunge honnors for Sovereignty  
 But two things lack't to perfect my renowne  
 the countrys favour, and the kingdomes crowne 280  
 Oft att the Throne I peeped through my speare  
 but then the sunne did in myne eyes appeare  
 whose burning splendor sealed on my face  
 made hopings frustrate of that glorious place.  
 My name that scarce ere while could ratifye 285  
 a positive knowledge in the meanest eye  
 Which irrespect, att most vulgaritye  
 free from commerce of popularitye,<sup>74</sup>  
 Coop'd in oblivion with those wretched bratts,  
 Bratts on whome triumphing fortune conculcates<sup>75</sup> 290  
 As if confined to her boundlesse hate  
 by power of some irrevocable fate.  
 I but of late in Midnights mantle caught  
 from publique speculation, where noe thought  
 borne with Mercurian wing<sup>76</sup> in my pursuite 295  
 or humane eye could ever prosecute  
 Nor did my revolucions once surmise  
 this gloomy sett, should ever hope for rise  
 Loe now the glorious god of day<sup>77</sup> awakes  
 and from my feete these darkened fetters shakes 300  
 Lights from his Chariott, and with powerful charmes  
 Clippis<sup>78</sup> Hyacinth's<sup>79</sup> in his sacred armes

Now greate Apollo on my cheeke doth laugh  
 and every knee bowes to the golden calfe<sup>80</sup>  
 I daunce on honnors goulden mounting topp 305  
 a Prince<sup>81</sup> my scociate, and a King my propp  
 Elbowe my betters and my equalls sleight  
 as the proud Eagle doth the Region Kyte<sup>82</sup>  
 The statelye pynes and Cedars<sup>83</sup> of the feild  
 submissive homage to my greatnes yield 310  
 The little fountaines pratling to the wayles<sup>84</sup>  
 telling of Buckingham each other tayles  
 Each optique<sup>85</sup> passed this ravish't from the deepe  
 of desperations Sea, begins to creepe  
 and fynding motion through that sacred fyre 315  
 sent from Majesticke rayes how to aspire  
 direccions foggy vapours doth deride  
 Striving with Dedal:<sup>86</sup> to bee dyefyed  
 and made although a peacefull Empyres scarr  
 in majestys bright heaven a regnant starr 320  
 And now ambition swelling to her brim  
 Conniving deluges to each rotten limbe  
 of the distracted state, burst's forth & rages  
 to th'utter ruine of ensuing ages  
 And least those now blowne sparks of wanton will 325  
 whose ardor each superbious<sup>87</sup> act doth fill  
 with vigirous flames, should hide in their creacion  
 through want of nutrimentall applicacion.  
 I lur'd unto my fist an ayry crewe  
 of fawning Cicophants, that could renew 330  
 And with their oyley bellowings reinsense  
 the wayning light of my concupisence  
 Vertue I made a Curtezan to vyce



wherewith being masked might the more entice  
Gloryes Pavillion<sup>88</sup> changed to a sty  
of loathsome lust, and base Hipocrisy  
I pluck't the Lillyes from fayre honnors bedd  
and planted seede of Dragons in their stedd  
Transform'd their beautye to deformed hewe  
the Rose to Nettle & sweete Tyme to Rewe.<sup>89</sup>

335

340

**Source.** Bodleian MS Ashmole 36-37, fols. 6r-10v

Pi37

<sup>1</sup> *Mandrakes fatal groanes*: when pulled from the ground, the mandrake plant was supposed to emit a horrific scream that could strike unwary listeners dead.

<sup>2</sup> *Tapers*: candles.

<sup>3</sup> *Brazen*: literally brass, or hardened.

<sup>4</sup> *crall*: i.e. crawl.

<sup>5</sup> *the fell Nightbirds*: the screech owl's.

<sup>6</sup> *Caytiffe*: i.e. caitiff; villain.

<sup>7</sup> *A sceptre Scociate*: an associate of a sceptre; a king's associate.

<sup>8</sup> *the Loadstarr*: i.e. the lodestar; the pole or guiding star, by which sailors navigated.

<sup>9</sup> *A Prince...Lord & Knight*: Buckingham held numerous aristocratic titles (including Earl, Marquis and Duke of Buckingham, Viscount Villiers, Earl of Coventry, and Baron Whaddon), as well as a knighthood.

<sup>10</sup> *Olimpus*: Mount Olympus, the seat of the gods.

<sup>11</sup> *Atlas*: in classical myth, Atlas held up the heavens.

<sup>12</sup> *Phoebus*: god of the sun.

- 13 *Cynthia*: goddess of the moon.
- 14 *Charles wayne*: “Charles’s wain” (wagon) was a group of seven stars in the Great Bear constellation.
- 15 *Heaven’s starry Nymphs*: female goddesses.
- 16 *Milky rase*: i.e. the Milky rays; alluding to the galaxy the Milky Way, or, more generally, to a heavenly path. The phrase could also have a sexual connotation, alluding to the female breast.
- 17 *that Piramyde by Gyant built...Joves Towers*: in the classical myth of the giants’ war with the gods, the giants attempted to scale Mount Olympus by piling Mount Pelion upon Mount Ossa.
- 18 *Elizeums fields*: the Elysian Fields, the realm of the blessed souls in the afterlife; here meaning heaven.
- 19 *Lebanons tall cedars*: “For the day of the Lord of hosts shall be upon every one that is proud and lofty, and upon every one that is lifted up; and he shall be brought low: And upon all the cedars of Lebanon, that are high and lifted up, and upon all the oaks of Bashan” (Isaiah 2.12-13).
- 20 *to Nimrodize*: to act like a tyrant. Nimrod is depicted in Genesis 10:8-12 as “a mighty one in the earth” and “a mighty hunter”.
- 21 *supernal*: on high; heavenly.
- 22 *Downe tumbled Pelion, uppon Ossa steepe*: Pelion and Ossa were the two mountains the giants attempted to pile upon each other to scale Olympus during their war with the gods.
- 23 *Icarius in Icarian deepe*: in the classical myth, Icarus flew too close to the sun which melted the wax holding on his wings, plunging him to his death in the waters below, thereafter known as the Icarian Sea.
- 24 *inactures*: the *OED* hesitantly defines “enacture” as a “carrying into act, fulfilment”.
- 25 *bayfull*: baleful; or, perhaps, full of baying, the howling of dogs.
- 26 *with some revengefull Plannett strooke*: in astrological thinking, to be under the influence of a revengeful planet.
- 27 *disbulke thy Microfine*: obscure. In context, it should refer to another type of severe bodily reaction (possibly the shedding of skin) that would occur if the true nature of hell were revealed to the living.
- 28 *azure channells*: blue veins.

- 29 *blazons*: sights, shows.
- 30 *Thou greate directresse of the night*: the moon.
- 31 *frontletts*: foreheads.
- 32 *cominacion*: i.e. commination; threat of divine punishment.
- 33 *eterne*: eternal.
- 34 *of our first parents sin partaker*: all humans were understood to have inherited original sin from Adam and Eve.
- 35 *reassay*: try again.
- 36 *th'Elizean dales*: the Elysian Fields, resting place of the blessed in the afterlife; heaven.
- 37 *c'leap*: i.e. clepe; call.
- 38 *Orizons*: prayers.
- 39 *Johva'hs*: i.e. Jehova's; God's.
- 40 *Tryne*: the Holy Trinity—God, Christ and the Holy Spirit.
- 41 *Hecatts triple ban*: the triple curse of Hecate. Hecate was a three-headed goddess of the underworld, patron of demons and instructor in witchcraft.
- 42 *harrow'd*: plundered.
- 43 *paps*: breasts.
- 44 *Hyena's guiles*: the hyena was associated with falsity and treachery.
- 45 *sable*: black.
- 46 *Cymerean*: in classical myth, the Cimmerii lived in a land enshrouded in darkness.
- 47 *composure*: making, composition.
- 48 *emulate*: envy, aspire to.
- 49 *cerements*: shrouds for the dead.

- 50 *Brasen*: brass.
- 51 *Quietues*: i.e. quietus; rest.
- 52 *portent*: doom.
- 53 *solstice*: mid-point.
- 54 *drake*: serpent, dragon.
- 55 *What bleareyde Plannett...birth*: astrological theory contended that the dominant planet (here “gloring”; shining or glowering) at the time of a child’s birth would influence the child’s destiny.
- 56 *Anchorite*: hermit.
- 57 *Heraclitus*: an ancient Greek philosopher.
- 58 *roundelayes*: songs.
- 59 *film’d*: covered up.
- 60 *What the impartiall preassign’d...in vayne*: presumably a reference to the divine predestination of human fates. Predestination is immutable, like the laws (“decree”) of the Medes and Persians (see Daniel 6.8).
- 61 *As some portenteous...ruminates uppon it*: the analogy is to a portent, an aberrant occurrence in nature that was presumed to presage some future event or calamity.
- 62 *prefate*: preface, or perhaps predict.
- 63 *imition*: i.e. immission; introduction to, insertion in.
- 64 *Incest*: unlike murder, treason and ambition, this charge was not usually levelled at Buckingham.
- 65 *Cyclopean shocks*: some mythic traditions assert that the one-eyed Cyclops giants gave Zeus his thunderbolts, while others depict them as workers in the god Vulcan’s metal forge. Both traditions might therefore explain the noise to which this line alludes.
- 66 *beck*: gesture of command and control.
- 67 *retorting*: resisting, refusing.
- 68 *Greate Albions Monarch*: James I.

- 69 *mead*: meadow.
- 70 *servile*: Buckingham's relatively humble (yet undoubtedly gentle) social origins were a target of much criticism.
- 71 *Judas*: i.e. Judas Iscariot, the betrayer of Christ.
- 72 *dugg*: udder, teat.
- 73 *traines*: currents.
- 74 *popularitye*: in early seventeenth-century political discourse, "popularity" could often imply popular rebelliousness.
- 75 *conculcates*: tramps under foot.
- 76 *Mercurian wing*: the god Mercury, messenger of the gods, was often depicted with winged sandals.
- 77 *god of day*: Apollo-Phoebus.
- 78 *Clipps*: embraces.
- 79 *Hyacinth's*: Hyacinth was a Spartan youth loved by Apollo.
- 80 *the golden calfe*: the golden idol worshipped by the Israelites in the wilderness (Exodus 32).
- 81 *a Prince*: Prince Charles.
- 82 *the Region Kyte*: the scavenger bird (kite) of the sky.
- 83 *The statelye pynes and Cedars*: the great and powerful; the English nobility.
- 84 *wayles*: i.e. wales; waves or currents.
- 85 *optique*: unclear; perhaps "eye" works best.
- 86 *Dedal*: Daedalus, whose invention of wings allowed him to fly free from captivity in Crete.
- 87 *superbious*: arrogant.
- 88 *Gloryes Pavillion*: the royal court.
- 89 *sweete Tyme to Rewe*: the herbs thyme and rue. Thyme is sweet, rue bitter.

## Pii Celebrating Felton

### Pii1 Anagram on John Felton

*Notes.* The surviving anagrams on John Felton discover politically resonant messages in the scrambled letters of the assassin's name. Here the poorly anagrammed name resolves into one of the basic arguments of contemporary pro-Felton writings, that Buckingham's murder was not a crime.

John Felton: NO FELLON

**Source.** Bodleian MS Eng. Poet. e.14, fol. 12v

Pii1

## **Pii2 Anagram on John Felton**

*Notes.* This anagram alludes to Felton's image as a patriot martyr, steadfast in his duty and willing to suffer the consequences of his deed. Many contemporaries noted, for instance, that Felton had refused to escape after the assassination despite the plentiful opportunities afforded by the chaos that ensued.

JOHN PHELTON

Oh flye not!

**Source.** *Court and Times of Charles I* 1.390

Pii2

### Pii3 Felton, awake, & cheare thyselfe from sorrow

*Notes.* Like a number of contemporary writers, this poet imaginatively reconstructs Felton's motives for murdering Buckingham. Felton himself wrote a number of statements justifying and explaining his actions; the most widely circulated were two arguments that he had transcribed and sewn into his hatband before killing the Duke. Copies of the two statements follow this poem in the manuscript. Holstun (179) briefly explores the poem's "bold workmanship" and its "casuistically strained combination of condemnation and forgiveness".

"1628 Felton's dreame Aug. 22th being the night before the murder"

Felton, awake, & cheare thyselfe from sorrow,  
Thy hand must strike the Duke, & that to morrow;  
The heavens have spoke it, & soe 'tis decreed,  
Their praiers are heard, thou only mak'st him bleed.  
Feare not thy strength, thou only art sett on 5  
By him, whose Justice doth attend thy doome.  
Lambe gott the start,<sup>1</sup> & yett how e're it fell,  
He<sup>2</sup> spurres for kingdomes, though it be to hell.  
Thou must o'rethrow his plott, and tydings bring,  
He mist his marke, to aime at Irelands Kinge.<sup>3</sup> 10  
The deed is done, the countries good is Felton,<sup>4</sup>  
Both heard, & seene, & trusted, now is smelt on.  
Go forward in the action, doe not stand,  
'Twere better two suffer, than all the land.  
Next favourite is Holland, in whose place, 15  
Rich meritts honour farre above his grace.  
If Rich were next, this truely dare I say,  
Riches would crowne the land that day.<sup>5</sup>  
Pray heavens graunt pardon, & thy selfe assure,  
The countries service striveth to procure 20  
The day ne'er ending with praiers joyn'd with thine,



T' obtaine forgivenessse for the bloody crime.

**Source.** Bodleian MS Tanner 465, fol. 102r

Pii3

<sup>1</sup> *Lambe gott the start*: Buckingham's alleged associate, John Lambe, convicted witch and rapist, and notorious astrologer-physician, was murdered by a London mob in June 1628.

<sup>2</sup> *He*: i.e. Buckingham.

<sup>3</sup> *to aime at Irelands Kinge*: Walter Yonge's newsdiary entries in the days following Buckingham's assassination recorded reports that the Duke had been planning to sail with an army to become Viceroy of Ireland (BL Add. MS 35331, fol. 24v).

<sup>4</sup> *Felton*: the poet puns here on "Felton" and "felt on".

<sup>5</sup> *Next favourite is Holland...that day*: these somewhat knotty lines depend on a pun on the family name of Henry Rich, Earl of Holland, thought by some observers to be Buckingham's natural successor as court favourite. The lines can be read to imply that a different "Rich"—by which the poet probably meant Holland's elder brother Robert Rich, Earl of Warwick, a leading Puritan and oppositional peer—was better suited for this kind of power.

#### Pii4 The heavens approve brave Feltons resolution

*Notes.* This poem defends Felton's actions as "noe murther but an Execution", the exercise of justice on a poisoner who had murdered "right, religion, pyetye". Like a number of anti-Buckingham poets who had to wrestle with Charles I's responsibility for his favourite's misrule, the author of this verse is pulled toward some fairly critical remarks about the King in his concluding couplet.

"In Obitum Ducis"<sup>1</sup>

The heavens approve brave Feltons resolution  
that breath'd noe murther but an Execution  
in stabbinge him that stab'd a world of wightes<sup>2</sup>  
with poyson not with poyniards;<sup>3</sup> which were lightes  
to th'Cloudy state of our eclipsed nation  
late tortured by an upstart generation  
of snakeish vipers with their spawnny broode  
which had no sence of Ill noe touch of good.  
Thus hath the will of justice murdered thee  
that murthred right, religion, pyetye:  
The lawes in force agayne for hees in hell  
that broake those spyders webs composde soe well  
Oh that our prince those lawes would foster more  
then should we flourish as we did before.

5

10

**Source.** Bodleian MS Eng. Poet. c.50, fol. 13v

Pii4

<sup>1</sup> *In Obitum Ducis*: "On the Death of the Duke".

<sup>2</sup> *wightes*: people.

<sup>3</sup> *stab'd a world...with poyniards*: allusion to the charge, first levelled in George Eglisham's 1626

*Forerunner of Revenge*, that Buckingham had poisoned King James I and several other prominent courtiers. A “poniard” is a type of dagger.

### Pii5 Some say the Duke was gracious, vertuous, good

*Notes.* This defence of Felton is more playful than is typical, arguing that if Buckingham was as virtuous as his apologists asserted, Felton did him a favour by sending him to his eternal heavenly rewards ahead of schedule.

“On Feltons killing the Duke”

Some say the Duke was gracious, vertuous, good,  
And Felton basely did to spill his blood.  
If that were true: What did hee then amisse  
In sending him more quicklie to his blisse?  
Pale death seemes pleasing to a good Mans Eye,  
And onely bad-men are afrayd to die.  
Left he this Kingdome to possesse a better?  
Why Felton then hath made the Duke his debter.

5

**Source.** BL MS Sloane 826, fol. 188v

**Other known sources.** Rous 29; *Trevelyan Papers* 3.172; *Wit Restor'd* 58; Bodleian MS Ashmole 47, fol. 31r; Bodleian MS Dodsworth 79, fol. 158r; Bodleian MS Douce 357, fol. 18v; Bodleian MS Eng. Poet. e.14, fol. 19r; Bodleian MS Malone 23, p. 195; Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 26, fol. 78v; Bodleian MS Tanner 465, fol. 102v; BL Add. MS 22959, fol. 27r; BL MS Egerton 923, fol. 45v; BL MS Harley 791, fol. 57r; BL MS Lans. 498, fol. 141v; CUL Add. MS 42, fol. 37v; CUL MS Dd.11.73, fol. 67v; Houghton MS Eng. 1278, item 12; Rosenbach MS 239/27, p. 318

Pii5

## Pii6 The Duke is dead, and wee are ridd of strife

*Notes.* This remarkable poem offers a legalistic and a providential defence of the assassination, and concludes with the stunning and rarely voiced claim that not only an individual king, but also monarchy itself, is subject to divine justice. Holstun (179-181) offers an important extended analysis.

### “Upon the Dukes Death”

The Duke is dead, and wee are ridd of strife,

By Feltons hand, that tooke away his life.

Whether that Fact were lawfull or unjust,

In two short Arguments may bee discust:

One: Though the Duke were one whom all did hate,

5

Being suppos'd a Greivance to the State,

Yet hee a subject was, And thence wee draw

This Argument, Hee ought to die by Law.

Another: Were hee Traytor most apparant,

Yet hee that killd him had noe lawfull warrant,

10

But as a Murtherer hee did it act,

And ought himself to die for such a Fact.

These bee the Arguments, than which shall need

Noe more to prove it an unlawfull deed.

Now, for an Answer, justly is objected,

15

When Law was offer'd, it was then neglected:

For when the Commons did, with just intent

Pursue his Faults in open Parliament,<sup>1</sup>

The highest Court of Justice, soe supreame

That it hath censur'd Monarches of the Realme,

20

There might his Grace have had a legall triall,

Had hee not it oppos'd with strong deniall.

But hee then scorn'd, and proudly sett at nought

The howse, and those that him in question brought.  
 Therefore when Law nor Justice takes noe place, 25  
 Some desperate course must serve in such a case.  
 A rotten Member,<sup>2</sup> that can have noe cure,  
 Must bee cutt off to save the body sure:  
 Soe was the Duke: For when he did withstand  
 The auntient course of Justice of this land, 30  
 Thinking all meanes too weake to cast him downe,  
 Being held up by him that weares the crowne;  
 Even then, when least hee did expect, or know,  
 By Felton's hand God wrought his overthrowe.  
 What shall wee say? Was it Gods will or noe, 35  
 That one sinner should kill another soe?  
 I dare not judge; yet it appeares sometime  
 God makes one sinner 'venge anothers crime,  
 That whenas Justice can noe hold-fast take,  
 Each others ruyne they themselves should make. 40  
 But howsoe're it is, the case is plaine,  
 Gods hand was in't, and the Duke striv'd in vaine:  
 For what the Parliament did faile to doe,  
 God did both purpose and performe it too.  
 Hee would noe threatnings or affronts receive, 45  
 Nor noe deepe Pollicies could him deceive,  
 But when his sinne was ripe, it then must downe  
 Gods Siccle spares not either King or Crowne.

**Source.** BL MS Sloane 826, fols. 189r-190r

Pii6

<sup>1</sup> *For when the Commons...open Parliament*: allusion to the attempt by the 1626 Parliament to impeach Buckingham.

<sup>2</sup> *Member*: body part.

**Pii7 Why: is our Age turn'd coward, that no Penn**

*Notes. Felton is here represented as a patriot martyr, whose deeds had freed a subjugated nation from an enervating, emasculating humiliation.*

“In commendacion of Feltons fowle murder of the D.”<sup>1</sup>

Why: is our Age turn'd coward, that no Penn

Dares weeping mourne thy glorie? Are all Men

Doom'd to dull Earth at once, that thy great Name

Must suffer in their silence, and thy Fame

Pant to flie higher then their endles hate,

Who toyle to kill thy memory, and bate<sup>2</sup>

The glorie of thy Act? Shall Rome canonize

Him, that to save her did but sacrifice

A single hand, a Martire?<sup>3</sup> Shall not wee,

(If Rome did soe for him) doe more for thee?

That when Crown'd Victorie (growne almost white

On Albions<sup>4</sup> loftie Cliffs) had tane her flight

Into some uncouth corner of the world,

And seated in her roome pale feare, and hurld

Distraction through the land; When every Man

Seem'd his soules coffin, leane and wanne

With expectation of his End; When Wee

(Whom, for soe many yeares, proud France did see

Disposers of her borrowed Crowne) were made a prey

To her high scorne.<sup>5</sup> Oh! who can name the day

(And feeles not a salt deluge in his Eyes)

Wherein such clowdes of sighes and groanes did rise

As dimm'd the sunne; which then amazed stood

To see Alleagiance firmly writt in blood,

5

10

15

20



Sluc'd from our slaughter'd friends? A day wherein 25  
 The heat (rash Duke) of thy ambitious sinne  
 Unmann'd such noble spiritts, that old time  
 Must lift his hoarie head aloft, and clime  
 The rockie Monuments of Kings, to finde  
 Their Equalls: yet thou must stay behinde, 30  
 On purpose left, by the malitious Foe,  
 To doe more harme in peace than warrs could doe,  
 To trample on their Ruine, and create  
 Mischiefs, more killing Plagues, to ruinate  
 Us and our Children; When, unhearted, Wee 35  
 Saw all this threatned; but yet could not free  
 Our vassall'd<sup>6</sup> state: Then (Felton) did the Land  
 Receive a speedie cure by thy just hand:  
 Thou stabd'st our Desolation with a stroke,  
 And in one blowe didst free us from the yoake 40  
 Of forraine bondage,<sup>7</sup> That, to buy our Peace,  
 Unconduit'st all thy blood, and did'st not cease  
 Till thou hadst wrought thy unexampled deed  
 Of our Redemption, and hadst made him bleed  
 That grasp'd the Lives and Fortunes of us all, 45  
 Which thou hast timely rescu'd by his Fall.

**Source.** BL MS Sloane 826, fols. 190r-191r

**Other known sources.** Bodleian MS Malone 23, p. 203; BL Add. MS 5832, fol. 197r

Pii7

<sup>1</sup> *the D.*: the Duke.

<sup>2</sup> *bate*: abate; diminish.

<sup>3</sup> *Shall Rome canonize...a Martire?:* allusion to the Roman republican patriot hero Mucius Scaevola who, having been captured while attempting to kill the leader of Rome's enemies, thrust his right hand into a fire, so amazing his intended victim that he released him and eventually negotiated peace with the Romans. On the Felton-Scaevola comparison, see too "The Argument is cold and sencelesse clay".

<sup>4</sup> *Albions:* England's.

<sup>5</sup> *When Wee...To her high scorne:* reference to the humiliation of the English at the hands of French forces during Buckingham's 1627 expedition to the Ile de Ré. The contrast is between the current national humiliation, and England's military triumphs during the Hundred Years' War, when the kings of England claimed—and for some years obtained—the French throne. The lines that follow continue to refer to the Ré disaster.

<sup>6</sup> *vassall'd:* enslaved, subordinated.

<sup>7</sup> *the yoake / Of forraine bondage:* by alluding to the Exodus story of the Jews' liberation from Egyptian bondage, this phrase not only turns Felton into a latter-day Moses, but also suggests that Buckingham had worked to subject England to the power of her Catholic enemies, the Spanish and the French.

## Pii8 Immortall Man of glorie, whose brave hand

*Notes.* The Scotsman James Balfour reported that “one Mr. [Richard] James, ane attender one Sir Robert Cotton, a grate lover of his countrey, and a hatter of all suche as he supposed enimes to the same, was called in question for wretting” this poem, “wich he named a statue to the memorey of that vorthey patriot S. Johne Felton” (2.174). On James’s likely authorship of a long letter on Felton, transcribed in Bodleian MS Malone 23, pp. 165-190, see Bellany, “‘The Brightnes of the Noble Leiutenants Action’”.

“Felton commended &c”

Immortall Man of glorie, whose brave hand  
Hath once begun to disinchaunt our land  
From Magique thralldome. One proud Man did mate<sup>1</sup>  
The Nobles, Gentles, Commons of our state;  
Struck Peace and Warr at pleasure, hurld downe all 5  
That to his Idoll Greatnes would not fall  
With groveling adoration: Sacred Rent  
Of Brittain, Saxon, Norman Princes spent  
Hee on his Panders, Minions, Pimpes, and Whores,<sup>2</sup>  
Whilst their great Royal Offspring wanted dores 10  
To shutt out Hunger, had not the kinde whelpe  
Of good Elizas lyon gave them helpe.<sup>3</sup>  
The seats of Justice forc’d say, they lye,  
Unto our auntient English Libertie.<sup>4</sup>  
The stain of honour, which to deeds of praise 15  
And high atchievements should brave spiritts raise,  
The shipps, the Men, the money cast away  
Under his onely all confounding sway  
Illiads of greife, on topp of which hee bore  
Himselfe triumphant, neither trayn’d in lore 20  
Of Arts or Armes:<sup>5</sup> yet in a hautie vast

Debordment<sup>6</sup> of Ambition, now in haste  
 The cunning Houndhurst must transported bee  
 To make him the Restorer Mercurie  
 In an heroick painting,<sup>7</sup> when before 25  
 Antwerpian Rubens best skill made him soare,  
 Ravisht by heavenly powers, unto the skie  
 Opening, and ready him to deifie  
 In a bright blissfull Pallace, Fayrie Ile,<sup>8</sup>  
 Naught but illusion were we, till this guile 30  
 Was by thy hand cut off, stout Machabee;<sup>9</sup>  
 Nor they, nor Rome, nor did Greece ever see  
 A greater glorie to the Neighbour Flood.  
 Then sinke all Fables of old Brute and Ludd,<sup>10</sup>  
 And give thy Statues place. In spight of charme 35  
 Of Witch or Wizard,<sup>11</sup> thy more mighty Arme,  
 With Zeale and Justice arm'd, hath in truth wonne  
 The prize of Patriott to a Brittish Sonne.

**Source.** BL MS Sloane 826, fols. 191v-192r

**Other known sources.** Bodleian MS Douce 357, fol. 17r; Bodleian MS Malone 23, p. 207; Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 84, fol. 74v; BL Add. MS 5832, fol. 196v; BL Add. MS 21544, fol. 128r; BL MS Egerton 2026, fol. 64v; V&A MS F48.G.2/1, item 3; Huntington MS 198, 1.158

Pii8

<sup>1</sup> *mate*: probably checkmate, as in chess.

<sup>2</sup> *Sacred Rent...Pimpes, and Whores*: these lines accuse Buckingham of spending royal revenues—the inheritance amassed by England’s ancient and medieval rulers, the Britons, the Anglo-Saxons and the Normans—on his favourites (“Minions”), and on his whores and their procurers (“Pandors” and “Pimpes”).

<sup>3</sup> *Whilst their great...gave them helpe*: allusion to the sufferings of the Elector Palatine, Frederick V, and his wife, Elizabeth, daughter of James I, following their expulsion from Bohemia and from their

ancestral lands in the Palatinate in 1619-1621. Frederick and Elizabeth eventually found refuge under Dutch protection at The Hague. The “kind whelpe / Of good Elizas Lyon” that assisted the Palatines were the Dutch heirs (“whelpe”) of the Netherlands rebels (the Netherlands were often cartographically represented as a lion) against Spain, rebels who had been aided by Elizabeth I (“good Eliza”).

<sup>4</sup> *The seats of Justice...English Libertie*: this couplet charges Buckingham with corrupting the legal system, and conniving in forms of arbitrary government that violated English liberties.

<sup>5</sup> *The stain of honour...or Armes*: allusive reference to Buckingham’s calamitous leadership of the English war effort, 1625-28. “Iliad”, as used in the phrase “Iliads of greife”, may mean “a long series of disasters” (*OED*).

<sup>6</sup> *Debordment*: excess.

<sup>7</sup> *The cunning Houndhurst...heroick painting*: reference to an identifiable portrait of the Duke, painted by the Dutch artist Gerrit Van Honthorst in the spring and summer of 1628, which depicted Buckingham in the guise of the god Mercury, presenting the seven liberal arts to Apollo and Diana, represented as Charles and his Queen, Henrietta Maria.

<sup>8</sup> *Antwerpian Rubens...Fayrie Ile*: this almost certainly refers to Peter Paul Rubens’ “Apotheosis of Buckingham”, painted between 1625 and 1627 and hung on the ceiling of Buckingham’s London residence at York House. The painting depicts the Duke being carried up into the sky.

<sup>9</sup> *stout Machabee*: Felton is here compared to the Macabees, who in the second century BC led the Israelite resistance movement against attempts by their Syrian overlords to eradicate Judaism. “Stout” means brave.

<sup>10</sup> *Fables of old Brute and Ludd*: the mythic version of the origins of Britain, enshrined in Geoffrey of Monmouth’s twelfth-century narrative history, attributed the founding of the nation to Brutus, a descendant of the Trojan hero and legendary founder of Rome, Aeneas. According to Geoffrey, King Lud enlarged and renovated Brutus’s city “Troynovant”, on the site of modern London, renaming it Caire-Lud or Lud’s town.

<sup>11</sup> *In spight of charme...of Wizard*: allusion to Buckingham’s supposed use of witchcraft—whether supplied by his mother, Mary, Countess of Buckingham, or his alleged associate, the convicted witch John Lambe—to secure his hold on power.

**Pii9 I mmortal man of glory, whose stout hand**

*Notes.* This acrostic shares an almost identical first line with the longer poem “Immortall Man of glorie, whose brave hand”. The allusion to “new studied torments” suggests that this verse was prompted in part by the news that the authorities intended to torture Felton to elicit a full confession of his supposed co-conspirators.

I mmortal man of glory, whose stout<sup>1</sup> hand

O ne lustfull creature hath cut from our land

H ave patience for to suffer, for thy name

N or time, nor hower ever shall defame.

F ear nere possest thy manly brest

5

E ach torment that thou sufferest bringest rest.

L et ther new studied torments use cruilty

T is to ther shame, ads glory unto thee

O h may thy soul rest in blest peace secure

N o matter what thy body here endure

10

**Source.** Bodleian MS Eng. Poet. e.14, fol. 12v

Pii9

<sup>1</sup> *stout*: brave.

### Pii10 Enjoy thy Bondage; make thy Prison know

*Notes.* On 26 October 1628, Attorney-General Robert Heath questioned Ben Jonson as the suspected author of this widely circulated poem on the assassin Felton. Jonson admitted having read the verses at the antiquarian Sir Robert Cotton's house, but assured Heath that he was not the author. "Common fame", Jonson confessed, attributed the poem to the Oxford scholar, Zouch Townley (Original Papers 72-73). On 14 November, John Pory informed Joseph Mead that Townley, "a minister of rare parts, that should have come into the Star Chamber, ore tenus, for writing of verses 'To his confined friend, Mr. Felton,' is got safe over to the Hague where some say he will print an apology for the fact" (Court and Times of Charles I 1.427). A number of sources (see list below) transcribe the final four lines as a discrete poem; one, the commonplace book of Sir John Perceval, probably compiled c.1646-49 while Perceval was a student at Magdalene College, Cambridge (BL Add. MS 47111), transcribes lines 11-20 as a discrete poem. Bellany ("Libels in Action" 108) reads the poem as a subversion of the authorities' punitive rituals that had been designed to demonize the assassin, while Barton (315-17) offers an appreciation of the poem's Jonsonian style.

"To his confined Friend, Mr Felton"

Enjoy thy Bondage; make thy Prison know

Thou hast a Libertie thou canst not owe

To those base Punishments; keep't entire, since

Nothing but guilt shackles the Conscience.

I dare not tempt they<sup>1</sup> valient blood to whay,<sup>2</sup>

Enfeebling it to pittie, nor dare pray

Thy Act may Mercie finde, least thy great Storie

Loose somewhat of its Miracle and Glorie.

I wish thy Meritt, labourd Crueltie;<sup>3</sup>

Stout Vengeance best befittes thy Memorie.

For I would have posteritie to heare,

Hee that can bravely do, can bravely beare.

Tortures seeme great in a Cowards Eye.

'Tis no great thing to suffer, lesse to die.

5

10

Should all the cloudes fall out, and in that strife, 15  
 Lightning and thunder send to take my life,  
 I would applaude the Wisdome of my Fate,  
 Which knew to valew mee at such a rate,  
 As at my Fall to trouble all the skie,  
 Emptying upon mee Joves full Armorie.<sup>4</sup> 20  
 Serve in your sharpest Mischiefs: use your Rack;<sup>5</sup>  
 Enlarge each Joint, and make each sinew crack:  
 Thy soule before was streightned,<sup>6</sup> Thanke thy doome,  
 To shew her vertue shee hath larger roome.  
 Yet, sure, if every Arterie were broke, 25  
 Thou wouldst finde strength for such another stroke.  
 And now I leave thee unto death and Fame,  
 Which lives, to shake Ambition with thy name:  
 And if it were not sinne, the Court by it  
 Should hourelly swear before the Favourite. 30  
 Farewell: for thy brave sake wee shall not send  
 Henceforth Commaunders Enemies to defend:<sup>7</sup>  
 Nor will it ever our just Monarch please  
 To keep an Admiral<sup>8</sup> to loose our Seas.  
 Farewell: undaunted stand, and joy to bee 35  
 Of publique sorrow the Epitomie.  
 Let the Duke's name solace and Crowne thy thrall:<sup>9</sup>  
 All wee by him did suffer, Thou for all.  
 And I dare boldlie write, as thou dar'st dye,  
 Stout<sup>10</sup> Felton, Englands Ransome, heere doth lye. 40  
 If idle Passingers aske, who lies heere,  
 Let the Dukes toomb this for Inscription beare.  
 Paint Cales and Ree:<sup>11</sup> Make French and Spanish laugh,  
 Add Englands shame, And there's his Epitaph.



**Source.** BL MS Sloane 826, fols. 192v-193v

**Other known sources.** *Court and Times of Charles I* 1.427; *Wit Restor'd* 56; Bodleian MS CCC. 328, fol. 51r; Bodleian MS Eng. Poet. e.14, fol. 14v; Bodleian MS Eng. Poet. e.97, p. 91; Bodleian MS Malone 21, fol. 4r; Bodleian MS Malone 23, p. 205; Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 26, fol. 34r; Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 142, fol. 42v; Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 199, p. 62; BL Add. MS 29492, fol. 63v; BL Add. MS 30982, fol. 86r; BL Add. MS 33998, fol. 42v; BL Add. MS 47111, fol. 4v; BL MS Egerton 2026, fol. 65r; BL MS Harley 6383, fol. 28v; BL MS Harley 6931, fol. 48r; BL MS Harley 7319, fol. 2r; BL MS Sloane 1199, fol. 74v; BL MS Sloane 1792, fol. 114v; BL MS Sloane 4178, fol. 63r; St. John's MS S.32, fol. 29r; V&A MS F48.G.2/1, item 3; Beinecke MS Osborn Box 12 no. 5, fol. 18v; Folger MS V.a.97, p. 21; Folger MS V.a.125, fol. 11r; Folger MS V.b.43, fol. 33v; Houghton MS Eng. 1278, item 11; Huntington MS HM 198, 2.152; Rosenbach MS 239/27, p. 45; Rosenbach MS 240/2, fol. 93r

**Known sources of shorter version.** Bodleian MS Don. b.8, p. 212 and p. 368; Bodleian MS Eng. Poet. c.50, fol. 26r; Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 153, fol. 10r; BL Add. MS 44963, fol. 40r; BL MS Egerton 2026, fol. 12r

Pii10

<sup>1</sup> *they*: probable scribal error; read “thy”.

<sup>2</sup> *whay*: in this context, the whey is the watery part or serum of the blood.

<sup>3</sup> *labourd Crueltie*: torture. Reports were widespread that Felton was to be or had been tortured in the Tower of London.

<sup>4</sup> *Joves full Armorie*: thunderbolts were the weapons of Jove, the king of the gods.

<sup>5</sup> *Rack*: an instrument of torture that inflicted great pain by forcibly stretching the victim's limbs.

<sup>6</sup> *streightned*: cramped, confined, imprisoned.

<sup>7</sup> *Commaunders Enemies to defend*: Buckingham was popularly blamed for the failures of the military expeditions under his command, in particular the 1627 expedition to Ré, the disastrous outcome of which was attributed to Buckingham's cowardice, incompetence and treachery (see Section O).

<sup>8</sup> *Admiral*: Buckingham had been appointed Lord Admiral in 1619.

<sup>9</sup> *thrall*: captivity, suffering.

<sup>10</sup> *Stout*: brave.

<sup>11</sup> *Cales and Ree*: the two great failed military expeditions of the 1620s: to Cadiz in 1625 and to the Ile de Ré in 1627. Buckingham commanded the latter in person and was responsible for planning the former.

**Pii11 Sir, I your servant, (who have sett you free**

*Notes. Holstun (182) analyzes how Felton in this poem “proclaims his tyrannicidal affiliations, maintaining nominal piety and obedience as a civil subject while asserting his status as a divinely sanctioned tyrannicide”.*

“To Charles now great, alone, King of glorious Brittain. The bold-pious-Peticion, of free-bound-Felton”

Sir, I your servant, (who have sett you free,  
Christs freeman am, your Prisoner though I bee)  
Have one good boone<sup>1</sup> to begg of our good King:  
Not libertie, nor life, nor noe such thing:  
But that you would Gods Mercie magnifie, 5  
For that salvation hee hath wrought by mee.  
For know (great Charles) how high thou honour'd art  
To bee but King of Mee, of soe stout<sup>2</sup> heart.  
One Angell slew one night (none left alive)  
Of hundred thousands fower-score and five.<sup>3</sup> 10  
I, with one stroke, thy Kingdomes all, and thee,  
With Millions (slaves) have sett at libertie.  
When David had Goliah cast to ground,<sup>4</sup>  
How full was Israels campe with joyfull sound?  
Their cause was lesse: your Joy, let it be more, 15  
Though I a thousand deaths should die therefore.  
If I had lives to lose, or daies to end,  
I would them all in such like service spend:  
All deathes I would contemne, my lives all being,  
My God to honour, my countrie free, and King. 20  
I know what Phinees did; and Hebers wife,  
And Ehud, Israells Judge, with Eglons life:<sup>5</sup>  
And I did heare, and see, and know, too well,

What Evill was done our English Israell:

And I had warrant seal'd, and sent from heaven

25

My worke to doe: And soe the blow is given:

Heere I may suffer: Sing I shall doe there;

And now condemn'd; then quit<sup>6</sup> I shall appeare.

And must I die? yet shall I live againe:

To dust I must; but I shall rise to Raigne.

30

My death is due to him who gave mee life:

And when I die, I pray may die all strife.

A happie life and death was graunted Mee,

To live for Peace, and die for Liberty.

**Source.** BL MS Sloane 826, fols. 195v-196r

**Other known sources.** Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 26, fol. 33r

Pii11

<sup>1</sup> *boone*: favour.

<sup>2</sup> *stout*: brave.

<sup>3</sup> *One Angell slew...fower-score and five*: allusion to the destruction of the Assyrians: "And it came to pass that night, that the angel of the Lord went out, and smote in the camp of the Assyrians an hundred fourscore and five thousand" (2 Kings 19.35; cf. Isaiah 37.36).

<sup>4</sup> *When David had Goliath...ground*: reference to the boy David's defeat of the Philistine giant Goliath (1 Samuel 17).

<sup>5</sup> *I know what...with Eglons life*: having been compared to David, Felton is paralleled with three further divinely sanctioned assassins of foreign or tyrannical foes: Phineas, who averted God's wrath from the Israelites by slaying the Midianitish woman and the Israelite who had brought her (Numbers 25); Jael (or Yael), wife of Heber, who assassinated Sisera, commander of the tyrant Jabin's army, by driving a nail into his skull (Judges 4.17-24); and Ehud, raised up by God to assassinate the Moabitish tyrant Eglon (Judges 3.12-30).

<sup>6</sup> *quit*: acquitted.

## Pii12 You auntient Lawes of Right; Can you, for shame

*Notes.* Formal legal proceedings against Felton were delayed while authorities endeavoured in vain to track down the conspirators they were convinced had helped the assassin plan his crime. Eventually, the authorities abandoned the search and on 27 November 1628 Felton was tried for murder in the court of King's Bench, convicted and sentenced to death. The poet—who is identified in at least one source as James Smith (Bodleian MS Ashmole 36-37)—challenges the justice of this verdict and subverts the meaning of Felton's execution. On Smith, see Raylor 55-56. On the poem, see discussions by McRae, who examines its use of legal and political discourse (Literature 133-34), and Norbrook, who notes how the poet took “the instruments of [Felton's] punishment and sublimated them into spiritual ornaments” (57).

### “On Feltons Arraignement”<sup>1</sup>

You auntient Lawes of Right; Can you, for shame,

You, the late Bondmen<sup>2</sup> of great Buckingham,

That at his beck<sup>3</sup> hurl'd Justice round the Orbe

Of Indirection, and could afford

Noe pleasing Plea to the afflicted sence,

Noe remedy to Wrong, but Patience.

Can you (I say) speake death in your decrees,

To one whose life procur'd your Liberties?

Or you, late tongue-ty'd Judges of the land,

Passe sentence on his Act, whose valient hand

Wrencht off your Muzzells, and enfranchiz'd all

Your shackl'd Consciences from one Mans thrall?<sup>4</sup>

But O! his Countrie! What can you verdict on?

If guiltie? 'Tis of your Redemption.

And if there can bee honour in a sinne,

His well Complotting starrs have wrought him in,

Thy fetters (ransom'd England) and thy Feares,

Triumphant, Trophie-like, stout<sup>5</sup> Felton wears

5

10

15

On him like seemely Ornaments, They deck  
 His Armes and Wrists, and hang about his Neck 20  
 Like gingling<sup>6</sup> Braceletts, And as rich they bee;  
 So much the cause can alter Miserie.  
 But wherefore liv'st thou in thy doomes suspence?  
 The Tyrant Law has double violence:  
 For all thy fellow Saints have waited long, 25  
 And wearied time with expectation.  
 It is thy End that must begin thy Glorie,  
 No finis shalbee period to thy Storie.  
 Dye bravely then: For, till thy death be writt,  
 Thy honour wants a Seale to perfect it. 30  
 With peacefull praiers to heaven wee'l waft thy soule,  
 While every Bell thy Funerall shall toll,  
 Then each choice spirit ring thee to thy grave,  
 And with their shouts fright Eccho<sup>7</sup> from her cave.  
 Next, write thyne Epitaph. Now, from your Spring 35  
 Post, Post yee Sisters, and help Mee to sing,<sup>8</sup>  
 Lest my unskillfull muse should faile in painting  
 The worth of one whom Jove<sup>9</sup> was proud in sainting.

Epitaph

Loe, heere he lies, that with one Arm could more  
 Than all the Nerves of Parliament before.<sup>10</sup> 40  
 A Kingdome drunke, and death around it hover'd,  
 Hee pluckt the sicklie Plume,<sup>11</sup> and it recover'd.  
 Then England turn Idolatrix<sup>12</sup> at his shrine,  
 That lost his owne life for restoring thine.

**Source.** BL MS Sloane 826, fols. 194r-195r

**Other known sources.** Bodleian MS Ashmole 36-37, fol. 31r; Bodleian MS Malone 23, p. 208

- <sup>1</sup> *Arraignement*: an arraignment is a formal preliminary stage in a criminal trial, but the word was often used to refer generally to the trial itself.
- <sup>2</sup> *Bondmen*: servants, slaves.
- <sup>3</sup> *beck*: command.
- <sup>4</sup> *thrall*: bondage, captivity.
- <sup>5</sup> *stout*: brave.
- <sup>6</sup> *gingling*: i.e. jingling.
- <sup>7</sup> *Eccho*: in classical mythology, the nymph Echo lost physical form to become only an echo.
- <sup>8</sup> *Now, from your Spring...to sing*: the poet here calls upon the nine Muses (“yee Sisters”) to come from their home near the Castalian spring on Mount Parnassus, to help him write Felton’s epitaph.
- <sup>9</sup> *Jove*: king of the gods; here meaning God.
- <sup>10</sup> *that with one Arm...Parliament before*: i.e. Felton alone was able to achieve what parliament had attempted but failed to achieve in 1626 and 1628—Buckingham’s removal.
- <sup>11</sup> *Plume*: literally a feather, and here figuratively presenting Buckingham as a kind of poisonous adornment that had to be plucked off if the nation was to revive.
- <sup>12</sup> *Idolatrix*: idol worshipper.

### Pii13 Feare not brave Felton sith it is thy fate

*Notes.* This combination of two Latin anagrams on Felton's name with an explanatory poem urges the assassin to maintain his resolve in the face of death.

Anagra: Iohannes Feltonus

Non sine fato lues<sup>1</sup>

Idem

En fas luenti honos<sup>2</sup>

on the same

Feare not brave Felton sith it is thy fate  
that fatall stroake thy life must terminate  
Looke in thy name, ah tis thy fate to dy  
So fame with fate must bee thy destiny.

**Source.** BL MS Egerton 2421, fol. 18r-v

Pii13

<sup>1</sup> *Non sine fato lues*: “you suffer not without fate”; i.e. “your destiny is to suffer”.

<sup>2</sup> *En fas luenti honos*: “Behold, honour is the destiny/reward of suffering”.



### Pii14 Sorrow and Joy at once possesse my brest

*Notes.* This poem is written in the assassin's voice—indeed the copy in BL MS Sloane 826 is attributed to him—and functions as a kind of imagined gallows speech, subverting the political message of the assassin's rather conventional repentance, delivered from the scaffold at his execution on 29 November.

#### “Feltons Farewell”

Sorrow and Joy at once possesse my brest.

How can such Contraries together rest?

I greive my Friends and Countrie thus to leave.

I joy I did it of her Foe bereave.

My greife is private, as of flesh and blood

5

My Joy is publique: 'Tis a publique good.

Let none lament my losse: For, you shall finde,

By losse y'have gained in another kinde.

Since hee that Caused all your Ill is gone,

Ne're mourne for him that good could doe to none,

10

But onely pray propitious heavens would send,

For him soe great a Foe, as great a frend.

**Source.** BL MS Sloane 826, fols. 193v-194r

**Other known sources.** Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 26, fol. 33v

Pii14

### Pii15 Heere uninterr'd suspends (though not to save

*Notes.* After Felton's execution on 29 November 1628, the King ordered the assassin's body to be hung in chains outside Portsmouth. This is the first, the most widely circulated, and the best of three poems inspired by the King's decision. Crum (1.357) and Holstun (184 n.219) document a contemporary attribution to "H: Ch:"—Henry Cholmley—but the evidence for this (which appears to depend solely on BL Add. MS 15226) is dubious. The attribution to Cholmley appears not at the end of this poem, but at the end of the following poem in that manuscript, "Here uninterd suspends, (doubtles to save", which was written in response to this one (McRae, Literature 72 n.97). Holstun also notes that Bodleian MS Ashmole 38 attributes the poem John Donne, "an indentification", he insists "we should not reject out of hand". A number of copies (e.g. Bodleian MS Malone 23) end with a Latin quotation from Lucan's Pharsalia, "Coelo tegitur qui non habet urnam", which Holstun renders as, "The Heavens Cover the Graveless". Several scholars have written on this poem: G. Hammond (65-66) offers a brilliant reading of a "formidable piece of writing"; Holstun (184-86) explores its complex political resonances and literary techniques; Norbrook (55) analyzes the republican energies generated by the poem's allusion to Lucan; Bellany ("Libels in Action" 109-110) focuses (like Hammond) on the poem's subversion of the state's punitive rituals, and elsewhere sketches the dynamics of the three-poem debate on the meaning of Felton's hanging in chains ("Raylinge Rymes" 306-07); and McRae (Literature 72-75) notes how the libel's "provocative challenge to authorized meanings prompts a more searching analysis of the institutions and ideologies which set those meanings in place". For a modern edition, see Penguin Book of Renaissance Verse (148-49).

#### "Feltons Epitaph"

Heere uninterr'd suspends (though not to save  
Surviving frends th'expenes of a grave)  
Feltons dead Earth; which to the world must bee  
Its owne sadd Monument. His Elegie  
As large as Fame; but whether badd or good  
I say not: by himself 'twas writt in blood:  
For which his bodie is entombd in Ayre,  
Archt o're with heaven, sett with a thousand faire  
And glorious diamond Starrs. A Sepulchre

That time can never ruinate, and where 10  
Th'impartiall Worme (which is not brib'd to spare  
Princes Corrupt in Marble) cannot share  
His Flesh; which oft the charitable skies  
Embalme with teares; doeing those Obsequies<sup>1</sup>  
Belong to Men shall last; and pittying Fowle<sup>2</sup> 15  
Contend to beare his bodie to his soule.

**Source.** BL MS Sloane 826, fol. 197r

**Other known sources.** *Wit Restor'd* 56; Bodleian MS Ashmole 38, p. 20; Bodleian MS CCC 328, fols. 11v and 62r; Bodleian MS Eng. Poet. c.53, fol. 9r; Bodleian MS Eng. Poet. e.14, fol. 12v; Bodleian MS Malone 21, fol. 4v; Bodleian MS Malone 23, p. 210; Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 84, fol. 114r; Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 147, p. 40; Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 160, fol. 53r; Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 199, p. 56; Bodleian MS Tanner 465, fol. 71v; BL Add. MS 15226, fol. 28r; BL Add. MS 47111, fol. 4v; BL MS Egerton 923, fol. 26v; BL MS Egerton 1160, fol. 241v; BL MS Harley 3511, fol. 18v; BL MS Harley 6057, fol. 6v; LCRO MS DG 9/2796, p. 10; St. John's MS S.32, fol. 28r; Folger MS V.a.97, p. 8; Folger MS V.a.125, fol. 12r; Folger MS V.a.319, fol. 1r; Folger MS V.a.322, p. 27; Folger MS V.b.43, fol. 34r; Beinecke MS Osborn b.197, p. 27; Rosenbach MS 239/27, p. 319; Rosenbach MS 240/7, p. 82

Pii15

<sup>1</sup> *Obsequies*: funeral rites.

<sup>2</sup> *Belong to Men...pittying Fowle*: in our chosen source this line is almost certainly corrupt; read "Belong to men. Which last's, till pittying foule" (Bodleian MS Tanner 465), or "Belong to Men shall last; till pittying Fowle" (*Penguin Book of Renaissance Verse*).

**Pii16 Here uninterd suspends, (doubtles to save**

*Notes.* This poem is a direct, line-by-line response to the popular poem on John Felton, “Heere uninterd suspends (though not to save”, and is ascribed in the only known manuscript source to “H: Ch:” (probably Henry Cholmley). It is discussed by McRae (Literature 74-75).

Here uninterd suspends, (doubtles to save

hopefull, and freindles, th’expences of a grave

Feltons curst corps, which to the world must bee

I’ts owne fowle Monument his Elegie

wider then fame, which whether badd or good

Judge by himself, bee-smear’d in faultles blood,

For which his bodie is intombd i’t h Aire

Shrowded in Clouds, blacke as his Sepulchere

Yet time is pleas’d; and thine partiall worme

Unbribd to Spare, this wretches wretched Urne

His fleshe which ever memorable Skyes

Enbalme, to teache us and Posterities

T’abhorre his fact: shall last till Harpies<sup>1</sup> fowle

through Stix<sup>2</sup> shall dragge, his Carkas to his sowle.

5

10

**Source.** BL Add. MS 15226, fol. 28r-v

Pii16

<sup>1</sup> *Harpies*: mythological winged female monsters.

<sup>2</sup> *Stix*: a river in the classical underworld; the reference here implies that Felton’s soul is in hell.

### Pii17 Wants hee a grave whom heavens doe cover? was hee

*Notes.* Whether this poem pre-dates or post-dates the far-better known “Heere uninterr’d suspends (though not to save” is impossible to determine. The poem does, however, closely echo the political sentiments of that poem, and opens with a paraphrase of the line from Lucan’s Pharsalia which is sometimes appended in Latin to versions of the more widely copied work.

#### “On John Felton”

Wants hee a grave whom heavens doe cover?<sup>1</sup> was hee

Unfortunate in his Catastrophe?

Because hee did not trust a marble stone

With that which needs not feare oblivion

No, no, his tombe like to his fact is high

Outspringing ægips pride;<sup>2</sup> the deity.

That heaven should be his tombe ’twas thought most meet

Ah, heaven his tombe, the aire his winding sheet<sup>3</sup>

A roome then it no lesser could suffice

The actor of so great an enterprise

Which were just or unjust bad or good

Whats that to any blood repayed blood

Whose carcasse for the crawling wormes too good

Doth gorge the Eagells and the faulcons brood

Here felton hung a spectacle of dread

A pendant sword ore proud ambitions head

Whom here the winds embalme with fragrant sents

To whom sad clouds contribute their laments

And time each night upon his tombe presents

    A thousand lights which burnes till day appeare

    And then his requiem sung by winged quiers.

5

10

15

20

**Source.** Bodleian MS Eng. Poet. e.14, fol. 76v

**Other known sources.** Bodleian MS CCC 328, fol. 63v; Beinecke MS Osborn Box 12 no. 5, fol. 20r

Pii17

- <sup>1</sup> *Wants hee a grave...cover*: “they obtaine / Heavens coverture, that have no urnes at all” (Lucan N7r).
- <sup>2</sup> *ægips pride*: the pride of Egypt; excessive pomp and arrogance.
- <sup>3</sup> *winding sheet*: the cloth sheet wrapped around a corpse before burial.

### Pii18 Is Felton dead? It's that hee did desire

*Notes.* This epitaph exemplifies the contemporary urge to present Felton as a heroic patriot martyr, and like many other contemporary works it naively implies that Buckingham's death would end the friction between king and parliament that had flared up during the mid- and later-1620s.

#### "Feltons Tomb-stone"

Is Felton dead? It's that hee did desire;

Hee needs no Tomb-stone for remembrance sake.

As for his Act, the world must still admire,

Enough to make all Buckinghamians quake.

His valour great did prove a Roman spirit,<sup>1</sup>

5

And by their lawes a thousand heavens meritt.

He did endeavour by one stroke to make

The King and Commons (by him put asunder)

Joyne all in one, and resolution take

To mend all things unto the worlds great wonder.

10

Such was his love, pursuing their desire,

Hee fear'd not death, by Gallows, Rack,<sup>2</sup> or Fire.

Now farewell (Felton) take this to thy rest,

Thy fame, thy Name, thy worth doth still abound,

And by Repentance thou are surely blest,<sup>3</sup>

15

And to that end ten thousand praiera hast found.

Where Courage great, for Kingdomes good, is seen,

That Man is rare, and lasting fame doth winne.

**Source.** BL MS Sloane 826, fol. 196v

Pii18

<sup>1</sup> *Roman spirit*: i.e. the spirit of the Romans in the age of the republic. Felton was compared to Roman

republican heroes like Scaevola and Curtius in a number of contemporary poems.

<sup>2</sup> *Rack*: an instrument of torture. Reports that Felton had been tortured were widespread, and inspired a number of powerful pro-Felton libels (e.g. “Enjoy thy Bondage; make thy Prison know”).

<sup>3</sup> *And by Repentance...blest*: Felton did in fact repent his crime in his speech from the gallows on 29 November 1628.



**Pii19 Here Lyes the bonnes off him that did**

*Notes.* In the only known source this poem immediately follows “Great Gorge, and art thou gonne” (attributed to “E.K.”), and it is introduced with the note: “The same Author writt these tow Lynes uppon Felton before his death”.

Here Lyes the bonnes off him that did

A thinge, that undone, god forbidd.

**Source.** CCRO MS CR 63/2/19, fol. 69r

Pii19

**Pii20 Awake, sad Brittain, and advance at last**

*Notes.* In at least one source, the final two lines of this epitaph on Felton are transcribed as a discrete poem (Bodleian MS Tanner 465).

“On the Duke and Felton”

Awake, sad Brittain, and advance at last

Thy drooping head: Let all thy sorrowes past

Bee drown'd, and sunke with their owne teares; And now

O're-looke thy Foes with a triumphant brow.

Thy Foe, Spaines agent, Hollands bane, Romes freind,<sup>1</sup>

5

By one victorious hand receiv'd his end.

Live ever, Felton: thou hast turn'd to dust,

Treason, Ambition, Murther,<sup>2</sup> Pride and Lust.

**Source.** BL MS Sloane 826, fol. 188v

**Other known sources.** Bodleian MS Dodsworth 79, fol. 158r; Bodleian MS Douce 357, fol. 18r; Bodleian MS Malone 23, p. 195; BL Add. MS 22959, fol. 27r; CUL MS Gg.4.13, p. 106; TCD MS 806, fol. 511v

**Known sources of the shorter version.** Bodleian MS Tanner 465, fol. 102v

Pii20

<sup>1</sup> *Thy Foe...Romes freind*: this line encapsulates some of the most damaging contemporary charges against Buckingham, that he was an enemy to the Protestant English nation, the curse (“bane”) of England’s natural allies, the Protestant Dutch, and an abettor of both Catholic temporal power (“Spaines agent”) and the Catholic Church’s quest for religious domination (“Romes freind”).

<sup>2</sup> *Murther*: allusion to Buckingham’s alleged poisoning of James I and of other courtiers, an accusation first explicitly levelled in George Eglisam’s 1626 *Forerunner of Revenge*.

## Piii Ambivalent Voices and Defenders of Buckingham

### Piii1 M alignant characters that did portend

*Notes.* This acrostic verse, inspired by the widely circulated prophetic chronogram discovering the fatal year 1628 in the letters of Buckingham's name, is far more sympathetic to the Duke than most elaborations on the prophecy, and is clearly hostile to his assassin. Given the importance of the Roman "V" to the chronogram, we have not regularized the usage of "U" and "V" in this poem, as we have done elsewhere in this edition.

Chronogramma, Anno 1628, obiit.

GeorgIVs DVX BVCKInghaMIæ<sup>1</sup>

M alignant characters that did portend

D uke=murthuring Fate & his untimely end

C onstrain'd to die, that would have liv'd & tought<sup>2</sup>

5

X antippus<sup>3</sup> like but that fell<sup>4</sup> Felton brought

V ncertaine projeck to a certaine end.

V aine are designes, where one doth of his freind

V surpse too much,<sup>5</sup> (him) foes doe countermine

I n breife the world applaudes this last designe

10

I t was his death, but now hee's dead & gone

I ll having heard of many; felt but one.

**Source.** BL Add. MS 15227, fol. 41v

### Piii1

<sup>1</sup> *Chronogramma...BVCKInghaMIæ*: the chronogram assigns numerical values to the letters corresponding to Roman numerals in Buckingham's latinized name—Georgius Dux Buckinghamiae, George Duke of Buckingham. The numbers add up to the year of his death ("obiit"), 1628 or MDCXVVIII.

<sup>2</sup> *tought*: probable scribal error; "fought" is a more logical reading.

<sup>3</sup> *X antippus*: Xantippus was the commander of the Athenian fleet at the victory over the Persians at

Mycale in 479 BC. The implication is that if Buckingham had lived to lead the planned expedition to La Rochelle, he too might have returned victorious.

<sup>4</sup> *fell*: cruel, savage, deadly.

<sup>5</sup> *one doth...V surpse too much*: the “friend” here is probably King Charles.

### Piii2 Heere lyes the best and worst of Fate

*Notes.* This equivocal epitaph on Buckingham is accepted as the work of James Shirley. G. Hammond (64) briefly discusses the verse, arguing that “Shirley’s little poem is probably the best thing written about Buckingham”.

Heere lyes the best and worst of Fate

Two Princes love,<sup>1</sup> the Peoples hate

Great Envies feare, the Kingdomes eye

A Man to shape an Angell by

His owne lives wonder, pale deathes glorie,

The great Mans volume, all tymes storie.

5

**Source.** Bodleian MS Malone 23, p. 195

**Other known sources.** Shirley 62; Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 88, p. 59; BL Add. MS 30982, fol. 45v; Beinecke MS Osborn Bagott Papers Chest 1, no. 16

Piii2

<sup>1</sup> *Two Princes love:* Buckingham was the favourite of two kings, James I and Charles I.

### Piii3 Dearling off Kings, Patrone off armes

*Notes.* Defending Buckingham as royal favourite, military leader and artistic patron, this epitaph provocatively links the posthumous “detractiōne” of the Duke by libellers (“poetasteres cancred breath”) to the anti-monarchical politics of those who “love not Kings”.

#### “An Epitaph upon the Duke off Buckinghame”

Dearling off Kings, Patrone off armes,  
Muses protector,<sup>1</sup> who from harmes  
Did sheild professores off them twaine,  
Lyes heere by a base Soldier<sup>2</sup> Slaine  
And by poetasteres<sup>3</sup> cancred breath  
Dyes everie day a lingring death:  
Be silent malice from henceforth,  
And know detractiōne from his worth  
(off Kings off Mars,<sup>4</sup> off Muses lov’d)  
Is onely from such spirits mov’d,  
As love not Kings and would advance  
Base Cowardise and Ignorance.

5

10

**Source.** *First and Second Dalhousie Manuscripts* 189

Piii3

<sup>1</sup> *Muses protector*: patron of the arts.

<sup>2</sup> *base Soldier*: John Felton was a lieutenant during the 1627 expedition to the Ile de Ré. “[B]ase” here may simply mean morally vile, but it has a social resonance too: Felton was from an obscure and socially precarious branch of a Suffolk gentry family.

<sup>3</sup> *poetasteres*: poetaster, “a writer of poor or trashy verse” (*OED*). Contemporary stereotypes of libellers depict them as incompetent poets.

<sup>4</sup> *Mars*: the god of war.

#### Piii4 You braveing spiritts (not brave) inflamd from hell

*Notes. Framed as a direct response to “Felton’s Freindes”, this poem directly engages with a number of the arguments, and some of the language, used to legitimate the assassination.*

“To Felton’s Freindes”

You braveing<sup>1</sup> spiritts (not brave) inflamd from hell

You that like wylve Toades with poyson swell

And sure would burst, had you not found a vent

By which your vennome to the world is sent.

What shall I call you Romanes, that’s too good

5

For in their glorie theire Religion stood,

Theire gods with blooddye acts weere hyghlye pleas’d

And with the greatest mischiefe best appeas’d,

But you although unworthilye assume

The name of Christians, yet you doe presume

10

To teach even Christ himselfe a Doctrine newe

And hatefull, which he neither taught nor knewe,

Due patience & obedience are not bitts<sup>2</sup>

To curb your stubborne Jawes; your Noble witts

Will onelye yeeld the raynes to headdye will,

15

And this your new commandement, Thou shalt kill?

For this a glorious name hath Felton gott

In your vayne Heaven; &’s a Patriott.

Confirm’d on earth, & that he maye be crown’d

God must the author of this deed be found.

20

Go on kind Infidells cleare Feltons name,

Yourselves shall serve to be your Countryes shame.

By setting up a Statue to adore

A crying murder never knowne before.

In Civill England; ever it was thought 25  
 Connivence was too much with what was naught,  
 But god must patronize your cursed deedes,  
 And work revenge for you who ever bleedes,  
 Had Moyses led you & not gott the daye,  
 Or if constrayned had shortned you of paye, 30  
 Moyses should neere have brought you neare the Land  
 Of promisse; for some consecrated hand  
 Should have bestowed a period of his lyfe  
 And then have made an Idoll of the Knife  
 That gave the wound,<sup>3</sup> No King I feare shall live, 35  
 That dare a favour do or office give,  
 Without your leave; Since you have Sainted heere  
 Him that would Fredome by although so deare,  
 As with dampnacion; yet if you saye noe  
 You are his Judges & it must be soe. 40  
 Lawe & Religion both give place to you,  
 But lett him looke that noe remorse he shew  
 Least you unsaint him; for your discontent  
 Will not permitt that any such repent<sup>4</sup>  
 For which I surelye doubt when most you want 45  
 That blessed guift repentance, Heaven will scant<sup>5</sup>  
 Such needfull grace; & justlye will permitt  
 That you shall headlong fall into the pitt,  
 Where unrepented, sinne due wages gaynes  
 And where your King of disobedience<sup>6</sup> reignes. 50

**Source.** LCRO MS DG 9/2796, pp. 1-4

**Other known sources.** “Two Unpublished Poems” 238



<sup>1</sup> *braveing*: boasting.

<sup>2</sup> *bitts*: the bit is the bridle mouthpiece used to control a horse.

<sup>3</sup> *Had Moyses led...gave the wound*: these lines argue, facetiously, that if Moses, the divinely inspired liberator of the Jews from Egyptian bondage, had, like Buckingham, commanded in battle and lost (as Buckingham did at the Ile de Ré in 1627) or had been unable, like Buckingham, to pay the troops what they were owed, then some assassin would have killed Moses and been celebrated for it.

<sup>4</sup> *But lett him looke...such repent*: Felton did in fact repent his deeds in his speech from the scaffold on the day of his execution.

<sup>5</sup> *scant*: withhold.

<sup>6</sup> *King of disobedience*: Satan.

### Piii5 I did not flatter thee Alive, and nowe

*Notes. Under no illusion about the moral compromises demanded by a successful career at court, and acutely aware of the favourite's role to deflect criticism from the King, this poem nonetheless presents Buckingham as a man of virtue, and chides the political arrogance of his parliamentary critics.*

“An Apologie, in memorie of the most illustrious Prince George Duke of Buckingham”

I did not flatter thee Alive, and nowe

I might be thought to late to fix my vowe

Upon thy shrine, If I had other end,

Then for respect of honor, to defend

And vindicate thy Fame, from th'envious breath

5

Of fowle detraction, smileing in thy death

Noe modest penn will vex thy grave; but their

Will rather make oblation<sup>1</sup> in a teare;

I am not yet ingag'd, or fondlie ledd

In loud Hiperbolies thy cause to plead

10

My plume soares not above its native straine

Truth walketh safest in the humble plaine.

I sing not Rhodes made great by Villars name

Nor Palestine whence Beaumont takes his fame.<sup>2</sup>

The things wee did not, and the blood that flowes

15

From noble Ancestors, Hee onely owes

That vertuous is himselfe, and crownes the storie

Of his great Grandsire, by his proper<sup>3</sup> glorie,

A subject worthier sweetest Poets verse

Then all the Armorie that guilds thy hearse;<sup>4</sup>

20

The vertues of thy mynd rais'd thee more highe

Then this great length of style wee call thee by<sup>5</sup>

Too true thy fate was hard, to knowe these tymes

Where nothing is of note, besides our crymes  
 Where nobler vertue is, or not regarded 25  
 Or is mistaken, or is ill rewarded:  
 And where the Ulcerous breath of Malecontent  
 Turnes into poison what was truely meant,  
 And measures deepest Councells of the State  
 By their events which still are ruled by fate 30  
 (As what's in Chamber of the Starrs decreed<sup>6</sup>  
 Should bee A like by all on earth Agreed)  
 The Vulgar els would sing thy worth and praise  
 Thy highe endeavours upon holy daies  
 Sing funerall dirges to thy name, and spend 35  
 Theire deep tongu'd Mouths unto another end.  
 It is a destinie belongs to State  
 Him whome the Prince doth love, the people hate,  
 Whose indigested humors ever are  
 In opposition unto what is rare 40  
 And what they cannot apprehend, doe hate  
 Taxing him most, who's greatest in the State  
 Which wise kings knowe, and what it is to have  
 A Favorite, whose office is to save  
 Their goverment from blame, as what's amisse 45  
 The fault bee not there owne; but counted his  
 O burthen'd state of Favorits, that must  
 Not onely make themselves; but others just.  
 Noe doubt hee had his faults, but who are cleere  
 First throwe the stone,<sup>7</sup> soe it will soone appeare 50  
 That his weere but of Natures brittle mould  
 Which being common are the best untould  
 The Court creates fewe Saints, who theire deserves  
 A mediocritie<sup>8</sup> of vertue serves

As what is counted vertue in A cell<sup>9</sup> 55  
 Is held perhaps A vice, by them that dwell  
 In Princes pallaces, where all things goe  
 Not as they are, but what they are in showe  
 Where to bee great is good, els little found  
 But emptie caske,<sup>10</sup> wild looks, and fruitles sound 60  
 Which was noe character of thine, who wer't  
 A frend to all in whome was found desert  
 And who loves vertue in another, still  
 Doth vertuous things, or wanteth of his will  
 Who shutt them selves from grace, must not expect 65  
 That they bee courted, where they use neglect  
 To have their merrit priz'd at such A rate  
 As but to right them, Greatnes must abate.  
 A Favorite should have enoughe to doe  
 To grace all that deserves and woo them too; 70  
 Those men cry downe the Favour of A king  
 Who keepe noe longer tyme then hee doth sing  
 Besides who sitts in that highe circle, throwes  
 His smyles not allwaies on the purple rose,  
 But doe wee therefore blame the Sunn whose heat 75  
 Produceth cockle<sup>11</sup> there in stead of wheate  
 Els howe hee lov'd all noble spiritts best  
 Those Armes may witnes, and that royall brest  
 That did receive his coole, and latest breath  
 By bloodie hand under Arreast of death 80  
 Thoughe not soe suddaine; but his Angell might  
 Take him upon his wings, in his highe flight  
 Then, what is gain'd pale Envie heere? but some  
 Moore choller for the Angrie day of doome  
 When wilt thou blush? hadd'st thou but any grace 85

Even with the Roses taken from his face  
 Though not soe much his owne, as of two kings<sup>12</sup>  
 Who crops the flower, the stemme whereon it springs  
 Must also suffer. O it is too bold  
 To strike whome Princes in their Armes enfold 90  
 Whose sacred persons noe small dainger runn  
 When such excesse is in their bosome done,  
 Whereon if Princes but reflect, they will  
 Emptie they veynes, that doe these cesternes fill  
 Deplore th'effects; but blame those maisters, who 95  
 Inspire th'Assassines such foule deeds to doe  
 Proscribing Men, when for none other ill  
 A Sacrifice to expiate their will.<sup>13</sup>  
 As to bee of the Cabbinet, is but  
 To deale the cards some leaprous hand must cutt<sup>14</sup> 100  
 If such the State of Princes bee to have  
 Their Grace the Beere<sup>15</sup> to laud men on their grave  
 Their case is not soe rich, but that it weere  
 Much better bee their subjects once A yeare  
 To ryfle all their Actions, and cast downe 105  
 The men they cannot relish with A frowne  
 In case they are not th'object falce, on whome  
 They thus discharg'd, till they come neerer home.  
 Doth it with Monarchie in sequence fall,  
 The comons thus should doe? and undoe all 110  
 Give lawes unto their kings, they may not smyle  
 Without an Act of parliament the while,  
 Then to deface what heerein little was  
 The gracefull modell of that greater masse  
 A peice whome Nature framed with such Art 115  
 As was througheout, noe fault in any part

Was soe much more to aggravate th' offence  
 That Heaven had bene on him at such expence  
 And where some have affirmed the Soule to bee  
 Mixt with his Mould in such A Simpathie 120  
 As by the bodies structure wee may knowe  
 The disposition of the mynde, if soe  
 Noe doubt his Soule, that lodg'd therein was faire  
 Like as the Inne to which it did repaire  
 And that the harmonie in him was such 125  
 As Orpheus<sup>16</sup> made when hee his lyre did touch  
 By which and other Arts of court weere gain'd  
 All noble harts which hee with love mainetain'd  
 That hee could not reclame the vulgar presse<sup>17</sup>  
 The fault was not his owne but of successe 130  
 Great Lord my lynes doth now fall short, but ere  
 Th'inconstant yeare runn out his course, I darr  
 Sing thy Lord praise, and in full verse proclame  
 Since thou wer't taken hence, this state is lame  
 Nor shall the vurgar therefore chyde my verse: 135  
 But runn to pay their Teares upon thy hearse.

**Source.** Bodleian MS Malone 23, pp. 123-27

Piii5

<sup>1</sup> *oblation*: offering.

<sup>2</sup> *I sing not Rhodes...his fame*: here the poet refuses to praise Buckingham for the great deeds of his ancestors, a Villiers and a Beaumont (Buckingham's mother was Mary, daughter of Anthony Beaumont). Although the specific allusions are not entirely clear, two possible candidates are Philippe Villiers de L'Isle-Adam, an early sixteenth-century Grand Master of the Knights of Rhodes, and Robert (sometimes known as de Beaumont), 4th Earl of Leicester, who went on crusade with Richard I (the Lionheart) in the late twelfth century.

- <sup>3</sup> *his proper*: his own.
- <sup>4</sup> *the Armorie that guilds thy hearse*: aristocratic funeral hearses were typically adorned with heraldic devices and family coats-of-arms.
- <sup>5</sup> *this great length...call thee by*: allusion to the long list of Buckingham's titles.
- <sup>6</sup> *in Chamber of the Starrs decreed*: determined by the stars (in astrological thinking), or, more generally, determined by the heavens. There may also be a pun here on the court of Star Chamber.
- <sup>7</sup> *but who are cleere...throwe the stone*: allusion to Christ's comment to those about to stone a woman for adultery, that "He that is without sin among you, let him first cast a stone at her" (John 8.7).
- <sup>8</sup> *A mediocritie*: a middling amount.
- <sup>9</sup> *cell*: monk's or hermit's room; thus a place of religious virtue.
- <sup>10</sup> *emptie caske*: presumably a reference to the excessive consumption of drink at court; but may also pun on "caske" and "casque" (helmet).
- <sup>11</sup> *cockle*: a weed that grows in cornfields.
- <sup>12</sup> *two kings*: James I and Charles I.
- <sup>13</sup> *those maisters...expiate their will*: presumably an attack on those MPs whose 1628 Remonstrance against Buckingham was cited by Felton as motive for the assassination.
- <sup>14</sup> *As to bee...hand must cutt*: this image anticipates the ensuing charge that by attempting to bring down Buckingham, the Commons was in effect staking a claim to control the King's freedom to govern in the way he saw fit. Thus to be "of the Cabbinet" (in the King's Privy Council), under parliament's desired way of doing things, would be to play with a deck of cards already cut by another ("leaprous"; i.e. lower-class and diseased) hand.
- <sup>15</sup> *Beere*: i.e. bier; tomb.
- <sup>16</sup> *Orpheus*: in Greek myth, Orpheus played the lyre so beautifully that he charmed all who heard it.
- <sup>17</sup> *presse*: crowd, mob.

**Piii6 Yee snarling Satyrs, cease your horrid yells**

*Notes.* This poem, addressed to the libellers—the “snarling Satyrs”—who celebrated Buckingham’s murder, invokes contemporary stereotypes of libels (raw in style, unreliable in content, socially disreputable and “popular”) to help delegitimize the posthumous attacks on the Duke and the concomitant lionization of his assassin.

“Thalassiarchiæ Manium Vindiciæ”<sup>1</sup>

Yee snarling Satyrs,<sup>2</sup> cease your horrid yells  
O’re this sad hearse, all such prodigious knells<sup>3</sup>  
Be hush’t, and tongue-ty’d; but yet if your rymes  
For issue itche, goe lash the petulant tymes  
With whippes in salt, and sulphur steep’d the<sup>4</sup> need 5  
A scorge to urge them either blush, or bleed.  
And tell me men of misaffected braines,  
What starr wrought your misguidance to these straines  
Of sawetooth’d sarcasmes against the ghost of him  
Whose hart did in a purple deluge swim? 10  
Is’t not enough to see a villaines steele  
Gall’d<sup>5</sup> in his gore? Doth’t not suffice to feele  
His wounds wyde orifice, or viewe a flood?  
Cannot ah! cannot all this satisfie  
But you must wound his posthume memorie 15  
And retransfix his Manes<sup>6</sup> with the dint<sup>7</sup>  
Of sharpe invectives? Men (if men) of flint  
Or adamantine hart strings know ’tis base  
And fitly Emblems the dead lyons case  
With whose beard-haires the fearefull Hares did play 20  
Or neere alludes those yelping currs,<sup>8</sup> which bay  
The midnight Moone caroching<sup>9</sup> in her spheare  
Toward the counter-pacers.<sup>10</sup> can you heare



The ill tun'd organs of some tongues to chyme  
 Peans of joy in honor of a cryme 25  
 Soe horrid and piaculer,<sup>11</sup> yet lett the spiritt  
 Of passion paille, and with them call't a meritt,  
 Why? this is more then vice did ever doe  
 To love the Treason, and the Trator too.  
 Suppose him (as your fancie shap's him) ill 30  
 Leacher, and treacher;<sup>12</sup> or what ere you will  
 In sootie language style him (though I knowe  
 You many, most, or all, such notions owe  
 To banques of common credit; and are found  
 To take them upp at third, or fourth rebound) 35  
 Yet, shall a phrenzi'd Miscreant<sup>13</sup> that pretends  
 His countries good (mixt with sinister ends  
 Of private spleenie hartburns)<sup>14</sup> darr to carve  
 Revenge to his owne trencher?<sup>15</sup> May hee starve  
 (who ere that catiffe<sup>16</sup> be) approves the dyett 40  
 Which murder cook'd with sauce of blood & ryott.  
 I doe not woee, nor court you to deplore  
 His lives breife sceane, or sadde deathrights<sup>17</sup> more  
 Then that Hee had soe fewe short minutes given  
 To cast, and cleere the audit-booke of heaven;<sup>18</sup> 45  
 I knowe the tydes of some ranke Gall<sup>19</sup> swell highe  
 Cause Jove soe longe affected Mercurie<sup>20</sup>  
 And that his deepe ingagements in the Myene<sup>21</sup>  
 Of seacreet state, did wariely declyne  
 The damp<sup>22</sup> of popular<sup>23</sup> lungs; but lett this race 50  
 of ulcer'd spiritt (giveing o're the chace  
 Of Priviledg'd Fame beyond death's verge)<sup>24</sup> returne  
 And cease to cast foule urin to his urne  
 Lest they styrr hornetts: For, eclipsd Sunns

Result with double shaddowes; and their runns 55  
A thunderbolt with lightning. Nor do I  
depricate His, but their worse destiny  
For what, if they (or one that basely shrouds  
His face in foggs of thicke Tobacco clouds)  
Shall pace the suburbes with aspurgal'd<sup>25</sup> newes 60  
And sprinkle Pasquills<sup>26</sup> in the Burse,<sup>27</sup> or Stewes<sup>28</sup>  
Alas! those gloewormes, elfe-fire<sup>29</sup> flashes shall  
But like faint sparkles, on danke tinder fall.  
When there Producer (after all the throwes  
Of his obstruct Minerva)<sup>30</sup> never showes 65  
The spurious issues Parent, his great name  
Shall Lawrell-like<sup>31</sup> even crackle midd'st the flame  
Of scorching calumnie, and Tyme relate  
How rich hee dy'd in styles of powerfull state  
Soe trodden greatnes shall ascend still higher 70  
And dyeing lamps with mounting flames expire.

**Source.** Bodleian MS Malone 23, pp. 128-130

**Other known sources.** BL Add. MS 15227, fol. 21r

Piii6

<sup>1</sup> *Thalassiarchiæ Manium Vindiciæ*: “The Vindication of the Admiral’s Ghost”.

<sup>2</sup> *snarling Satyrs*: i.e. Buckingham’s libellers.

<sup>3</sup> *knells*: the sounds of funeral bells; here, the noise of the libellers’ verbal assaults, over the Duke’s dead body.

<sup>4</sup> *the*: probable scribal error; read “they”.

<sup>5</sup> *Gall’d*: probably intended literally as a reference to the knife penetrating the Duke’s body (one meaning of “gall” is “to break the surface of”), but perhaps also invoking a figurative meaning, to “vex,

harass, oppress” (*OED*).

<sup>6</sup> *retransfix his Manes*: stab again his ghost, his shade.

<sup>7</sup> *dint*: blow.

<sup>8</sup> *currs*: vile dogs.

<sup>9</sup> *caroching*: literally, riding in a carriage; here, more loosely, meaning travelling, journeying.

<sup>10</sup> *counter-pacers*: the Antipodes.

<sup>11</sup> *piaculer*: i.e. piacular; sinful, wicked, requiring atonement.

<sup>12</sup> *treacher*: traitor.

<sup>13</sup> *phrenzi'd Miscreant*: i.e. Felton.

<sup>14</sup> *pretends...private spleenie hartburns*: critics of Felton (including the prosecution at his trial) commonly made this allegation. Felton indeed had personal grievances against the Duke; in particular, he blamed Buckingham for repeatedly blocking his promotion from lieutenant to captain.

<sup>15</sup> *trencher*: plate.

<sup>16</sup> *catiffe*: i.e. caitiff; villain.

<sup>17</sup> *deathrights*: i.e. death rites.

<sup>18</sup> *that Hee had soe fewe...of heaven*: even some of those who welcomed Buckingham's death were troubled by the fact that the assassination left the Duke no time to repent his sins before dying.

<sup>19</sup> *Gall*: bitterness.

<sup>20</sup> *Cause Jove soe longe affected Mercurie*: the god Mercury was the messenger for Jove, the king of the gods. Here Jove is the English king, Mercury the favourite Buckingham.

<sup>21</sup> *Myene*: i.e. mine.

<sup>22</sup> *damp*: noxious exhalation.

<sup>23</sup> *popular*: the people's. In seventeenth-century usage, “popular” also had connotations of seditious or unruly.

<sup>24</sup> *verge*: boundary, range, jurisdiction.

25 *aspurgal'd*: i.e. asperged; sprinkled.

26 *Pasquills*: libels.

27 *the Burse*: generally speaking, a meeting place for merchants; in seventeenth-century London, “the Burse” referred either to the Royal Exchange or the New Exchange.

28 *Stewes*: brothels.

29 *elfe-fire*: will o’ the wisp or “ignis fatuus” (foolish fire); a deceitful thing.

30 *his obstruct Minerva*: this curious phrase probably means something like “his impeded wisdom”; Minerva was the goddess of wisdom.

31 *Lawrell-like*: the laurel leaf was believed to repel lightning.

### Piii7 Heere lyes thy Urne, O what a little blowe

*Notes.* In one source, this poem is attributed to “W. Hemmings” (Bodleian MS Malone 23). J.A. Taylor plausibly identifies Hemmings as William Hemminge, a satirist with anti-Puritan leanings (“Two Unpublished Poems” 237-38, 238 n.20).

“A Contemplation over the Dukes grave”

Heere lyes thy Urne, O what a little blowe  
Has lay'd our Buckingham soe highe soe lowe!  
Does all thy greatnes take up noe more roome  
Then what a Begger must enioy? noe Tombe?  
Noe hearse? noe monumentall pride? but all 5  
As ruinous about thee as thy fall?<sup>1</sup>  
Sadd spectacle of greatnes; onely blest  
In death noe Pagan nowe will curse thy rest  
Noe not that Man of darknes,<sup>2</sup> whose intent  
Was to robb God of a comaundement 10  
And make a murther lawfull, Thou do'st lye  
Safer in dust then in thy Princes eye  
For ther's a Fate belonging unto kings  
That whome they most affect, are hated things.  
A Cobler, or a Broome-man<sup>3</sup> may enjoy 15  
That daingerous thinge call'd Frend without anoy  
And when their labour, and the day expire  
Drinke out their harvest by a seacole<sup>4</sup> fyre.  
The soldiour has his frend too, and his pay  
When hee cann gett it, and drinks out that day 20  
Yet noe man envies these, but the crown'd head  
Has his affection aw'd, and lymited  
Even by these beasts of Love, that thinke it fashon  
In kings to have affection, and not passion

How poore is majestie? marke! in this thinge 25  
 The subject is more soveraigne then his King  
 I cann enjoy a frend till he's tane hence  
 By natures lawe, not lawelesse violence  
 But in the smyle of Kings there lyes such fate  
 That to be lov'd, is to be ruinate. 30  
 I have thy hand to't Felton writt in blood  
 (The Character of hell) to prove this good  
 And it is writt in heaven too, wher thou't fynd  
 Howe much thou'st wrong'd thy Maker, how mankind.

**Source.** Bodleian MS Malone 23, pp. 130-32

**Other known sources.** "Two Unpublished Poems" 239-240; LCRO MS DG 9/2796, p. 5; Beinecke MS Osborn Bagott Papers Chest 1, no. 16; Houghton MS Eng. 1278, item 16

Piii7

<sup>1</sup> *fall*: a variant version includes here the couplet: "How pale thy honours look, and all thy paint / Of varnished glory now how dull, how faint" (Beinecke MS Osborn Bagott Papers Chest 1).

<sup>2</sup> *that Man of darknes*: i.e. Felton.

<sup>3</sup> *Broome-man*: street-sweeper.

<sup>4</sup> *seacole*: i.e. sea-coal; mineral coal as opposed to charcoal.

### Piii8 Sooner I may some fixed statue be

*Notes.* After originally circulating in manuscript, this marvellously complex poem was eventually printed by its author, Owen Felltham. Interesting readings of various facets of Felltham's ambivalent assessment of the assassination can be found in *Pebworth* (Owen Felltham 97-99), *G. Hammond* (62-63), *Holstun* (178-79) and *Norbrook* (54-55).

“In Buckinghamiæ Ducem. ultimo Aug: 1628”<sup>1</sup>

Sooner I may some fixed statue be

Then prove forgetfull of thy death and thee.

Can'st thou begonn soe quickly? Can a knife

Lett out soe many titles,<sup>2</sup> and a life?

Nowe Ile mourne thee. Oh that soe huge a pyle

5

Of state should passe thus, in soe small a whyle!

Lett the rude Genius of the giddie traine

Bragg in a furie, That it hath stabb'd spaine,

Austria, and the skipping French, yea all

Those home-bredd Papists, that would sell our fall,

10

Th'ecclips of two wise Princes judgements, more

The waste whereby our land was still kept poore<sup>3</sup>

I'le pittie yet; at last thy fatall end

Shott like a lightning from a violent hand

Taking the hence unsumm'd.<sup>4</sup> Thou art to me

15

The great example of Mortalitie.

And when the Tymes to come shall want a name

To startle Greatnes; heere is Buckingham

Fall'n like a Meteor: and its hard to say

Whether it was that went the strainger way,

20

Thou, or the hand that slue thee, thy estate

Was highe, and hee was resolute bove that,

Yet since I hold of none engag'd to thee

Death, and that liberty shall make me free.  
 Thy Mists<sup>5</sup> I knowe not, If thou hadd'st a falt 25  
 My Charitie shall leave it in thy vault  
 There for thyne owne accompting: 'tis undue  
 To speake ill of the dead, thoughe it be true,<sup>6</sup>  
 And this, even those that envy'd thee confesse  
 Thou hadd'st a mynd; a floweing noblenesse 30  
 A fortune, frends, and such proportion  
 As call for sorrowe, thus to be undone.  
 Yet should I speak the Vulgar,<sup>7</sup> I should boast  
 Thy bold assassinate, and wish all most  
 He weere noe Christian, that I upp might stand 35  
 To praise th'intent of his misguided hand  
 And sure when all the Patriots in the shade  
 Shall ranke, and their full musters their be made  
 Hee shall sitt next to Brutus,<sup>8</sup> and receive  
 Such bayes,<sup>9</sup> as heath'nish Ignorance can give 40  
 But then the Christian checking that, shall say  
 Thoughe hee did good, hee did it the wrong way  
 And oft they fall into the worst of ill  
 That act the Peoples wish, without their wills.<sup>10</sup>

**Source.** Bodleian MS Malone 23, pp. 132-33

**Other known sources.** Felltham 2.6; Bodleian MS Ashmole 38, p. 20; Bodleian MS CCC. 328, fol. 51v; Bodleian MS Douce 357, fol. 17v; Folger MS V.a.125, fol. 1r; Houghton MS Eng. 1278, item 7

Piii8

<sup>1</sup> *In Buckinghamiæ Ducem. ultimo Aug:* 1628: "On the Duke of Buckingham, the last day of August, 1628".

<sup>2</sup> *soe many titles:* while many libellers made fun of the excessive list of the Duke's titles, Felltham's



tone here is more astonished than mocking.

<sup>3</sup> *Lett the rude Genius...still kept poore*: in these lines Felltham alludes to many of the charges commonly levelled against Buckingham: that he was in league with England's Catholic enemies, both external (Spain, Austria and France) and internal; that he had deluded the judgements of his royal masters (James I and Charles I); and that his riotous excess had impoverished the nation.

<sup>4</sup> *unsumm'd*: uncounted, not summed up; perhaps unsummoned.

<sup>5</sup> *Mists*: perhaps mistakes, errors.

<sup>6</sup> *'tis undue...though it be true*: a commonplace moral saw held that one should speak nothing of the dead unless it was complimentary.

<sup>7</sup> *speak the Vulgar*: speak what the common people say. Just as he associates the criticism of Buckingham with the "rude Genius" of the lower orders, Felltham links support for Felton to vulgar opinion.

<sup>8</sup> *Brutus*: i.e. Marcus Brutus, the assassin of Julius Caesar.

<sup>9</sup> *bayes*: laurels, the leaves of which were used to make crowns of victory.

<sup>10</sup> *without their wills*: "without Laws will" (Felltham).

### Piii9 Yet weere Bidentalls sacred, and the place

*Notes.* Written in Buckingham's voice, and directed in part at the many Englishmen who celebrated his assassination, this poem is accepted as the work of John Eliot and was printed in his 1658 collection of poems. Some sources (including Eliot's volume) append, as a closing epitaph, "Reader stand still and read loe heere I am".

Yet weere Bidentalls<sup>1</sup> sacred, and the place  
Strucken with Thunder was by spetiall grace  
Neere after tramp'l'd over; if this blowe  
That struck me in my height, and laid me lowe  
Came from the hand of heaven lett it suffice 5  
That God requir'd noe other sacrifice.  
Why doe you bruise a reed, as if your rodd  
Could wound mee deeper then the hand of God?  
Who<sup>2</sup> doe you judge mee ere the Judgement day  
As if your verdict could Gods Judgments sway? 10  
Why are you not contented with my blood?  
For hate of mee, why make you Murther good?  
Hee that commends the fact doth it againe  
And is the greater Murtherer of the twaine  
Highe, and revealed Mallice that can't drawe 15  
Heaven out of hell, and checke Gods proper lawe  
Nadab and Abihu that thus accord  
To offer your strainge fire before the lord  
Take heed 'twill burn you,<sup>3</sup> 'tis a daingerous thing  
Hee that doth blesse a murtherer kills a king. 20  
I nowe have past your pikes, and seene my fate,  
My princes favour, and the peoples hate  
Strong blearey'd hatred, whose repyneing<sup>4</sup> sight  
Feede all on darknes and doth hate that light

Shewes any goodnes in mee. Was I all 25  
 Massa Corrupta,<sup>5</sup> and Stigmaticall?<sup>6</sup>  
 Was I all ill? Yet those that ript me<sup>7</sup> found  
 Some of my vitalls good; some inwards sound.  
 I had a hart scorn'd dainger, and a braine  
 Beating for honor; life in every vaine 30  
 Nor was my liver tainted: but made blood<sup>8</sup>  
 That might have serv'd to doe my countrie good  
 Had not you lett it out. Nor was my mynd  
 Soe fix't on getting as to make me blynd  
 And to forgett my Honor, or my Frend 35  
 Witnes those now who need noe more depend,  
 And those whose merritts I have made and rais'd  
 Will find out something more that may be prais'd  
 All doe not mourne in jeast, ther's some one eye  
 Shedds tears in earnest when it sawe me dye. 40  
 And whatsoever their remonstrants<sup>9</sup> make  
 I never lost my selfe but for their sake.  
 That God forgive them, for the rest Ile say  
 I lov'd the King and realme as well as they.

**Source.** Bodleian MS Malone 23, pp. 134-35

**Other known sources.** Eliot 101; Bodleian MS Ashmole 38, p. 142; Bodleian MS Dodsworth 79, fol. 162r; Bodleian MS Eng. Poet. e.14, fol. 15r; Bodleian MS Eng. Poet. e.97, p. 57; Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 26, fol. 97r; Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 62, fol. 35r; Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 153, fol. 9v; BL Add. MS 19268, fol. 32r; BL Add. MS 25707, fol. 160v; BL MS Egerton 2725, fol. 78v; BL MS Harley 6383, fol. 27v; CUL MS Gg.4.13, p. 109; LCRO MS DG 9/2796, p. 7; Beinecke MS Osborn Bagott Papers Chest 1, no. 16

Piii9

<sup>1</sup> *Bidentalls*: the Romans considered the spot where lightning had struck—the bidental—to be sacred. The bidentals were consecrated by sacrifice and walled off.

<sup>2</sup> *who*: probable scribal error; “why” (Eliot).

<sup>3</sup> *Nadab and Abihu...’twill burn you*: Nadab and Abihu, the sons of Aaron, “offered strange fire before the Lord, which he commanded them not. And there went out fire from the Lord, and devoured them, and they died before the Lord” (Leviticus 10.1-2).

<sup>4</sup> *repyneing*: i.e. repining; complaining, discontented.

<sup>5</sup> *Massa Corrupta*: “a corrupt mass”.

<sup>6</sup> *Stigmaticall*: worthy to be branded; villainous.

<sup>7</sup> *those that ript me*: Buckingham was disembowelled *post mortem* in Portsmouth to allow for embalming. His heart and innards were buried in St. Peter’s Church, Portsmouth.

<sup>8</sup> *made blood*: the liver was believed to manufacture the body’s blood.

<sup>9</sup> *remonstrants*: probably an allusion to the Remonstrance against Buckingham passed in the 1628 Parliament.

### Piii10 Reader stand still and read loe heere I am

*Notes.* This poem is often transcribed at the end of “Yet weere Bidentalls sacred, and the place”, and is printed with that poem in John Eliot, *Poems*. In one source, however, it is attributed to the Countess of Falkland (BL MS Egerton 2725), in another to “a lady” (Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 26), and in a third to Richard Corbett (NLW MS 5390D).

Reader stand still and read loe heere I am  
That was of late the Mightie Buckingham  
God gave me first my blessing,<sup>1</sup> and my breath  
Two Kings<sup>2</sup> their favours and a slave<sup>3</sup> my death  
My Fame I clame, and therefore I doe crave  
That thou Two Kings beleive before a slave.

5

**Source.** Bodleian MS Malone 23, p. 140

**Other known sources.** Eliot 102; Bodleian MS Ashmole 38, p. 142; Bodleian MS CCC. 328, fol. 97r; Bodleian MS Dodsworth 79, fol. 161v; Bodleian MS Don. d.58, fol. 19r; Bodleian MS Eng. Poet. e.14, fol. 15v; Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 26, fol. 97v; Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 153, fol. 10r; BL Add. MS 18044, fol. 81r; BL Add. MS 25707, fol. 161v; BL Add. MS 29996, fol. 70v; BL Add. MS 44963, fol. 40r; BL MS Egerton 2026, fol. 12r; BL MS Egerton 2725, fol. 60r; NCRO MS Westmorland (A) 6.vi.I, fol. 11r; NLW MS 5390D, p. 429; Houghton MS Eng. 1278, item 15

### Piii10

<sup>1</sup> *blessing*: cf. “being” (Eliot).

<sup>2</sup> *Two Kings*: James I and Charles I.

<sup>3</sup> *a slave*: i.e. John Felton. This derogatory term not only helps exaggerate the gulf between the kings who promoted Buckingham and the assassin who murdered him, but may also allude to Felton’s somewhat precarious social status as the scion of an obscure branch of a Suffolk gentry family.

### Piii11 Our countrie Merry England (once so styl'd)

*Notes.* Couched in Buckingham's voice, this poem memorably establishes a series of links between the assassination and its celebration, on the one hand, and pagan cults of human sacrifice and antimonarchical politics, on the other.

“George Duke of Buckingham to that part of his Countrie-men who are worst affected to his life & memorie A Funerall Prosopopæia.”<sup>1</sup>

Our countrie Merry England (once so styl'd)  
Great & Brave nation, never was defyl'd  
With trecherous assassinate, till nowe,  
A publique Murther staines the publique browe  
I was displeasing by the common fate 5  
Of Favorites of kings; I was your hate  
Yee have my blood in sacrifice prophane  
A private hand hath lawless vengeance tane  
Upon my life, and wreck't your mortall wrath  
And beyond that (I hope) it nothing hath 10  
If blood soe shedd shall not asswagement give,  
Why did yee not much rather lett me live?  
The Altars of Busiris<sup>2</sup> never heere  
Blacke Egipt made to blush; nor allwaies deere  
Diana did appease;<sup>3</sup> Men Scythia slew<sup>4</sup> 15  
And Affricks Saturne did his beames imbrowe  
In blood of Babes,<sup>5</sup> as Taranis in gall<sup>6</sup>  
Her kingly syre sawe Iphigenia fall  
A virgin-victime;<sup>7</sup> and there was a tyme  
When humane Heccatombes<sup>8</sup> engrav'd this clyme 20  
With healthes of blood drunke to infernall Elves  
But both the Druids<sup>9</sup> rites, and Druids selves  
The Romans banisht, and did purge our Isle

And all their Empire from a cryme soe vile.  
 But those of you, who blesse the Murtherers hand 25  
 (Against all lawes) and each where gazing stand  
 About his picture,<sup>10</sup> as an Idoll sett  
 Humanitie (alas) too much forgett  
 And make it seeme, as if from Hell againe  
 That superstition weere return'd to raigne. 30  
 Is Moloch<sup>11</sup> Brittaines God? you then doe well  
 To celebrate the deeds of night, and hell  
 Is Druidisme come backe? Then Rome did ill  
 To drive it hence, if Just it be, to kill  
 An unattainted and untryed Peere 35  
 Lett kings bewarr That Doctrine striketh neere  
 Ordain'd selfe-arbiters to please, and such  
 As would old Patriotts seeme, ascribeing much  
 To th'antient Pagan schooles of Greece & Rome  
 Who liveing under Monarchies become 40  
 Hott popularians,<sup>12</sup> and in crosse of kings  
 Love Cantons, Leagues, and states<sup>13</sup> as better things.  
 Returne to Natures sence, the Man putt on  
 With generous sighes; and since the deed is done  
 O lett my wyde wound be th'eternall grave 45  
 Both of your Ire, and of his guilt who gave  
 That thunderbolted blowe; and may noe age  
 Behold the like againe upon our stage.  
 The topp, and the topp gallant of my style<sup>14</sup>  
 The common Envie weere of Albions Isle<sup>15</sup> 50  
 My plumes of titles in my crest of fame  
 The fanns to coole good will, and spight t'inflame;  
 Those blazing lures of flyes, the blynding skreen  
 Wise Providence, and headlong waies betweene

Meere stands for vanitie; a grove to hyde 55  
 Their ambuscado's<sup>16</sup> who noe light abyde  
 That weight too great, made me there Atlas<sup>17</sup> fall  
 Few please a Multitude, and none please all.  
 My youth and two kings<sup>18</sup> favours well might make  
 Great Buckingham forgett, and much to take 60  
 Above his strength, who finds he was a man;  
 And be unto him such in all yee cann.  
 The rest lett others care for, who survive.  
 Myne Exit wants applause: But if alive  
 I had remain'd, and still king Charles my frend 65  
 My merritt should have woo'd a fairer end  
 For to recover favour was the scope  
 Of all my counsells, as it was their hope  
 Or on myne owne sword in the sight of all  
 You should have seene me voluntarie fall: 70  
 For life allreadie was become to bee  
 A greivance and A burthen unto mee;  
 Untill I had by noblest prooffe made knowne  
 That Buckingham was yours, or not his owne  
 These my last vowes Heavens witnes it, are true 75  
 Soe under goe my clouds, and bidd adiewe.

**Source.** Bodleian MS Malone 23, pp. 135-38

Piii11

<sup>1</sup> *Prosopopæia*: i.e. prosopopoeia, "A rhetorical figure by which an imaginary or absent person is represented as speaking or acting" (*OED*).

<sup>2</sup> *The Altars of Busiris*: in the Hercules legends, Busiris, a ruler of Egypt, sacrificed to the gods any foreigner who entered his kingdom.



- <sup>3</sup> *nor allwaies deere / Diana did appease*: the goddess Diana was a huntress and deer were sacred to her.
- <sup>4</sup> *Men Scythia slew*: ancient historians described the Scythians as a savage people.
- <sup>5</sup> *Affricks Saturne...blood of Babes*: the god Saturn was said to have devoured his own children, thus imbruing (defiling) his “beames” (probably “eyes” here) with the “blood of Babes”.
- <sup>6</sup> *Taranis in gall*: according to hostile Roman commentators, the ancient Gauls offered human sacrifices to their thunder god Taranis.
- <sup>7</sup> *Her kingly syre...A virgin-victime*: King Agamemnon attempted to sacrifice his daughter Iphigenia to appease the wrath of the goddess Artemis/Diana.
- <sup>8</sup> *humane Heccatombes*: mass human sacrifices.
- <sup>9</sup> *Druids*: the priests of pre-Roman Britain and Gaul. Roman accounts alleged that the Druids performed human sacrifice.
- <sup>10</sup> *his picture*: a number of contemporaries allude to a picture or pictures of Felton. The one extant engraving of the assassin—depicted standing, with boots spurred, his hat under his left arm, and a dagger poised in his right hand—is entitled “The lively Portraiture of John Felton who most miserably kil’d The right Hono:ble George Villiers Duke of Buckingham: August ye 23 1628”. The copy owned by the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, is reproduced in Wolfe (image 9).
- <sup>11</sup> *Moloch*: i.e. Molech; an ancient Middle-Eastern deity to whom children were sacrificed (see, e.g., 2 Kings 23.10; Jeremiah 32.35).
- <sup>12</sup> *popularians*: courtiers of the people, seditionists and, in this context, republicans.
- <sup>13</sup> *Cantons, Leagues, and states*: names for early modern republican polities; e.g. the Swiss (“Cantons”) and the Dutch United Provinces (“states”).
- <sup>14</sup> *The topp...of my style*: this line uses nautical terminology (the top and top-gallant are parts of a ship’s mast) to connote the elevation of Buckingham’s status that prompted such envy.
- <sup>15</sup> *Albions Isle*: England.
- <sup>16</sup> *ambuscado’s*: ambushes.
- <sup>17</sup> *Atlas*: in classical mythology, Atlas held aloft the heavens.
- <sup>18</sup> *two kings*: James I and Charles I.

### Piii13 What! shall I say now George is dead

*Notes.* Like several poems, this defence of Buckingham invokes the dictates of charity and refutes the credibility of “Common fame”. More interestingly, perhaps, the poet also invokes memories of Buckingham’s short-lived reputation in the mid-1620s as an anti-Spanish hero.

“A charitable censure on the death of the D. of B.”

What! shall I say now George is dead

That hee’s in hell? Charitie forbidd.

What though hee’s damn’d by Common fame,

Yet God’s Eyes may behold noe staine.

What though hee was infect with sinne!

5

What Man on earth lives not therein?

Shall wee therefore limitt Gods power?

His Mercie’s seen at the last houre.

If to the Kingdome hee did harme,

Yet thy tongue still thou oughtst to charme.

10

Great Charles in him beheld not it,

For thee to taxe him ’tis not fitt.

Envie cease, and give him his due,

Speake of him what thou know’st is true,

And for one good deed let him meritt

15

To have his badd silence inherit:

Call but to minde that deed in Spaine,

For which thou once didst live<sup>1</sup> his name,

If all were badd, yet that alone

Should make thee now his death bemoane.<sup>2</sup>

20

Then Felton, sure thou art too blame,

By whose strong hand our George was slaine.

**Source.** BL MS Sloane 826, fols. 183v-184r

**Other known sources.** Bodleian MS Malone 23, p. 139

Piii13

<sup>1</sup> *live*: probable scribal error; “love” (Bodleian MS Malone 23) is a preferable reading.

<sup>2</sup> *And for one...his death bemoane*: these lines refer to Buckingham’s supposed efforts to extricate Prince Charles from Spain (and from a widely feared marriage to the Spanish Infanta) in 1623. In the year or so after Charles and Buckingham’s return from Spain, the favourite was hailed as an anti-Spanish hero (see Sections N and O).

**Piii14 Who ever lov'd man vertuous**

*Notes.* While alluding to popular perceptions of Buckingham, this relatively straightforward epitaph focuses less on chiding the Duke's critics than it does on trumpeting his virtues.

Who ever lov'd man vertuous,  
Stout,<sup>1</sup> liberall,<sup>2</sup> wise, industrious,  
Or to the arts a matchles frend  
Laments (thrice honor'd Duke thy end)  
And lett him knowe what ere hee bee 5  
Would highly praise mortallitie  
Must faigne some person in a man  
Just like to that of Buckingham  
A Soule inricht with soe much good  
As kings (not Commons) understood 10  
Fond Mallice doe what ere thou cann  
Tyme will bewaile brave Buckingham  
To that most sadd, and mournefull name  
His life hath added such a Fame  
That to expresse to future yeares 15  
his worth, his Fate, his Maisters teares  
Hee needs noe Funerall, nor verse,  
But his owne Name writt on his herse.

**Source.** Bodleian MS Malone 23, pp. 140-41

**Other known sources.** BL MS Harley 6383, fol. 27r

Piii14

<sup>1</sup> *Stout*: brave. This epithet was often used to describe Felton.

<sup>2</sup> *liberall*: generous.

### Piii15 When Poets use to write men use to say

*Notes.* Like many posthumous defences of Buckingham, this poem represents libels on the Duke as the work of the socially base and the intellectually credulous. At the same time, the poem (like “What! shall I say now George is dead”) alludes to Buckingham’s actions in Spain in 1623 and the popular credit they (temporarily) earned him. Our chosen source ascribes the poem to “T. Aliff”.

#### “On the Duke of Buckingham’s death”

When Poets use to write men use to say

tis for preferment or some other pay

They sell their witts which basely flatters those

Whome they themselves but for base<sup>1</sup> people knowes

Or els for som affection or some kine<sup>2</sup>

Against ther conscience thus doe sinne

Perhaps the same they will impute to me

Though for a gloss I pleade integritie

But let them know these by base respects I scorne

Or to inslave my Muse which free was borne

I was a stranger to this noble peere

No kiff,<sup>3</sup> nor kinn, nor followers name did beare

whose worth (I must confess) needs not my praise

Yet who loves vertue must the vertuouse raise

Lest base detraction to the future age

Should cloude ther glory: wisemen did presage

That these (who weary of him) would repent

A second worse; a fortune incident

To discontented folke. But why dost

Blurr these my leines with ther inconstancy

And leave the sacred subject whose deere fame

Merits the palme of an eternall name

5

10

15

20

Nature herselfe to shew her workmanship  
 Blushs, having seene her self, her self outstript:  
 Which to perfection that it might be brought 25  
 Fortune begann to add what could be thought  
 Art lik't the frame, which to adorne throughout  
 Indew'd<sup>4</sup> it with her riches rounde aboute  
 These heavenly powers when they had given boone<sup>5</sup>  
 Presents it to erthly, which as soone 30  
 Enthral'd themselves under his brave commande  
 Soe, did the sea that both together stand  
 And at his becke,<sup>6</sup> yet proud that they might beare  
 A burthen of such worth, fell out & sware  
 Eternall enmitie, least each might have him 35  
 But heaven (the umpire) to the earth it gave him,  
 Which swelling with the glory of that prize  
 Scornd his old leuell, doth on tiptoes rise;  
 Which Neptune<sup>7</sup> grev'd, & yet desir'd to kiss  
 The hallowed earth which shrind him; Thamisis<sup>8</sup> 40  
 Each winter, spring he sends to visit him  
 & pay the tribute of his eies (waxt dim  
 with weeping) then takes leave yet comes againe  
 To take new farwell, but tis in vaine  
 He must returne, thus doth his greef appeare 45  
 He groans & murmers then he dropps a teare  
 As witness of his losse. And shall all these  
 Teach us to know his worth, & we not please  
 Once to behold what heaven & earth admired?  
 How many nations weare ther him desir'd 50  
 To crowne his years with adoration? we  
 what we possesse dispise, but eagerly  
 Hunt after trash, & guesaw<sup>9</sup> novelty

Some may object he hath us all undonne  
 wee've cause to curse him every mothers sonne, 55  
 Peac wretches peace, can peasants comprehend  
 Statlik actions? if ther lords commende  
 (Land lords I meane) the basest groome that lives  
 Calling him noble, whoe's he that straight gives  
 Not addition to his words? the period 60  
 Of your conceipts then rests on him (the god)  
 To whome I leave you, But the graver sort  
 I dare presume, contemne there base report  
 who well conceive the slander they have mad  
 to kepe theyr tongs inure,<sup>10</sup> tis envies trade 65  
 which yet despight ther malice must confess  
 He brought from Spaine our Englands happiness,  
 A worke of meritt, then they cried blest peere  
 our lives, and all is thine we hold most deare<sup>11</sup>  
 But what good deeds we doe ar writt in sande, 70  
 What bad (though donne by chance) in Marble stande  
 Men now oure actions judge, by ther event  
 But will heare nor see our good intent  
 Could these detractors thy designes upbraid  
 For want of grounde? had not ther sinnes betrayd 75  
 Thy prosperouse fate & glory every way  
 But sure they could not what so ere they say  
 Which makes them rave insteade of argument  
 And when they most complaine, most inocent  
 They prove thy actions, which thou bee'st dead 80  
 Good men approve, and wise have hallowed,  
 Whose judgments all men judge most worthy thee  
 Applauding them adore thy memorie.

**Source.** BL MS Sloane 542, fols. 15r-16r

**Other known sources.** Rosenbach MS 239/27, p. 384

Piii15

<sup>1</sup> *base*: low-born; immoral.

<sup>2</sup> *kine*: i.e. kin; tie of kinship.

<sup>3</sup> *kiff*: i.e. kith; friend or acquaintance.

<sup>4</sup> *Indew'd*: i.e. endued; covered, dressed.

<sup>5</sup> *boone*: benefit.

<sup>6</sup> *becke*: command.

<sup>7</sup> *Neptune*: god of the sea.

<sup>8</sup> *Thamisis*: the River Thames.

<sup>9</sup> *guesaw*: i.e. gewgaw, a showy trifle (Rosenbach MS 239/27 reads “guegaw”).

<sup>10</sup> *inure*: i.e. inured; practised.

<sup>11</sup> *He brought from Spaine...most deare*: allusion to the popular celebration of Buckingham after he had brought Prince Charles (safely unmarried) from Spain in 1623 (for which, see Sections N and O).



### Piii16 Might Teares Revive thee I could wish to be

*Notes. This ambitious poem combines a number of themes, ranging from attacks on popular perceptions of the Duke, to an unusually heightened depiction of the immense scope of Buckingham's power as a favourite. The verse concludes with a forceful evocation of Buckingham's virtue, courtesy and bravery, and an appreciation of his physical and spiritual beauty.*

Might Teares Revive thee I could wish to be

Dissolvd & melted like to Nyobe<sup>1</sup>

But just conceived Rage, & bitter woe

Drye up the brackish<sup>2</sup> streames they cannot flowe.

And can it be amidst thy troupes<sup>3</sup> one Arme

5

Could plot such mischeife & enact such harme?

Maye such a massacre be wrought & He

Not Thunderstrooke by th omnipotencie

Where was Joves Lightning<sup>4</sup> when this deede was done

how chance his Arme shrunck not, grew deade & num?

10

Ah powerfull God forgive wee ought not pry

Into thy hidden secret Mistery

Wee cannot knowe the suns transparent beames

By his own face but by his guilding streames

Too glorious soe Gods Judgments are, & showne

15

In their effects, by which his pleasure's knowne,

World-famed Cesar<sup>5</sup> fetching his Renowne

Far from those parts where scarce proud Rome was knowne

Heaping up wealth & Glory to the state

By publique hands was slaine, & publique Fate

20

Greatenes howere acheivd doth drawe along

Envy & malice from the stupid throng

The Knyges<sup>6</sup> People whoe beloe doe vew

Things done above doe alwaies judge untrue

Treason to them if't be put home & done 25  
 Is cald faire Justice, when the Righteous doome<sup>7</sup>  
 If it fall shorte they terme it Policy  
 And a waie to Roote out true Nobilitie  
 Under this last fell this same Lord with them  
 That hate noe facts but as they hate the men 30  
 But wiser saye that truly judge these times  
 It was the peoples Scandall not his Crimes  
 In this confusion did the Kings choyce hand  
 Set him above his foes, gave him command  
 And power by which he got the day 35  
 of the inconstant multitude, for they  
 Began to find now virtues in the Man  
 The Honord Greate and matchles Buckingham  
 Where was the man amongst us did not then  
 Call him both Greate and Good, I & condemne 40  
 Their censures by thy Judgment when thy eye  
 Alone could chuse such worthe & dignity  
 Whoe was held wise that did not seeke to hold  
 A place from him, all Fathers that were old  
 Thought it Inheritance enough to give 45  
 Their children if he knew them, for to live  
 For thou hadst raisd him to that Eminency  
 That but thy selfe none was soe greate & high  
 Ah dreaded Lord did ever one day see  
 Any in woe and Glory like to thee 50  
 Evn as Apollo<sup>8</sup> in his burning throne  
 Thow shinst at morne for men to gaze upon  
 The daies & Howers on each hand did attend  
 Expecting when thou wouldst employment send  
 The seasons did awaite thee, Heate and Cold 55

Autumne and Spring yeares Months daies manifold  
 All seemd at thy direction, Nobles bow  
 The Gentry are ambitious but to knowe  
 What is thy pleasure And the yeomen stand  
 More ready to obey then thou comand 60  
 Thy howse did seeme a Temple thither flye  
 The People all to know their desteny  
 Nor doth the Marygold with more devotion  
 Attend the sun then did the coarte thy motion  
 And can such distance be twixt Life and Death 65  
 And doth all Pompe forsake as with our breath  
 Shall wee bring back noe more unto the Tombe  
 Then what wee brought from our poore Mothers wombe  
 doe all our spangles<sup>9</sup> leave us at the grave  
 And shall wee have noe more then vassalls<sup>10</sup> have? 70  
 And doe the wormes smell out noe difference  
 Betwixt Perfumes high prise & meerely sence  
 how dare they venture on an Honord skin  
 Mighty and Lorded: Noble all within  
 Ah vaine conceipts the king can have noe more 75  
 Of Birth and Death then Beggers at the dore  
 Nor God nor Nature doth respect a Person  
 For State or wealth but for Religion  
 Naie our best freinds like Bees refuse that flower  
 Which death hath but usurpt one litle hower 80  
 Thy mighty Pallace had not roome for steps  
 That did attend thee, nor soe many becks<sup>11</sup>  
 Hadst thou as they had waies to put them to  
 And could one stroke these glories all undoe  
 Thow seemst another Atlas<sup>12</sup> of our State 85  
 The World upon thy able shoulders sate

One hand held Spaine, another hand held France<sup>13</sup>  
 Doubtfull to which thy Army should advance  
 In expectation did both Kingdomes stand  
 On which should fall thy fatall firebrand 90  
 Ships were prepard for sword, & ships for fire  
 And hardy men to act thy high desire  
 For without boast wee may averre for soothe<sup>14</sup>  
 England hath men whose valor's canon prooffe  
 Our Kingdomes Body did crye out for warre 95  
 And art thou then condemned to prepare  
 Wee have noe walls but seas nor forts for Rest  
 But whats conteyned in a valiant brest  
 Better then meete a Foe, then staie at home  
 And enterteine th'Enemy with our owne 100  
 Whoe warres abroad doth on advantage playe  
 But they that fight at home, have but one daye  
 Nor are our actions judgd by the event  
 They best deserve that doe the best attempt  
 It lyes not in our power to make the end 105  
 God only doth in that our arts commend  
 In peace He was all Grace & Curtesy  
 Noble and full of magnanimity  
 Whether his hat or sword did more imply  
 his able hand deserves a History<sup>15</sup> 110  
 As full of valor as of curteous parts  
 Th one conquering, th other sealing harts  
 What durst he not unlesse fowle injuries  
 As farre from them as farre from cowardise  
 Warre tooke not from him Mildnes, nor soft peace 115  
 A virtuous & couragious Haughtines  
 Stout harted Ajax<sup>16</sup> and the wise Ulisses<sup>17</sup>

In this full man might have enjoyd their wishes  
 Nor was the Grecians sacrificise drawne on  
 With greater showts & approbation 120  
 When they let out their walls to let that in  
 old Priamus himselfe encouraging<sup>18</sup>  
 Then this greate Duke when to the feild he came  
 As if he were their Life their Fate their flame  
 That thow hadst outside more then common men 125  
 I shall not neede to trouble much my Pen  
 To set it downe, each eye will find a tounge  
 To blase abroad thy knowne Perfection,  
 To me, me thought thow didst appeare as one  
 Whome nature made for men to gaze upon 130  
 That shee must fix their eyes to boast hir Arte  
 Symetry and Beauty framing every parte,  
 And yet I had not time to note each linn<sup>19</sup>  
 Soe I desird to knowe what was within  
 But then as I have seene a cabinet 135  
 Soe rich with pearles, with sparckling Jems soe set  
 That other Jewell I expected none  
 When sodainely unto my eyes there shone  
 A Jewell soe exceeding rare and bright  
 That all unwares it tooke away my sight 140  
 Which seemd all flame all fire as if each stone  
 Were a full sun at height in his horrison  
 Soe did thy Inward virtues take away  
 All thought of that same gawdy flesh & claye  
 compared with thy sowle thy bodies frame 145  
 did then like brasse & rust upon the same  
 nor could I avoe<sup>20</sup> my selfe to make retorne  
 To leave that sight for which we now all mourne

But all these praises are but like sweete meate  
Which at a deere freinds funerall wee doe eate<sup>21</sup>  
Memorialls of our losses, therefore reape  
My sadder muse, & lett him rest in peace.

150

**Source.** PRO SP 16/114/69

Piii16

- <sup>1</sup> *Nyobe*: after her fourteen children had been slaughtered by the gods Apollo and Diana, the grieving Niobe was metamorphosed into a rock that shed tears.
- <sup>2</sup> *brackish*: darkened, muddied.
- <sup>3</sup> *amidst thy troupes*: Felton was a lieutenant in the expeditionary force that went under Buckingham's command to the Ile de Ré in 1627.
- <sup>4</sup> *Joves Lightning*: Jove, king of the gods, used the lightning bolt as a weapon. Here the poet is wondering why Felton's deed was not immediately followed by divine judgement on the criminal.
- <sup>5</sup> *World-famed Cesar*: i.e. Julius Caesar, assassinated in 44 BC.
- <sup>6</sup> *Knyges*: scribal error; read "Kynges".
- <sup>7</sup> *doome*: judgement.
- <sup>8</sup> *Apollo*: the sun god.
- <sup>9</sup> *spangles*: literally, the glittering metallic strips decorating costumes; figuratively, the earthly pomp and splendour nullified by death.
- <sup>10</sup> *vassalls*: used here in a general sense to connote inferiors, the low-born.
- <sup>11</sup> *becks*: commands.
- <sup>12</sup> *Atlas*: in classical mythology, Atlas held up the heavens.
- <sup>13</sup> *One hand held Spaine...France*: at the time of Buckingham's death, England was at war with both Spain and France.

14 *soothe*: i.e. sooth; truth.

15 *Whether his hat...deserves a History*: this couplet establishes a theme that is then extended over the next few lines, that Buckingham was an exemplar both of courtesy—here symbolized by his mastery of the range of coded gestures for the removal and replacement of the hat—and of skill in battle—here symbolized by his swordsmanship.

16 *Stout harted Ajax*: Ajax was a Greek hero in the Trojan War, brave (“Stout harted”) but not wise.

17 *wise Ulisses*: Greek hero of the Trojan War, Ulysses (or Odysseus), known for his cunning.

18 *Nor was the Grecians...himselpe encouraging*: allusion to the fateful moment when the Trojans brought the wooden horse—ostensibly left as a religious sacrifice by the Greeks—into their city. “Priamus” is King Priam of Troy. The poet is probably thinking of the cheering and singing described in Virgil’s *Aeneid*, book 2.

19 *linn*: probably a poetic contraction of “lineament” (a portion of the body).

20 *avoe*: i.e. avow.

21 *sweete meate...wee doe eate*: dinners were a traditional accompaniment of funerals.

### Piii17 Death come thy selfe and let thy Image sleepe

*Notes.* This Buckingham elegy, attributed in the only known source to “Mr AT” is especially notable for its references to libellers, depicted as snakes who bite what “once they kist”, and as cannibals who feed on the dead Duke’s remains.

“On the Death of the Duke of Bucckingam”

Death come thy selfe and let thy Image sleepe  
Her quiet face and comick action keepe  
Nor with strain’d lookes and gestures night by night  
Thy trajedyes ere thou canst act recite  
Let ies not blindfold search the booke of fate 5  
And sleeping our misfortunes antidate  
Growst thou so feeble men must now ly still  
And thou strike twice before thy dart can kill  
Must shadowes and dumb showes in ambush lye  
To wound the spirrit ere the body dye 10  
Then men most wretched and of men much more  
Then all the rest, the deprived poore  
Ours was the night though rich men gott the day  
And must sweet sleepe our bedfellow betray  
Our secret store and all times issue bee 15  
Our mortall foes and leave no minuet<sup>1</sup> free  
The morning dreames and midnight visions flye  
A soule prepar’d for any trajedy.  
Something mee thought did something to my eyes  
That made mee sleeping see the destinyes 20  
Sett in an Amphitheater design’d  
By no man’s hands, nor by a wall confin’de  
But free and open as the æthereall skye  
Bounded alone by the beholders eye



Clowdes were their cloathing here and there made fast 25  
 With a small starr that sullen beames forth cast  
 The plannetts lent their aery actors light  
 And for ther sceanes they borrowd blackes of night  
 A shewer<sup>2</sup> of threads each to a spindle ty'd  
 Like a small rayne fell thicke on ery<sup>3</sup> side. 30  
 Which never left twisting and turning round  
 Till most made dewes as they aproacht the ground  
 Some broke before some att the very touch  
 Some scarce halfe full some that were fil'd too much  
 All that lay still and soe forbore to spin 35  
 Our mother earth strayt gap't and tooke them in  
 Among the rest one lookt so cleare so bright  
 As round about it cast a liberall<sup>4</sup> light  
 On whose outside no æquall eye could looke  
 But every turne and ev'ry motion tooke 40  
 Soe gentle too as toucht one would have thought  
 The silkworme onely on that web had wrought  
 And yet soe firme as felt one might bee bould  
 Rather then thread to say t'was wire of gold  
 Nice virgins fear'd t'was part of that same shower 45  
 That onrebuickd once pierct a golden tower<sup>5</sup>  
 Mirsirs<sup>6</sup> beleev'd their Mamon did descend  
 And chimists welcom'd their long look'd for frind<sup>7</sup>  
 Travellers thought the fam'd fleece<sup>8</sup> scarce so fayre  
 And lovers tooke it for their mistrisse hayre. 50  
 Poets would wright upon no other theame  
 Supposing it a flexible sun beame  
 Not what, but whose ambitious now to know  
 The Fates<sup>9</sup> that seldome such a secrett show  
 Open their bookes and in their lists of names 55

That lovely thread I found was Buckingham  
 Million of harts and myriads of eyes  
 Lighting upon it covered it like flies  
 Till one a sodayne one could hardly tell  
 Why ore wherefore thousands dropt of and fell 60  
 Transform'd to snakes biting wher once they kist  
 Aloft they bus'd,<sup>10</sup> but now below they hist  
 Rays'd by this spell out of the stygian lake<sup>11</sup>  
 Swifter then thought a fourth fell<sup>12</sup> fury<sup>13</sup> brake  
 Arm'd with a blade that in a trice dispatcht 65  
 That web the world must longing leave unmatcht  
 Atropos scorning her prefixt decrees  
 Should stoupe to human mutabilities  
 Snatcht up her sheeres<sup>14</sup> intending in a rage  
 For that one stroake to leave an empty stage 70  
 Cinthia<sup>15</sup> drew back; and mercury let fall  
 His charming rod<sup>16</sup> as of no use at all  
 Venus afresh bewayld Adonis slaine<sup>17</sup>  
 As twice alive and now new dead againe  
 The sun rose slowly and made hast to bedd 75  
 And fiery mars<sup>18</sup> never apear'd so redd  
 Tost lightning flasht out of the thunderers<sup>19</sup> eye  
 And Saturne<sup>20</sup> walkt like a sad mourner bye  
 Nature cry'd out and up sterne Justice<sup>21</sup> stept  
 Ceres<sup>22</sup> lay downe Heaven and the graces<sup>23</sup> wept 80  
 An universall compound shrieke and shoute  
 As if the worlds great soule were new breath'd out  
 Startle'd my senses then a sodayne ill  
 Apear'd as dismall as the sound was shrill  
 With sad presages frighted from my bed 85  
 A rumour rays'd confusd of Duke and dead

Looking and lisoning I walkt on perplex  
 Till I had heard such comments on that text  
 As made me with Deucalions race of men  
 Rays'd out of stones<sup>24</sup> newly reviv'd againe 90  
 Ore those men monsters which though armed sprung  
 From dragons teeth<sup>25</sup> wanted a killing tounge  
 Some wer to that excesse of bounty growne  
 They freely gave him faults that were their owne  
 And some to shame him with such slips<sup>26</sup> began 95  
 As to have mist hee had bin more then man  
 Some were so æquall to his actions still  
 They would condemne whether good or ill  
 And some were so with vigilance possest  
 When hee was dead they would not let him rest 100  
 But did (like Anthropophagi)<sup>27</sup> entreate  
 His very corps as if they kill'd to eate  
 Among these weeds some eares of corne were found  
 That hung their heads after his fell to ground  
 Some Flowers soe full of Heavenly dew they bent 105  
 Under their load though they retayn'd their sent  
 Some tempers taken from the truest steele  
 That still the touch of the lov'd loadstone<sup>28</sup> feele  
 But that faire mirrour<sup>29</sup> in whose spotlesse breast  
 Hee left an Image of himselfe impreast 110  
 To whome all trees that in the garden grow  
 Sett by that cædar are meere shrubbs in show  
 All corne but chaff all flowers in garden sett  
 Smelt but like crowfoote<sup>30</sup> to that violet  
 What hands held up what folded armes acrossse 115  
 What sighes breathes she after her Deare Lords losse  
 Mee thinkes I see her like an Alpe of snow

Melt till her teares in to a torrent grow  
 Then by degrees the calme resemblance take  
 Not of a river but a standing lake 120  
 Which if no frindly Diety bee bent  
 To turne in to a christall monument<sup>31</sup>  
 Like Arethusa she will shyly run  
 To worlds unknowne and meete the new sett sun<sup>32</sup>  
 Ore the mayne sea strive with her teares to swell 125  
 Like sad Cornelia when her Pompey fell.<sup>33</sup>  
 I like poor Codrus that can onely picke  
 Up here a stone and ther a litle sticke  
 To build an Alter and to make a blaze  
 That a rude winde may soone put out ore rayse<sup>34</sup> 130  
 Wish him a pile that sett on fire may light  
 His darkend fame thorough detractions night  
 And obeliske that might his urne convay  
 Shining in gold up to the gods halfe way  
 And when his tombe shall like a Trophy rise 135  
 glorious enough to putt out envyes eyes  
 Such Epitaphs and Elegies as sung  
 By a sweet muse may silence slanders tounge.

**Source.** Huntington MS HM 904, fols. 49r-52r

Piii17

<sup>1</sup> *minuet*: scribal error; read “minute”.

<sup>2</sup> *shewer*: i.e. shower.

<sup>3</sup> *ery*: i.e. every.

<sup>4</sup> *liberall*: generous.

- <sup>5</sup> *Nice virgins fear'd...pierct a golden tower*: allusion to the myth of Danae who, though locked in a tower by her father, was nevertheless impregnated by Zeus/Jove in the form of a golden shower. "Onrebuickd" here is "unrebuked" (unchecked).
- <sup>6</sup> *Mirsirs*: i.e. misers.
- <sup>7</sup> *And chimists welcom'd...look'd for frind*: allusion to alchemists, who endeavoured to turn base metals into gold.
- <sup>8</sup> *the fam'd fleece*: the golden fleece of classical mythology.
- <sup>9</sup> *The Fates*: the three goddesses who determined the fate of things and individuals: Clotho, Lachesis and Atropos.
- <sup>10</sup> *bus'd*: i.e. buzzed.
- <sup>11</sup> *the stygian lake*: the lake of Styx in the classical underworld.
- <sup>12</sup> *fell*: cruel, fierce.
- <sup>13</sup> *fury*: the furies were avenging goddesses who punished the dead in the afterlife.
- <sup>14</sup> *Atropos...sheeres*: Atropos, one of the fates, was often depicted carrying the shears she used to cut the thread of life.
- <sup>15</sup> *Cinthia*: Cynthia, goddess of the moon.
- <sup>16</sup> *mercury let fall / His charming rod*: the messenger god Mercury carried a staff or caduceus.
- <sup>17</sup> *Venus afresh bewayld Adonis slaine*: in classical myth, the goddess Venus became besotted with the beautiful youth Adonis, who was killed by a boar.
- <sup>18</sup> *mars*: god of war.
- <sup>19</sup> *the thunderers*: i.e. Jove's.
- <sup>20</sup> *Saturne*: ancient king of the gods, father of Jove.
- <sup>21</sup> *Justice*: the goddess Astraea is probably implied here.
- <sup>22</sup> *Ceres*: goddess of the earth, corn and agriculture.
- <sup>23</sup> *the graces*: the three goddesses of beauty.

- <sup>24</sup> *Deucalions race of men...stones*: after a destructive flood sent by Jove to punish the wickedness of mankind, Deucalion and his wife created new men and women from stones.
- <sup>25</sup> *thoese men monsters...From dragons teeth*: allusion to the myth of Cadmus, who sowed the teeth of a dragon, from which there grew armed men.
- <sup>26</sup> *slips*: errors.
- <sup>27</sup> *Anthropophagi*: cannibals.
- <sup>28</sup> *loadstone*: i.e. lodestone; magnet.
- <sup>29</sup> *that faire mirrour*: introduces a passage on Buckingham's widow, Katherine.
- <sup>30</sup> *crowfoote*: typically a name for the buttercup.
- <sup>31</sup> *if no frindly Diety...christall monument*: probably an allusion to the myth of Niobe, who, having lost her fourteen children, was metamorphosed into a weeping stone.
- <sup>32</sup> *Arethusa...new sett sun*: the nymph Arethusa, running from the river god Alpheus, became a fountain on the island of Ortygia.
- <sup>33</sup> *Like sad Cornelia when her Pompey fell*: Book 8 of Lucan's *Pharsalia* (sig.P3v ff.) describes how, in 48 BC, the Roman leader Pompey was assassinated as he approached the Egyptian shore in a boat. Pompey's wife Cornelia witnessed the murder from a separate boat further out at sea. Katherine Villiers did not witness her husband's murder, but she was elsewhere in the same building when the crime occurred.
- <sup>34</sup> *I like poor Codrus...put out ore rayse*: the poet here compares himself to Pompey's follower Codrus. According to Book 8 of Lucan's *Pharsalia*, Codrus retrieved Pompey's decapitated body from the sea and, using driftwood and borrowed fire, improvised a funeral pyre for the remains.

**Piii18 Hee that can reade a sigh, or spell a teare**

*Notes.* In one source, this poem is attributed to “ Dr. Lewis” (Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 26). Another variant preserves only the first six lines, and titles the abbreviated poem “On a Learned Nobleman” (Bodleian MS Sancroft 53). The poem’s conclusion celebrates the birth of Buckingham’s posthumous son, Francis Villiers, which implies that the verse was completed after Francis’s birth in April 1629.

“To my Lord Duke of Buckingham his memory”

Hee that can reade a sigh, or spell a teare,  
Pronounce amazement, and accent wilde feare,  
Or get all greif by hart; hee, onely hee,  
Is fitt to reade, or write thy Elegie.

Unvalued Lord! whoe wer’t so hard a text:

5

Writt in one age, but understood ith’ next.

Write Elegyes, for those that dye: my Lord  
(Though halfe the age wear Feltons) can afford  
Vertue enough, for to survive the rage

Of a tumultous & self-cursing age;

10

Nor greives it mee, the Cittie-wives are slacke  
To mourne for thee in clarrett or burnt-sacke:<sup>1</sup>

Whoe for their husbands doe not use to weepe:

Unlesse the wyne be hott, and they drunck deepe.

Their children shall lament thee, when they knowe

15

What t’was to loose such bloud, and loose it soe.

T’is yet too soone for them to knowe; such things,

As Buckingham, none can esteeme but kings.

And you<sup>2</sup> (shame of your nation) whose bold strife

Is to pourtraict a monster backe to life;

20

That hee may live within a fewee yeeres pawse

The witsse of your curse, That was the cause,

Yow that cann prayse applaud, you that cann paynt  
 Such a prodigious villayne to a Saynt  
 And while yow think't Idolatry to glaunce 25  
 Upon a bleeding Crucifix by chaunce;  
 Can yett create an Idoll divell t'adore,  
 And deck your Oratryes with such store.<sup>3</sup>  
 Yow that would kill his dust, doe yow not see  
 Howe god derydes your wickednes: whilest hee 30  
 Hathe given those ashes life, and made his tombe  
 Of posthume issue,<sup>4</sup> such a fruitfull wombe.  
 See yow not howe the Phenixe<sup>5</sup> is renew'd  
 And to him from his death, more yeers accru'd!  
 Yow tooke him hence, when he had spent for yow 35  
 Thirtie fyve<sup>6</sup> carefull yeers; heaven would renew  
 His lease; and send him to a wilfull thronge  
 An Infant backe agayne, t'expound the wronge,  
 His innocency felt, when the beleefe  
 Of a deceyvll<sup>7</sup> world, sign'd their owne greife. 40  
 Should I bewaile thee then? or byd myne eyes  
 Write on thy joyfull cradle, Elegyes?  
 When I assured am this short disguise  
 Of Infancie, wherein oure feare-drown'd eyes  
 Discover thee, cann at the furthest last 45  
 Not above twenty yeeres, and then thy fast  
 Sprouting and growing glory will in strength  
 (Though short nowe) yet be writt agayne at length.  
 When the uncoozend<sup>8</sup> world shall all confesse  
 Thou wert sent backe to earth agayne, to blesse 50  
 Thyne Enemies and to revenge their all,  
 By blessing them once more against their will.



**Source.** Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 26, fols. 37v-38r

**Other known sources.** Bodleian MS Eng. Poet. e.97, p. 60; Bodleian MS Sancroft 53, p. 46

Piii18

<sup>1</sup> *To mourne for thee...burnt-sacke*: wines (“clarrett”, “burnt-sacke”) were traditionally served to mourners at funerals.

<sup>2</sup> *you*: the “you” addressed in this and the next eleven lines are the English people who have celebrated Buckingham’s death (“kill[ed] his dust”) and turned the assassin Felton into their “Idoll divell”.

<sup>3</sup> *And while yow think’t...such store*: the poet accuses Felton’s supporters of turning the assassin into an idol and of decorating their places of prayer (“Oratryes”) with his image (presumably his engraved picture). The poet implies that these Felton-worshippers are (stereotypically hypocritical) Puritans, who are just the kind of people so obsessed by the dangers of Catholicism that they would label as idolatry even an accidental glance at the kind of religious images (here a “bleeding Crucifix”) found in Catholic churches.

<sup>4</sup> *posthume issue*: Buckingham’s son Francis was born after his father’s death, in April 1629.

<sup>5</sup> *Phenix*: i.e. the phoenix, the mythological bird that could miraculously regenerate itself.

<sup>6</sup> *Thirtie fyve*: Buckingham was murdered five days before his thirty-sixth birthday.

<sup>7</sup> *deceyvll*: i.e. deceitful.

<sup>8</sup> *uncoozend*: i.e. uncozened; undeceived.

### Piii19 Nourishd with sighs and frights, and form'd with fears

*Notes.* This poem is addressed to Buckingham's posthumous son, Francis, who was born in April 1629.

Nourishd with sighs and frights, and form'd with fears,

And then baptized in thy mothers<sup>1</sup> teares;

What canst thou proove but wonder, and a cheife

(Of all thy fathers foes) terror and greife?

To thy greiv'd mother joy, to crowne hir teares

5

with an unpractiz'd cure of all hir feares?

Then teach these eys againe (blest childe) to smile:

and never lett another cloud beguile

Us of the Comfort of those glorious beames:

nor Lett such sunnes as those sett in sadd streames.

10

Instruct her teares to smile by thy sweete power:

As when the sun vouchsafes to guild a shower.

**Source.** Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 26, fol. 38r-v

Piii19

<sup>1</sup> *thy mothers*: reference to Katherine Villiers, Duchess of Buckingham.

### Piii20 When in the brazen leaves of fame

*Notes.* This is one of two elegies on Buckingham written by Thomas Carew, who was to become one of the preeminent court poets of the 1630s. (See also “Reader when these dumbe stones have told”.) Both poems were published in Carew’s 1640 *Poems* and both are analyzed perceptively by G. Hammond (51-53). Carew depicts Felton as a “Cloudy sullen soul” animated by “blinded zeale”, a phrase that links the assassin to a pejoratively imagined Puritanism. The concluding lines may refer to the magnificent monument erected to Buckingham in Westminster Abbey by his widow, Katherine Villiers, Duchess of Buckingham. If this is so, the poem may not have been finished until the time of the tomb’s completion in the early 1630s.

#### “On the Duke of Buckingham”

When in the brazen<sup>1</sup> leaves of fame  
the life, the death of Buckingham  
Shallbe recorded, if Truths hand  
Incize the story of our land,  
Posterity shall see a faire 5  
structure, by the studious care  
of two Kings<sup>2</sup> raised, that did no lesse  
their wisdome then their power expresse;  
By blinded zeale, whose doubtfull light  
made murders scarlett roabe seeme white, 10  
Whose vaine deluding phantomes charmed  
A Cloudy sullen soule, and armed  
a desperate hand thirsty of blood,  
Torne from the faire Earth where it stood;  
So the Majestick fabrick fell 15  
his actions let our Annalls tell,  
wee write no Chronicle; this pyle  
weares only sorrowes face and style,  
which even the envy which did wayte

upon his flourishing estate 20  
 turned to soft pittie of his death,  
 now payes his Hearse; but that cheape breath  
 shall not blow heere, nor th'unpure brine  
 Puddle those streames that bathe this shrine.  
 These are the pious obsequies<sup>3</sup> 25  
 dropt from his Chaste wives pregnant eyes  
 In frequent shewers, and were alone  
 by her congealing sighes made stone;  
 on which the Carver did bestow  
 these formes, and characters of woe, 30  
 So hee the fashion only lent  
 whilst she wept all the Monument.

**Source.** BL MS Harley 6917, fols. 20v-21r

**Other known sources.** Carew, *Poems* 96; Carew, *Poems of Thomas Carew* 57; Bodleian MS Don. b.9, fol. 33r; Rosenbach MS 1083/17, fol. 65r

Piii20

<sup>1</sup> *brazen*: brass, brass-like.

<sup>2</sup> *two Kings*: James I and Charles I.

<sup>3</sup> *obsequies*: mourning rituals.

## Piii21 Reader when these dumbe stones have told

*Notes.* This is the second of two elegies on Buckingham written by Thomas Carew and first printed in his 1640 Poems. (See also “When in the brazen leaves of fame”.) G. Hammond (51-53) provides interesting readings of both poems, while McRae (Literature, 184-85) considers this poem in the context of royalist poetry of the 1630s.

Reader when these dumbe stones have told  
in borrowed speech what guest they hold  
thou shalt confesse, the vaine pursuite  
of humane glory yeelds noe fruite  
but an untimely grave, if fate 5  
could constant happines create  
her ministers fortune and worth  
had here that miracle brought forth;  
They fixt this Childe of honour, where  
noe roome was left for hope, or feare 10  
of more or lesse, so high so great  
his growth was, yet so safe his seate;  
safe in his Loyall heart and ends,  
safe in the Circle of his friends,  
safe in his native valiant spirit, 15  
by favour safe, and safe by meritt;  
safe by the stampe of nature which  
did strength with shape and grace enrich;  
safe in the cheerefull courtesies  
of flowing gesture, spech and eyes, 20  
safe in his bounties which were more  
proportion'd to his minde then store;  
Yea though for vertue he becomes  
involved himselfe in borrowed summes

safe in his cares, he leaves betray'd 25  
noe friend engaged, noe debt unpay'd;  
But though the starres conspire to shower  
upon one head the united power  
of all their graces, if their dyre  
Aspects must other breasts inspire 30  
with vicious thoughts, A murd'ers knife  
may cutt, as here, their darlings life;  
who can be happy then if nature must  
to make one happy man make all men Just?

**Source.** BL MS Harley 6917, fol. 21r-v

**Other known sources.** Carew, *Poems* 98; Carew, *Poems of Thomas Carew* 58; Bodleian MS Don. b.9, fol. 33v; Rosenbach MS 1083/17, fol. 65v

Piii21

## Piii22 Noe Poets triviall rage that must aspire

*Notes.* This elegy, which provocatively attempts to link the popular celebration of the assassination to the threat that Puritanism posed to monarchy and hierarchy, is accepted as the work of Sir William Davenant. G. Hammond (54-55) briefly but persuasively situates the poem within the era's growing ideological divisions. Interestingly, our chosen version differs quite significantly from that in *BL Add. MS 33998*, which is used as the basis for the only modern edition of the poem. (Significant variations are documented in footnotes.)

### “An Elegy on the Duke of Buckingham”

Noe Poets triviall rage that must aspire  
And highten in his song by enforc't fire  
Shall his loud Dirges mix with my sad Quire  
Such sell their Teares like Inke for sordid hire  
And he that husbands greife that his dull sight 5  
And moisture spends but on thy funerall Night  
T'augment the bauling<sup>1</sup> Showre, when onely good  
And noble eyes shall thaw into a flood  
Doth want the naturall touch, he mournes by Art  
His breast containes a Pibble not a Hart 10  
    Buckingham! (ô my Lord!) soe may I find  
    (With strickt endeavour of my sight) the wind  
    That veiwlesse moves about the world, as thy  
    Great soule now wandring in the purple sky;  
    It hath shooke of this mortall coyle,<sup>2</sup> the rage 15  
    Of those who were but Chollericke<sup>3</sup> with age;  
    Or with a drunken flux of Gall;<sup>4</sup> which still  
    Like to their slimy Phlegme<sup>5</sup> they did but spill  
    To make the ground more slippery, for thy foot  
    But thou ne're movd'st but where thou took'st new root.<sup>6</sup> 20  
    I am noe Chronicler, nor can impart

Unto the world in smooth ore-coming Art  
Thee and thy worth; but yet ere Fames hot breath  
Is mix'd with cooler Ayre that spoke thy death,  
I will pronounce what thou wert found in, warre 25  
Heare then, from forth thy Mansion in yon starre  
A souldier sing; whose numbers<sup>7</sup> flow and rise  
As if he bath'd his Temples in his Eyes  
And not in mighty wine. O happy those  
Whose humble sorrowes reach but to loose Prose. 30

In deeds that appertain'd to warre & blood  
Not the lofty Memnon when he withstood  
Priams tall sonnes<sup>8</sup> did shew such noble rage  
His heat noe violence could tame, nor age  
Yet when you courted him the gentle winde 35  
That cooles the Lipps of Queenes was not soe kinde  
His breath would then, like spices in their Smoke  
Perfume the neighbour Aire, till it did Choke  
Your greedy sence; then leave you rapt to prove  
Which was more strong, his anger or his love. 40

Luxurious sleepes and surfeitts that have made  
This Nation tame, and spoil'd the glorious Trade  
(Loud Iron warre!) he did dismisse the Court,  
And taught our silken youth a noble sport  
The soft and whispring Lute he straight strucke dumbe 45  
With noise and made them dance unto the Drumme  
He lov'd to walke in powder,<sup>9</sup> in blew Mists  
Where some for wealthy Braceletts on their Wrists  
Did were Chain'd shott;<sup>10</sup> there danger taught him more  
Then all the flattered worthy'es knew before. 50

But oh you harsh false starrs! when he was fitt  
For Active discipline, you did permitt



A Leprous hand to touch his hart; and so  
 Encreasd your lights, but darkned us below.  
 Whilst warme Idolaters that onely bow 55  
 To their fraile Mettall, and the industrious Plough  
 Picke from the Act a subtill Providence  
 Which their Wealth guards from their owne heires expence<sup>11</sup>  
     Now rare divinity! since the precise<sup>12</sup>  
 Doe relish murder as a sacrifice 60  
 Dull easy Faith and Ignorance no more  
 Shall flatter crooked Bondage as before  
 Predominance shall cease; the Sonnes of men  
 Shall now enjoy equality agen;  
 For ruminare (o triviall Fooles!) if high 65  
 Heroique Princes, are constrain'd to dye  
 By oblique force whilst your Religion too  
 Applauds the Act, what will become of you?<sup>13</sup>  
     But where are now his plumed Troopes? those high  
 Cedars,<sup>14</sup> which tooke swift growth but in his Eye? 70  
 Those gilded Flatterers too that did torment  
 Their Active Lungs, t'indeavour a consent  
 An Eccho to his speech? are they all fledd?  
 Will none imploy their Lipps to sooth him dead?  
 O fond Ambition! that can nere survive 75  
 The warmth of flesh, and serv'd but whilst alive  
 Whom supple knees adore for secrett ends,  
 Greatnesse many followers hath but few friends.  
     Yet know sweet Lord: when the last day shall doome<sup>15</sup>  
 The world thou needst not creepe into thy Tombe 80  
 Nor wrap thy Person in a sulphurous Cloud  
 Nor strive to hide thee in th'unweildy Croude  
 Of sinners lost, for those that knew desart

Did rather chide thy Titles then thy heart.

Thy Dutchesse<sup>16</sup> spends the treasure of her Eyes

85

In hope some Northerne blast, may strait surprise

The Teares which if congeal'd thy earthy part

Is then entomb'd in pearle, yet know my Art

Out climbs her reach, shee may advance thy Herse

But Fame shall sing thy story in my Verse

90

Let a dull souldier greet thee with a groane

I heard thy death and Clapt my Corslett<sup>17</sup> on

For a distracted rage did soe inflame

My powrefull blood, wonder soe shooke my frame

That but the Iron sheet did fast Combine<sup>18</sup>

95

My flesh, my Ribbs had started from my Chine.<sup>19</sup>

**Source.** BL MS Egerton 2725, fols. 79r-80v

**Other known sources.** Davenant 272; BL Add. MS 33998, fol. 41r

Piii22

<sup>1</sup> *bauling*: bawling.

<sup>2</sup> *mortall coyle*: the turmoil of life.

<sup>3</sup> *Chollericke*: i.e. choleric; angry. Given the allusions to gall and phlegm that follow, Davenant may literally be referring to the excess of the bodily humour of choler that was thought to trigger an irascible temperament.

<sup>4</sup> *flux of Gall*: discharge of gall (bile); hence bitterness.

<sup>5</sup> *Phlegme*: one of the four bodily humours.

<sup>6</sup> *It hath shooke...took'st new root*: these lines do not appear in the version in BL Add. MS 33998.

<sup>7</sup> *numbers*: verse.

<sup>8</sup> *the lofty Memnon...Priams tall sonnes*: Agamemnon was commander of the Greek armies during the

war with Troy, and killed Isus and Antiphus, sons of the Trojan King Priam (Homer, *Iliad* book 11).

<sup>9</sup> *powder*: i.e. gunpowder.

<sup>10</sup> *were Chain'd shott*: i.e. wore on the wrists chain-shot (two balls chained together used in naval warfare to destroy masts and rigging).

<sup>11</sup> *expençe*: at this point, the version of the poem in BL Add. MS 33998 includes a couplet which strengthens Davenant's anti-Puritan critique, and begins with his indictment of those from the lower orders who had interpreted the assassination in providential terms: "Their Poets drinke Towne Breath, t'infuse some Qualme / That may Convert the story to a Psalmē".

<sup>12</sup> *the precise*: contemptuous term for the self-proclaimed "godly", also known by the opprobrious nickname "Puritans".

<sup>13</sup> *you*: at this point, the version in BL Add. MS 33998 includes the following lines, that locate the dead Duke in the Elysian Fields, the realm of the blessed souls in the classical underworld: "Sleepe, sleepe my Lord, and while the Scythians boast / In bloud, doe thou permitt no prattling ghost / To tell thee, in the smooth Elysian playne, / Beneath some pleasant hedge, their rash disdayne".

<sup>14</sup> *high / Cedars*: great men; the figure of speech derives from the biblical "cedars of Lebanon".

<sup>15</sup> *doome*: judge.

<sup>16</sup> *Thy Dutchesse*: Katherine Villiers, Duchess of Buckingham.

<sup>17</sup> *Corslett*: body armour.

<sup>18</sup> *Combine*: unite with; here with the connotation of contain or restrain.

<sup>19</sup> *Chine*: backbone, back.

### Q. The Castlehaven Scandal (1631)

On 25 April 1631, Mervin Touchet, 2nd Earl of Castlehaven, was tried before a jury of his peers assembled at a specially convened Court of the Lord High Steward. He was charged with horrific crimes. The prosecution claimed that Castlehaven had arranged for his second wife—Anne Stanley, daughter of William Stanley, Earl of Derby, and widow of Grey Brydges, Baron Chandos—to be raped by a servant, Giles Broadway. The prosecution also contended that Castlehaven had committed sodomy with another of his manservants, Florence (or Lawrence) Fitzpatrick. Despite serious problems with the evidence against the Earl, some of which he exploited in his vigorous self-defence, the jury of twenty-seven peers of the realm found Castlehaven guilty on both charges. He was executed for his crimes on 14 May 1631, beheaded on Tower Hill.

The Castlehaven case was by far the most sensational aristocratic scandal of the 1630s, determinedly prosecuted by a king intent on enforcing much stricter codes of sexual morality. Cynthia Herrup has brilliantly reinterpreted the case in a recent study and has persuasively reconstructed the prosecution's interpretation of Castlehaven's crimes as threats to the patriarchal order. "The Castlehaven trial", she writes, "despite the unimportance of its defendant (or perhaps because of it), became a canvas upon which an entire palette of social anxieties could be exhibited" (86-87). Six verse libels written in the wake of the scandal survive. The most popular—an epitaph written in Castlehaven's voice—replicates the Earl's defence in court, charging his wife with adultery and conspiracy against him. A second verse supports some of the epitaph's allegations, while two others—written in the voice of the aggrieved Countess—directly counter them. Two other poems dwell on the performance of justice in the Castlehaven case, one mocking the proceedings and noting the legal weaknesses in the prosecution's case, the other praising the proceedings and vilifying Castlehaven's monstrous transgressions. Herrup (120-23) offers a concise and convincing reading of the libels and (160-64) prints modernized copies of the surviving poems.

We have relied on Herrup for a number of references to additional copies of the libels, in manuscripts which we have not been able to check. These manuscripts are: NCRO MS IL 3337;

WCRO MS 413; TCD MS 731; Beinecke MS Osborn b.125; Beinecke MS Osborn b.126; Beinecke MS Osborn b.196. Unfortunately, some of Herrup's references do not include folio or page numbers.

Q0

## Q1 My Lord high stewarde his grace

*Notes.* As Herrup notes, this libel on the proceedings and arguments during Castlehaven's trial, "lampooned not Castlehaven, but the trial itself", and "would not have reassured any reader's faith in the integrity of either the judges or the attorneys" (122, 123).

My Lord high stewarde<sup>1</sup> his grace

with many a rich mace<sup>2</sup>

Came garded into the Pallace<sup>3</sup>

And with a paire of scales did weigh

each word hee did say

to keepe his oracon in ballace

5

2 To tell you noe lye

Hee lik'd the Canopie

soe well, and the chayre hee sate in<sup>4</sup>

that my lord high steward still

tis thought with a good will

hee could have beene contented to have beene.

10

3 The Redd flappe of the Lawe,<sup>5</sup> next

was to handle the text

and his part was to open the doore

But marke the disaster

My lords grace his master

had taken up all before<sup>6</sup>

15

4 The Attorney<sup>7</sup> now beganne

upon his leggs to stande

extollinge the happines of the Kinge

That had lived soe many yeares

and not one of his peares

20

- had committed soe vilde a thinge.
- 5 And trust me twas strange 25  
of all that great range<sup>8</sup>  
that sate it out that day  
that not one of them all  
should at some tymes falle  
wander or goe a-stray 30
- 6 Hee used much scripture text  
which many ther perplext  
whoe did not thinke it possible  
That a man of his trade  
whoe soe much profitt had made 35  
Should bee soe well redd in the bible
- 7 But the oration was witty  
and truly twas pittie  
Hee did noe longer stand  
For by the quotations in the Lawe 40  
hee shewed hee was not rawe  
in matters that then weare in hand
- 8 The Solicitor<sup>9</sup> most wise  
did lift up his eyes  
and to my Lord steward his grace 45  
And in spite of his Majestye  
for and his great Canopie  
did looke him full in face
- 9 Then hee declared  
what might have beene spared 50  
that the fault was abominandum<sup>10</sup>

And was beholdinge many wayes  
to the old English phraise  
Sir Reverence non nominandum<sup>11</sup>

10 The prisoner nowe 55  
had leave to shewe  
concerninge the rape of his wife

How that hee did it not  
but conceived it a plott  
to take away him and his Life<sup>12</sup> 60

11 But alas twas in vayne  
himselpe for to straine  
since the Judges delivered it Plano  
that to knowe by the tuch  
was eaven just as much 65  
as if it had beene in Ano<sup>13</sup>

12 Its thought their trunke hose<sup>14</sup>  
did alsoe suppose  
that in concubilu cum faeminis  
ther might bee a rape 70  
if lust made an escape  
per ejectionem seminis<sup>15</sup>

13 But sure in this case  
noe dishonor to the place  
competent judges they weare none 75  
For by the closenes of their beard  
t'was more then to bee feard  
they weare Eueneuchs<sup>16</sup> every one.

14 Sir Thomas Fanshaw<sup>17</sup> Ile sware



above all that weare there

80

by noe meanes must bee left out  
for hee fasted 12 howres and more  
and 2 daies beefore  
to bee able to turne round about.

**Source.** NCRO MS IL 3338, fols. 1r-2r

## Q1

<sup>1</sup> *My Lord high stewarde:* with the House of Lords not in session, Castlehaven was tried by his peers in a specially assembled Lord High Steward's court. The Lord Keeper, Thomas, Baron Coventry, presided over the trial as Lord High Steward.

<sup>2</sup> *many a rich mace:* seven sergeants-at-arms, each carrying a ceremonial mace, processed into the trial ahead of the Lord High Steward.

<sup>3</sup> *Pallace:* Castlehaven was tried in Westminster Hall.

<sup>4</sup> *Hee lik'd...hee sate in:* the Lord High Steward presided in a canopied chair of state.

<sup>5</sup> *The Redd flappe of the Lawe:* probably the King's Serjeant, Sir Thomas Crew, who opened the case for the prosecution.

<sup>6</sup> *My lords grace...all before:* Lord High Steward Coventry delivered an opening speech before the prosecuting attorneys began the case. The implication here is that Coventry's speech had preempted some of the prosecution's message.

<sup>7</sup> *The Attorney:* Sir Robert Heath, Attorney-General, and chief prosecutor.

<sup>8</sup> *that great range:* i.e. the twenty-seven English peers assembled as Castlehaven's jurors.

<sup>9</sup> *The Solicitor:* Sir Richard Sheldon, Solicitor-General, the third prosecutor, whose speech concluded the case against Castlehaven.

<sup>10</sup> *abominandum:* to be abhorred.

<sup>11</sup> *Sir Reverence non nominandum:* the exact meanings and origins of this "old English phrase" are not clear. Literally it appears to be "Sir Reverence Not-to-be-named".

<sup>12</sup> *The prisoner...and his Life*: Castlehaven vigorously defended himself before the court, insisting that the allegations were part of a conspiracy by his wife and son to destroy him and seize his property.

<sup>13</sup> *But alas...in Ano*: this stanza focuses on one of the central weaknesses in the prosecution's case against Castlehaven, their inability to prove, as the law seemed to require, that penetration had occurred in the alleged act of sodomy. Florence (or Lawrence) Fitzpatrick, the servant with whom Castlehaven had allegedly committed sodomy, confessed that Castlehaven had "spent his seed but did not penetrate his body" (qtd. in Herrup 61). Significantly, only fifteen of the twenty-seven peers voted to convict Castlehaven on the sodomy charge.

<sup>14</sup> *trunke hose*: short, often silken, breeches.

<sup>15</sup> *Its thought...per ejectionem seminis*: this stanza also focuses on weaknesses in the prosecution case. According to the strict legal definition of the crime, rape, like sodomy, required penetration. Giles Broadway, the servant whom Castlehaven had allegedly ordered to rape the Countess, insisted that although he had ejaculated during the rape he had not penetrated the victim. The stanza implies that the royal legal officials argued that the actions confessed—ejaculation (*ejectionem seminis*) during a non-penetrative sexual encounter with the woman (*in concubilu cum faeminis*)—did in fact constitute a rape.

<sup>16</sup> *Eueneuchs*: i.e. eunuchs.

<sup>17</sup> *Sir Thomas Fanshaw*: Clerk of the Crown, and chief clerical officer of the Lord High Steward's Court.

## Q2 Romes worst Philenis, and Pasiphaes dust

*Notes. Of all the Castlehaven libels, this verse most nearly approximates the moralizing horror found in the prosecutorial descriptions of the Earl's alleged crimes. The poet insists that Castlehaven's sexual offences are, without the aid of royal justice, simply inexplicable, transcending even the worst acts recorded in classical mythology and biblical history. In our chosen source, this poem is attributed to "Jo: R:".*

"Upon the Lord Audleys<sup>1</sup> Convictio Aprill 1631"

Romes worst Philenis,<sup>2</sup> and Pasiphaes<sup>3</sup> dust

Are now chast Fictions and noe longer lust

This wilder age hath monstred out a sinne

That vertues them and saints an Aretine<sup>4</sup>

Scorning to owe a studyed vice to times

5

example burnes out with more noble crimes

Such as weake Gibeahs Fire,<sup>5</sup> or that loose Flame

Lot durst not looke at,<sup>6</sup> want a sinne to name

This blacker engine<sup>7</sup> is soe hardly scand

That vertue hath not witt to understand

10

How sinne can bee soe learned, that man should know

To rape himselfe and make one rape proove too<sup>8</sup>

That lust should grow more barren<sup>9</sup> than the grave

it merrits, for to a wise man, and slave

And how at onc'd a strange incestuous love

15

Should both a Father and an husband proove

That soe high blood should prompt soe base a spirit

To gett an heir...to disinheritt<sup>10</sup>

If yet thy chast beleife cannot discern

The monster Know a King will make thee learne

20

whose justice thus the riddle doth untye

was such a crime for such an earle must dye

And yet this sinne above dispayre may sit  
Since ther's a King<sup>11</sup> can pardon it

**Source.** Bodleian MS Ashmole 47, fols. 88v-89r

**Other known sources.** Bodleian MS Eng. Poet. e.97, p. 67; Bodleian MS Rawl. A. 346, fol. 141v; Beinecke MS Osborn b.125, fols. 38r

## Q2

<sup>1</sup> *Lord Audleys*: this is technically incorrect. Lord Audley was the title of Castlehaven's son, James Touchet.

<sup>2</sup> *Romes worst Philenis*: the lesbian Philaenis, attacked in several epigrams by the Roman poet Martial.

<sup>3</sup> *Pasiphaes*: in Greek myth, Pasiphae, wife of King Minos, lusted for and then mated with a bull, later giving birth to the Minotaur.

<sup>4</sup> *Aretine*: Pietro Aretino, author of the most notorious works of Renaissance pornography, the *Sonnetti lussuriosi* (1527) and the *Ragionamenti* (1534-36).

<sup>5</sup> *Gibeahs Fire*: allusion to the biblical story of a travelling Levite's stay in Gibeah, where his concubine was brutally raped and murdered (Judges 19).

<sup>6</sup> *Lot durst not looke at*: allusion to the story of God's destruction of the wicked cities of Sodom and Gomorrah (Genesis 19). God allowed Lot and his family to flee Sodom before its destruction. As they fled, Lot's wife looked back at the burning cities and was turned into "a pillar of salt" (Genesis 19.26).

<sup>7</sup> *blacker engine*: "black...Ænigma" is a variant reading (Bodleian MS Eng. Poet. e.97).

<sup>8</sup> *To rape himself...proove too*: reference to Castlehaven's crime in commissioning the rape of his own wife. The line suggests that this bizarre action meant that Castlehaven was not only in effect raping himself, but also making one rape—Giles Broadway's actual physical assault on the Countess—into "two" rapes, one by Broadway, the other (by proxy) by Castlehaven.

<sup>9</sup> *That lust should grow more barren*: perhaps an allusion to Castlehaven's alleged sodomy with his servant, Fitzpatrick.

<sup>10</sup> *To gett an heir his blood to disinheritt*: one of the allegations against Castlehaven was that he had encouraged a servant, Henry Skipwith, to sleep with the Earl's own daughter-in-law, Lady Audley, in order to produce an illegitimate heir.

<sup>11</sup> *a King*: “a higher King”—i.e. God—is a variant, and preferable, reading (Bodleian MS Eng. Poet. e.97).

### Q3 I neade noe Trophies, to adorne my hearse

*Notes.* This widely circulated epitaph on the Earl of Castlehaven inverts the meanings pinned to his case by the prosecution. As Herrup notes, the poem “reduced the relationship of Castlehaven and the Countess to that of cuckold and adulteress. Gone were rape and sodomy, disinheritance and patriarchal irresponsibility...The verse portrayed the Earl as helpless, not monstrous; the willful evil belonged to the Countess” (121). The poem exists in many variant versions. The version we have chosen, from William Davenport’s commonplace book, adds a concluding couplet not typically found in other copies of the poem. One copy forms the final lines of an otherwise unique poem on Castlehaven, which we therefore treat below as a discrete text (see “My life is done my heart prepard for death”). And the last two lines of most versions of the poem (“Who will take such a Countess to his bedd / that firste gives hornes, and then cutts off his head”) were, at least once, copied out as a discrete verse (Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 26). The poem also elicited at least two answer-poems, written in the voice of Castlehaven’s wife (see “Blame not thy wife, for what thy selfe hath wrought” and “Its true you need noe trophees to your hearse”), and a number of manuscripts include copies of both the epitaph and one or other of the responses.

“An Epitaffe on the Earle of Castelhaven Mervine Touchett. set on his Tombe. after his beheadinge.  
1631.”

I neade noe Trophies, to adorne my hearse  
my wyffe, exalts my hornes<sup>1</sup> in everie vearse:  
and plaste them hath, soe fullie on my tombe  
that for my armes,<sup>2</sup> there is noe vacant rome.  
Who will take such a Countess to his bedd  
that firste gives hornes, and then cutts off his head:  
Servaunts, a sonne, and wyffe wich I did wedd,  
have layde poore Mervine here without a headd.

5

**Source.** CCRO MS CR 63/2/19, fol. 72r

**Other known sources.** Bodleian MS CCC. 327, fol. 32v; Bodleian MS CCC. 328, fol. 58r; Bodleian MS Eng. Poet. e.14, fol. 87v; Bodleian MS Rawl. A. 346, fol. 142r; Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 26, fol. 21r; BL Add. MS 5832, fol. 222v; BL Add. MS 22118, fol. 29r; BL Add. MS 22591, fol. 89r; BL Add. MS 44963, fol. 38v; BL MS Egerton 2725, fol. 110r; BL MS Harley 738, fol. 328r; BL MS Sloane

1446, fol. 64v; CUL Add. MS 335, fol. 54r; NCRO MS IL 3337, p. 9; NCRO MS IL 3338, fol. 2v; St. John's MS S.32, fol. 32r; WCRO MS 413, fol. 401; TCD MS 731; Beinecke MS Osborn b.125; Beinecke MS Osborn b.126; Folger MS V.a.124, fol. 18v; Folger MS V.b.50, p. 547; Folger MS E.a.6, fol. 3r; Huntington MS HM 116, p. 122; Rosenbach MS 239/27, p. 386; Rosenbach MS 243/4, p. 161

### Q3

<sup>1</sup> *my hornes*: i.e. cuckold's horns.

<sup>2</sup> *my armes*: Castlehaven's coat-of-arms. Heraldic devices were commonly added to tomb monuments.

#### Q4 My life is done my heart prepard for death

*Notes.* This unique poem, copied at the end of several pages of documents on the Castlehaven case, incorporates the widely circulated “I neade noe Trophies, to adorne my hearse” as its concluding lines. The main body of the poem takes the form of a versified “last-dying speech”, the statement of faith and repentance expected from a convicted felon awaiting execution. The poet seems to have deliberately crafted this speech to allow the possibility of alternative readings, dependent upon one’s interpretation of the term “flesh and blood”. The Earl’s lament at his betrayal by his “flesh and blood” could be read as an admission of his guilt, acknowledging the root of his crime in his inability to temper his bodily lusts. A more compelling interpretation, however, would identify Castlehaven’s wife and son as his “flesh and blood”, and thus take the poem as an attack on their malice. The latter reading, of course, is strengthened by the addition of “I neade no Trophies, to adorne my hearse” at the end of the verse.

My life is done my heart prepard for death

My trust in God who first did give me breath.

My saviour Christ hath paid my debt, and I

Am free from death and hell eternally.<sup>1</sup>

And yet my heart from sorrow is not free

5

To thinke that my owne flesh should injure mee.

My flesh and blood from flesh and blood is parted,

Wee once were one but now are double hearted.<sup>2</sup>

My ill from evill sprong and malice wrought

My sinfull action which was first in thought.

10

And what remains in after age to blame mee

My flesh and blood did worke my death to shame mee

Ah whorish flesh what more is to bee knowne

To thy disgrace more then to name mine owne.

I need noe Tropheys to adorne my hearse

15

My wife exalts my hornes<sup>3</sup> in every verse,

And placed hath soe fully on my tombe,

that for my armes<sup>4</sup> is left no vacant roome.



Who would take such a Countesse to his bed,  
That first gives hornes and then cutts of his head.

20

**Source.** BL MS Lans. 491, fol. 229v

Q4

<sup>1</sup> *My life is done...hell eternally*: the convicted felon was supposed to offer a theologically correct testimony to his hope in salvation. Castlehaven—a suspected Catholic—made a declaration of his Protestant faith at his execution. The statement in this poetic version would also pass Protestant muster.

<sup>2</sup> *My flesh and blood...hearted*: punning on divergent meanings of “flesh and blood”. Castlehaven’s own “flesh and blood” (i.e. body) is parted from his familial “flesh and blood” (i.e. his wife and son), as a result of an unnatural division between them (signified in the term “double hearted”).

<sup>3</sup> *hornes*: cuckold’s horns.

<sup>4</sup> *armes*: Castlehaven’s coat-of-arms. Heraldic devices were commonly added to tomb monuments.

### Q5 A proud cuckold tollit cornua

*Notes.* In the sole extant copy, this verse runs immediately after “I neade noe Trophies, to adorne my hearse”. Although these lines clearly continue in the same vein as the more-widely circulated epitaph, both their language and the scribe’s separation of these lines from the preceding verse suggest that this best is best considered as a discrete poem.

A proud cuckold tollit cornua.<sup>1</sup>

I would not have my wife exalt my horne.

Keepe on your Masque & hide your eye

For with behoulding it I dye,

for yf your piercing eyes I see

Their worse than Basiliskes<sup>2</sup> to mee.

5

**Source.** Huntington MS HM 166, p. 122

Q5

<sup>1</sup> *tollit cornua*: “lifts his horns”.

<sup>2</sup> *Basiliskes*: reference to the mythical serpent that could kill by its look.

## Q6 Blame not thy wife, for what thy selfe hath wrought

*Notes.* This is one of two answer-poems, written in the voice of Castlehaven's wife, responding to the epitaph "I neade noe Trophies, to adorne my hearse". Herrup argues that both answer-poems "reversed the epitaph's moral trajectory", and "reinstated images created during the trial by the King's officials" (122).

"The Ladyes answer"

Blame not thy wife, for what thy selfe hath wrought

Thou causd thy hornes in forcing me to nought<sup>1</sup>

For hadst thou beene but human, not A Beast

Thy Armes had bene Supporters to thy Creast

Nor needst you yet have had A Tombe, or Hearse

Besmear'd with thy sensuall life in verse

Who then would take such A Lord unto her bedd

That to gaine hornes himsefe, would loose his head

5

**Source.** BL Add. MS 22591, fol. 89r

**Other known sources.**<sup>2</sup> St. John's MS S.32, fol. 32v; WCRO MS 413, fol. 401

Q6

<sup>1</sup> *Thou causd...nought:* this line restates the accusation that Castlehaven had cuckolded himself by encouraging his servant Broadway to rape the Countess.

<sup>2</sup> Herrup (160) notes that copies of either this or "Its true you need noe trophees to your hearse" accompany copies of the Earl's "epitaph" in BL MS Lans. 491, fol. 229v; Yale Osborn MS b.126; and TCD MS 731.

## Q7 Its true you need noe trophees to your hearse

*Notes.* This is the second of two answer-poems responding to—and challenging—the epitaph “I neade noe Trophies, to adorne my hearse”.

“An answe’re”

Its true you need noe trophees to your hearse  
Your life beinge odious farr beneath all verse  
Nor wast your wife who came chast to your bedd  
which did you horne, your owne hands horn’d your head;<sup>1</sup>  
Twas fitt your head should off then as all conster<sup>2</sup>  
That you who livde soe, should soe dye a monster.

5

**Source.** Rosenbach MS 239/27, pp. 386-87

**Other known sources.**<sup>3</sup> CUL Add. MS 335, fol. 54r; WCRO MS 413, fol. 401

Q7

<sup>1</sup> *your owne hands horn’d your head:* i.e. Castlehaven had cuckolded himself by engineering the rape of his wife by the servant Giles Broadway.

<sup>2</sup> *conster:* construe.

<sup>3</sup> Herrup (160) notes that copies of either this or “Blame not thy wife, for what thy selfe hath wrought” accompany the Earl’s “epitaph” (“I neade noe Trophies, to adorne my hearse”) in the following manuscripts: BL MS Lans. 491, fol. 229v; Beinecke MS Osborn b.126; and TCD MS 731.

## R: Miscellaneous (1628-1640)

William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, was troubled by libels throughout much of his turbulent career, and his letters and speeches offer some of the most striking testimony on the effect of such works. Writing to Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, in 1637, he moaned: “What do you think will become of me, when I am thus used?” (*Works* 7.372; Cogswell, “Underground Verse” 277). Yet, in contrast to the wealth of surviving libels on other early Stuart public figures, it is immediately striking how few poems on Laud survive. Indeed this section, which gathers together miscellaneous manuscript libels from the 1630s (apart from those on the scandal surrounding Mervin Touchet, Earl of Castlehaven, which are gathered separately in Section Q), includes just four on Laud: two from the late 1620s, and two dating from roughly three years after his 1637 lament on his use at the hands of libellers. This begs the critical question of what happened to libelling in the 1630s. As the material in the present section demonstrates, the practices of the preceding decades appear to have changed considerably within the period of a few years, affecting both the quantity and characteristics of libels.

Libelling in the 1630s was informed by apparent changes in both literary and political cultures. In literary culture, the practice of circulating verse in manuscript form certainly continued; indeed a considerable number of surviving early Stuart verse miscellanies date from the early 1630s, and some of these represent our best sources for the present edition (Hobbs 148). But while miscellanists were busy collecting libels that were up to thirty years old, their volumes provide considerably less evidence of contemporary libelling. Perhaps this is in part due to the changing tastes of those men and women compiling miscellanies; newsletters, by comparison, continued to report the activities of libellers (e.g. BL Add. MS 11045, fol. 6v). Nonetheless, it is almost incontrovertible that poetry of the 1630s, at least as it is represented in verse miscellanies, rarely engaged with politics in the explicit manner that is familiar from a reading of earlier libels. Although literary historians have taught us to read political nuances in what might otherwise appear to be apolitical works (e.g. Sharpe, *Criticism and Compliment*; Marcus), there is little question that poets in this period tended to eschew the bold political statements of the preceding decades.

This shift aligns with changes in political culture. While it would be a huge overstatement to claim that there was no political conflict in the 1630s, it is less controversial to state that there were far fewer immediate occasions or contexts for libels than in previous decades. Notably, Charles I's Personal Rule (1629-1640) meant that there were no parliaments, and therefore no authorized fora for political debate. Moreover, the conditions of peace that prevailed throughout most of the decade made politics somewhat less fraught with controversy than had been the case in the 1620s. And finally, Laud's comments notwithstanding, the 1630s did not have a single dominant statesman, in the manner of Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, or George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham. Arguably, in these conditions expressions of political disquiet assumed other forms, that the parameters of this edition do not encompass. For instance, some of Laud's most troubling critics were situated in provincial centres, and were focused on disputes that were primarily (though not entirely) local in character. A well-known Colchester libel on Laudian altar policy provides a good example of this (SP 16/229/123; Walter 171-75). Furthermore, criticism of English politics was undoubtedly a subtext of much comment on international events, as evidenced by the poems that circulated after the death of the Swedish King Gustavus Adolphus, who was perceived by many as a hero of militant Protestantism (e.g. King 77; Rous 74 and 75; Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 26, fols. 51r-57v).

Libels were also changing in character in the 1630s. In fact it is possible that the most damaging "libels" were assuming forms other than the familiar manuscript poems of earlier decades. The Puritan writers who troubled Laud more than any others, John Bastwick, Henry Burton and William Prynne, wrote in prose and chose illicit print circulation. Despite the inherent risks attendant upon this choice—the three men were severely punished after a notorious Star Chamber trial in 1637—it achieved for them a far greater political impact than any manuscript poem. Similarly, a number of political ballads were brought into print in these years, despite the strictures of censorship (e.g. Firth, "Ballads on the Bishops' Wars"). Other "libels" in this period may have circulated beyond the elite milieu of the verse miscellany. Laud, for instance, refers to a crude yet effective kind of cartoon; the Lord Mayor of London sent him:

a board hung upon the Standard in Cheap, and taken by the watch (the thing, I mean, not the man), a narrow board with my speech in the Star Chamber nailed at one end of it, and singed with fire, the

corners cut off instead of the ears, a pillory of ink with my name to look through it, a writing by—  
'The man that put the saints of God into a pillory of wood, stands here in a pillory of ink' (*Works*  
7.371).

Laud's speech in the Star Chamber trial of Bastwick, Burton and Prynne, printed at the "commaund" of the King (Laud, *Speech* t.p.), is here pilloried, in an act that is at once pointed in its intent and demotic in its intended audience. By comparison, those libels that did circulate in the established medium of the miscellany, and that we include in this section, tend to avoid such bold political statements. Some are local and occasional: such as the piece on the curious death of Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke ("Reader, Ile be sworne upon a booke"), or that lamenting England's military timidity ("Come arme thy self brave England"). Others have more in common with libels of the Restoration, with their salacious focus on the sexual lives of courtiers ("See what a love there is betweene"; "A health to my Lady Dutchess").

The final poems in the section date from 1640. While the reins of censorship were at this point on the verge of collapse, some poets were still writing for manuscript circulation, in ways that developed upon early Stuart poetic conventions. The poems below are included because they survive in manuscript sources. When set alongside printed polemic from the early 1640s, however, they represent merely the tip of an iceberg.

R0

## R1 Reader, Ile be sworne uppon a booke

*Notes. Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke, was an active statesman and poet in the reigns of Elizabeth and James. In September 1628, at the age of seventy-four, he met a violent death, which becomes the subject of this poem. A few months before his death, Greville added a codicil to his will granting annuities to many of his dependants, but neglecting an old servant named Ralph Haywood. Subsequently, Haywood confronted his master, and in the course of a heated exchange fatally stabbed him with a sword, and immediately afterwards took his own life. This event caused much comment, but elicited only one known libel. Moreover, this libel is notable for its lack of any political content, dwelling instead on Greville's alleged parsimony (for which there is no other contemporary evidence).*

### “On the death off the Lord Brookes”

Reader, Ile be sworne uppon a booke  
here lyes the right vyle the Lord brooke  
who, as I have a soule to save  
did not deserve to have a grave.

For, would I might never goe further  
he was accused off a horrible murther,<sup>1</sup>  
because it was thought, he begane  
to cutt, one Raphe Stewarde his man;<sup>2</sup>  
wich for my parte, by gods glydd<sup>3</sup>

I beleve he never did,  
Ile naturde he was, eles let me nere wagge,  
For he was never knowen, to lend his frend a nagge,  
and would to heaven that I were fledd,  
iff he locked not upp clippinges off bread,  
besides, I would I never might stirre more  
but for charge, he had lyen with a whoore  
and it would make a man verie sicke  
to thinke, how ill he rewarded the musicke;

5

10

15



naye, there be a huge companie that thinke  
 he writte noe legacies, for sparinge off Inke; 20  
 and I protest as I hope to live  
 off all thinges on earth he loved not to give;  
 soe costive<sup>4</sup> he was, and wearie of shifte  
 that he would not helpe himselfe, at a dead lyfte;  
 he calde his executer, Raggamuffine 25  
 because he was soe expensive, as to buy a Coffine;  
 for I praye (quoth he, to what intente  
 should wormes be well howsed that never paide rentte;  
 and by this blessed light that shines,  
 he thought itt verie simple, to pay tythes to Devines; 30  
 and when he was dyinge he disputed at large,  
 whether, his soule, might travell without charge,  
 and juste as his soule, was about to begonne,  
 because, corne was deare, he eate browne bread att Communion;  
 solytarie, he was, for goinge alone, 35  
 noe bodie would goe with him, but that's all one;  
 to fagotte in winter, by Dragon & Bell,<sup>5</sup>  
 most men are off opinion he went to hell;  
 well, I would I might never goe out of this roome)  
 he will be verie melancholly, at the day off Doome. 40

**Source.** CCRO MS CR 63/2/19, fol. 72r

R1

<sup>1</sup> *he was accused...murther*: the accusation of “murther” is at best figurative, given that Haywood committed suicide after fatally wounding Greville. In the context of the poem, which charges Greville with outrageous parsimony, Haywood’s actions become an almost unavoidable consequence of Greville’s failure to provide for his servant. Hence, according to the poem’s strained logic, Greville commits murder.

<sup>2</sup> *Raphe Stewarde his man*: i.e. Ralph Haywood, Greville's servant. He may have been known as "Raphe Stewarde" because of his likely role in Greville's household.

<sup>3</sup> *gods glydd*: unclear; possibly the poet intended "God's 'lid" (i.e. "God's eyelid"), a colloquial oath of the time.

<sup>4</sup> *costive*: literally "constipated"; also, figuratively, "niggardly, stingy".

<sup>5</sup> *to fagotte in winter...Bell*: unclear.

## R2 Surely the face of things is alter'd much

*Notes.* This poem, targeting Laud's theological opinions, is transcribed on a page headed "1629".

"on B.pp Laude. epig."

Surely the face of things is alter'd much  
when ancient tenents<sup>1</sup> now are nothing such  
as what they weare before, How comes this evill  
that what God should have Men give to the Devill  
for where Men gave to God both laud and prayse  
Laud's given to th'Devill now, in these our dayes.

5

**Source.** Folger MS V.a.319, fol. 26v

R2

<sup>1</sup> *tenents*: i.e. "tenets".

### R3 Vainglorious man who can your witt applaude

*Notes.* Laud became Chancellor of the University of Oxford in 1630, after a contested and somewhat controversial election.

“On Bp Laud being chosen Chauncelor of Oxford”

Vainglorious man who can your witt applaude

That stretch so farre to get a little Laude.

Did nature erre? or on set purpose try

To shew her power in such a prodegie

Shee, untill know, nere croun'd (as I could reade)

So vast a body with soe small a head

yet Oxford in thy choise th'art partly blest

For of the thing that's bad a little's best.

5

**Source.** Folger MS V.a.97, p. 5

**Other known sources.** Bodleian MS Eng. Poet. e.97, p. 31

R3

#### R4 Come arme thy self brave England

*Notes.* This poem may be dated from a statement in the third stanza, that England has been poorly defended for twenty-seven years. Since it implicitly targets the Stuart kings, comparing them unfavourably to Elizabeth, the poem was almost certainly written in 1630, twenty-seven years after James I assumed the English throne. In this case the poem may also reflect on Charles's decision in that year to end five years of war against Spain and France.

##### "A Song"

Come arme thy self brave England

Put on thin iron coate

And shake of dull securitie

Which made this Kingdome dote

For thou hast long clothed bin

5

In silken robes of peace

Which made our enymyes bragge & boast

And our passions cease.

When peace first entred Berwicke<sup>1</sup>

And threw our bulwarks downe

10

Dismounted all our ordinance

That furnished the towne

And by this long continuance

It hath all most un donne us

Which makes our enimybes bragge and boast

15

And thinke to overcome us.

Our castles our blockhouses

That should affront our foes

Were kept this 27 yeares<sup>2</sup>

By pigens, pyes, and crowes

Or by some ancient beads man<sup>3</sup>

20

That scarce a flie could kill  
While hee lies sleeping in the gate  
A begger steales his bill.<sup>4</sup>

Our brass and Iron peeces 25  
Are eaten up with rust  
Instead of balles and powder  
Are cramd with durt & dust  
And those that yet stand mounted  
Are of soe milde condition 30  
They dare not shoote against their foes  
Tis out of their commission.

Faire Essex, Suffolke, Northfolke,  
Prepared were to fight  
But yet the theevish Dunkerks 35  
Still robd us in our sight.<sup>5</sup>  
And is not this a shame  
A greife and a vexation  
That one poore paultry lowsy towne  
should trouble a whole Nation. 40

Wee kill them all in taverns  
With oaths and bugbeare words  
And in a drunken quarrell  
Goe forth and shew our swords  
And after this bravado 45  
Come in and drinke againe  
A health to the confusion of  
The pride and power of Spaine.

And for this quaffing valour

A captaine hee is made<sup>6</sup> 50  
 Because hee went into the feild  
 And shew'd his naked blade  
 Hee purchast hath a beaver<sup>7</sup>  
 A buffcoate and a belt  
 To make a voyage ore the seas 55  
 To fetch a flanders felt.<sup>8</sup>

God bless our noble K. and Queene,  
 And eke our Lady Besse<sup>9</sup>  
 And send us better generalls  
 Then were in the last presse<sup>10</sup> 60  
 And send us such commaunders  
 As in Elizas reigne  
 And then wee need not feare the Turke  
 The Devill or pride of spaine.

**Source.** BL MS Sloane 1792, fols. 74v-75v

R4

<sup>1</sup> *When peace...Berwicke*: sardonic reference to James's journey in 1603 to assume the English throne, travelling from Edinburgh and crossing into England at the town of Berwick. James liked to be known for his commitment to peace.

<sup>2</sup> *this 27 yeares*: presumably twenty-seven years from James's accession in 1603.

<sup>3</sup> *beads man*: in Catholic religious practice, a beadsman is a man employed to pray for the welfare of another. Here, the term signifies perhaps a man left as a kind of pre-Reformation relic, or perhaps more generally a harmless subordinate.

<sup>4</sup> *bill*: slightly ambiguous, but probably referring to a weapon, similar to a halberd, used by both soldiers and constables.

<sup>5</sup> *Faire Essex...our sight*: privateers from Dunkirk, a town held by the Spanish, troubled English

shipping in the late 1620s. Plans for a joint Anglo-Dutch attack on Dunkirk came to nothing.

<sup>6</sup> *And for this...hee is made*: it is not clear whether these lines refer to a particular man.

<sup>7</sup> *beaver*: face-guard of a helmet.

<sup>8</sup> *Because hee went...flanders felt*: while the exact events (if any) behind these lines are unclear, the meaning is straightforward; the poet expresses indignation at those who put interests of trade above those of English Protestant militarism.

<sup>9</sup> *our Lady Besse*: probably King Charles's sister, Elizabeth, who became a symbol for those in England who desired a more militant foreign policy after she and her husband, the Elector Frederick, were driven into exile by Habsburg forces.

<sup>10</sup> *And send us...the last presse*: presumably a reference to the last military mobilization, c.1627-28. A sardonic glance at the leadership of George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, is probably intended.



## R5 See what a love there is betweene

*Notes.* This poem, like the following one (“A health to my Lady Duchess”) has an anachronistic air: more in accord with Restoration libels, which would focus insistently on sexual scandal and rumour. In contrast to libels of the 1620s, which constitute the core of the present edition, there is little overt political content to these poems. Nonetheless, given that Charles had effectively politicized sexual morality, constructing an ideal image of the family around his own family, one might well argue that the project of turning this mythology against him inevitably carries a political charge. While the poems focus heavily on the household of Queen Henrietta Maria, the scope of each is also broader than this. It is possible that the poem’s title, “The progresse” alludes to an actual royal progress taken by the King and his court, such as that to East Anglia in 1634.

### “The progresse”

See what a love there is betweene  
The K: & his endeared Queene,  
And all their subjects love, & care,  
Is fixed on this royall paire.

But did their Majesties select  
Deserving persons to affect  
Like to themselves, & not love all  
The Court would soon bee very small.

With my Lord Duke<sup>1</sup> I must begin,  
Cause I thinke hees free from sin  
Of Lovers: yet hees not so stupid  
But hee may bee a friend to Cupid.

Heres no Signoras<sup>2</sup> thats the reason:  
To speake of Grandies pettie treason:  
Hee had a fall, alas ’twas pittie  
I wish’t had rather been the Citie.<sup>3</sup>

5

10

15

My Lord Marquesse<sup>4</sup> with his good face,  
Is come now to fill up a place,  
Why hees wellcome: thers a good Table  
Belongs to the Master of the stable.<sup>5</sup> 20

Lord Chamberlaine<sup>6</sup> has chang'd his mind  
And in the Country was very kind,  
Admitting chambermayds to his table,  
But keeping Ladies from the fable.<sup>7</sup>

Blame not his choice for hee learnd that 25  
By his own Ladies<sup>8</sup> loveing her cat  
Tis fit, mee thinkee that hee at the least  
As well as shee should love his beast.

My lord of Dorset<sup>9</sup> has the renown 30  
For mistresses in Court & Town,  
Hee loves for beauty or for wit,  
Cause hee'l bee sure the mark to hit.

But Dorset thou gin'st to decline<sup>10</sup>  
Every one must have a time,  
Leave off poore man, thy date is past 35  
And pleasures will give ore at last.

My Lord Carliles<sup>11</sup> voluminous boord  
And dishes in folio do affoord<sup>12</sup>  
Great entertainment to his friends  
Whom virtue, or his wife<sup>13</sup> commends. 40

But shee poore Lady must bee fed  
With decimo sexto in his bed,<sup>14</sup>  
And takes no pleasure to read int

Because it is too small a print.

My Lord of Holland<sup>15</sup> bears the bell,<sup>16</sup>

45

In Cupids wars hee doth excell;

His Lady<sup>17</sup> answeares not his gillitie<sup>18</sup>

Though hee exceeds all for Civilitie.

As for my Lord it belongs to him

To see whos Ladies hee can win,

50

And of pleasure to take his fill

Hee has been good, I hope he will bee still.

Newport<sup>19</sup> is pidling<sup>20</sup> now, & then,

In company hees like other men.

Whats that to have a wench like the rest

55

Hee'le play his part as well as the best.

What ment you Mr Piercy<sup>21</sup> by that

To throw away Don Lewis<sup>22</sup> hat?

What was the cause of all those jarrs

Who should fight best in venus warrs.

60

Percy loves all but Lo dan Luce<sup>23</sup>

Courts one alone, but wert his use

When he change sutes to change love too

Hee would have mistresses enough.

Lusty Lo: Goring<sup>24</sup> cannot bee mist

65

For then should some want to be kist

Hees a smart lade, & in his bricket<sup>25</sup>

Some thing he has that often prickes.

Judge him not by his lookes so old<sup>26</sup>

Hees like a leeke as I am told

70

Hees head is gray, his blade is greene  
And hees as active as at 18

Craven comes not to boast of bloud  
Whats ere defective his purse makes good,<sup>27</sup>  
Who would not then his mistres be  
That is more Franck<sup>28</sup> then two, or three.

75

But some say he does this to spare  
For wives more costly then mistrisses are,  
Besides if one please not his minde  
Hee finds another thats more kind

80

Gandison<sup>29</sup> too did there resort,  
But yet his Mistres was not at Court,  
Peace foole he must have more then one  
Purging his reines keepes from the stone.<sup>30</sup>

Porter<sup>31</sup> did waite it was his turne  
Meane time with jealousy he did burne,  
Leave off this humour of Spanish blood  
Tis thy wives vertue must make her good.<sup>32</sup>

85

Gentle men waiters<sup>33</sup> take your dish  
And better then either flesh or fish  
Dyet in common does not please  
As a dainty private bit at ease.

90

The querries<sup>34</sup> they ar still astride  
Better then others they can ride  
And Colte, Horse, or Mare can back  
Ladies may use them if they lack.

95

The Pensioners<sup>35</sup> have weapons too

Defend faire Ladies & pleasures doe  
Theyr lusty men both stout & tall  
Able at one game to beate all. 100

You ar well met good Doctor lister<sup>36</sup>  
Often y have given a great lady a glister<sup>37</sup>  
Your Pipe<sup>38</sup> was good, shee could not refuse  
But all thinges ar the worse for use.

Next him follows Monsieur Plancy<sup>39</sup> 105  
Who often times makes much of Rancy,<sup>40</sup>  
Contemne him not his drugs ar good  
His cordiall will breed good blood.

Oberlt<sup>41</sup> you need not to complaine  
You can let blood in the right veine 110  
Take heede your Lancet<sup>42</sup> be kept cleane  
Least you do hurt you know what I meane.

My La: Dutchesse<sup>43</sup> is still the same  
And is a friend to venus game  
Her choice betrayes who best doth like her 115  
For by his haire he is a striker<sup>44</sup>

Why Madam are you so profuse  
Of your love to my Lo: don Luce<sup>45</sup>  
Or make him leave his sullen humour  
Or leave him quite to cease the rumour. 120

My Lady Marquis<sup>46</sup> stayd behinde,  
In her husbands absence<sup>47</sup> she is kinde  
Use your time Madam to be no foole  
Advise: the Courts a very good schoole

Honestys worse then making faces 125  
And is one of the greatest disgraces  
That haps to a Lady faire and younge  
She may be otherwise, hold thy tongue.

Denby shee is praysd by many<sup>48</sup>  
And holds her head as high as any, 130  
Tis thought shees vertuous thats no matter  
Ile not her more then others flatter.

She has a mayd knows all her mind  
Whom she hates, and to whom shees kind  
This mayd now chang'd to Mistris Easter 135  
Without whose healp she cannot vest her.<sup>49</sup>

Madam cryes preecher<sup>50</sup> hast away  
I know that Church doth for mee stay  
The Proverbs true though very odd  
Neerer the Church farther from God. 140

My exc'lent revrent Lord Cary  
Keeper o'th gloves to good Queene Mary<sup>51</sup>  
Town & Country shee followes the Court  
Though never finds but little sport.

My Lady Kellegrew<sup>52</sup> holds one well 145  
For red and white shee doth excell  
If she be courted now takes in snuffe  
For shee hath very good season'd stufte.

Crofts tale<sup>53</sup> is easily told  
For shee hath servants young & old, 150  
Some ar to gray some ar to green

The last is still in most esteeme.

Seymer<sup>54</sup> they say did love too much  
And did the given saddle grutch<sup>55</sup>  
'Twas her own fault, had she been wise  
Both saddle & horse had been her prize.

155

Poor Mrs Arden<sup>56</sup> was not wise  
To prick young Cupid in his thighs  
I feare the boy in vengance had her,  
Venus know where, but thats no matter.

160

Howard dared not a servant owne  
Her love shee keepes from being known  
Although shee thinks the world too blind  
Yet allways Cat wil after kind.<sup>57</sup>

Hanmer<sup>58</sup> you ought for to retire  
And not come to blow Cupids fire  
Your tradings better as tis sayd  
Then when at Court you were a mayd.

165

Her husbands<sup>59</sup> glad poore man of ease  
Entreats her to take whom she please  
'Tis sayd he has hornes<sup>60</sup> but thats a gull  
Hees the Court Calfe<sup>61</sup> & not the Bull.

170

The Mother of the mayds<sup>62</sup> allmost forgot:  
Why? Shees obscure, I know her not  
Shee came to Court cause shee was poore  
Yet got her liveing easily before.

175

Madam Nurse<sup>63</sup> sits at home & thinks  
While her sonne<sup>64</sup> goes abroad & drinks

Be merry Madam & safely laugh  
For the still sow eates up all the draffe 180

Your daughters they ar proud as the Devill  
Of all others thats the worst evill  
It is their folly cause they advance  
For all their witts were lost in Fraunce.<sup>65</sup>

Caito<sup>66</sup> comes in play with the rest, 185  
And may prove as good as the best;  
Keepe close for the honour of thy Nation  
Lest wee call loosenes the French fashion.

Madam Vamtlet<sup>67</sup> I pittie her case  
Her daughters faire to supply her place 190  
She ginns betimes no hurt in that  
No danger is in lying flat.

The Gard he stamps, & stares, & sweares  
But dares not touch a mayd fors eares  
Because the Lords ar thereof<sup>68</sup> found 195  
And leaves them allwayes very unsound.

The Chambermayd to cover her dock<sup>69</sup>  
Wears of her La: things eene to the smock  
The Lo: haven tane it up before  
Knoweth the way to do it once more. 200

Our paper shall not know the Name  
Of Priest or Bishop to proclaime  
What ere gainst others wee attempt  
Those sanctifyed persons ar exempt.

May thousand plagues both old & new 205



More then damnation ever knew  
Fall heavy on him that denyes  
Honour to Church & Monarchies.

**Source.** Folger MS V.b.110, pp. 88-90

**Other known sources.** Bodleian MS Ashmole 36-37, fol. 264r

R5

- <sup>1</sup> *my Lord Duke:* James Stuart, Duke of Lennox.
- <sup>2</sup> *Heres no Signoras:* possible allusion to Stuart's connection with Spain. In 1632, on a visit to the continent, he was made a grandee of Spain of the first class.
- <sup>3</sup> *To speake of Grandies...Citie:* these lines are obscure. A variant of the final line has: "I wish, t'had rather bin in the citty" (Bodleian MS Ashmole 36-37).
- <sup>4</sup> *My Lord Marquesse:* James, Marquis of Hamilton.
- <sup>5</sup> *Master of the stable:* Hamilton was made Master of the Horse after the Duke of Buckingham's death in 1628.
- <sup>6</sup> *Lord Chamberlaine:* Philip Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, Lord Chamberlain of the Household.
- <sup>7</sup> *keeping Ladies from the fable:* unclear; possibly "keeping ladies from becoming the subject of gossip", and therefore a comment either on his discretion or his preference for "chambermaids". Herbert had a reputation for sexual immorality.
- <sup>8</sup> *his own Ladies:* Anne Herbert (née Clifford), Countess of Pembroke.
- <sup>9</sup> *My lord of Dorset:* Edward Sackville, Earl of Dorset, Lord Chamberlain in Henrietta Maria's household.
- <sup>10</sup> *But Dorset thou gin'st to decline:* Sackville was born in 1591.
- <sup>11</sup> *My Lord Carliles:* either James Hay, 1st Earl of Carlisle (d.1636), or James Hay, 2nd Earl of Carlisle. Since the former was known for his lavish hospitality, he is the more likely candidate, and this would help to date the poem to a time before his death.

- <sup>12</sup> *voluminous boord...affoord*: the analogy here is between the dimension of Hay's hospitality and the size of books. A folio is the biggest, and typically the most expensive, size of book.
- <sup>13</sup> *his wife*: presumably the 1st Earl's second wife, Lucy (née Percy).
- <sup>14</sup> *With decimo sexto in his bed*: the joke depends on a continuation of the analogy with the sizes of books, though here this is turned to bawdy effect. A decimo sexto is the smallest size of book.
- <sup>15</sup> *My Lord of Holland*: Henry Rich, Earl of Holland, High Steward in Henrietta Maria's household.
- <sup>16</sup> *bears the bell*: takes the first place.
- <sup>17</sup> *His Lady*: Isabel Rich (née Cope), Countess of Holland.
- <sup>18</sup> *gillitie*: a variant, "agilitie", is a better reading (Bodleian MS Ashmole 36-37).
- <sup>19</sup> *Newport*: Mountjoy Blount, Earl of Newport.
- <sup>20</sup> *pidling*: trifling; petty.
- <sup>21</sup> *Mr Piercy*: a variant, "Percy", is a better reading (Bodleian MS Ashmole 36-37); probably Henry Percy, one of the Queen's male favourites, and formerly her Master of Horse.
- <sup>22</sup> *Don Lewis*: a variant, "Don Luce's", is a better reading (Bodleian MS Ashmole 36-37); hence Randal MacDonnell, Lord Dunluce.
- <sup>23</sup> *Percy loves all...Luce*: a variant, "Percy loves all; but Lord Don Luce", is a better reading (Bodleian MS Ashmole 36-37).
- <sup>24</sup> *Lo: Goring*: George Goring (Earl of Norwich from 1644). Like many of the figures mentioned in the poem, Goring had connections with the Queen, having served first as her Vice-Chamberlain, and subsequently as her Master of the Horse.
- <sup>25</sup> *bricke*s: probably a strained form of "breeches", in an effort to secure a pun with "pricke"s. In fact, the scribe of Bodleian MS Ashmole 36-37 tries "breeches", but deletes this word in favour of "bricks".
- <sup>26</sup> *Judge him not...so old*: Goring was born in 1585.
- <sup>27</sup> *Craven comes not...purse makes good*: William Craven, Baron Craven of Hampstead Marshall, Berkshire, was the son of a wealthy merchant. He paid the Crown £7000 for his peerage in 1627.
- <sup>28</sup> *Franck*: liberal, generous. There is also perhaps a pun on a name here (Francis or Frances), though this has now been lost.

- 29 *Gandison*: William Villiers, Viscount Grandison.
- 30 *Purging his reines...stone*: the bawdy joke depends on contemporary medical theory, which stressed the importance of regular flows of matter through the body. Here the expulsion of fluid from the kidneys (“purging his reines”) helps to prevent the development of kidney stones.
- 31 *Porter*: probably Endymion Porter.
- 32 *Leave off...make her good*: probably a reference to Porter’s mistress, a Spanish singer, and possibly also to marital difficulties experienced by him and his wife, Olive, a committed Catholic, c.1634.
- 33 *Gentle men waiters*: gentlemen attached to the court, to wait at the royal table.
- 34 *The querries*: equeries; members of the royal household charged with the care of horses.
- 35 *The Pensioners*: Gentlemen Pensioners, a group of gentlemen who acted as guards or attendants to the King on state occasions.
- 36 *Doctor lister*: Sir Matthew Lister, royal physician.
- 37 *glister*: i.e. clyster; enema, suppository.
- 38 *Pipe*: literally, clyster-pipe, used for administering a clyster; however, the bawdy connotation here is obvious.
- 39 *Monsieur Plancy*: Pierre de la Plancy, son of the French royal midwife Mme. Peronne, and apothecary to Henrietta Maria.
- 40 *Rancy*: possibly a reference to Jacques Rancien, another servant to Henrietta Maria.
- 41 *Oberlt*: “Obert” is a variant (Bodleian MS Ashmole 36-37). He is clearly another physician; almost certainly Maurice Aubert, the Queen’s French surgeon.
- 42 *Lancet*: a pointed surgical instrument; here, the word carries obvious bawdy connotations.
- 43 *My La: Dutchesse*: Katherine Villiers (née Manners), Duchess of Buckingham and widow of George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham.
- 44 *Her choice...he is a striker*: allusion to Katherine Villiers’s new husband, the red-headed Randal MacDonnell, Lord Dunluce, who succeeded as Earl of Antrim at the end of 1636, and married the Duchess in the same year. The fact that this poem describes the match (in the following stanza) as a “rumour” helps to date it to a time shortly before the marriage.

- <sup>45</sup> *my Lo: don Luce*: Randal MacDonnell, Lord Dunluce.
- <sup>46</sup> *My Lady Marquis*: Mary Feilding, Marchioness of Hamilton, daughter of the Duke and Countess of Denbigh, and niece of the Duke of Buckingham.
- <sup>47</sup> *her husbands absence*: James, Marquis of Hamilton. The line probably refers to the notoriously protracted delay between the couple's marriage when he was aged fourteen and she seven, and the eventual consummation of the marriage eight years later. Alternatively, it may refer to the Marquis's military expedition in 1631 to aid the Swedish Protestant King Gustavus Adolphus.
- <sup>48</sup> *Denby shee is praysd by many*: Susan Feilding (née Villiers), Countess of Denbigh, Mistress of the Robes for Henrietta Maria.
- <sup>49</sup> *She has a mayd...cannot vest her*: although it has not been possible to trace the particular maid, the poem's point is clear enough. After the maid's marriage (to a Mr. Easter; or "Ester" in a variant (Bodleian MS Ashmole 36-37)), the Countess is left unable to dress herself.
- <sup>50</sup> *preecher*: "prithee" is a preferable reading (Bodleian MS Ashmole 36-37).
- <sup>51</sup> *Lord Cary...good Queene Mary*: "Lady Cary" is a preferable variant (Bodleian MS Ashmole 36-37); Lady Thomasina Carew, the Queen's Keeper of the Sweet Coffers (a role that involved responsibility for gloves).
- <sup>52</sup> *My Lady Kellegrew*: probably Mary Killigrew (née Woodhouse), wife of the courtier Sir Robert Killigrew the Queen's Vice-Chamberlain between 1630 and his death in 1633; possibly Anne Kirke (née Killigrew), daughter of Sir Robert Killigrew, and herself a former Maid of Honour to the Queen, who was still active in the Queen's household after her 1627 marriage (Poynting 167).
- <sup>53</sup> *Crofts tale*: probably a reference to Cicely Crofts, one of the Queen's maids of honour.
- <sup>54</sup> *Seymer*: Dorothy Seymour, one of the Queen's maids of honour.
- <sup>55</sup> *grutch*: grate, gnash; in context, bawdy.
- <sup>56</sup> *Mrs Arden*: possibly Elizabeth Arden, one of Henrietta Maria's maids of honour until her marriage c.1631-32; possibly Elizabeth's sister Goditha, who succeeded Elizabeth as a maid of honour.
- <sup>57</sup> *Howard...after kind*: probably a reference to Elizabeth Howard, one of the Queen's maids of honour; possibly, instead, a reference Katherine (i.e. "Cat") Howard, who secretly married Lord George Stuart, Seigneur d'Aubigny, in May 1638
- <sup>58</sup> *Hanmer*: probably Dorothy Hanmer (née Trevor), a Lady-in-Waiting to the Queen. She married the

courtier Sir Thomas Hanmer some time in the early 1630s.

<sup>59</sup> *Her husbands*: probably Sir Thomas Hanmer.

<sup>60</sup> *hornes*: i.e. cuckold's horns.

<sup>61</sup> *Calfe*: fool; dolt.

<sup>62</sup> *The Mother of the mayds*: : the duty of the Mother of the Maids was to oversee the behaviour of the maids of honour (Poynting 164). The position was held until 1635 by Ursula Beaumont, widow of the playwright Francis Beaumont. Thereafter it was held briefly by Elizabeth Beaumont (probably a daughter of Francis and Ursula), then by Jane Temple.

<sup>63</sup> *Madam Nurse*: Francoise de Monbodiak, Henrietta Maria's nurse when she was young, who became a permanent fixture in her English household.

<sup>64</sup> *her sonne*: Jean Garnier, son of Francoise de Monbodiak and her husband (also called Jean Garnier); the Queen's Groom of the Privy Chamber by 1632.

<sup>65</sup> *Your daughters...lost in Fraunce*: Francoise de Monbodiak and Jean Garnier had four daughters, three of whom married French courtiers.

<sup>66</sup> *Caito*: or "Catto" (Bodleian MS Ashmole 36-37); probably Katherine, one of the daughters of Francoise de Monbodiak and Jean Garnier. She married Thomas Arpe in 1637. or "Catto" (Bodleian MS Ashmole 36-37). Untraced; perhaps a nickname.

<sup>67</sup> *Madam Vamtlet*: Madame de Vantelet, a "chamberer" (i.e. one of the married women who attended the Queen in her intimate situation).

<sup>68</sup> *thereof*: "there often" is a preferable reading (Bodleian MS Ashmole 36-37).

<sup>69</sup> *dock*: colloquially, vagina or anus.

## R6 A health to my Lady Duchess

*Notes.* Like the preceding poem (“See what a love there is betweene”), “A health to my Lady Duchess” has an anachronistic air: more in accord with Restoration libels, which would focus insistently on sexual scandal and rumour. While many of the poem’s targets have links to Queen Henrietta Maria, the poet seems principally concerned to survey the morality of the nation’s peerage. As would become a pattern in Restoration libels, the tone here is questionable: partly moralistic, and partly in the thrall of sexual gossip.

“A lybell calld the health to divers Lords & Ladies 1636”

A health to my Lady Duchess<sup>1</sup> [m. note: “of Buckingham”]  
that loves redd hayr so well<sup>2</sup>  
and to my Lord her husband<sup>3</sup>  
that made her belly swell.<sup>4</sup>

A health to my Lady Marques<sup>5</sup> [m. note: “of Hamilton”]  
that hath so good a grace  
and to my Lord her husband<sup>6</sup>  
with his ill-favourd face

A health to my Lady Arundell<sup>7</sup>  
whose travailing days ar past<sup>8</sup>  
and to my Lord her husband<sup>9</sup>  
I hope t’ will be his last.

A health to my lady of Kent<sup>10</sup>  
with her fat bouncing<sup>11</sup>  
and to my Lord her husband<sup>12</sup>  
that fucks my Lady Hunt<sup>13</sup>

A health to my Lady Pembroke<sup>14</sup>  
that lookes so like a witche  
and to my Lord her husband<sup>15</sup>

5

10

15

that so well indures the switche<sup>16</sup> 20

A health to my Lady Essex<sup>17</sup>  
 who once had lost her fame<sup>18</sup>  
 and to my Lord her husband<sup>19</sup>  
 that is so ill at the game<sup>20</sup>

A health to my Lady Dorsett<sup>21</sup> 25  
 that of gravity hath store  
 and to my Lord her husband<sup>22</sup>  
 that gives his soule for a whore

A health to my Lady Warwick<sup>23</sup>  
 beeing made a Countess glories<sup>24</sup> 30  
 and to my Lord her husband<sup>25</sup>  
 that loves to tell strange stories.

A health to my Lady Lindsey<sup>26</sup>  
 that's quickly moov'd to rage  
 and to my Lord her husband<sup>27</sup> 35  
 that brought his child on the stage.<sup>28</sup>

A health to my Lady Holland<sup>29</sup>  
 of wemen shee's the best  
 and to my Lord her husband<sup>30</sup>  
 that goes so neatly drest. 40

A health to my Lady Dover<sup>31</sup>  
 that was first wife to a citt<sup>32</sup>  
 and to my Lord her husband<sup>33</sup>  
 that hath more wrath than witt

A health to my Lady Denbigh<sup>34</sup>  
 that's groome o'the stoole to her grace<sup>35</sup> 45

and to my Lord her husband<sup>36</sup>  
whose nose has fyrd his face

A health to my Lady Carnarvan<sup>37</sup>  
that's a pearl in eache mans ey  
and to my Lord her husband<sup>38</sup>  
that will both sweare and ly

50

A health to my Lady Newport<sup>39</sup>  
that loves to play and dance  
and to my Lord her husband<sup>40</sup>  
that rann away in France<sup>41</sup>

55

A health to my Lady Desmond<sup>42</sup>  
with her frend shee loves to play  
and to my Lord her husband<sup>43</sup>  
that's oft sent out of the way

60

A health to my lady Portland<sup>44</sup>  
that was whipt to her marriage bedd<sup>45</sup>  
and to my Lord her husband<sup>46</sup>  
with his great loggerhead

A health to my Lady Wimbleton<sup>47</sup>  
but eighteene years of age<sup>48</sup>  
and to my Lord her husband<sup>49</sup>  
that's jealous of his page.<sup>50</sup>

65

A health to my Lady Goring<sup>51</sup>  
in devotion shee's not cooling<sup>52</sup>  
and to my Lord her husband<sup>53</sup>  
that hath gott all by fooling.<sup>54</sup>

70



**Source.** BL MS Harley 6383, fols. 49r-50r

R6

- <sup>1</sup> *my Lady Duchess:* Katherine Villiers (née Manners), Duchess of Buckingham and widow of George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham. At the time this poem was written, her recent remarriage to the younger Lord Dunluce was a topic of much discussion at court.
- <sup>2</sup> *that loves redd hayr so well:* allusion to Katherine Villiers's new husband, Randal MacDonnell, Lord Dunluce, who succeeded as Earl of Antrim at the end of 1636.
- <sup>3</sup> *my Lord her husband:* Randal MacDonnell, Lord Dunluce.
- <sup>4</sup> *that made her belly swell:* probably a false rumour; Katherine bore no children in the course of her second marriage.
- <sup>5</sup> *my Lady Marques:* Mary Feilding, Marchioness of Hamilton, daughter of the Earl and Countess of Denbigh, and niece of the Duke of Buckingham.
- <sup>6</sup> *my Lord her husband:* James, Marquis of Hamilton; prominent advisor to Charles on Scottish affairs.
- <sup>7</sup> *my Lady Arundell:* Alatheia Howard (née Talbot), Countess of Arundel.
- <sup>8</sup> *whose travailing days ar past:* possibly a reference to the fact that, after twenty-eight years of marriage, she is past child-bearing age (i.e. the "travailing" of labour); possibly a reference to her own continental travels (notably, to Italy in 1623), and a reflection on the diplomatic missions undertaken by her husband, Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel, in the 1630s.
- <sup>9</sup> *my Lord her husband:* Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel.
- <sup>10</sup> *my lady of Kent:* Elizabeth Grey (née Talbot), Countess of Kent.
- <sup>11</sup> *with her fat bouncing:* at this point, in accord with the poem's puerile humour, a word is omitted from the manuscript.
- <sup>12</sup> *my Lord her husband:* Henry Grey, Earl of Kent and Lord Ruthin.
- <sup>13</sup> *my Lady Hunt:* possibly Lady Anne Campbell, wife of George Gordon, who became Marquis of Huntly in 1636 (although she did not have a significant presence at court).
- <sup>14</sup> *my Lady Pembroke:* Lady Anne Clifford, best known today as a writer, who was unhappily married to Philip Herbert, Earl of Pembroke.

- 15 *my Lord her husband*: Philip Herbert, Earl of Pembroke.
- 16 *that so well indures the switche*: possibly a muddled allusion to an incident in 1634, in which Herbert broke his staff over the back of Thomas May. But possibly merely invoking misogynist stereotypes of a shrewish woman domineering her husband, on account of Anne Clifford's notoriously strong will.
- 17 *my Lady Essex*: Elizabeth Devereux (née Paulet), Countess of Essex.
- 18 *who once had lost her fame*: presumably a reference to a fresh scandal. In mid-1636 the Countess was accused, by relatives of her husband, of conducting an affair with Sir William Uvedale. A son she bore on 5 November—her first after six years of marriage—was widely suspected to be the illegitimate product of this affair, though Essex accepted it, albeit uneasily, as his own. The baby died just over a month after its birth, and Essex and his wife were thereafter permanently estranged.
- 19 *my Lord her husband*: Robert Devereux, 3rd Earl of Essex.
- 20 *that is so ill at the game*: clearly a sexual reference, which constructs an image of Essex based on the gossip and rumours generated by both his marriages. In 1613 he was divorced from Frances Howard, on grounds of his alleged sexual insufficiency (see Section F). The suggestion that his second wife's baby had been fathered by another reinforced the scandalous image of Essex as impotent—an image that would feature prominently in royalist propaganda of the Civil War, when Essex was a prominent Parliamentarian general.
- 21 *my Lady Dorsett*: Mary Sackville, Countess of Dorset, governess of Prince Charles and Prince James.
- 22 *my Lord her husband*: Edward Sackville, Earl of Dorset, Lord Chamberlain in Henrietta Maria's household.
- 23 *my Lady Warwick*: Susan Rich (née Rowe), Countess of Warwick.
- 24 *beeing made a Countess glories*: the Countess, Robert Rich's second wife, was the daughter of Sir Henry Rowe, who had served as Lord Mayor of London in 1607, and the widow of city alderman William Halliday. This line therefore reflects on her social rise as a result of her second marriage.
- 25 *my Lord her husband*: Robert Rich, Earl of Warwick.
- 26 *my Lady Lindsey*: Elizabeth Bertie, Countess of Lindsay.
- 27 *my Lord her husband*: Robert Bertie, Earl of Lindsay.
- 28 *that brought his child...stage*: while it has not been possible to trace a particular incident to which

this line refers, it is most likely that the Earl is being accused of allowing members of his family to participate in a masque or courtly entertainment. Such performances were popular at the Caroline court, but were vehemently denounced by many Puritans.

29 *my Lady Holland*: Isabel Rich (née Cope), Countess of Holland.

30 *my Lord her husband*: Henry Rich, Earl of Holland, High Steward in Henrietta Maria's household.

31 *my Lady Dover*: Mary Carey, Countess of Dover.

32 *that was first wife to a citt*: Mary Carey's first marriage was to Alderman (hence a man of the "citt [y]") Sir William Cockayne.

33 *my Lord her husband*: Henry Carey, Earl of Dover.

34 *my Lady Denbigh*: Susan Feilding (née Villiers), Countess of Denbigh, Mistress of the Robes for Henrietta Maria.

35 *that's groome...her grace*: the title "Groom of the Stool" was in this period used to identify the Queen's "first lady".

36 *my Lord her husband*: William Feilding, Earl of Denbigh.

37 *my Lady Carnarvan*: Anne Dormer (née Herbert), Countess of Carnarvon.

38 *my Lord her husband*: Robert Dormer, Earl of Carnarvon.

39 *my Lady Newport*: Anne Blount (daughter of John, Baron Boteler), Countess of Newport.

40 *my Lord her husband*: Mountjoy Blount, Earl of Newport.

41 *that rann away in France*: probably an allusion to Blount's role as a leader of the failed naval expedition to Rochelle in 1628.

42 *my Lady Desmond*: wife of George Feilding, Earl of Desmond.

43 *my Lord her husband*: George Feilding, Earl of Desmond.

44 *my lady Portland*: Frances Weston (née Stuart), wife of Jerome, Earl of Portland.

45 *that was whipt...bedd*: Lady Frances Stuart, a cousin of King Charles, married Jerome Weston in 1632, after extended negotiations. It was widely believed that she did not initially agree to the marriage with a man socially inferior to her, and that the influence of the King was required to seal the match.

- <sup>46</sup> *my Lord her husband*: Jerome Weston, Earl of Portland.
- <sup>47</sup> *my Lady Wimbleton*: Sophia Cecil (née Zouch), Countess of Wimbleton.
- <sup>48</sup> *but eightheene years of age*: Sophia was seventeen years old at the date of her marriage, and her husband sixty-three.
- <sup>49</sup> *my Lord her husband*: Edward Cecil, Viscount Wimbleton.
- <sup>50</sup> *that's jealous of his page*: while the author might have had in mind a particular “page”, it is perhaps just as likely that he was merely invoking the stereotype of the jealous husband married to a significantly younger, and sexually voracious, woman.
- <sup>51</sup> *my Lady Goring*: Mary (née Nevill), Lady Goring.
- <sup>52</sup> *in devotion shee's not cooling*: suggestion of puritanical religious fervour.
- <sup>53</sup> *my Lord her husband*: George Goring (Earl of Norwich from 1644), who served first as Henrietta Maria's Vice-Chamberlain, and subsequently as her Master of the Horse.
- <sup>54</sup> *that hath gott all by fooling*: this recalls allegations against Goring made in the Jacobean poem “Listen jolly gentlemen”.

## R7 U. R. I. C. poore Canterbury

*Notes.* In its structure, this poem on William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, recalls the widely-disseminated early Jacobean libel on Robert Carr, "I.C.U.R". The transcriber of our chosen version includes notes (as recorded here in footnotes) about the alphabetical codes for some lines.

"A Libell, upon William Laud Arch-bishop of Canterbury, in Parliament-tyme. 1640"

U. R. I. C.<sup>1</sup> poore Canterbury, in a tottring state:  
A. P. O. P.<sup>2</sup> you fayne would bee, 'tis now too late.  
R. U. Y. Y.<sup>3</sup> for all those eyes, that looke upon you:  
U. R. A. K.<sup>4</sup> if you doe say, they all will wrong you.  
S. C. O. T. some say was hee, brought all to light:<sup>5</sup>  
I. C. U. R.<sup>6</sup> in a great feare, your lawne's not white.<sup>7</sup>  
A. G. R. I.<sup>8</sup> if hee come nigh, will have the Miter:<sup>9</sup>  
H. E. A. D. and all for mee; you'l fall the lighter.<sup>10</sup>

5

**Source.** Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 26, fol. 100r

**Other known sources.** *Trevelyan Papers* 3.204; BL MS Sloane 1489, fol. 46v; Folger MS E.a.6, fol. 4v

R7

<sup>1</sup> *U. R. I. C.*: i.e. "You are I see" (Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 26).

<sup>2</sup> *A. P. O. P.*: i.e. "A pope" (Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 26).

<sup>3</sup> *R. U. Y. Y.*: i.e. "Are you two wise" (Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 26).

<sup>4</sup> *U. R. A. K.*: i.e. "You are a K." (Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 26); possibly a knave, or else a jackdaw (cf. "I.C.U.R").

<sup>5</sup> *S. C. O. T....brought all to light*: presumably an allusion to the role of the Scots, whose rejection of Laud's favoured Prayer Book in 1637 prompted the Bishops' Wars, and precipitated the crisis that would ultimately lead to Laud's fall.

<sup>6</sup> *I. C. U. R.*: i.e. “I see you are”.

<sup>7</sup> *in a great feare...white*: “lawn” is a fine linen used for the sleeves of a bishop; here the usage is perhaps largely figurative, suggesting at once Laud’s preoccupation with clerical vestments, and his concern for the dignity and preeminence of his office.

<sup>8</sup> *A. G. R. I.*: i.e. “Agree I”.

<sup>9</sup> *if hee come nigh...Miter*: unclear; a mitre is an ecclesiastical head-dress worn by a bishop, and therefore something Laud already wears. Perhaps this line, after the preceding one, merely reiterates a point about Laud’s obsession with ecclesiastical vestments.

<sup>10</sup> *H. E. A. D....lighter*: menacing (and correct) suggestion that Laud’s fate is execution, by the removal of his “head”.

## R8 Landless Will: of Lambeth strand

*Notes.* This poem identifies William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, as twin figures of popular disdain. It was probably written some time after the collapse of the Short Parliament in May 1640, but before the opening of the Long Parliament in November of the same year, and thus highlights the fevered tone of political discourse surrounding these two men, each of whom was destined to become a martyr to the royalist cause. Notably, whereas Strafford and Laud would later be portrayed as staunch royalists, this poem typifies a period in which those opposed to the policies of the Crown sought to stigmatize Charles's closest advisors as his enemies, and themselves as truly loyal. A variant version presents the first stanza as a discrete poem (NLS MS Advocates 19.3.8).

Landless Will: of Lambeth strand<sup>1</sup>  
and blacke Tom Tyrant of Ireland<sup>2</sup>  
like Fox and wolfe did Lurke  
with many Rookes and madgepies  
to picke out good King Charles his eyes  
and then be Pope and Turke.<sup>3</sup>

5

And still they have him by the nose  
he cannot see his Freinds from's Foes  
nor yett their divellish plott,  
but since the vermine are found out  
and lately hunted by the Route  
they stinke most Pestilent hott

10

Whilst that in ballance even stode  
the Church, the state, like souldiers Good  
bravely boare upp the heade;  
and with them sweetly did conspire  
Peace, wealth and honor to acquire  
without Coercive dreade.

15

But these Inovators<sup>4</sup> doe Indevoure  
 the King and Subjects for to severe 20  
 and them to subdivide,  
 Tom doth the Commons racke & teare,  
 and Will. the Clergies skull up reare  
 which weighs downe all with Pride

Will, faine would weare a Triple Crowne<sup>5</sup> 25  
 and Tom with scepter<sup>6</sup> would beate downe  
 and breake the Commons Pates,  
 For the poore Protestants sage knaves  
 would be good Subjects yet not slaves  
 to new found Rights and rates 30

Tom like a Turkish Mungarell  
 to whom noe fiend nor divell of hell  
 can with more Cruell dreade  
 squeeze the poore Irish Cramacrees<sup>7</sup>  
 and makes them peepe through Pilleries 35  
 as they weare smitten deade.

Through blood and Teares he hath gott In  
 a Cursed Treasure to the Kinge  
 which poysons all the reste  
 unprosperous to Kinge and State 40  
 their Counsells all unfortunate  
 God bless us from the beaste.

And nowe the beast I thinke uppon  
 tis tyme to leave this Bedlam Tom<sup>8</sup>  
 that soe hath rent the state, 45  
 unto his Pox and flux and stone<sup>9</sup>



that Justly racks his flesh and bone  
although it be to late.

Now to the little fox againe  
and that perkinge wretch the wrenn<sup>10</sup> 50  
that Peaetely<sup>11</sup> ginns to prate.  
What domineeringe do they keepe  
like Pigmies (hercules being asleepe)<sup>12</sup>  
and stroute it or'e the state.

Till Prentises caught upp the clubb 55  
and swore them with those flailles to dubb  
which made them skip aside;<sup>13</sup>  
and duck where noe high alter was<sup>14</sup>  
To let the Peoples fury passe  
Soe odious was their pride. 60

Each Petty Preist practisd with hope,  
and state enough to be a pope,  
which most the wife denies  
whom to recompence doth raise his crest  
and make him like the Roman beast 65  
Fuller of hornes then Eyes;<sup>15</sup>

but Plott and pride beginn to fall  
Scotland hath kickt them oute of all;<sup>16</sup>  
and England lately Gauled  
doth wince, and lift to throwe the loade 70  
since Ireland is soe undertrode,  
neare was poore Ile soe mau'ld

Nowe England sure wilbe noe slave  
haveing scapt soe many a knave

that lewdly laboured Itt

75

Tom Turke thy Paines and scepters lost

Pope Will thy triple Crowne is Crost

The triple Tree<sup>17</sup> must fitt

**Source.** BL MS Harley 6947, fol. 210r-v

**Other known sources.** NLS MS Advocates 19.3.8, fol. 33r; TCD MS 806, fol. 535r

## R8

<sup>1</sup> *Landless Will: of Lambeth strand:* as Archbishop of Canterbury, William Laud's London residence was Lambeth Palace; however, the poet seems concerned to point out that Laud does not own this property, and perhaps also to remind the reader of his relatively humble background (as the son of a Reading clothier).

<sup>2</sup> *blacke Tom Tyrant of Ireland:* Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, was Lord-Deputy of Ireland, where he established a reputation for harsh and authoritarian methods.

<sup>3</sup> *Pope and Turke:* Laud was commonly charged by his enemies with popish leanings; "Turk" stands as symbolic of arbitrary and tyrannous rule.

<sup>4</sup> *Inovators:* in the years preceding the Civil War, it is notable that the representatives of various different political and religious interests used the charge of "innovation" against their enemies. To Laud and Strafford, the "Puritans" were innovators; here, as in other proto-oppositionist discourse, the charge is turned back against them.

<sup>5</sup> *Triple Crowne:* i.e. of a pope.

<sup>6</sup> *scepter:* i.e. of a king.

<sup>7</sup> *Irish Cramacrees:* while it has not been possible to trace the term "Cramacrees", the poet clearly signals sympathy here for the native Irish, politically repressed and financially "squeezed" under Wentworth's rule.

<sup>8</sup> *Bedlam Tom:* madman; inhabitant of the Hospital of St. Mary of Bethlehem, used in early modern London to house lunatics.

<sup>9</sup> *Pox and flux and stone:* medical terms; loosely, venereal disease, dysentery, kidney-stone.

- <sup>10</sup> *that perkinge wretch the wrenn*: Matthew Wren, Bishop of Norwich and one of Laud's closest allies. Wren's persecution of Puritans had attracted considerable comment, most notably in the pamphlet *Newes from Ipswich* (1636), probably written (at least in part) by William Prynne.
- <sup>11</sup> *Peaetely*: possibly "pertly"; i.e. boldly, audaciously.
- <sup>12</sup> *What domineeringe...being asleepe*): the image is of small and insignificant people exploiting the lethargy of a ruler. "[H]ercules" here may be code for the King.
- <sup>13</sup> *Till Prentises...skip aside*: probable allusion to an incident that occurred soon after the collapse of the Short Parliament, in May 1640. A mob of over 1000 apprentices descended upon Lambeth Palace, Laud's London residence, to protest at his reputed role in the Parliament's failure. Laud dodged the protest (i.e. "skip[ped] aside") by moving into Whitehall.
- <sup>14</sup> *and duck...was*: allusion to Laud's controversial position on Church furnishings; the subtext is that the high altar cannot here protect him against the people's fury.
- <sup>15</sup> *Each Petty Preist...then Eyes*: the scurrilous suggestion here is that Laudian priests are so committed to proto-Catholic practices that they resist sex with their own wives, and as a result they are rewarded with the "horns" of a cuckold. The reference to "the Roman beast" draws on imagery of the Book of Revelation, which describes the Whore of Babylon sitting on "a scarlet coloured beast, full of names of blasphemy, having seven heads and ten horns" (Revelation 17.3).
- <sup>16</sup> *Scotland hath kickt...all*: reference to the Bishops' Wars of 1639 and 1640, and possibly also to the issue that prompted the Wars, Scottish resistance to the Laudian English Liturgy.
- <sup>17</sup> *triple Tree*: i.e. Tyburn (place of execution in London).

## R9 Two Parliaments dissolv'd? then let my hart

*Notes. In at least one source this poem is titled "On the Dissolution of the Short Parliament of 1640" (Rous 88). Given this title, the first line, which laments "Two Parliaments dissolv'd" seems inconsistent, and almost unaccountable. One possible explanation is that it was written in response to false rumours that the Long Parliament had also been dissolved.*

Two Parliaments dissolv'd? then let my hart,  
As they in factions, it in fractions part;  
And like the Levite (sad with rage) ascribe,  
Its peecemeale portions to each broken Tribe;<sup>1</sup>  
And say, that Bethlem Judas love hath beene 5  
Wrong'd by the fag end crew of Benjamen.<sup>2</sup>  
Oh let such high presumption be accurst,  
When the last Tribe shall wrong the best, & first:<sup>3</sup>  
When (like the Levite) our blest Charles may say,  
The Ravenous Wolfe hath seiz'd the Lions prey.<sup>4</sup> 10  
Thus oft inferiour Subjects are not shy  
To wrong alone, but mocke at Majesty.  
What faculty shall not be injured,  
If that the feet had power to spurne the head;  
And Kings prerogatives must needs fall downe, 15  
When subjects make a foot-ball of a Crowne.  
Thus starres Heavens inferiour Courtiers might  
Command the darknesse, but not rule the Light,  
Nor him that makes it, should they all combine  
With Luna<sup>5</sup> in the full; one Sunne would shine 20  
Brighter then they; nor can he be subdued  
Though he but one, and they a multitude.  
Say subjects yee were starrs, and were allow'd  
Yee justly of your number might be proud;

Yet to the Sunne be humble, and know this 25  
 The light is borrowed, not your owne, but his.  
 When the unfettered subjects of the seas,  
 The fountaines felt their silver feet at ease,  
 Noe sooner summoned but nimbly went  
 To meet the ocean at a Parliament; 30  
 Did then those petty fountaines say their King  
 The Ocean, was noe Ocean but a spring?  
 Let mee alone if fresh accesse of store  
 Can make mee poorer then I was before;  
 And shall wee then the power of Kings dispute, 35  
 And thinke it lesse when more is added to't?  
 Noe let the Common body if it can  
 Bee not a River, but an Ocean;  
 And swell into a deluge till it hide  
 The tops of Mountaines in it teeming pride; 40  
 Kings (like Noahs Arke) are nearer to the skies,  
 The more the billowes underneath them rise;  
 You then who if your harts were fired with Love,  
 Might sitt in Counsell like the Gods above;  
 You that doe question the Kings power below, 45  
 If you come there, will you use heavens King soe?  
 Doe not aspire, you may take up your rest  
 More safe below, then in the Eagles nest;  
 Hath Clemency offended, will you harme  
 And plucke the Sunne from heaven that keeps you warme? 50  
 Nor King, nor Bishops?<sup>6</sup> please you what you gott?  
 An outside English and an inside Scott;<sup>7</sup>  
 While faction thus our Countryes peace distracts,  
 Wee may have wordes of Parliaments, not Acts.<sup>8</sup>  
 Ill ended Sessions, and yet well begun, 55

Too much being spoke, hath made too little done.

See faction thrives, Puritanisme beares sway

None must doe any thing, but onely Say.<sup>9</sup>

Stoop, stoop yee barren headed hills, confesse

Yee might bee fruitfuller if yee were lesse.

60

Tremble yee thread-bare Commons, are ye vext

That Lambs feed on you? Lions will come next.

**Source.** BL MS Egerton 2725, fols. 129r-130r

**Other known sources.** Rous 88; Bodleian MS Eng. Poet. c.25, fol. 38r; Bodleian MS Eng. Poet. e.97, p. 191; Bodleian MS Malone 21, fol. 93r; Bodleian MS Rawl. D. 361, fol. 68r; Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 26, fol. 90r; Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 117, fol. 150v; Bodleian MS Tanner 306, fol. 290r; BL Add. MS 22959, fol. 58r; BL MS Harley 367, fol. 160r; Folger MS V.a.192, part 2, fol. 5r

## R9

<sup>1</sup> *And like the Levite...broken Tribe:* these lines introduce a passage of biblical analogy, setting England's divisions against those of ancient Israel. In one interpretation, "the Levite" is not intended to signify any one particular person, either in the Bible or in England, but rather stands as a figure of a priest. In another (more likely) interpretation, "the Levite" may be the specific Levite of Judges 20, whose concubine was murdered in the Benjamite city of Gibeah, and who responded by cutting the woman in pieces and sending the body "throughout all the country of the inheritance of Israel: for they have committed lewdness and folly in Israel" (Judges 20.6).

<sup>2</sup> *And say...crew of Benjamen:* these difficult lines continue the biblical analogy. "Bethlem Judas" (or, more plausibly, "Bethlem Judah's") refers to the city of Bethlehem-Judah (or, in modern usage, Bethlehem). An analogy to London is likely. The poem implies that the fundamental "love", or goodwill, of the city has been undermined by a divisive faction. The image of "the fag end crew of Benjamen", in this context, probably continues the analogy with the narrative in Judges 20 and 21, since the murder of the concubine of "the Levite" precipitated a war in which the tribe of Benjamin was almost completely destroyed.

<sup>3</sup> *When the last Tribe...first:* continues the biblical analogy; the "last Tribe" is presumably that of Benjamin, while "the best, & first" that of Levi. In the English context, "the best, & first" might also be Charles I.

<sup>4</sup> *The Ravenous Wolfe...Lions prey:* when Jacob initially divides Israel into twelve tribes, Benjamin is likened to a wolf, and Judah to a lion (Genesis 49.27 and 49.9).

<sup>5</sup> *Luna*: the moon.

<sup>6</sup> *Nor King, nor Bishops*: the link between monarchy and episcopacy was one of the hot political debates of the early seventeenth century. Those opposed to the hierarchy within the Church typically claimed that this position was consistent with a commitment to the monarchy; by contrast, a traditional declaration, supposedly endorsed by James I, held: “No bishops, no king”.

<sup>7</sup> *An outside English...Scott*: the image, invoking a conventional model of hypocrisy, suggests that those who have brought down the 1640 Parliament are secretly committed to the paths of resistance that led the Scots into the Bishops’ Wars.

<sup>8</sup> *Wee may have wordes...not Acts*: i.e. parliaments may be allowed (briefly) to debate, but never to enact legislation.

<sup>9</sup> *Say*: probably a pun. On the one hand, this continues the poem’s distinction between talk and action, parliamentary debate and enacted legislation. On the other hand, it perhaps alludes to William Fiennes, Viscount Saye and Sele, who was becoming an increasingly prominent parliamentary leader at this time.

## FIRST-LINE INDEX

A

- A bird ill hatchd, from out a Cuckowes nest H16  
A health to my Lady Duchess R6  
A page a knight a Vicount, and an Earle [1613 version] F1  
A page, a knight, a viscount and an Erle H5  
A Phillipp once to england came Nv7  
A Prince out of the North shall come Ni3  
A proud cuckold tollit cornua Q5  
A Romane right, then rotten at the Kore B12  
A thinge gott by candle light Oiii15  
A yere of wonder to the world was 88 Pi5  
Above in the skies shall Gemini rise L1  
Adew deere Don & Priest for ever Niii2  
Admir-all weaknes wronges the right A8  
Advance, advance my ill-disposed Muse D2  
Ah was there nott a time when one man swayed D3  
All earthlie things by Water knowe I25  
All the newes thats stirringe now Nv15  
All you that will goe with me Oii13  
Anagram on Count Gondomar Niii3  
Anagram on Frances Howard H21  
Anagram on George Villiers Pi4  
Anagram on John Felton Pii1  
Anagram on John Felton Pii2  
Anagram on John Williams Miii4  
Anagram on Sir Thomas Overbury H22  
And art return'd againe with all thy Faults Oii12  
And art thou dead! who whilome thought'st thy state Pi21



And wilt thou goe, great Duke, and leave us heere Oii5

Arme, arme, in heaven there is a faction L7

As Cats over houses do go a catter-walting B9

As sick men feare the cure & startle more Oii14

At Hattfeilde neere Hartforde there lyes in a coffin D18

At Portsmouth Duke I will no longer staye Pi28

Avaunt you giddie-headed Multitude Oiii5

Awake, sad Brittain, and advance at last Pii20

Away, away, great George, o come not here Pi32

B

Bancroft Was for Playes B20

Beehold this Obsequie: but without teares Pi10

Beholde Brave Raleigh here interr'd I13

Blame not the Poet though he make such moane Mii10

Blame not thy wife, for what thy selfe hath wrought Q6

Brave hardie Carre-man that with thy bastinado F8

Bridewell I come be valient muse and strip K2

C

Cease booteless teares, weepe not for him whose Death I21

Chamberlaine Chamberlaine, one of her graces kinn A13

Charles would yee Prevaile your foes, thine better Lucke Oii6

Come all you Farmers out of the Countrey B3

Come arme thy self brave England R4

Come heare, Lady Muses, and help mee to sing Oi16

Contemne not Gracious king our plaints and teares Nvi2

Courts commender states mantayner A5

Courts scorne, states disgracing A4

D

Dazal'd thus with hight of place H14

Dearling off Kings, Patrone off armes Piii3

Death come thy selfe and let thy Image sleepe Piii17  
 Downe came grave auntient Sir John Crooke C1i  
 E  
 England men say of late is bankrupt growne A14  
 England thy early prime is gone, good Knight A11  
 England was sick, a plewresey possest her Pi8  
 Enjoy thy Bondage; make thy Prison know Pii10  
 Essex bird hath flowen hir cage F5  
 Essex did spend, Northumberland did spare A16  
 Essex prayes, Southampton playes A10  
 Essex thy death's reveng'd, Lo here I lie I4  
 Even such is tyme, which takes in trust I3  
 Excuse me Eliott if I heare name thee Oiii4  
 F  
 False on his Deanrye? false nay more, Ile lay Nv4  
 Falshoods Jewell D11  
 Feare not brave Felton sith it is thy fate Pii13  
 Felton, awake, & cheare thyselfe from sorrow Pii3  
 Fly Fame, report, that all the world may knowe I19  
 Fly not Momperson sins thear is no inn Mi4  
 Flye soule the bodies guide A3  
 For Lambe go ringe some bell Oiii8  
 Fortunes darling, Kings Content Pi17  
 Fower Cheyffe Justices late wee had Oi12  
 From a Gipsie in the morneing L9  
 From Car a Carter surely tooke his name H13  
 from Cathernes docke theer launcht A pritty Pinke H18  
 From Englands happy & unequall state Nv2  
 From Katherins dock there launcht a pinke F4  
 From Roberts coach to Robins carr H3

From such a face whose Excellence L8

## G

Go Eccho of the minde A6

Goe soule the bodies guest A3

Great Buckinghame Oii3

Great Buckingham's buried under a stone Pi15

Great Duke, Although I litle am acquainted Pi31

Great Duke, which art commauder of the Seas Pi27

Great Gorge, and art thou gone Pi23

Great heart, who taught thee so to dye I17

Great potent Duke, whom fortune rais'd soe high Pi20

Great Verulam is very lame, the gout of goe-out feeling Mii3

Greddie, Envious, malitious proud unstable J4

## H

Had our great duke bene Joseph then might we Pi19

Hadst thou lik other Sirs and knights of worth H25

He nowe is deade, from whome men fledd D10

He that in Belgia fought for Englandes Queene A12

Heare heddlesse heedlesse matchlesse Rawly lies I6

Heare lyes the Impostar Lambe Oiii9

Heaven blesse King James our joy L10

Hee that can reade a sigh, or spell a teare Piii18

Heer is Francis Verulam Lord Chancelour God save him Mii6

Heer lye's my Lord's Grace at six & at seaven B19

Heere lies a gracious graceles Peere Pi18

Heere lies Hobbinoll our Shepheard while ere D1

Heere lieth Robbin Crookt back, unjustly reckond D4

Heere lyes a treasure in this pitte I10

Heere lyes great Salisbury though little of Stature D21

Heere lyes hee that once was poore H6

Heere lyes interred wormes meate D15  
 Heere lyes one nowe not worth despising F11  
 Heere lyes Salisbury that little great comaunder D20  
 Heere lyes the best and worst of Fate Piii2  
 Heere lyes the breife of badnes vices nurse J3  
 Heere lyes the man whose death and life I5  
 Heere lyes thy Urne, O what a little blowe Piii7  
 Heere lyeth our great Lord Treasurer of late D22  
 Heere lye's a Lord that Wenching thought no sinne B15  
 Heere Robbin rousteth in his last neast D17  
 Heere sleepes in the Lorde beeperperde with pox D16  
 Heere uninterr'd suspends (though not to save Pii15  
 Henrie, raysed Brandon F7  
 Here Dr Lambe, the conjurer lyes Oiii6  
 Here lies Leachery, Treachery, Pride Pi13  
 Here lieth one who if his case be bad B18  
 Here Lyes Dick of Canterburie, suspected a Papist B17  
 Here lyes great George the Glory of our state Pi14  
 Here lyes my Lord of Northampton, his Majestie's erwigg G5  
 Here Lyes the bonnes off him that did Pii19  
 Here lyes the Lady Penelope Rich B14  
 Here under lyes a Counsellor of State H28  
 Here uninterd suspends, (doubtles to save Pii16  
 Hesperides, within whose gardens grow H26  
 Honor, worth, greatnes, and what part so ere Piii12  
 Hope flattered thee though lawes did life convince I9  
 I  
 I did not flatter thee Alive, and nowe Piii5  
 I knew thee but by fame and thy brave deeds I24  
 I mmortal man of glory, whose stout hand Pii9

I neade noe Trophies, to adorne my hearse Q3  
 I speake to such if any such there bee B8  
 I that my countrey did betray Pi34  
 I will not weepe for twere as great a sin I20  
 I.C.U.R H9  
 If 88 be past then thrive Ni4  
 If either lotterytes or lottes E3  
 If ever woe possest a stubborn heart H15  
 If good mens graces in heaven with them abide Pi26  
 If greatnes, wisedome, pollicie of state D24  
 If heav'n rejoyce, when men leave off to sinne Oiii7  
 If Saints in heaven cann either see or heare Niv1  
 If spite be pleasd, when that her object dead I22  
 Ilium deplores, but still old Priams glad Nv10  
 Immodest death that wouldst not once conferre B16  
 Immortall Man of glorie, whose brave hand Pii8  
 In England there lives a jolly Sire H2  
 In reading these my Lord youll see I've gott Oii4  
 Io to Buckingham great Admiral L4  
 Is Felton dead? It's that hee did desire Pii18  
 It makes mee to muse to heare of the Newes Oii2  
 Its true you need noe trophees to your hearse Q7  
 I've read of Ilands flotinge and removed Nv3  
 J  
 Justice of late hath lost her witts Oi13  
 L  
 Lady changed to Venus Dove F6  
 Landless Will: of Lambeth strand R8  
 Letchery did consult with witcherye F2  
 lett Charles & george doe what they can Pi1

Listen jolly gentlemen L5

Looke, and lament behould a face of Earth H20

Lord, what are wee, that thou shouldst thus respect Pi9

M

Make haste I pray, launch out your shippes with speed Pi29

Me thinks I see a lady sitt and mourne H19

Mee thought I walked in a dreame G2

Might Teares Revive thee I could wish to be Piii16

Mother / My humble dutie done, I crave Pi35

My honour, favour, life, & all Pi33

My life is done my heart prepar'd for death Q4

My Lord high stewarde his grace Q1

Myene of Gold some say their's found E4

Malignant characters that did portend Piii1

N

Nevil for the protestant, L Thomas for the papist B1

No sooner had the worlds most happy knife Pi30

Noe Poets triviall rage that must aspire Piii22

Nourish'd with sighs and frights, and form'd with fears Piii19

Now doe your selves noe more so deck E2

Now let us rejoyce sing Peanes all L2

O

O Admirall! Since thou camst back againe Oiii1

O had thy name bene causer of thy death I11

O Joyfull newse for Buckingham is nowe L3

O Ladies, ladies howle & cry D12

O stay your teares yow who complaine Nvi1

Of Brittain Beasts the Buck is King Oiii12

Of Raleighs life and death the sum of all to tell I7

Oh for an Ovid or a Homer now Nv16

Oh honoured England how art thou disgrac'd Oi2  
Oh that such wisdom that could steere a state D25  
Once dead and twice a live; death could not frame H24  
Once he was Grace it selfe I23  
One aske me, why I mournde Oii9  
One worthy Chancellour rendred up his place Miii1  
Ould Ned Cooke is putt to a new booke Oi14  
Ould Sarum now is dead Younge Salisburie lyves D27  
Our countrie Merry England (once so styl'd) Piii11  
Our digby digd'e but digd'e in vaine Oi3  
Our eagle is yett flowne, to a place unknowne Nv11  
Our Prince whom we soe dearely lov'd Nv13  
Our state's a Game at Cards the Councell deale Oiii10  
Oure crossrow's turnd, a signe off monstrous luck Oii10  
Oyes Mi5

P

Pale death, with Iron hand, hath struck a blowe Pi22  
Passer by know heere is interr'd D19  
Pervertinge of the lawes makes justice blind Mi3  
Poor silly wight that carkes in the night Nv12  
Poore Pilote thou hast lost thy Pinke H10  
Pride lies heere, Revenge and Lust Pi16  
Proude and ambitious wretch that feedest on naught but faction A9

R

Raleigh in this thy selfe thy selfe transcends I1  
Reader I was borne and cry'd C1b  
Reader stand still and read loe heere I am Piii10  
Reader when these dumbe stones have told Piii21  
Reader, if that desert may make the stay D14  
Reader, Ile be sworne uppon a booke R1

Rejoyce brave English Gallants Oii7  
Religion the most sacred power on earth Nii6  
Rex & grex are both of a sound Oi15  
Robbin of Essex all in a rage H4  
Robert E. of Salisburie. Libellous Anagram on Cecil D6  
Romes worst Philenis, and Pasiphaes dust Q2

## S

Say, no man living would vouchsafe a verse J5  
See what a love there is betweene R5  
Seventh Henryes Counsayle was of great renowne B21  
She with whom troops of bustuary slaves H17  
Since Arthure, or his stable stood Nv9  
Sir you are one of those, who dare commend H23  
Sir, I your servant, (who have sett you free Pii11  
Sith number with thy name doth thus agree Pi2  
Some say Sir Edward Cecill can Nii1  
Some say the Duke was gracious, vertuous, good Pii5  
Some would complaine of Fortune & blinde chance K1i  
Sonne Benjamin, whil'st thou art yong G4  
Sooner I may some fixed statue be Piii8  
Sorrow and Joy at once possesse my brest Pii14  
Stand fast thou shaking quaking keeper Mii2  
Surely the face of thinges is alter'd much R2

## T

Tell mee for gods sake Christs Church what you meane Nv5  
The Argument is cold and sencelesse clay Pi36  
The base on which mans greatnesse firmest stands Oi4  
The Belgick Frogge, out of the bogge, with Brittish mouse doth strive Nii4  
The Court's full of newes G1  
The day was turnd to starrelight, & was runne Nv6



The Disease of the stomack, and the Terme of Disgrace A2  
 The Divell longe deceived hath, Watt Raleighs wit with evell I14  
 The Divell men say is dead in devonshire late B13  
 The divell now hath fetcht the Ape D8  
 The Duke is dead, and wee are ridd of strife Pii6  
 The famous Ambassador, brother to the French Favourer Nii3  
 The fayre and famous mayde is gone F9  
 The fift of August, and the fift Nv18  
 The Great Archpapist Learned Curio B2  
 The greate assemblie of the parliamente Mii5  
 The heavens approve brave Feltons resolution Pii4  
 The house of the Howards H27  
 The King hee hawkes, and hunts E7  
 The Kinge & the court desyrus of sport Miii5  
 The Kinge and his wyfe the Parliament Oi10  
 The Kinge loves you, you him L6  
 The measled Boare is frankt I tell noe fable Mii1  
 The noblest brave profession Oii11  
 The old Cicilian fox D7  
 The pale horse of the Revelation Pi12  
 The Parliament of late hath oft been broken Oiii14  
 The Parliament sitts with a Synod of Witts Oi1  
 The prelat Pope, the Canonists trope, the Courtyers oracle, virginities spectacle B11  
 The Prince is now come out of Spayne Nv17  
 The Prince of Wales with all his royall traine Nv14  
 The Shepherds struck, The sheepe are fledd Pi6  
 The Sommers sun is sett H8  
 The starre that rose in Virgo's trayne Nv8  
 The tottering state of transitory things Mi2  
 The warrlike King was troubled when hee spy'd Oiii3

The wealth he gott to make his meanes greate H11  
 The wisest King did wonder when hee spy'd Oiii2  
 The Word of Deniall, and the Letter of Fifty A1  
 The worst is tould the best is hide G3  
 There is a close Prisoner in the Tower J2  
 There is a man, a Plauge uppon him Oi17  
 There was a great fleete, all they that did see't Oi6  
 There was a man, & hee was Semper idem Oi5  
 There was a Munkye clumbe up a tree Oi7  
 There was an ould ladd rode on an ould padd H1  
 There was some pollicie I doe beleive Oi9  
 These put together, thus they crye Ni2  
 They beg our goods, our lands, and our lives E1  
 This day is made Knight of the Garter A15  
 This little Grave embraces Pi11  
 This stone can not inclose thy fame I15  
 This Taper, fedd, & nurst with court-oyle D9  
 Thou seest my tombe, Grey haire lye in this grave I16  
 Thou that on topp of Fortunes wheeles did mount Pi24  
 Thus Buck-in-game, Felt-one did soone abate Pi7  
 Thy followers in hope to flatter thee Miii3  
 Thy numerous name great George, expressest thee Pi3  
 Tis painefull rowing gainst the bigg swolne tide F10  
 To hunt the Doe I have refu'sd Oiii13  
 To whome shall cursed I my Case complaine B7  
 Two kinsmen wrastlinge, who shold have the fall I18  
 Two Parliaments dissolv'd? then let my hart R9  
 Two R:R:rs twoe Crookebacks of late ruled Englands helme D5  
 U  
 U. R. I. C. poore Canterbury R7

V

Vainglorious man who can your witt applaude R3

W

Wants hee a grave whom heavens doe cover? was hee Pii17

Waste not a signe that courtlye Rosse should fall J1

Water thy plaints with grace divine B6

Watt I wot well thy over weaning witt B4

Well met Jockie whether away E5

Were itt nott a brutish crueltye F3

What hatfull fury dipt thy raging Quill Mii9

What once was said by valiant Tomyris Pi25

What suddayne change hath dark't of late Nv1

What Worlds of people hath death conquered I12

What! shall I say now George is dead Piii13

When Carr in Court a Page at first began H7

When Charles, hath got the Spanish Gearle Miii2

When in the brazen leaves of fame Piii20

When onely one doth rule and guide the shipp Oiii11

When Poets use to write men use to say Piii15

When Scotland was Scotland and England it selfe E6

When that rich soul of thine (now Sainted) kept D26

when the uncivill civill peace of State Oii1

When we but heare that Turkes and Tartars fight Nii5

When you awake, dull Brittons, and behould Mii8

Where Medwaye greetes old Thamesis silver streames A7

Whiles thy sonnes rash unluckye armes attempt Nii2

Who best did Calculate the life of man I8

Who doubts of Providence, or God denyes B10

Who ever lov'd man vertuous Piii14

Why did the fond Plebeans say Oi11

Why how now Robine? discontented quite H12  
Why shoulde poore chauncelour be condemned by a cry Mii4  
Why was the varlett sent into the meane Oii8  
Why: is our Age turn'd coward, that no Penn Pii7  
Why? what meanes this? England, & Spaine alike Niii1  
Wilye watt, wylie watt B5  
Within this sty heer now doth ly Mii7  
Withold thy fiery steeds great God of light Nvi3  
Y  
Ye gastly Spiritts that haunt the gloomy night Pi37  
Yee snarling Satyrs, cease your horrid yells Piii6  
Yee Spanyards, come away, come away Oi8  
Yet weere Bidentalls sacred, and the place Piii9  
You auntient Lawes of Right; Can you, for shame Pii12  
You braveing spiritts (not brave) inflamd from hell Piii4  
You Justices & men of myghte Mi1  
You men of Britaine, wherefore gaze yee so Ni1  
You say that Malefacit was dead: D13  
You that reade passing by D23  
Young witts are soone seduced and alwaies apt I2  
Your bold Petition Mortalls I have seene Niv2

## INDEX OF MANUSCRIPTS

### Republic of Ireland archives

#### Trinity College Dublin Library

731 no foliation (Q3)

806 fol. 469r (Oi2), fol. 511v (Pii20), fol. 535r (R8), fol. 560v (Oi1), fol. 570r (Mii8), fol. 575v (L10), fol. 577r (Mii2), fol. 581v (Miii2)

G.2.21 p. 409 (C1i)

### United Kingdom archives

#### Bodleian Library University of Oxford

Add. C.302 fol. 18r (Oi16)

Ashmole 36-37 fols. 6r-10v (Pi37), fols. 11r-14r (B7), fols. 14r-16r (B8), fol. 31r (Pii12), fol. 50v (Oii12), fol. 57r (Oiii5), fol. 58r (Nvi1), fol. 59r (Nvi2), fol. 62r (Oi15), fol. 70r (J5), fol. 70r and 145v (J3), fol. 75r (Oiii3), fol. 76v (Nii6), fol. 108r (Miii2), fol. 131r (C1i), fol. 155r (Nv4), fol. 156r (Miii5), fol. 174v (Oiii10), fol. 174v (Oiii13), fol. 213r (G2), fol. 213r (G4), fol. 264r (R5), fol. 303r (Niv1)

Ashmole 38 p. 10 (Mii8), p. 14 (Pi34), p. 19 and p. 25 (Pi3), p. 20 (Pii15), p. 20 (Piii8), p. 44 (Oi15), p. 44 (Oiii5), p. 45 (Ni1), p. 87 (Oi12), p. 116 (F1), p. 116 (H5), p. 124 (Mi5), p. 133 (Oii12), pp. 135, 136 (F4), p. 136 (Oiii10), p. 142 (Piii9), p. 142 (Piii10), p. 143 (Oi13), p. 152 (Oiii11), p. 169 (B14), p. 182 (D15), fol. 229r-v (Miii2)

Ashmole 47 fol. 25r (Nv6), fol. 31r (Pii5), fol. 40r (Ni4), fol. 53r (L6), fol. 83v (Nv3), fols. 88v-89r (Q2), fol. 112r (H25)

Ashmole 51 fol. 6r (A3)

Ashmole 230 fol. 343v (I3)

Ashmole 423 fol. 263r (Ni3), fol. 265r (Ni4)

Ashmole 781 p. 129 (G2), p. 131 (G3), p. 134 (A14), p. 136 (B16), p. 136 (Oi4), p. 151 (I6), p. 151 (I22), p. 163 (B6), p. 164 (A4), p. 164 (A5)

Ashmole 1463 p. 13 (B19), p. 13 (B20), p. 13 (D15), p. 13 (I3)

Aubrey 6 fol. 78v (D1), fol. 79r (I10), fol. 106r (Miii5)

CCC. 309 fol. 80r (Nv6)

CCC. 327 23v (G3), fol. 23v (G4), fol. 24r (A14), fol. 32v (Q3)

CCC. 328 fols. 11v and 62r (Pii15), fol. 40v (Miii5), fols. 43r and 76v (B14), fol. 47v (L6), fol. 51r (Pii10), fol. 51v (Piii8), fol. 58r (Q3), fol. 63r (I20), fol. 63v (Pii17), fol. 70v (Nv6), fol. 94v (C1i), fol. 94v (C1b), fol. 97r (B16), fol. 97r (Piii10)

Dodsworth 79 fol. 158r (Pi25), fol. 158r (Pii5), fol. 158r (Pii20), fol. 158r (Piii12), fol. 158v (Pi24), fol. 161v (Piii10), fol. 162r (Piii9)

Don. b.8 p. 117 (Nv15), p. 212 and p. 368 (Pii10)

Don. b.9 fol. 33r (Piii20), fol. 33v (Piii21)

Don. c.54 fols. 3v, 11r (I3), fol. 7r (A8), fol. 9v (B4), fols. 19r-20r (A7), fol. 20r (A9), fol. 22v (H9), fol. 22v (H10), fol. 23r (F4), fol. 23r (F6), fol. 23r (H1), fol. 23r (H5), fol. 29r (Oi5)

Don. d.58 fol. 6r (I18), fol. 15v (B14), fol. 18r (B16), fol. 18r (B17), fol. 18r (B18), fol. 19r (Piii10), fol. 36v (Mi3), fol. 42r (Nv4)

Don. f.39 fol. 24r (Oi5)

Douce 357 fol. 17r (Pii8), fol. 17v (Piii8), fol. 18r (Pii20), fol. 18v (Pii5)

Douce f.5 fol. 5r (Oi15), fol. 5v (Oii12), fol. 9r (B14), fol. 11r (A3), fol. 11r (B16), fol. 13v (Pi28), fol. 15v (Miii5), fol. 16r (Mii7), fol. 21v (Oii5), fol. 28r (F1i), fol. 31r (A1), fol. 31r (A2), fol. 31r (Miii5), fol. 34v (E4), fol. 36v (L4), fol. 37v (Mii3)

Eng. Hist. c.272 p. 41 (A8), p. 46 (B4), p. 50 (I3), p. 51 (I6), p. 51 (I10), p. 51 (I17)

Eng. Poet. c.11 fol. 15r (Nvi1)

Eng. Poet. c.25 fol. 38r (R9)

Eng. Poet. c.50 fols. 1r-7r (K1i), fol. 7r (Mii1), fol. 7v (Ni4), fol. 8r (Niv1), fol. 10v (Niv2), fols. 12v-13r (Nv10), fol. 13r (Miii1), fol. 13v (Oii5), fol. 13v (Oiii10), fol. 13v (Pii4), fols. 14r-15r (Oi10), fols. 15v-16r (Nv13), fol. 21r (Oi2), fol. 21v-22v (Nii5), fol. 23r (Oi4), fol. 24v (Oi15), fol. 25r (L8), fol. 25v (Nvi2), fol. 26r (Pii10), fol. 26v (Ni3), fol. 27r (Oii3), fol. 27r (Oii8), fol. 27v (Oii12), fol. 28v (Oi11), fol. 29r (Nii6), fols. 30r-31r (K2), fol. 31v (I3), fol. 31v (I12), fol. 31v (Miii2), fol. 32v (Mii3), fol. 41v (L7)

Eng. Poet. c.53 fol. 9r (Pii15)

Eng. Poet. d. 3 fol. 2v (A3)

Eng. Poet. d.152 fol. 86r (Oi15), fol. 154v (B14)

Eng. Poet. e.14 fol. 11v (Oiii10), fol. 12v (Pii1), fol. 12v (Pii9), fol. 12v (Pii15), fol. 13r (Oi15), fol. 13r (Pi34), fol. 14v (Pii10), fol. 15r (Piii9), fol. 15v (Piii10), fol. 19r (Pi28), fol.

19r (Pii5), fol. 49r (H9), fol. 49v (Niv2), fols. 52v-54r (Nvi3), fol. 76v (Pii17), fol. 77v (Ni1), fol. 79v (D1), fol. 81v (Miii5), fol. 87v (Q3), fol. 88v (G3), fol. 89v (B13), fol. 94v (B14), fols. 95v and 96r (B16), fol. 95v (D4), fol. 95v (I4), fol. 96r (D25), fol. 98v (I17)

Eng. Poet. e.30 fol. 25r (I20)

Eng. Poet. e.37 p. 62 (F6), p. 72 (L8)

Eng. Poet. e.97 p. 13 (Miii5), p. 31 (Oi15), p. 31 (Oiii10), p. 31 (R3), p. 57 (Piii9), p. 60 (Piii18), p. 67 (Q2), p. 91 (Pii10), p. 92 (L6), p. 94 (B16), pp. 167-68 (Nv14), p. 191 (R9)

Eng. Poet. f.10 fols. 95v-96r (Mii5), fol. 96r (Mii4), fol. 96v (Pi5), fol. 97r (A14), fol. 97r (D15), fol. 97v (D1), fol. 104r (Mii8), fol. 107r (Niv1), fol. 111r (Niv2), fol. 117v (Oi15)

Eng. Poet. f.16 fol. 1r (Oi15)

Firth d.7 fol. 138r (H25), fol. 146r (A3), fol. 151r (F4), fol. 152r (H9), fol. 153r (J3), fol. 154r (Mii6), fol. 156r (D18), fol. 158r (A12), fol. 160r (B17), fol. 160r (B18), fol. 164r (H1)

Firth e.4 p. 3 (A3)

Hearne's Diaries 30 p. 212 (B14), p. 228 (Oi15)

Hearne's Diaries 66 p. 164 (L6)

Locke c.32 fol. 1r (Oiii5)

Malone 16 fol. 20r (G3)

Malone 19 p. 14 (Oi1), p. 20 (Nii2), p. 21 (Nv6), p. 27 (Nv3), p. 30 (Nv4), pp. 32-33 (Nv15), pp. 35-37 (Nv2), p. 37 (L6), p. 39 (Ni1), p. 52 (A2), p. 53 (A1), p. 53 (H21), p. 71 (G2), p. 78 (Nii3), p. 87 (L5), p. 94 (F4), p. 111 (Miii5), p. 149 (G4), p. 151 (H7)

Malone 21 fol. 4r (Pii10), fol. 4v (Pii15), fol. 56v (Oii12), fol. 93r (R9)

Malone 22 fol. 16r (I20)

Malone 23 p. 1 (B2), p. 4 (D4), p. 4 (E1), p. 5 (B14), p. 5 (J3), pp. 5-6 (J4), p. 6 (F11), p. 6 (H10), p. 7 (H5), p. 7 (H6), p. 8 (H17), pp. 10-65 (F6), pp. 14-48 (Niv2), pp. 19-22 (L5), p. 23 (Mii3), p. 24 (Oi1), p. 27 (Oi4), pp. 28-31 (L8), pp. 32-14 (Niv1), pp. 49-56 (Nvi1), pp. 58-61 (Oii4), pp. 65-66 (D20), p. 103 (Oiii12), p. 104 (Oii2), p. 105 (Oii5), p. 106 (Oii12), p. 110 (Oiii4), p. 113 (Oiii5), p. 116 (Oiii2), p. 117 (Oiii3), p. 119 (Oi15), p. 119 (Oiii10), pp. 119-20 (Oi13), p. 120 (E4), p. 120 (Oi12), p. 120 (Oiii11), p. 121 (A14), pp. 123-27 (Piii5), pp. 128-130 (Piii6), pp. 130-32 (Piii7), pp. 132-33 (Piii8), pp. 134-35 (Piii9), pp. 135-38 (Piii11), p. 138 (Piii12), p. 139 (Piii13), p. 140 (Piii10), pp. 140-41 (Piii14), p. 143 (Pi15), p. 143 (Pi17), p. 144 (Pi18), p. 145 (Pi11), p. 145 (Pi36), p. 195 (Pii5), p. 195 (Pii20), p. 195 (Piii2), p. 196 (Pi16), p. 196 (Pi34), p. 197 (Pi10), p. 197 (Pi12), p. 198 (Pi21), p. 200 (Pi22), p. 201 (Pi29), p. 203 (Pii7), p. 207 (Pii8), p. 208 (Pii12), p. 210 (Pii15)

North b.24 fol. 28r (Cl1)

Rawl. 859 fol. 85v (I3)  
Rawl. 1334 fol. 29v (I3)  
Rawl. A. 346 fol. 141v (Q2), fol. 142r (Q3)  
Rawl. B. 151 fol. 101r (Mii8), fol. 102v (Mi2), fol. 102v (Mii3), fol. 103r (G2), fol. 103r (G4)  
Rawl. C. 986 fol. 15r (I3)  
Rawl. D. 152 fol. 11r (Nvi1)  
Rawl. D. 361 fol. 68r (R9)  
Rawl. D. 383 fol. 140r (I3)  
Rawl. D. 398 fol. 162r (Ni4), fol. 183r (Nvi1), fols. 188r and 229r (Nv11), fol. 222r (Niv1), fol. 226r and fol. 230r (Niv2)  
Rawl. D. 727 fol. 94v (G4)  
Rawl. D. 954 fol. 35r (I17), fol. 35r (I20)  
Rawl. D. 1048 fol. 50v (Nv12), fol. 51v (Nv3), fol. 53r-v (Nv4), fol. 64r (F1), fol. 64r (F2), fol. 64r (H5), fol. 64r (H10), fol. 64v (F4), fol. 64v (H8), fol. 64v (H9), fol. 73r (Nv1), fol. 76r (Nv15), fol. 76v (I2)  
Rawl. D. 1092 fol. 23r (Ni4)  
Rawl. D. 1100 fol. 89v (Oi4)  
Rawl. Poet. 26 fol. 1r (E1), fol. 1r (E3), fol. 2r (A10), fol. 2r (G1), fol. 2v (G4), fol. 3v (Nv8), fol. 4v (Miii5), fol. 6v (B10), fol. 6v (Oiii10), fol. 7r (C1i), fol. 8v (Oiii2), fol. 14r (Pi28), fol. 15v (B14), fol. 15v (Ni4), fol. 17v (F5), fol. 17v (H8), fol. 17v (H10), fol. 18r (F4), fol. 18r (H4), fol. 18r (H6), fol. 18v (F6), fol. 20r (Nvi2), fol. 20v (A8), fol. 21r (Q3), fol. 21r-v (Nv1), fol. 22r-v (Nv17), fols. 22v-23r (Nv9), fols. 23v-24r (Nv18), fol. 24v (Nv15), fol. 25r (Nv8), fol. 33r (Pii11), fol. 33v (Pi16), fol. 33v (Pii14), fol. 34r (Pii10), fols. 37v-38r (Piii18), fol. 38r-v (Piii19), fol. 61r (Oi16), fol. 67r (Ni3), fol. 69v (I3), fol. 69v (I17), fol. 70r (I19), fol. 72r (L8), fol. 78r (D1), fol. 78r (Pi34), fol. 78v (Pii5), fol. 79r (Oii12), fol. 80v (Oii5), fol. 82v (Nii4), fol. 88r (Ni2), fol. 90r (R9), fol. 97r (Piii9), fol. 97v (Piii10), fol. 100r (R7), fol. 101r (Mii8)  
Rawl. Poet. 62 fol. 35r (Piii9), fol. 42v (Oiii2)  
Rawl. Poet. 71 p. 4 (C1b)  
Rawl. Poet. 84 fol. 64v (Mii8), fol. 68r (H18), fol. 71r (Oiii3), fol. 72r (Ni1), fol. 72r (Oiii2), fol. 72v (A2), fol. 73v (Miii5), fol. 74r (Pi6), fol. 74v (Pii8), fol. 114r (Pii15)  
Rawl. Poet. 88 p. 59 (Piii2)  
Rawl. Poet. 116 fol. 54r (Miii5)



Rawl. Poet. 117 fol. 16r (G4), fol. 22v (Mii3), fol. 23v (L8), fol. 150v (R9), fol. 169v (Ni4), fol. 196v (C1i), fol. 261v (H25), fol. 271v (A1)

Rawl. Poet. 142 fol. 42v (Pii10)

Rawl. Poet. 147 p. 40 (Pii15), p. 97 (H14)

Rawl. Poet. 148 fol. 1r (A1), fol. 1r (A2)

Rawl. Poet. 152 fol. 4r (Nvi2), fol. 23r (B14)

Rawl. Poet. 153 fol. 9v (Piii9), fol. 10r (Piii10)

Rawl. Poet. 155 p. 70 (D15)

Rawl. Poet. 160 fol. 14v (L8), fol. 16r (Niv1), fol. 18v (Niv2), fol. 25r (Mii8), fol. 53r (Pii15), fol. 157v (C1i), fol. 158v (C1b), fol. 163r (F4), fol. 163r (H1), fol. 163r (H5), fol. 174r (L7), fol. 176v (Nv11), fols. 177v-78r (Nv15), fol. 179v (Miii2), fol. 180v (Nv18), fol. 185r (B3), fol. 198r (Oii5), fol. 198r (Oii12), fol. 198r (Pi3)

Rawl. Poet. 166 p. 83 (H14)

Rawl. Poet. 172 fol. 8r (C1i), fol. 12v (A3), fol. 13r (A4), fol. 13r (A5), fol. 13r (A6), fol. 14r (B4), fol. 79r (Oi1)

Rawl. Poet. 199 p. 56 (Pii15), p. 62 (Pii10)

Rawl. Poet. 206 p. 72 (Miii5)

Rawl. Poet. 208 fol. 3r (I3)

Rawl. Poet. 209 fol. 9v (I20), fol. 10r (I17)

Rawl. Poet. 212 fol. 87v (A14), fols. 90r-91r (A6), fol. 91r (A4), fol. 91r (A5)

Rawl. Poet. 246 fol. 16v (Oi15)

Sancroft 53 p. 8 (Niii3), p. 46 (Piii18), p. 47 (A14), p. 48 (H9), p. 52 (G3), p. 53 (C1i), p. 56 (C1b), p. 57 (A14)

Smith 17 p. 111 (Miii5), p. 113 (J2), p. 113 (J3), p. 124 (I1), p. 141 (Ni1)

Tanner 82 fol. 244r (I3)

Tanner 88 fol. 253r (Ni3)

Tanner 265 fol. 14r (Nvi1)

Tanner 299 fol. 11r (D8), fol. 11r (D9), fol. 11r (D18), fol. 11v (D10), fol. 11v (D11), fols. 11v-12r (D12), fol. 12r (D13), fol. 12r (D15), fol. 12v (D14), fol. 12v (D1), fol. 13r (D4), fol. 13r (D17), fol. 28v (I3)

Tanner 306 fol. 242r (Nvi1), fols. 247r-48v (Mi1), fol. 251r (I17), fol. 254r (C1i), fol. 256v (C1b), fol. 257r (L10), fol. 261r (L7), fol. 264r (Oii12), fol. 290r (R9)

Tanner 306\* fol. 188r-v (A3c)

Tanner 465 fol. 61v (H14), fol. 71v (Pii15), fol. 81r (Miii5), fol. 81r (Ni1), fols. 81v-82r (Niii1), fol. 96v (H5), fol. 98v (Oii12), fol. 100r (Oi15), fol. 100r (Oiii10), fol. 100r (Pi1), fol. 100r (Pi3), fol. 100v (Oiii4), fol. 102r (Pii3), fol. 102v (Pi13), fol. 102v (Pi20), fol. 102v (Pii5), fol. 102v (Pii20), fols. 102v-103r (Pi33), fol. 103r (Pi28), fol. 103r (Pi34), fol. 103v (Pi35), fol. 104r (Pi26)

Tanner 466 fol. 67r (Miii5)

Top. Cheshire c.7 fol. 3r (Niv1), fol. 6r (Niv2)

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Add. 3910 fol. 29v (Ni1)

Add. 4130 fol. 92v (G2), fol. 93r (G4)

Add. 4149 fol. 211r (G2), fol. 213r (C1i)

Add. 5832 fol. 169r (D1), fol. 197r (Pii7), fols. 197v-199r (Pi32), fol. 200v (Nv15), fol. 202r (Niv1), fol. 206r-v (B3), fol. 222v (Q3)

Add. 5956 fol. 23r (A8), fol. 28r (Oi1)

Add. 10309 fol. 42r (Oii5), fol. 42r (Oii12), fol. 103v (A16), fol. 120r (A14), fol. 123r (C1i), fol. 128v (Mii8), fol. 141r (I3), fol. 142v (A10), fol. 148r (G4), fol. 152r (H25)

Add. 15226 fol. 6v (B7), fol. 11v (B8), fols. 22v-24r (Oi9), fol. 28r (Pii15), fol. 28r-v (Pii16)

Add. 15227 fol. 2r (L3), fol. 15r (A15), fol. 17v (C1i), fol. 21r (Piii6), fol. 27r (H26), fol. 28r (Miii5), fol. 41v (Piii1), fol. 42v (H9), fol. 42v (Oi5), fol. 79v (C1b)

Add. 15476 fol. 1r (H9), fols. 91r-92r (H2)

Add. 15891 fol. 245v (H1)

Add. 18044 fol. 81r (Piii10), fol. 153v (I3)

Add. 19268 fol. 32r (Piii9)

Add. 21433 fol. 102v (B13), fol. 120v (Nv4), fol. 145v (G2), fol. 147r (G4)

Add. 21544 fol. 128r (Pii8)

Add. 22118 fol. 5v (Oiii10), fol. 9v (E4), fol. 29r (Q3), fol. 36v (Oiii2), fol. 38v (Mi5), fol. 42v (Mii2)

Add. 22591 fol. 89r (Q3), fol. 89r (Q6), fol. 315r (Oii12)

Add. 22601 fol. 60v (A14), fol. 63r (B5), fol. 63v (B6), fols. 64r-65v (B4)

Add. 22603 fols. 33r-34r (L7), fols. 49v-50r (I20)

Add. 22640 fol. 105r (L8)

Add. 22959 fol. 8r (Oi12), fol. 22v (Oii12), fol. 25v (Pi3), fol. 27r (Pi34), fol. 27r (Pii5), fol. 27r (Pii20), fol. 28r (Oii13), fol. 35v (Oiii2), fol. 49r (F11), fol. 58r (R9)

Add. 23229 fol. 16r (C1i), fol. 99r (L8)

Add. 23723 fol. 22r (Nii4)

Add. 25303 fol. 83r (Mii8), fol. 86r (Mii10), fol. 98r (B13), fol. 131r (Nv4), fol. 133r (L8), fol. 162r (G2), fol. 163r (G4)

Add. 25707 fol. 46r (H20), fol. 74r (Nvi1), fol. 76r (Niv1), fol. 160v (Piii9), fol. 161v (Piii10), fol. 185v (H14)

Add. 27408 fol. 146r (Oii12)

Add. 27879 fol. 239v (Ni3)

Add. 28640 fol. 101r-v (Ni3), fol. 103v (Nii4), fol. 123v (Nvi1), fol. 128v (Nv1), fol. 148r (Oi4), fol. 149r (Oi1), fol. 149v (Oi3)

Add. 29303 fol. 3v (Mii8), fol. 5r (Nvi1)

Add. 29492 fol. 26r (Oi1), fol. 27r (Oi4), fol. 30v (Nv15), fol. 49v (Oii12), fol. 55r (Oiii1), fol. 55v (Oii1), fol. 55v (Pi3), fol. 55v (Pi4), fol. 56r (Oiii10), fol. 56r-v (Pi28), fol. 63v (Pii10)

Add. 29607 fol. 1r (Oiii3)

Add. 29764 fol. 9r (A3)

Add. 29879 fol. 26r (L5)

Add. 29996 fol. 70v (Oiii2), fol. 70v (Piii10)

Add. 30982 fol. 7v (L6), fol. 21r (Ni1), fols. 21v and 148v (I3), fol. 22r (H9), fol. 22v (Miii5), fol. 33r (C1i), fol. 45v (Piii2), fol. 86r (Pii10), fol. 157v (C1b)

Add. 33998 fol. 8v (Nv3), fol. 29v (Oi13), fol. 41r (Piii22), fol. 42v (Pii10), fol. 65r (Mi5), fol. 96v (I12), fol. 96v (I17)

Add. 34217 fol. 39v (Niv1), fol. 41v (Ni4)

Add. 34218 fol. 6r (B16), fol. 20r (C1i), fol. 162v (F6), fol. 165r (F4)

Add. 35331 fol. 28r (Oiii2), fol. 30v (Oiii3)

Add. 38139 fol. 58r (B11), fol. 192v (B4)

Add. 39829 fol. 93r (A14)

Add. 43410 fol. 163v (I3)

Add. 44963 fol. 19v (C1i), fol. 36v (Miii5), fol. 37r (Oiii6), fol. 38r (Oiii7), fol. 38r (Pi34), fol. 38v (Q3), fol. 40r (H5), fol. 40r (Pii10), fol. 40r (Piii10), fol. 40v (Oi5), fol. 40v (Oi15)

Add. 47111 fol. 4v (Pii10), fol. 4v (Pii15), fol. 18r (Nv6)  
Add. 47126 fol. 138v (Oiii5)  
Add. 52585 fol. 4r (Nvi1), fol. 56v (I3)  
Add. 58215 fol. 24r (I20), fol. 42r (I17), fol. 46v (A7), fol. 173v (Oi16), fol. 190v (C1i)  
Add. 61481 fol. 63r (Nv4), fol. 64r (Nv5), fol. 97r (Nvi1), fol. 99r (Mii2)  
Add. 61683 fol. 67r (Oiii3), fol. 73r (Nv15)  
Add. 61944 fol. 77v (F4)  
Add. 62134 fol. 12r (I20)  
Add. 69847A fol. 5r (A3)  
Add. 69883B fol. 66r (D24), fol. 76r (Ni4)  
Add. 69968A fol. 30v (H14)  
Add. 70454 fol. 21v (B19), fol. 22v (B20), fol. 53r (Miii5)  
Add. 70639 fol. 65r (Miii5), fol. 70v (Oii12)  
Add. 72368 fol. 31r (Oi1)  
Add. 72439 fol. 148r (H14)  
Add. 72479 fol. 6r (Oi1), fol. 8r (Oi4)  
Add. 73086 fol. 18r (I3)  
Add. 74734 item K (H1)  
Cotton App. L fol. 169r (B16)  
Cotton Titus c.7 fol. 93r (I7), fol. 93r (I13), fol. 94r (I1), fol. 95r (I17)  
Egerton 784 fol. 5v (I23), fol. 22v (Nii4)  
Egerton 923 fol. 10v (Miii5), fol. 11r (G3), fol. 26v (Pii15), fol. 30r (L8), fol. 31v (Ni4), fol.  
37r (Nvi1), fol. 40v (Nv6), fol. 45v (Pi34), fol. 45v (Pii5)  
Egerton 1160 fol. 241v (Pii15)  
Egerton 2026 fol. 12r (Oiii13), fol. 12r (Pii10), fol. 12r (Piii10), fol. 64v (Pii8), fol. 65r (Pii10), fol.  
66r (Miii5)  
Egerton 2230 fol. 25r (C1i), fol. 33v (D3), fol. 33v (D15), fol. 34r (D1), fol. 34r-v (D18), fol.  
34v (D9), fols. 34v-35r (D10), fol. 35v (B16), fol. 64r (Pi35), fol. 69r (F6), 69r (F10), fol.  
69v (D5), fol. 69v (F3), fol. 69v (F8), fol. 70r (E1), fol. 70r (H27), fol. 70v (E2), fol.  
70v (H5), fol. 70v (H6), fol. 71r (F4), fol. 71v (H3), fol. 72r (H10), fol. 72v (H25)  
Egerton 2421 fol. 2v (C1b), fol. 18r-v (Pii13)

Egerton 2541 fol. 118r (Oiii2)

Egerton 2725 fol. 37v (L2), fol. 43r (Mii8), fol. 45v (C1i), fol. 47r (Niii3), fol. 60r (Piii10), fol. 78v (Piii9), fols. 79r-80v (Piii22), fol. 80v (Oiii5), fol. 82r (Pi18), fol. 82v (Oiii11), fol. 110r (Q3), fols. 129r-130r (R9)

Egerton 2877 fol. 88v (B12)

Harley 367 fol. 151r (Nvi1), fol. 153r (L8), fol. 160r (R9), fol. 163r (Nv9), fol. 187r (Mii3)

Harley 646 fol. 26r (H21), fol. 26r (H22)

Harley 738 fol. 328r (Q3)

Harley 791 fol. 49r (I17), fol. 49r (L2), fol. 57r (Pi28), fol. 57r (Pii5), fol. 59r (J3), fol. 61r (Ni1), fol. 69r (Oiii11)

Harley 837 fol. 74r (Nv1)

Harley 907 fol. 75v (Nv15)

Harley 1221 fol. 74r (D1), fol. 74v (H27), fol. 74v (L2), fol. 75r (Ni1), fol. 80v (Mii3), fol. 90r (Oi1), fol. 91r (H9), fol. 96v (F4), fol. 110v (H14)

Harley 1574 fol. 2r (I3)

Harley 2127 fol. 34r (A13)

Harley 2296 fol. 135r (A3)

Harley 3511 fol. 18v (Pii15)

Harley 3910 fol. 8r (Mii8), fol. 11r (B2), fol. 14r (B4), fol. 26r (H17), fol. 28r (I20), fol. 60r (Mi4)

Harley 3991 fol. 126r (B19), fol. 126r (B20), fol. 126v (B15), fol. 126v (B16), fol. 126v (E1)

Harley 4931 fol. 9r (Pi2), fol. 9r (Pi13), fol. 10r (C1i)

Harley 4955 fol. 72r (Oi9), fol. 85v (Oiii14), fol. 86r (Mi5)

Harley 5191 fol. 17r (C1i)

Harley 5353 fol. 83r (A1), fol. 83r (A2)

Harley 6038 fol. 14r (H28), fol. 18r (D1), fol. 18v (L2), fol. 18v (H27), fol. 19r (Ni1), fol. 27r (Mii3), fol. 27v (Oi1), fol. 28r (H9), fol. 28v (F4), fol. 44r (H14)

Harley 6057 fol. 6v (Pii15), fol. 13v (F4), fol. 35r (I20), fol. 50v (I16), fols. 52v-53v (Oiii4)

Harley 6383 fol. 27r (Piii14), fol. 27v (Piii9), fol. 28v (Pii10), fol. 29r (Oiii2), fol. 34v (Oiii3), fols. 49r-50r (R6), fol. 63v (Oi7), fol. 71r (B11), fol. 78r-v (H19)

Harley 6910 fol. 141v (A3)

Harley 6917 fols. 20v-21r (Piii20), fol. 21r-v (Piii21), fol. 101r (Mii8)

Harley 6918 fol. 34v (C1b), fol. 83v (Oiii6)

Harley 6931 fol. 6r (Nv3), fol. 35v (C1b), fol. 48r (Pii10), fol. 65v (H25)

Harley 6947 fol. 210r-v (R8), fol. 211r (D1), fol. 211r (D15), fol. 211r (D19), fol. 212r (B4), fols. 252r-53r (G2)

Harley 7316 fol. 4r (F4), fol. 5r (H27), fol. 6r (Oi1), fol. 6v (L2), fol. 17v (Miii5)

Harley 7319 fol. 2r (Pii10)

Harley 7332 fol. 215r (I17)

Lans. 491 fol. 184v (Oiii2), fol. 229v (Q4)

Lans. 498 fol. 32r (Nvi1), fol. 140r (Oi1), fol. 141v (Pii5)

Lans. 674 fol. 18v (C1b)

Lans. 777 fol. 64r (I3), fol. 64r (I17), fol. 64v (H14), fol. 65v (I20)

Sloane 292 fol. 2v (Ni4)

Sloane 363 fol. 11r (Niv1), fol. 15r (Niv2)

Sloane 542 fols. 15r-16r (Piii15), fol. 21r (Nv6), fol. 37r (Nv14)

Sloane 826 fols. 4r-6v (Mii8), fols. 28v-29r (Oi11), fol. 32r (Oii12), fol. 153r-v. (Oiii2), fols. 153v-154r (Oiii3), fol. 154v (Oiii4), fols. 157r-159r (Oiii5), fols. 159r-160v (Oi1), fol. 161r (Oii5), fols. 161v-164r (Oii12), fols. 164v-166v (Oi16), fols. 166v-167v (Oii2), fols. 167r-171r (Oii7), fols. 171r-178r (Pi36), fols. 178v-179v (Pi21), fols. 180r-181r (Pi22), fol. 181r (Oiii11), fol. 181v (Pi3), fol. 181v (Pi10), fol. 181v (Pi11), fol. 181v (Pi12), fol. 182r-v (Pi16), fol. 182v (Pi15), fol. 183r (Pi17), fol. 183r-v (Pi18), fols. 183v-184r (Piii13), fols. 184v-185r (Oiii12), fol. 185r (Oi15), fol. 185r (Pi6), fol. 185v (Pi34), fols. 185v-186v (Pi29), fols. 187v-188r (Pi27), fol. 188r (Pi28), fol. 188v (Pii5), fol. 188v (Pii20), fols. 189r-190r (Pii6), fols. 190r-191r (Pii7), fols. 191v-192r (Pii8), fols. 192v-193v (Pii10), fols. 193v-194r (Pii14), fols. 194r-195r (Pii12), fols. 195v-196r (Pii11), fol. 196v (Pii18), fol. 197r (Pii15)

Sloane 1199 fol. 70r (Pi34), fol. 70v (Pi9), fol. 74v (Pii10)

Sloane 1394 fol. 172r (C1i)

Sloane 1446 fol. 64v (Q3), fol. 76v (H14)

Sloane 1454 fol. 25v (Oiii11)

Sloane 1458 fol. 24v (Oiii10)

Sloane 1479 fol. 6r (Ni3), fol. 6r (Niv1), fol. 8v (Ni4), fol. 10r (Miii5), fol. 47r (Oiii2), fol. 47v (Oiii3)

Sloane 1489 fol. 9v (H5), fol. 9v (H8), fol. 9v (H9), fol. 9v (Ni4), fol. 10v (Oiii7), fol. 12r (Miii5), fol. 12r (Niii3), fol. 19v (Oi7), fol. 22r (Pi1), fol. 25r (C1i), fol. 46v (R7)

Sloane 1492 fol. 9v (Ni4)

Sloane 1792 fols. 2v-4r (H17), fol. 5r (Oii5), fol. 52v (Nv15), fol. 74r (H25), fols. 74v-75v (R4), fol. 95r (C1b), fol. 104v (C1i), fol. 109r (Mii8), fol. 114v (Pii10)

Sloane 1842 fol. 117r (I3)

Sloane 1867 fol. 45r (Miii5)

Sloane 1925 fols. 30v-29v (H14)

Sloane 2023 fol. 58v (H10), fol. 59r (C1i), fol. 60v (F4), fol. 60v (G1)

Sloane 4178 fol. 63r (Pii10)

Stowe 354 fol. 43r (C1i)

Stowe 402 fol. 24r (H25)

Stowe 962 fol. 52v (Mii8), fol. 66v (C1i), fol. 84r (B4), fol. 142r (Nii6), fol. 144v (L8), fol. 146r (Oi4), fol. 219r (C1b)

Trumbull Misc. V fol. 11r (D2)

#### **Brotherton Library University of Leeds**

Lt. 25 fol. 8r (B16), fol. 9r (B13)

Lt. 28 fol. 2r (Niv1), fol. 6r (Niv2)

Lt. 31 fol. 38v (Oi5)

Lt. q. 9 fol. 17r (B6), fol. 61r (Oi4), fol. 63v (Ni3)

Lt. q. 11 no. 41 (Nv6), no. 47 (Nv4)

Lt. q. 44 fol. 1r (L8), fol. 2r (Niv1), fol. 6r (Niv2), fol. 10r (Mii8), fol. 13r (Nii5), fol. 43v (L7)

Lt. q. 51 p. 207 (Oii12)

#### **Cambridge University Library**

Add. 29 fol. 2r (Oi14), fol. 18r (H20)

Add. 42 fol. 37r (Pi35), fol. 37v (Pii5)

Add. 79 fol. 47r (Oiii5)

Add. 335 fol. 54r (Q3), fol. 54r (Q7)

Add. 4138 fol. 47r (H9), fol. 49r (A12), fol. 49r (B17), fol. 49r (B18)

Dd.11.73 fol. 67v (Pi2), fol. 67v (Pi34), fol. 67v (Pii5), fol. 69r (Oi15), fol. 69r (Pi4), fol. 102v (Oiii2)

Gg.4.13 p. 47 (Oi1), p. 47 (Oi4), p. 48 (Nv15), p. 106 (Pi1), p. 106 (Pi8), p. 106 (Pii20), p. 109 (Piii9)

#### **Cheshire Country Record Office**

CR 63/2/19 fol. 3r (G3), fol. 10v (H27), fol. 11r (F5), fol. 11r (F7), fol. 11r (H5), fol. 11r (H6), fol. 11r (H10), fol. 11v (H11), fol. 12r (H12), fol. 13r (H9), fol. 14v (H1), fol. 14v (I11), fol. 18r (L3), fol. 19v (Ni1), fol. 20r (J1), fol. 20r (J3), fol. 33r (Niv2), fol. 35v (Nv10), fol. 41v (Oi7), fol. 58r (Oi15), fol. 58r (Oi17), fol. 60r (Oii9), fol. 60r (Oiii8), fol. 60r (Oiii9), fol. 60r (Oii10), fols. 62v-63r (Oii11), fol. 63v (Oii12), fol. 69r (Pi23), fol. 69r (Pii19), fol. 69v (Oiii5), fols. 70v-71r (Pi31), fol. 71r (Pi7), fol. 71r (Pi13), fol. 72r (Q3), fol. 72r (R1)

#### **Doctor Williams's Library**

Jones B.60 p. 257 (A3), p. 261 (A6), pp. 267 and 282 (I3), p. 274 (I5)

#### **Hampshire Record Office**

Malmesbury Papers 9M73/G3(b) (C1i)

#### **Hatfield House**

Salisbury 140 fol. 123r (F6), fol. 126r (Oiii5)

#### **John Rylands Library, University of Manchester**

Eng. 410 fol. 21r (B18), fol. 26v (Miii3), fol. 27v (L2)

#### **Leicestershire County Record Office**

DG 9/2796 pp. 1-4 (Piii4), p. 5 (Piii7), p. 7 (Piii9), p. 10 (Pii15)

#### **National Library of Scotland**

2060 fol. 2r (I3), fol. 2r (I17), fol. 15v (Miii5), fol. 53r (Mii8)

2062 fol. 220r (Oii6)

Advocates 19.3.8 fol. 1v (Oiii10), fol. 33r (R8), fol. 47r (L8)

Advocates 33.1.7 vol. 24, fol. 78r (Oi17)

#### **National Library of Wales**



5390D p. 162 (L6), p. 336 (I3), p. 429 (Piii10), p. 447 (Oi9), p. 449 (Oi8)

**Northamptonshire County Record Office**

IL 3337 p. 9 (Q3)

IL 3338 fols. 1r-2r (Q1), fol. 2v (Q3)

IL 4278 (Nv5)

IL 4296 (D23), (D27)

IL 4304 (D1), (D15), (D21), (D22)

Westmorland (A) 6.vi.I fol. 11r (Piii10)

**Public Record Office London**

SP 12/278/23 (A13)

SP 14/69/67:I (D5), (D6), (E1)

SP 14/103/61x fol. 99r (I8), fol. 99r (I9)

SP 14/104/16 (Ni1)

SP 14/118/104 (Oi2)

SP 14/191/6 (E5)

SP 16/114/32 (Pi1)

SP 16/114/68 (Pi29)

SP 16/114/69 (Piii16)

SP 16/114/70 (Pi21), (Piii12)

SP 16/119/25 (Pi1)

SP 16/119/30 (Pi1)

SP 16/85/84 (Oii12)

SP 46/64 fol.163 (I21), fol. 163 (I25)

**St. John's College Cambridge Library**

K.56 no. 22 (Pi18), no. 22 (Pi28), no. 23 (Oi1), no. 30 (Oiii2), no. 59 and no. 60 (Niv1), no. 61 and no. 62 (Niv2), no. 65 (Nv3), no. 65 (Nv4), no. 68 (Nvi1), no. 71 (Nv1), no. 72 (Ni4), no. 72 (Nv15), no. 74 (Oiii10)

S.32 fol. 1r (Oi15), fol. 7r (C1b), fol. 28r (Pii15), fol. 29r (Pii10), fol. 31r (L8), fol. 32r (Q3), fol. 32v (Q6), fol. 34v (I3), fol. 38v (Nv3), fol. 40v (I17), fol. 42v (Pi28)

## **University of Nottingham Library**

Clifton CL LM 24 (D23)

Portland PW V 37 p. 9 (D25), p. 14 (I24), p. 37 (D4), p. 37 (I4), p. 135 (H17), p. 138 (A3), p. 140 (A1), p. 140 (A2), p. 142 (H7), p. 142 (F6), p. 142 (F4), p. 151 (Mi2), p. 152 (Mii3), p. 174 (Ni1), p. 197 (L8), p. 226 (Mii8), p. 243 (Niv1), p. 249 (Niv2), p. 317 (Nv3), p. 319 (Nv4)

## **Victoria and Albert Museum London**

D25.F.39 fol. 66v (B13), fol. 67v (B14), fol. 67v (B16), fol. 68r (B17), fol. 68v (B15), fol. 71r (D1), fol. 71r (D15), fol. 71v (F8), fol. 81r (A8), 82v (B21), fols. 88v-89r (E5), fol. 97r (F4), fol. 97r (H9), fol. 97v (H1), fol. 98v (H3), fol. 98v (H10), fol. 99r (H6)

F48.G.2/1 item 3 (Pii8), item 3 (Pii10)

## **Wiltshire County Record Office**

413 fol. 401 (Q3), fol. 401 (Q6), fol. 401 (Q7)

865/500 (I17)

## **United States archives**

### **Beinecke Library Yale University**

Osborn b.125 fol. 38r (Q3), fol. 38r (Q2)

Osborn b.126 no foliation (Q3)

Osborn b.197 p. 27 (Pii15), p. 47 (I17), p. 48 (B16), p. 58 (C1b), p. 63 (Nv18), p. 86 (Niv1), p. 92 (Niv2), p. 99 (C1i), p. 104 (Nv1), pp. 110-11 (Nv11), p. 111 (L7), p. 119 (Nv3), p. 139 (Mii8), p. 174 (Ni3), p. 182 (Mi5), p. 182 (Mii2), p. 189 (Ni4), p. 201 (Oi1), p. 202 (D7), p. 217 (Nv7), p. 219 (Nv8), p. 222 (Nv15), p. 225 (Oi2), p. 226 (Oi6)

Osborn Bagott Papers Chest 1 no. 16 (Piii2), no. 16 (Piii7), no. 16 (Piii9)

Osborn Box 12 no. 5 fol. 18v (Pii10), fol. 20r (Pii17)

### **Folger Shakespeare Library Washington D.C.**

E.a.6 fol. 3r (Q3), fol. 3r (Oiii7), fol. 4v (R7), fol. 84r (Niii3)

J.a.2 fol. 81r (C1i)

STC 14344 t.p. (Ni3)

V.a. 97 p. 5 (R3), p. 8 (Pii15), p. 13 (B14), p. 20 (H25), p. 21 (Pii10), p. 128 (C1b), p. 153 (B16)

V.a.103 fol. 3v (I17), fol. 5r-v (D25), fol.6v. (I24), fol. 20r (B16), fol. 20r (D4), fol. 20v (I4), fol. 21v (B14), fol. 66r (H17), fol. 67r (A3), fol. 67v (A6), fol. 68r (A1), fol. 68r (A2), fol. 68r (F6), fol. 68r (H7), fol. 69v (F4), fol. 73r (Mi3)

V.a.124 fol. 18v (Q3), fol. 19v (Miii5)

V.a.125 fol. 1r (Piii8), fol. 7r (I20), fol. 7v (I17), fol. 11r (Pii10), fol. 12r (Pii15), fol. 14r (H25)

V.a.160 p. 2 (D4), p. 63 (Oiii7), p. 79 (C1i)

V.a.162 fol. 2r (Mii8), fol. 14v (H24), fol. 29v (Miii2), fol. 31r (Ni1), fol. 35r (H9), fol. 35v (L6), fol. 37v (H21), fol. 40r (Miii5), fols. 46r-48v (Nv6), fol. 50v (F5), fol. 53r (Mi3), fol. 53v (Oi1), fols. 54v-55r (Nii3), fol. 62v (H5), fol. 63v (H7), fol. 73r (Nv15), fol. 80r (Oiii10), fol. 80r (Pi2), fol. 86r (C1b)

V.a.170 p. 68 (C1b), p. 248 (L6), pp. 321-22 (H23)

V.a.180 fol. 79r (Oiii7)

V.a.192, part 2 fol. 5r (R9), fol. 7r (Mii3), fol. 7r (Mii8)

V.a.262 p. 38 (Oi12), p. 55 (I17), p. 60 (Miii5), p. 103 (Oi5), p. 132 (Mi3), p. 163 (Oiii11), p. 176 (Ni4), p. 262 (H5)

V.a.275 p. 1 (Niv1), p. 8 (Niv2), p. 11 (Nv10), p. 101 (C1i), p. 134 (Oi12), p. 135 (Oi4), p. 175 (L8), p. 175 (Oi15), p. 176 (Ni3), p. 177 (Oiii7)

V.a.276, part 2 fol. 33v (Oii4), fol. 40v (L8)

V.a.308 fol. 128v (I17)

V.a.319 fol. 1r (Pii15), fol. 4v (Oiii7), fol. 22v (H25), fol. 23v (I20), fol. 26r (E4), fol. 26v (Oiii10), fol. 26v (R2)

V.a.322 p. 27 (Pii15), p. 49 (H25), p. 50 (I20), p. 50 (Oiii10), p. 226 (C1i)

V.a.339 fol. 25v (L8), fol. 187v (F2), fols. 189r and 208r (B2), fol. 211v (B4), fol. 252v (I6), fol. 255v (Nv12), fol. 258r (D1), fol. 258r (D15)

V.a.345 p. 25 (Mii7), p. 28 (B14), p. 33 (B16), p. 36 (D12), p. 59 (L8), p. 106 (H25), p. 107 (D26), p. 110 (D1), p. 126 (Mi2), p. 127 (Mii3), p. 127 (Mii6), p. 127 (Mii8), p. 133 (Nv4), p. 135 (Nv3), p. 143 (Ni1), p. 176 (A3), p. 177 (B4), p. 285 (J3), pp. 287-88 (E6), p. 290 (F5), p. 315 (Pi34)

V.a.399 fol. 248v (C1i)

V.a.418 fol. 4v (I3), fol. 5r (I13), fol. 5r (I17), fol. 5v (I7), fol. 5v (I14), fol. 5v (I15)

V.b. 43 fol. 32r (I17), fol. 33v (Pii10), fol. 34r (Pii15)

V.b. 50 p. 547 (Q3)  
V.b.110 pp. 88-90 (R5)  
V.b.198 fol. 2r (A3)  
V.b.275 fol. 220r (Pi2)  
V.b.277 fol. 98r (Oiii4)  
V.b.303 p. 232 (Ni3), p. 264 (Nvi1)  
X.d.235 (L8)  
X.d.241 fol. 1v (B4)

#### **Houghton Library Harvard University**

Eng. 628 p. 385 (I3)  
Eng. 686 fol. 17r (Nii2), fol. 17v (A1), fol. 17v (A2), fol. 34r (F5), fol. 59v (L8)  
Eng. 1278 item 7 (Piii8), item 8 (Pi19), item 10 (I10), item 10 (I17), item 10 (L2), item 11 (Pii10), item 12 (Pii5), item 13 (Oiii4), item 14 (Oii5), item 14 (Oii12), item 15 (Piii10), item 16 (Piii7)

#### **Huntington Library San Marino California**

HM 116 p. 11 (C1b), p. 25 (B16), pp. 47-50 (Pi14), p. 65 (B13), p. 82 (Pi12), pp. 96-97 (Oiii6), p. 122 (Q3), p. 122 (Q5), p. 130 (D4), p. 137 (Miii3), p. 137 (Miii4), p. 174 (J3)  
HM 198 1.19-21 (H18), 1.29 (Ni1), 1.3 (C1i), 1.30 (L8), 1.33 (H17), 1.37 (Mii8), 1.44 (Oii12), 1.56 (Oi9), 1.62 (Niv1), 1.84-85 (Nii6), 1.134-36 (Mii9), 1.157 (Oiii5), 1.158 (Pii8), 1.159 (Pi21), 1.164 (B2), 2.125 (D20), 2.126 (D18), 2.152  
HM 742 fol. 1v (Oii5), fol. 2r (Oii12)  
HM 904 fols. 49r-52r (Piii17)

#### **Pierpont Morgan Library New York**

MA 1057 p. 80 (L8), p. 94 (I21), pp. 190-91 (H15)

#### **Rosenbach Library Philadelphia**

239/22 fol. 18v (Nv4), fol. 26v (Ni1), fol. 36r (Nv3), fol. 42v (C1i), fol. 49v (H25), fol. 50v (I20)  
239/23 fol. 95v (H14)  
239/27 p. 1 (Nv6), pp. 6-10 (Nv16), p. 11 (Nv3), pp. 14-17 (Oii14), p. 27 (C1b), p. 45 (Pii10), p.

46 (Oi13), p. 46 (Oiii10), p. 47 (Oiii15), p. 54 (Oii12), p. 57 (Oii5), p. 58 (L8), p. 66 (H7), p. 66 (Miii2), p. 82 (L7), p. 185 (Miii5), p. 194 (L6), p. 318 (Pi34), p. 318 (Pii5), p. 319 (Pii15), p. 357 (I17), p. 384 (Piii15), p. 386 (Q3), pp. 386-87 (Q7)

240/2 fol. 93r (Pii10)

240/7 p. 60 (Pi28), p. 82 (Pii15)

243/4 p. 161 (Q3)

1083/15 p. 32 (A3), p. 34 (A4), p. 109 (C1i), p. 113 (C1b), p. 126 (B14), p. 139 (F6), p. 153 (B2), p. 175 (Oi1)

1083/16 p. 8 (Oi1), p. 9 (C1i), p. 13 (H3), p. 13 (H13), p. 85 (L8), p. 109 (I3), p. 114 (B16), p. 116 (B14), p. 133 (Ni4), p. 172 (H9), p. 195 (A1), p. 195 (A2), p. 196 (Oi16), p. 207 (Miii5), p. 246 (L6), p. 248 (Nv12), p. 250 (Nv15), p. 296 (Niii2)

1083/17 fol. 29r (B16), fol. 65r (Piii20), fol. 65v (Piii21), fol. 71v (I17)

## INDEX OF NAMES

### A

- Aaron (biblical), Piii9
- Abbot, George, Archbishop of Canterbury, F0, F4, H18, K1x
- Abel (biblical), Pi31
- Abergavenny, Earl of *see* Neville, Henry
- Abigail (biblical), Niv2
- Abihu (biblical), Piii9
- Abner (biblical), Pi36
- Abraham (biblical), Oii4
- Absalom (biblical), K2, Oiii3
- Achan (biblical), Niv2, Pi22
- Achilles (classical), Oi11
- Acland, John, Sir, C1ii
- Adam (biblical), Mii2, Pi36, Pi37
- Adolphus, Gustavus, King of Sweden, viii, R0, R5
- Adonis (classical), Piii17
- Aeneas (classical), I2, Nv10, Nv17, Pii8
- Aeolus (classical), L7
- Aesop, H9, H10
- Africanus, Scipio (classical), Oi2
- Agamemnon (classical), Nv10, Piii11, Piii22
- Ahab (biblical), L8
- Ahitophel (biblical), Mii9
- Ajax (classical, Nv10, Piii16
- Alecto (classical), Pi31
- Alençon, Francis, Duke of Anjou, A9, Oi1
- Alexander the Great, King of Macedonia, Ni3, Nv10
- Aliff, T., Piii15

Alpheus (classical), Piii17  
Alured, Thomas, K1viii  
Amarillis (literary), D1  
Amasa (biblical), Pi36  
Anchises (classical), I2  
Andrewes, Lancelot, Bishop of Ely, F4, H18  
Andromache (classical), Nv10  
Anglesey, Earl of *see* Villiers, Christopher  
Anjou, Duke of *see* Alençon, Francis  
Anne of Denmark, Queen, C1i, D1, D12, D18, K1iv, K1v, Nv1  
Annesley, Francis, Sir, Oiii4  
Antiphus (classical), Piii22  
Antony, Mark (classical), Mii8  
Antrim, Earl of *see* MacDonnell, Randal  
Apollo (classical), G2, I2, L2, L7, L8, Nv6, Nv16, Nvi3, Pi37, Pii8, Piii16  
Arden, Elizabeth, R5  
Arden, Goditha, R5  
Arethusa (classical), Piii17  
Aretino, Pietro, Q2  
Ariadne (classical), B4  
Aristotle (classical), Pi36  
Arminius, Jacobus, Oii12, Oiii3, Oiii4  
Armstrong, Archie, L5, Nv17  
Arpe, Katherine (née Monbodiac), R5  
Arpe, Thomas, R5  
Artemis (classical), G2, Piii11  
Arthur, King, Nv9  
Arthur, Prince, Nv6  
Arundel, Countess of *see* Howard, Alatheia  
Arundel, Earl of *see* Howard, Thomas

Ashley, Anthony, Sir , L10  
Ashley, Philippa (née Sheldon), L10  
Aston, Roger, Sir, C1iii  
Astraea (classical), Mii9, Pi36, Piii17  
Athena (classical), Nv6, Pi21  
Atkins, Henry, D18  
Atlas (classical), H17, Nv6, Pi21, Pi37, Piii11, Piii16  
Atropos (classical), D1, Nv16, Piii17  
Aubert, Maurice, R5  
Aubrey, John, E0, Mii3, Miii5, Niii1  
Audley, Lady *see* Brydges, Elizabeth  
Aurora (classical), Nv6, Nv10, Nv16, Pi36  
Ayton, Robert, Nii2  
B  
B., R., H28  
Baal (biblical), K1i  
Bacchus (classical), L7, Nv4, Nv6  
Bacon, Alice, Lady, Mii4  
Bacon, Anthony, A0, B7  
Bacon, Francis, Sir, vi, A0, A7, C1i, C1ii, C1iv, D7, K1vi, K1vii, K1ix, Mi5, Mii1 (section about), Miii1, Miii2, Nv10  
Bacon, Nicholas, Sir, K1ix  
Badger, Thomas, Sir, L5  
Bagot, William, Sir, Nvi3  
Balaam (biblical), K1i, Pi36  
Balak (biblical), K1i, Pi36  
Balfour, James, Pii8  
Banbury, Earl of *see* Knollys, William  
Bancroft, Richard, Archbishop of Canterbury, A0, B0, B11, B12, B17, B18, B19, B20  
Basilius (literary), B2



Bassompierre, Francis de, Oi11  
Bastard, Thomas, H7  
Bastwick, John, R0  
Bathsheba (biblical), Niv2  
Beaufort, Edmund, second Duke of Somerset, A7  
Beaufort, John, first Duke of Somerset, A7  
Beaumont, Anthony, Piii5  
Beaumont, Dorothy *see* Hill, Dorothy  
Beaumont, Elizabeth, R5  
Beaumont, Francis, R5  
Beaumont, Mary *see* Beaumont, Mary  
Beaumont, Robert de, fourth Earl of Leicester, Piii5  
Beaumont, Ursula, R5  
Bedford, Countess of *see* Russell, Lucy  
Bedford, Earl of *see* Russell, Edward  
Beech, R[ichard], I23  
Beecher, William, Sir, Oiii4  
Beer, Zacharias (or Ursinus), B2  
Beeston, Hugh, Sir, C1ii, D20  
Benefield, Sebastian, Pi9  
Benjamin (biblical), R9  
Bennet, John, Sir, C1iii, Mii1  
Berkshire, Earl of *see* Norris, Francis  
Bertie, Elizabeth, Countess of Lindsay, R6  
Bertie, Robert, Earl of Lindsay, R6  
Bevis of Southampton, Sir (literary), Oii7  
Bildad (biblical), L8  
Bilson, Thomas, Bishop of Winchester, F4, H18, H28  
Birkhead, George, D16  
Blount, Anne, Countess of Newport, R6

Blount, Charles, first Earl of Devonshire and Lord Mountjoy, A0, A3, A7, B0, B13, B14  
Blount, Mountjoy, Earl of Newport, R5, R6  
Bonaventure de Longueval, Charles, Count of Bucquoy, Miii2  
Bond, John, C1iii, C1iv  
Boreas (classical), L7  
Boteler, Elizabeth (née Villiers), L10  
Boteler, John, Baron, R6  
Boteler, John, Sir, L10  
Bowes, Jerome, Sir, C1i  
Bowyer, Robert, C0, C1i  
Brandon, Charles, Duke of Suffolk, F7  
Breton, W., Niii3  
Brett, Alexander, Sir, Oii11, Oii12  
Brett, Anne *see* Cranfield, Anne  
Bridgewater, Earl of *see* Egerton, John  
Bristol, Earl of *see* Digby, John  
Broadway, Giles, Q0, Q2, Q6, Q7  
Brocke, William, C1ii  
Bromley, Henry, Sir, B1  
Bromley, Thomas, Sir, Oiii4  
Brooke, Christopher, C0, C1i, C1ii, C1iv  
Brooke, George, B4  
Brooke, Giles, C1ii  
Brooke, Henry, eleventh Lord Cobham, A0, A7, A8, A12, B0, B1, B4, B7, K1ii  
Brooke, Lord *see* Greville, Fulke  
Brooke, Thomas, C1ii  
Brough, William, Oiii2  
Brutus (or Brute) (classical), Nv6, Pii8  
Brutus, Marcus (classical), C1b, Piii8  
Brydges, Elizabeth, Lady Audley, Q2

Brydges, Grey, Baron Chandos, Q0  
Buchanan, George, B2, Oiii2, Oiii3  
Buckhurst, Baron *see* Sackville, Thomas  
Buckingham, Countess of *see* Compton, Mary  
Buckingham, Duchess of, *see* Villiers, Katherine  
Buckingham, Duke of, *see* Villiers, George  
Bucquoy, Count of *see* Bonaventure, Charles  
Bullheley, Richard, Sir, C1iv  
Burghley, first Lord *see* Cecil, William  
Burghley, second Lord *see* Cecil, Thomas  
Burghley, third Lord *see* Cecil, William  
Burton, Henry, R0  
Bushell, Thomas, Mii3  
Bushie, John, Sir, Nvi3  
Busiris (classical), Piii11  
Butler, Mr., Mii3  
Butler, Pierce, Pi31  
Bysshe, Edward, Oiii4  
C  
Ca., R., H26  
Cacus (classical), Pi36  
Cadenet, Marquis de *see* Albert, Honore d'  
Cadmus (classical), Piii17  
Caesar, Julius, Sir, Miii1  
Caesar, Julius (classical), C1b, G2, Mii8, Oii11, Oiii4, Piii8, Piii16  
Cain (biblical), Pi31  
Caito (or Catto), R5  
Calvert, George, Sir, K1vi, K1vii  
Calvin, John, B2, Nv4  
Campbell, Anne, Lady, R6

Canidia (literary), H17  
Carew, George, Sir, A8  
Carew, Richard, H26  
Carew, Thomas, P0, Piii20, Piii21  
Carew, Thomasina, Lady, R5  
Carey, George, Lord Hunsdon, A8, A13  
Carey, Henry, Earl of Dover, R6  
Carey, Mary (née Cockayne), Countess of Dover, R6  
Carleton, Anne, Lady, Oi10  
Carleton, Dudley, Sir, L1, Nii1, Nvi1, Oi10  
Carlisle, first Earl of *see* Hay, James  
Carlisle, second Earl of *see* Hay, James  
Carlyle, Robert, E2  
Carnarvon, Countess of *see* Dormer, Anne  
Carnarvon, Earl of *see* Dormer, Robert  
Carr, James, D2  
Carr, Robert, Viscount Rochester and Earl of Somerset, ix, B0, B9, D0, E1, E6, F0(section about), F5, G3, H0(section about), K1iii, K1iv, K2, L0, Nvi1, Pi36, R7  
Cassandra (classical), Nv10  
Castlehaven, Countess of *see* Touchet, Anne  
Castlehaven, second Earl of *see* Touchet, Mervin  
Castor (classical), H19, L1  
Catherine of Aragon, Nv6  
Cato (classical), Mii8, Mii9  
Cato, M. Porcius (classical), Oiii4  
Cavendish, Mary, Countess of Shrewsbury, K1v  
Cavendish, William, Earl of Devonshire, Miii2  
Cecil, Anne, Lady, J0(section about), Miii2  
Cecil, Edward, Viscount Wimbledon, Nii1, Oi6, Oi7, Oii7, Oiii1, Oiii4, Pi32, R6  
Cecil, Elizabeth (née Manners), B12

Cecil, Frances *see* Clifford, Frances

Cecil, Frances, Countess of Exeter, J0(section about)

Cecil, Robert, first Earl of  
 Salisbury, v, vi, viii, ix, A0, A7, A8, A9, A11, A12, A13, A15, A16, B0, B7, B12, C1i, C1iv, D0  
 (section about), E1, H16, H20, I4, I11, I23, K1iii, Oi10, R0

Cecil, Sophia (née Zouch), Countess of Wimbledon, R6

Cecil, Thomas, second Lord Burghley and Earl of Exeter, J0(section about)

Cecil, William, first Lord Burghley, A0, A3, A7, A8, A9, A13, C1ii, D16, D24

Cecil, William, Lord Roos, J0(section about)

Cecil, William, third Lord Burghley, B0, B12

Cecil, William, Viscount Cranborne and second Earl of Salisbury, D20, D27

Celsus (classical), Pi35

Cerberus (classical), H17

Ceres (classical), Piii17

Challenor, Thomas, Sir, C1ii

Chamberlain, John, D0, D6, E1, Miii1, Miii2, Nii1, Nvi1, Oi6

Chapman, George, E3, H1

Charlemagne, Oiii12

Charles I, King, ii, A13, L5, L7, Miii2, N0(section about), O0, Oi1, Oi4, Oi6, Oi9, Oi10,  
 Oi11, Oi13, Oi15, Oii3, Oii4, Oii6, Oii7, Oiii2, Oiii3, Oiii4, Oiii11, Oiii12, Oiii14, P0,  
 Pi8, Pi15, Pi37, Pii4, Pii8, Piii1, Piii2, Piii5, Piii8, Piii10, Piii11, Piii13, Piii15, Piii20, Q6,  
 R0, R4, R5, R6, R8, R9

Charles II, King, R6

Charon (classical), Nv6, Pi27, Pi30, Pi31

Cholmley, Henry, Pii15, Pii16

Christ, Jesus (biblical), Mii8

Christian IV, King of Denmark, Pi15

Chute, Walter, Sir, G1

Cicero (classical), Mii8, Mii9

Cicill, Mr., I17

Circe (classical), H17

Clare, first Earl of *see* Holles, John  
Clare, second Earl of *see* Holles, John  
Clayton, preacher of Fulham, Nv13  
Clifford, Anne *see* Herbert, Anne  
Clifford, Anne, Lady, R6  
Clifford, Frances (née Cecil), D20  
Clifford, Francis, fourth Earl of Cumberland, D20  
Clifford, Henry, D20  
Clotho (classical), Nv16, Piii17  
Clout, Colin (literary), D1  
Cobham, eleventh Lord *see* Brooke, Henry  
Cockaine, Mr., Mii3  
Cockayne, Mary *see* Carey, Mary  
Cockayne, William, Sir, R6  
Codrus (classical), Piii17  
Coke, Edward, Sir, A7, B0, B7, C1ii, K1iv, K1v, K1vi, K1vii, K1x, Mi5, Mii2, Mii5, Miii1, Miii2, Oi1, Oi9, Oi12, Oi13, Oi14, Oiii4, Pi24  
Coke, Elizabeth, Lady Hatton, K1v, Miii2, Oi9  
Coke, Frances *see* Villiers, Frances  
Coke, John, Sir, A13, Oi6  
Colchis (classical), H17  
Coloma, Don Carlos, Oi1  
Compton, Mary, (née Villiers, née Beaumont), Countess of Buckingham, K1vii, L10, N0, Oii4, Oii12, Pi16, Pi17, Pi23, Pi25, Pi30, Pi31, Pi32, Pi35, Pi36, Pii8,  
Compton, Spencer, L10  
Compton, Thomas, Sir, L10, Miii2, Oii4  
Compton, William, Lord Compton and Earl of Northampton, L10  
Conway, Edward, Lord Conway of Ragley, Oi10  
Cope, Anthony, Sir, C1ii  
Cope, Isabel *see* Rich, Isabel  
Cope, Walter, Sir, C1i, C1iii, C1iv, D20

Corbet, Andrew, Sir, Oiii4  
Corbett, Richard, D26, H25, L6, Nv3, Nv4, Nv5, Nv15, Nv17, Oiii2, Oiii3, Piii10  
Cornelia (classical), Piii17  
Cornwallis, Charles, Sir, G0  
Cottington, Francis, Sir, Nv10, Nv15  
Cotton, Robert, Sir, C1iv, H15, Mi4, Pii8, Pii10  
Coventry, Baron *see* Thomas  
Cowell, John, C1iii  
Cradocke, John, Mii1  
Cranborne, Viscount *see* Cecil, William  
Cranfield, Anne (née Brett), Countess of Middlesex, L10, Oi5  
Cranfield, Lionel, Earl of Middlesex, K1vii, K1ix, L10, Miii1, O0, Oi1, Oi4, Oi5  
Craven, Baron of Hampstead Marshall, Berkshire *see* Craven, William  
Craven, William, Baron Craven of Hampstead Marshall, Berkshire, R5  
Crew (or Crewe), Randall (or Ranulph), Sir, Oi12, Oi13, Oi14  
Crew, Thomas, Sir, Q1  
Crichton, Robert, Earl of Sanquhar, E1, E2  
Crofts, Cicely, R5  
Crofts, John, Sir, L5  
Croke, John, Sir, ii, iii, C0, C1i, C1b  
Crompton, Thomas, C1iii  
Cromwell, Edward, Lord Cromwell, A10  
Cumberland, fourth Earl of *see* Clifford, Francis  
Cupid (classical), R5  
Curtius, Mettius (classical), Pi36, Pii18  
Curzon, Mary, B16  
Cynthia (classical), B4, Mii9, Pi37, Piii17  
Cyrus (classical), Pi25  
D  
d'Albert, Charles, Duc de Luynes, Nii3

d'Albert, Honoré, Marquis de Cadenet, Nii3  
d'Aubigny, Seigneur *see* Stuart, George  
D'Ewes, Simonds, Sir, x, H0, H21, H22, K1x, Mii3, Pi12  
Daedalus (classical), B4, Pi37  
Dalston, George, Sir, Oiii4  
Dalyson, Roger, Sir, K1iii  
Damett (or Dannett), Thomas, Sir, C1iv  
Danae (classical), Piii17  
Daniel (biblical), K1ii, K1ix  
Daniel, Samuel, D19, D20, D23, D24, Nv16  
Daniell, John, B7  
Daphne (classical), Nv6  
Davenant, William, Sir, P0, Piii22  
Davenport, Humphrey, L10  
Davenport, William, of Bramhall, F7, G2, G3, H11, H12, H27, I11, J1, J3, Pi7, Pi23, Pi31, Q3  
David, King (biblical), Mii9, Nii5, Niv2, Oiii3, Pi36, Pii11  
Davies, John, C0  
Deianeira (classical), Oii10  
Denbigh, Countess of *see* Feilding, Susan  
Denbigh, Earl of *see* Feilding, William  
Derby, Earl of *see* Stanley, William  
Derry, Tom, L5  
Desmond, Earl of *see* Feilding, George  
Deucalion (classical), Piii17  
Devereux, Dorothy *see* Percy, Dorothy  
Devereux, Elizabeth (née Paulet), Countess of Essex, R6  
Devereux, Frances, Countess of Essex, B7  
Devereux, Robert, second Earl of Essex, ix, A0(section about), B0, B4, B5, B7, C1ii, D0, D2, D4, D17, D25, D27, I0, I4, I11, K1ii, Nvi1, Oii11  
Devereux, Robert, third Earl of Essex and fourth Viscount of Hereford, E6, F0(section about), H1,



H2, H3, H4, H10, H11, H16, H17, H19, K2, Oii11, Pi32, R6  
Devonshire, Earl of *see* Cavendish, William  
Devonshire, first Earl of *see* Blount, Charles  
Diana (classical), L7, Nv6, Pii8, Piii11, Piii16  
Digby, John, Earl of Bristol, Miii2, Oi3, Oii12  
Digges, Dudley, Sir, Oi10, Oiii4  
Diomedes (classical), Pi21  
Dives (biblical), Oii4, Oiii4  
Dominis, Marco Antonio de , Niii2  
Doncaster, Viscount *see* Hay, James  
Donne, John, iv, vii, C0, C1i, C1iii, C1iv, D0, Pii15  
Dormer, Anne (née Herbert), Countess of Carnarvon, R6  
Dormer, Robert, Earl of Carnarvon, R6  
Dorset, Countess of *see* Sackville, Mary  
Dorset, first Earl of *see* Sackville, Thomas  
Dorset, fourth Earl of *see* Sackville, Edward  
Dorus (literary), Oii10  
Dover, Countess of *see* Carey, Mary  
Dover, Earl of *see* Carey, Henry  
Drake, Francis, Sir, A12, Oii6  
Drayton, Michael, iv, vii  
Drummond, William, L8, Oii6  
Drury, Robert, Sir, C1iii  
Dudley, Robert, Earl of Leicester, A0, A12, B4, C1i, C1ii, Mii9  
Dun, Daniel, Sir, C1ii  
Dunbar, Earl of *see* Home, George  
Duncombe, Edward, C1ii  
Dunluce, Lord *see* MacDonnell, Randal  
Dyott, Anthony, C1iv  
E  
Easter (or Ester), Mr., R5

Echo (classical), Nv10, Pii12  
 Edney, Francis, Mii3  
 Edward, the Black Prince, Nv9, Oii11  
 Edward II, King, B4, K1vii  
 Edward III, King, Nv9, Oii2  
 Edward VI, King, Ni2, Nv13  
 Effingham, Lord Howard of *see* Howard, William  
 Egerton, John, Earl of Bridgewater, K1vi  
 Egerton, Thomas, Lord Ellesmere, A7, A14, C1i, K1v, K1vi, Mii8, Miii1, Oi9  
 Eglsham, George, Oii5, Oii12, Oiii5, Pi18, Pi22, Pi24, Pi25, Pi30, Pi32, Pii4, Pii20  
 Eglon (biblical), Pii11  
 Ehud (biblical), Pii11  
 Eliot, John, Sir, Oi10, Oiii4, Piii9, Piii10  
 Eliphaz (biblical), L8  
 Elizabeth, Princess (Electress Palatine), K1v, N0, Ni4, Nii2, Nii5, Nv9, Nv10, Nvi1, Oi2, Oiii4, Pi15, Pii8  
 Elizabeth of York, B21  
 Elizabeth I, Queen, ix, A0, A3, A3c, A4, A7, A8, A9, A12, A13, A14, A15, A16, B0, B1, B4, B7, B8, B11, C1i, C1ii, D20, D24, I13, K1ix, Mii9, Miii1, N0, Ni2, Ni4, Niv1, Niv2, Nv13, Oi1, Oi2, Oii11, Pii8, R1, R4  
 Ellesmere, Lord *see* Egerton, Thomas  
 Elwes, Gervase, Sir, H0, H1, H3, H20, K1iii, K1iv  
 Endymion (classical), Mii9, Nv10  
 Epicurus (classical), Pi36  
 Essex, Countess of *see* Devereux, Frances  
 Essex, Countess of *see* Devereux, Elizabeth  
 Essex, second Earl of *see* Devereux, Robert  
 Essex, third Earl of *see* Devereux, Robert  
 Estcourt Giles, Sir, Oiii4  
 Euterpe (classical), Nv6  
 Eve (biblical), L8, Nii5, Pi36, Pi37

Ewens, Ralph, C1i, C1iv

Exeter, Countess of, *see* Cecil, Frances

Exeter, Earl of, *see* Cecil, Thomas

F

Fanshaw, Thomas, Sir, Q1

Fawkes, Guy, Oi10

Feilding, George, Earl of Desmond, R6

Feilding, Mary, Marchioness of Hamilton, R5, R6

Feilding, Susan (née Villiers), Countess of Denbigh, L10, R5, R6

Feilding, William, Earl of Denbigh, L10, Pi30, Pi32, R5, R6

Felltham, Owen, P0, Piii8

Felton, John, P0(section about)

Fennor, William, Nv4

Ferdinand II, King of Bohemia and Holy Roman Emperor, N0, Nii2, Oii2

Field, Theophilus, Oii12

Fiennes, William, Viscount Saye and Sele, R9

Finch, John, Sir, Oiii4

Finet, John, Sir, L5

Fitton, Mary, A13

Fitzpatrick, Florence (or Lawrence), Q0, Q1, Q2

Fletcher, Mr., Mii3

Flood, Robert, Sir, Mi5

Flora (classical), C1b

Ford, John, H24

Forman, Simon, H1

Fortescue, John, Sir, C1ii

Foxe, John, B2

Franklin, James, H0, H20, K1iv

Frederick V, Elector Palatine, K1v, Miii2, N0, Ni4, Nii2, Nii5, Nv9, Nv10, Nvi1, Oi1, Oi2, Oi9, Oi10, Oi17, Oii2, Oiii4, Pi15, Pi32, Pii8, R4

Fuller, Nicholas, C1i

G

Gainsford, Thomas, K1viii

Ganymede (classical), v, L0, L7, L8, N0, Nv6, Nvi3, O0, Oi2, Oiii4, Pi22

Gargrave, Richard, Sir, C1iv

Garnier, Jean, R5

Gaspar, Don, de Guzmán, Count of Olivares, Nv3, Oi1, Pi36

Gaveston, Piers, B4

Gawdie, Phillip, C1ii

Geoffrey of Monmouth, Pii8

George, St. (biblical), Oii10, Oii11

Geryon (classical), A7

Giles, Edward, Sir, Oiii4

Gill, Alexander, L8

Gloucester, Duke of *see* Humphrey

Goddard, William, ix

Goliath (biblical), Pii11

Gondomar, Count of *see* Sarmiento, Don Diego

Good, John, C1iii

Goodfellow, Robin (literary), D15

Goodwin, Francis, Sir, C1ii

Goodyer, Henry, Sir, C1i, C1iii, C1iv

Gordon, George, Marquis of Huntly, R6

Gorges, Ferdinando, Sir, B7

Goring, George, Earl of Norwich, L5, R5, R6

Goring, Mary (née Nevill), Lady, R6

Graham, Richard, Oii7, Oiii5

Grandison, Viscount *see* Villiers, William

Greene, Henry, Sir, Nvi3

Gregory VII, Pope, Pi35

Gregory XV, Pope, Nv14  
Greville, Edward, Sir, C1i  
Greville, Fulke, Lord Brooke, A13, K1vii, Miii1, R0, R1  
Grey, Elizabeth (née Talbot), Countess of Kent, R6  
Grey, Henry, Earl of Kent and Lord Ruthin, R6  
Grey, Thomas, Lord Grey of Wilton, A8, A12, A13, B4, K1ii  
Griffith, John, Oiii4  
Guilpin, Everard, A0, C0  
H  
Hakewill, William, C1iv  
Halliday, William, R6  
Hamilton, James, Marquis of Hamilton, Oii5, Oii12, Oiii5, Pi24, R5, R6  
Hamilton, Marchioness of *see* Feilding, Mary  
Hanmer, Dorothy (née Trevor), R5  
Hanmer, Thomas, Sir, R5  
Hare, John, C1iv  
Harington, John, Sir, A1, A14  
Hariot, Thomas, Niii1  
Harley, Robert, Sir, Oiii4  
Harrington, Lucy *see* Russell, Lucy  
Harsnett, Samuel, Oiii2  
Harvey, Simon, Sir, Oi9  
Hatcher, Mii3  
Hatton, Christopher, Sir, A0  
Hatton, Lady *see* Coke, Elizabeth  
Haughton, Baron of *see* Holles, John  
Hawley, James, E1  
Hay, James, first Earl of Carlisle and Viscount Doncaster, Miii2, Nii3, R5  
Hay, James, second Earl of Carlisle, R5  
Hay, Lucy (née Percy), Oi10, R5

Haywood, Ralph, R1  
Heape, John, Oii12, Pi34, Piii12  
Heath, Nicholas, K1ix  
Heath, Robert, Sir, Pii10, Q1  
Hebe (classical), Oiii4  
Heber (biblical), Pii11  
Hecate (classical), Pi37  
Hector (classical), Nv10, Oi11  
Helen (classical), H19, Nv10  
Hemminge, William, Piii7  
Hemmings, W., Piii7  
Henri IV, King of France, A7, A12, Oiii5, Pi36  
Henrietta Maria, Queen, Mii1, Oii4, Oii7, Pii8, R5, R6  
Henry V, King, Nv9, Oii2, Oii11, Oii14  
Henry VI, King, A7, Oii2  
Henry VII, King, B21, Niv1, Nv6, Oi11  
Henry VIII, King, B21, C1ii, F7, L5, Ni2, Oii7, Pi19  
Hepwith, John, vii  
Hera (classical), Nv6  
Heraclitus (classical), Pi37  
Herbert, Anne *see* Dormer, Anne  
Herbert, Anne (née Clifford), Countess of Pembroke, R5  
Herbert, John, Sir, C1ii  
Herbert, Philip, Earl of Montgomery and fourth Earl of Pembroke, E1, K1ii, R5, R6  
Herbert, William, third Earl of Pembroke, A10, D23, D24, D27, K1vii  
Hercules (classical), A7, K2, Nii1, Nvi3, Oii10, Oiii4, Pi36, Piii11, R8  
Hereford, fourth Viscount of *see* Devereux, Robert  
Hermes (classical), L7  
Herod (biblical), D8  
Herodotus (classical), Nv10, Pi25

Herrick, Robert, iv, viii  
 Hertford, Earl of *see* Seymour, Edward  
 Hessels, D2  
 Hill, Dorothy (née Beaumont), L10  
 Hill, John, L10  
 Hill, Susan *see* Montagu, Susan  
 Hitcham, Robert, Sir, C1i  
 Hobbinoll (literary), D1  
 Hoby, Edward, Sir, C1ii, C1iii  
 Hohenheim, Theophrastus Bombastus von *see* Paracelsus  
 Holcrofte (or Holcraft), Thomas, Sir, C1i  
 Holinshed, Raphael, Nvi3  
 Holland, Countess of *see* Rich, Isabel  
 Holland, Earl of *see* Rich, Henry  
 Holland, Hugh, C1iv  
 Holles, John, second Earl of Clare, H19, Oi7  
 Holles (or Hollis), John, Baron of Haughton and first Earl of Clare, C1ii, K2  
 Home, George, Earl of Dunbar, F1, H4, H5, H15, H16  
 Homer (classical), H17, I24, Nv10, Nv16, Pi21, Pi22, Pi31, Piii22  
 Honthorst, Gerrit Van, Pii8  
 Hood, Robin (literary), D15  
 Horsey, Jerome, Sir, C1i  
 Hoskyns, Benedict, G2, G4  
 Hoskyns, John, iii, C0, C1i, C1iv, C1b, G0(section about), I17, Mii3  
 Hotham, John, Sir, Oiii4  
 Houghton, Richard, Sir, C1i  
 Howard, Alatheia (née Talbot), Countess of Arundel, R6  
 Howard, Catherine, Countess of Suffolk, D1, D12, D17, D18, D19, D27, H2, H16, H18, Kliv,  
 Miii2  
 Howard, Charles, Earl of Nottingham, A7, A8, A12, C1i, C1ii, K1vi, L0, L2, Miii1

Howard, Elizabeth, R5

Howard, Frances, Countess of Somerset, viii, ix, E6, F0(section about), H0(section about), J0, J5, K1iv, K2, Nvi1, R6

Howard, Henry, Earl of Northampton, A0, B0, B1, B2, C1iv, D0, G0(section about), K1iii, K1iv

Howard, Katherine, R5

Howard, Robert, Sir, Oi9

Howard, Theophilus, second Earl of Suffolk and second Baron Howard de Walden, K1iii

Howard, Thomas, Earl of Arundel, D2, H19, K1viii, L10, Oi5, R6

Howard, Thomas, first Earl of Suffolk, B1, D1, D12, D18, D27, F0, G3, H2, H19, K1iii, K1iv, K1vi, Miii1, Miii2

Howard, William, Lord Howard of Effingham, A7

Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, Nv3

Hungerford, Edward, Sir, C1i

Hunsdon, Lord *see* Carey, George

Huntly, Marquis of *see* Gordon, George

Hurtado, Juan, de Mendoza, Marquis of Inijosa, Oi1, Oi2

Hussgen, Johannes (or Joannes Oecolampadius), B2

Hyacinth (classical), Pi37

Hyde, Lawrence, C1ii

Hyde, Nicholas, Sir, O0, Oi12, Oi13, Pi24

Hymen (classical), K1v, Nv6

I

Icarus (classical), B4, Pi22, Pi37

Inijosa, Marquis of *see* Hurtado, Juan

Io (classical), Nv6

Iphigenia (classical), Piii11

Irwin, James, E2

Isabella, Archduchess, Oiii5

Iscariot, Judas (biblical), Pi34, Pi37

Isham, John, B1



Isus (classical), Piii22

Ixion (classical), Pi31

J

Jabin (biblical), Pii11

Jackson, John, Sir, Oiii4

Jacob (biblical), Pi19, R9

Jael (or Yael), Pii11

James I, King, ii, iii, v, A0, A13, A14, A15, A16, B0(section about), C0, C1i, C1ii, C1iii, C1iv, D0, D1, D17, D18, D20, E0, E4, F0, F1, F5, F7, F10, F11, G0, G2, H0, H2, H5, H10, H11, H15, H16, H18, H20, H23, I0, I24, J0, J2, J3, K1i, K1ii, K1iii, K1v, K1vii, K1viii, K1ix, K1x, K2, L0(section about), Miii1, Miii2, Miii5, N0(section about), O0, Oi1, Oi2, Oi5, Oi10, Oi11, Oi16, Oi17, Oii12, Oiii4, Oiii5, Pi18, Pi22, Pi24, Pi25, Pi30, Pi32, Pi36, Pi37, Pii4, Pii8, Pii20, Piii2, Piii5, Piii8, Piii10, Piii11, Piii20, R1, R4, R9

James II, King, R6

James V, King of Scotland, Nv1

James, Richard, C1iii, C1iv, Pii8

Janus (classical), Nv10

Jason (classical), Nv1, Nv6, Nv10, Oii12, Pi36

Jehova (biblical), Nv10, Pi37

Jenkin, Henry, Sir, C1i

Jewel, John, B2

Joab (biblical), Pi36

Job (biblical), L8, Mii2, Niv1

John, King, Niv1, Nvi1

John XXII, Pope, Pi35

John, Richard Edward, D15

Johnson, Robert, Sir, C1iii

Jones, Edward , C0

Jones, Inigo, C1iv, Miii2, Nv11

Jones, John, C1iii

Jones, Richard, C1iii

Jones, Robert, C1iii  
Jonson, Ben, iv, vii, C1iv, E3, L8, L9, Miii2, Pii10  
Jordan, Ignatius, Oiii2, Oiii3  
Joseph (biblical), Pi19  
Josephus, Flavius, D8  
Joshua (biblical), Niv2, Pi22, Pi36  
Jove (classical), A7, L3, L7, L8, Nv6, Nv16, Oiii4, Pi22, Pii10, Pii12, Piii6, Piii16, Piii17  
Judah (biblical), R9  
Judus (biblical), D4, I19  
Juno (classical), L7, Nv6, Oiii4  
Jupiter (classical), A7  
Juventas (classical), Oiii4  
K  
K., E., I11, Oii11, Oiii8, Oiii9, Pi23, Pii19  
Kel., Ed., I11  
Kensington, Viscount *see* Rich, Henry  
Kent, Countess of *see* Grey, Elizabeth  
Kent, Earl of *see* Grey, Henry  
Killigrew Anne *see* Kirke, Anne  
Killigrew, Mary (née Woodhouse), R5  
Killigrew, Robert, Sir, R5  
King, John, H18  
King, Samuel, I17  
Kirke, Anne (née Killigrew), R5  
Kirton, James, C1i  
Knightley, Richard, Oii4  
Knollys, William, Viscount Wallingford and Earl of Banbury, A13, K1vi, Miii1  
Knox, John, B2  
Knyvett, Thomas, Sir, C1iii  
L

L'Isle-Adam, Philippe Villiers de, Piii5  
Lachesis (classical), Nv16, Piii17  
Lake, Mary (née Ryder), Lady, J0(section about)  
Lake, Thomas, Sir, C1iv, J0(section about), K1v, K1vi, K1vii, Miii1, Miii2  
Lambe, John, Mii1, O0, Oii11, Oiii5, Oiii6, Oiii7, Oiii8, Oiii9, Pi1, Pi3, Pi6, Pi16, Pi17,  
Pi23, Pi30, Pi31, Pi32, Pi35, Pi36, Pii3, Pii8  
Latewar, Richard, A3  
Laud, William, Archbishop of Canterbury, H9, Oiii2, R0, R2, R3, R7, R8  
Lazarus (biblical), Oii4, Oiii4  
Leda (classical), H19  
Lee, John, (or Leigh) Sir, C1ii, C1iv  
Leicester, Earl of *see* Dudley, Robert  
Leicester. fourth Earl of *see* Beaumont, Robert de  
Leigh, Mr., Mii3  
Leigh, Humphrey, Mii3  
Leighton, Alexander, ix, Nii6  
Lennox, Duke of *see* Stuart, James  
Lennox, Duke of *see* Stuart, Ludovick  
Leonidas (classical), Oii14  
Leslie, John, A9  
Leveson, John, Sir, B16  
Leveson, Richard, Sir, B16  
Levi (biblical), R9  
Lewis, Dr., Piii18  
Lewis, William, Mii8, Mii10  
Lewkenor, Lewis, Sir, C1iii  
Lewkenor, Samuel, C1iii  
Ley, James, Earl of Marlborough, Oi12, Oi13, Oi14  
Lindsay, Countess of *see* Bertie, Elizabeth  
Lindsay, Earl of *see* Bertie, Robert

Lister, Matthew, Sir, R5  
Littleton, Edward, Oiii4  
Littleton, Thomas, Oiii4  
Long, Walter, Oiii4  
Lopez, Roderigo, A7  
Lot (biblical), Q2  
Louis XI, King of France, Pi36  
Louis XIII, King of France, Nii3, Pi36  
Love, Thomas, Sir, Oi6  
Lovelace, Richard, Sir, C1iii  
Lower, William, Sir, C1i, C1iv  
Loyola, Ignatius, Pi35  
Lucan (classical), Piii17  
Lud, King, Pii8  
Ludlow, Henry, C0, C1i, C1iv  
Luther, Martin, B2  
Luynes, Duc de *see* Albert, Charles d'  
M  
MacDonnell, Randal, Lord Dunluce and Earl of Antrim, R5, R6  
Machiavelli, Niccolò, A6, B5, B17, I11  
Maegera (classical), Pi31  
Mallory, William, K1x  
Manasseh (biblical), Pi36  
Manchester, first Earl of *see* Montagu, Henry  
Mandeville, Viscount *see* Montagu, Henry  
Manners, Elizabeth *see* Cecil, Elizabeth  
Manners, Katherine *see* Villiers, Katherine  
Manners, Francis, sixth Earl of Rutland, L0, L10, Miii2, Nv15  
Manners, Roger, fifth Earl of Rutland, A10  
Manningham, John, B1

Mansell, Robert, Sir, Miii2, Oii7, Oiii4, Pi32  
Mansfelt, Ernst von, Oi1, Pi32  
Manwaring, Roger, Pi36  
Maria, Spanish Infanta, Miii2, N0(section about), Oi1, Piii13  
Marlborough, Earl of *see* Ley, James  
Marlowe, Christopher, Pi36  
Marprelate, Martin (literary), A0, B0  
Mars (classical), A12, C1b, I16, L7, Nv6, Nv10, Pi21, Piii3, Piii17  
Marston, John, A0, C0, E3, Oii5, Pi3  
Marten, Henry, Sir , Oiii4  
Martial (classical), Q2  
Martin, Richard, Sir, C0, C1i, C1iii, C1iv  
Martyr, Peter *see* Vermigli, Piermartire  
Mary, Queen of Scots, Oi11  
Matthews, Toby, C1i  
Maurice, William (or Morris), Sir, C1i, C1iii, C1iv  
Maxwell, James, E1  
Maxwell, Robert, Earl of Nithsdale, L10  
May, Humphrey, C1i  
May, Thomas, R6  
Mayerne, Theodore de, D18  
Maynard, John, Sir, L5, Oiii4  
Mead, Joseph, Nv13, Nvi1, Pii10  
Meautys, Edmund, Mii3  
Meautys, Thomas, Mii3  
Medea (classical), H17, Nv10, Pi36  
Melanchthon, Philip, B2  
Menelaus (classical), H19, Nv10  
Mercury (classical), L7, Nv6, Nv16, Pi37, Pii8, Piii6, Piii17  
Merlin (literary), Ni3, Niv2

Micah (biblical), K2  
 Micaiah (biblical), L8  
 Michell, Francis, Sir, K1viii, Mi1, Mi2  
 Midas (classical), B4  
 Middlesex, Countess, of *see* Cranfield, Anne  
 Middlesex, Earl of *see* Cranfield, Lionel  
 Middleton, Thomas, Niii1  
 Milliscent, John, Sir, L5  
 Minerva (classical), Piii6  
 Minos, King (classical), B4, Q2  
 Mohammed, Ni4  
 Molech (biblical), Piii11  
 Mompesson, Giles, Sir, K1ix, Mi1(section about), Mii5, Miii2  
 Momus (classical), L7  
 Monbodiac, Francoise de, R5  
 Monbodiac, Katherine *see* Arpe, Katherine  
 Monson, Thomas, Sir, C1iv, H0, H15, K1iii, K1iv, Oi9  
 Monson, William, Sir, H15, K1iii, K1iv  
 Montagu, Edward, Sir, L10  
 Montagu, Henry, Viscount Mandeville and first Earl of  
     Manchester, I0, K1vii, K1ix, Miii1, Oi12, Oi13  
 Montagu, Susan (née Hill), L10  
 Montgomery, Earl of *see* Herbert, Philip  
 Moore, Francis, Sir, C1i  
 More, George, Sir, C1iii, C1iv, H18  
 More, Thomas, D16  
 Morley, Lord *see* Parker, Henry  
 Moses (biblical), Niv2, Pii7, Piii4  
 Mountague, Henry, Sir, C1i  
 Mouteagle, Lord *see* Parker, William,

Mountjoy, Lord *see* Blount, Charles  
Murray, E1, E6  
Musidorus (literary), Oii10  
N  
Nabal (biblical), Niv2  
Nadab (biblical), Piii9  
Narcissus (classical), Nv10  
Nashe, Thomas, A0  
Naunton, Robert, Sir, A3c, K1vi, K1vii, Miii1  
Nebuchadnezzar (biblical), K1ii  
Neile, Richard, Oii4, Oiii2  
Nemesis (classical), Pi36  
Neptune (classical), H18, I11, L2, L3, L4, L7, Nv2, Nv6, Nv13, Pi21, Pi32, Piii15  
Nereus (classical), Nv6  
Nethersole, Francis, Sir, Oiii4  
Neve (or Le Neve), Jeffery, Nv18  
Nevill, Mary *see* Goring, Mary  
Neville, Henry, Earl of Abergavenny, C1i, C1ii  
Neville, Thomas, B1  
Newport, Countess of *see* Blount, Anne  
Newport, Earl of *see* Blount, Mountjoy  
Niccols, Richard, vii  
Nicholas, Edward, Oiii4  
Nimrod (biblical), I2, Pi36, Pi37  
Niobe (classical), G2, Niv1, Nv10, Piii16, Piii17  
Nithsdale, Earl of *see* Maxwell, Robert  
Noah (biblical), Mii8, Niv1, R9  
Noel, Henry, A1, A2  
Norris, Elizabeth, Lady, L10  
Norris, Francis, Earl of Berkshire, K1x, L10

Norris, John, Sir, A12  
 Northampton, Earl of *see* Compton, William  
 Northampton, Earl of *see* Howard, Henry  
 Northumberland, Earl of *see* Percy, Henry  
 Norton, Benjamin, D16  
 Norwich, Earl of *see* Goring, George  
 Nottingham, Earl of *see* Howard, Charles  
 Nowell, Alexander, A1  
 Noy, William, C1i  
 Noyes, John, C1i  
 Noyes, Peter, C1i  
 O  
 Oecolampadius, Joannes *see* Hussgen, Johannes  
 Oedipus (classical), Pi31  
 Oldisworth, Nicholas, H2  
 Olivares, Count of *see* Guzmán de, Don Gaspar  
 O'Neill, Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, A7, A12, B7  
 Onslow, Richard, Sir, Oiii4  
 Orpheus (classical), Piii5  
 Osborne, Francis, D1, D15, E1, E6, J1  
 Overbury, Nicholas, Sir, H2  
 Overbury, Thomas, Sir, viii, x, C1ii, C1iv, F0(section about), G0, H0(section about), K1iii, K1iv, K2, Nv10, Nv11, Oi9  
 Ovid (classical), Nv3, Nv16  
 Owen, Roger, Sir, C1ii  
 Oxenbridge, Robert, (the elder), Sir, C1iii  
 Oxenbridge, Robert, (the younger), Sir, C1iii  
 Oxford, eighteenth Earl of *see* Vere, Henry de  
 Oxford, nineteenth Earl of *see* Vere, Henry de  
 Oxford, seventeenth Earl of *see* Vere, Edward de



P

Paddy, William, Sir, C1iii, C1iv  
Pan (classical), D1, Nv1, Nv6  
Paracelsus (Theophrastus Bombastus von Hohenheim), Pi35  
Paris (classical), H19, Nv10  
Parker, Henry, Lord Morley, Nv15  
Parker, John, Sir, C1iii  
Parker, William, Lord Mounteagle, A10  
Parsons (or Persons), Robert, A0  
Pasiphae (classical), Q2  
Paulet, Elizabeth *see* Devereux, Elizabeth  
Peake, Edward, C1i  
Peele, George, A7, A12  
Pelagius, Oiii3  
Pembroke, Countess of *see* Herbert, Anne  
Pembroke, fourth Earl of *see* Herbert, Philip  
Pembroke, third Earl of *see* Herbert, William  
Perceval, John, Sir, Pii10  
Percy, Dorothy (née Devereux), A16  
Percy, Henry, R5  
Percy, Henry, Earl of Northumberland, A16, I1, K1ii  
Percy, Lucy *see* Hay, Lucy  
Peronne, Mme., R5  
Perrot, James, Sir, C1iv  
Phaeton (classical), B4, H15, I2, L8, Nv10, Pi22, Pi22  
Phelips, Edward, Sir, C1ii, C1iv  
Phelips, Robert, Sir, C1iv, K1x, Oiii4  
Philaenis (classical), Q2  
Philip II, King of Spain, A7, Nv7  
Philip III, King of Spain, Nv13

Philip IV, King of Spain, A7, N0, Nii6, Nv3, Nv13, Nv17, Oi1, Pi36  
Phillis (literary), D1  
Philomela (classical), H17  
Phineas (biblical), Pii11  
Phoebus (classical), B4, G2, H15, H17, I2, L8, Nv4, Nv6, Nv10, Oiii2, Oiii3, Pi22, Pi37  
Pickering, Lewis, B0, B11  
Piggot, Christopher, C1iv  
Plancy, Pierre de la, R5  
Plato (classical), A7  
Pleione (classical), Nv6  
Plessis, Armand du, Cardinal Richelieu, Pi36  
Pluto (classical), Oii4, Pi29, Pi30, Pi31, Pi32, Pi35  
Poe, Leonard, D12, D18, D20  
Pollux (classical), H19, L1  
Pompey (classical), Piii17  
Poole, Henry, Sir, C1i  
Porter, Endymion, Nv10, Nv15, R5  
Porter, Olive, R5  
Portland, Earl of *see* Weston, Jerome  
Pory, John, C1iv, Pii10  
Priam (classical), Nv10, Oi11, Piii16, Piii22  
Price, Charles, C1iii, Oiii4  
Price, James, C1iii  
Proserpina (classical), L7, Oii4, Pi31  
Proteus (classical), Nv6  
Prynne, William, Oiii2, Oiii3, R0, R8  
Purbeck, Lady *see* Villiers, Frances  
Purbeck, Viscount *see* Villiers, John  
Pym, John, Oiii2, Oiii3  
Pythagoras (classical), A7

R

R., Jo., Q2

Radcliffe, Bridget, Countess of Sussex, Miii2

Radcliffe, John, Sir, Oii9, Oii11

Radcliffe, Robert, fifth Earl of Sussex, Miii2

Raleigh, Walter, Sir, vii, A0(section about), B0, B1, B4, B5, B6, B7, B8, B9, B10, C1ii, D1, E1, E6, H9, H10, H11, I0(section about), K1ii, K1viii, N0, Niii1, Nvi1, Oi2, Oii7

Ramsay, William, E1

Ramus, Petrus, Oiii2

Rancien, Jacques, R5

Ravaillac, François, Oiii5

Reynolds, John, C0

Rhadamanthys (classical), Pi31

Rich, Charles, Sir, Oii11, Oii12

Rich, Henry, Viscount Kensington and Earl of Holland, L5, Oi10, Oi11, Oii12, Pii3, R5, R6

Rich, Isabel (née Cope), Countess of Holland, R5, R6

Rich, Penelope (née Devereux), Lady, A3, B0

Rich, Robert, Earl of Warwick, Pii3, R6

Rich, Robert, Lord Rich, B13, B14

Rich, Susan (née Rowe), Countess of Warwick, R6

Richard, Duke of York, A7

Richard I (the Lionheart), King, Piii5

Richard II, King, K1x, Mii9, Nvi3

Richard III, King, D4, D5

Richardson, Thomas, Pi24

Richelieu, Cardinal *see* Plessis, Armand du

Richmond, Earl of *see* Stuart, Ludovick

Ridgeway, Thomas, Sir, C1ii

Rochester, Viscount *see* Carr, Robert

Rogers, Thomas, B4

Romulus (classical), C1b

Roos, Lord *see* Cecil, William

Rous, John, iii, viii, Oi12, Oii13, R0

Rowe, Henry, Sir, R6

Rowe, Susan *see* Rich, Susan

Rubens, Peter Paul, Pii8

Russell, Edward, Earl of Bedford, A13

Russell, Lucy (née Harrington), Countess of Bedford, A13

Ruthin, Lord *see* Grey, Henry

Rutland, fifth Earl of *see* Manners, Roger

Rutland, sixth Earl of *see* Manners, Francis

Ryder, William, Lord Mayor of London, J2

## S

Sackville, Edward, fourth Earl of Dorset, Oi10, R5, R6

Sackville, Mary, Countess of Dorset, R6

Sackville, Thomas, Baron Buckhurst and first Earl of Dorset, A14, B0, B15, B16

St. John, Barbara *see* Villiers, Barbara

Salisbury, first Earl of, *see* Cecil, Robert

Salisbury, second Earl of *see* Cecil, William

Samson (biblical), I21

Samuel (biblical), A6

Sandys, Edwin, Sir, C1ii

Sandys, William, Lord, A10

Sanquhar, Earl of *see* Crichton, Robert

Sarmiento, Don Diego, Count of Gondomar, K1ii, K1viii, N0, Niii1, Niii2, Niii3, Nv10, Nv15, Nv17, Pi36

Satan (biblical), Mii2, Pi21, Pi29, Pi30, Pi31, Pi37, Piii4

Saturn (classical), L7, Nv6, Oi1, Piii11

Saye and Sele, Viscount *see* Fiennes, William

Scaevola, Mucius, Pi36, Pii7, Pii18

Scory, Silvanus, I1  
Scott, Thomas, B10, Niii1, Nv3  
Scroope, William, Earl of Wiltshire, Nvi3  
Scudamore, John, Viscount Sligo, Oiii4  
Selden, John, Oiii4  
Seymour, Dorothy, R5  
Seymour, Edward, sixth Duke of Somerset, H11  
Seymour, Edward, Earl of Hertford, H11  
Seymour, William, K1v  
Shakespeare, William, H2  
Sharpe, Lionel, G0(section about)  
Sheldon, Elizabeth, L10  
Sheldon, Philippa *see* Ashley, Philippa  
Sheldon, Richard, Sir, Q1  
Shirley, James, P0, Piii2  
Shirley, Thomas (the elder), Sir, C1ii  
Shirley, Thomas (the younger), Sir, C1ii  
Shrewsbury, Countess of *see* Cavendish, Mary  
Sibthorpe, Robert, Pi36  
Sidney, Philip, Sir, A12, B2, Nv16  
Sinon (classical), Nv10, Pi36  
Sisera (biblical), Pii11  
Sisyphus (classical), Pi31  
Skipwith, Henry, Q2  
Sligo, Viscount *see* Scudamore, John  
Smith, James, Oiii5, Pii12  
Smith, William, Sir, H16  
Solomon (biblical), Oiii2, Pi36  
Somerset, Countess of *see* Howard, Frances  
Somerset, Earl of, *see* Carr, Robert

Somerset, Edward, fourth Earl of Worcester, K1vi, Miii1  
Somerset, first Duke of *see* Beaufort, John  
Somerset, second Duke of *see* Beaufort, Edmund  
Somerset, sixth Duke of *see* Seymour, Edward  
Southampton, Earl of *see* Wriothesley, Henry  
Spanish Infanta *see* Maria  
Spencer, Hugh, (the elder) Earl of Winchester, K1vii  
Spencer, Thomas, Oiii2  
Spenser, Edmund, iii, vii, A7, A8, D16, Nv16  
Spenser (or Despenser), Hugh, the elder, B4  
Spenser (or Despenser), Hugh, the younger, B4  
Spinola, Ambrosio, Miii2, N0  
Stanley, Anne *see* Touchet, Anne  
Stanley, William, Earl of Derby, A8, Q0  
Stephen of Blois, King, Nii3  
Stow, John, Nv18  
Strafford, Earl of *see* Wentworth, Thomas  
Strowde, William, Sir, C1iv  
Stuart, Arabella, B0, B4, C1ii, K1ii, K1v  
Stuart, Frances *see* Weston, Frances  
Stuart, George, Lord, Seigneur d'Aubigny, R5  
Stuart, Henry, Prince, G1, H10, Ni4, Niv1, Nv10  
Stuart, James, Duke of Lennox, R5  
Stuart, Ludovick, Duke of Lennox and Earl of Richmond, E6, Oiii5, Pi24  
Stubbes, John, A9  
Stukeley, Lewis, I0, I10, I18, I19  
Stuteveille, Martin, Sir, Nvi1  
Suffolk, Countess of *see* Howard, Catherine  
Suffolk, Duke of, *see* Brandon, Charles  
Suffolk, first Earl of *see* Howard, Thomas

Suffolk, second Earl of *see* Howard, Theophilus  
Susanna (biblical), K1ix  
Sussex, Countess of *see* Radcliffe, Bridget  
Sussex, fifth Earl of *see* Radcliffe, Robert  
T  
T., A., Mr., Piii17  
Talbot, Alatheia *see* Howard, Alatheia  
Talbot, Elizabeth *see* Grey, Elizabeth  
Tamburlaine (literary), Pi36  
Tantalus (classical), Pi31  
Taranis (classical), Piii11  
Taylor, John, Nv4  
Temple, Jane, R5  
Thersites (classical), Nv10  
Theseus (classical), B4  
Thetis (classical), L7, Nv6, Nv10  
Thomas, Baron Coventry  
Thr[ockmorton], A[rthur], Sir, I13  
Throckmorton, Elizabeth, A3, A7  
Throckmorton, John, C1i  
Tiberius (classical), Miii2, Oii11  
Tolderrey, Christopher, C1iv  
Tomyris (classical), Pi25  
Touchet, Anne (née Stanley), Countess of Castlehaven, Q0, Q1, Q2, Q3, Q6, Q7  
Touchet, James, Baron Audley, Q1, Q2  
Touchet, Mervin, second Earl of Castlehaven, Q0(section about), R0  
Townshend, John, Sir, C1iii  
Townley, Zouch, Pii10  
Tresham, Thomas, Sir, B3  
Tressilian, Robert, Sir, Mii9

Trevor, Dorothy *see* Hanmer, Dorothy  
Trevor, John, Sir, C1i  
Trumbull, William, D2, E1  
Tudor, Mary, Queen, Nv7, Nv17  
Tudor, Mary, Queen of France, F7  
Turner, Anne, H0, H1, H2, H3, H20, J0, K1iv  
Turner, John, E1, E2  
Turner, Samuel, Oi10  
Tyndareus (classical), H19  
Tyrone, Earl of *see* O'Neill, Hugh  
U  
Ulysses (classical), Nv10, Piii16  
Uriah (biblical), Niv2  
Ursinus *see* Beer, Zacharias  
Uvedale, William, Sir, R6  
V  
Valentine, Benjamin, Oiii4  
Vantelet, Madame de, R5  
Venus (classical), F6, H3, L7, Nv6, Oii12, Pi21, Piii17, R5  
Vere, Edward de, seventeenth Earl of Oxford, C1i  
Vere, Henry de, eighteenth Earl of Oxford, Nii1, Nv10, Oiii5, Pi32  
Vere, Henry de, nineteenth Earl of Oxford, L10, Miii2  
Vere, Horace, Sir, Miii2, Nii1  
Vermigli, Piermartire (or Peter Martyr), B2  
Verstegan, Richard, A0  
Villiers, Barbara (née St John), L10  
Villiers, Christopher, Earl of Anglesey, L1, L10, Miii2  
Villiers, Edward, Sir, L10  
Villiers, Elizabeth *see* Boteler, Elizabeth  
Villiers, Frances, (née Coke), Lady Purbeck, Miii2, Oi9



Villiers, Francis, Piii18, Piii18, Piii19

Villiers, George, Duke of Buckingham, v, viii, x, xiii, H0, I2, K1v, K1vi, K1vii, K1viii, L0 (section about), Mi1, Mii3, Mii9, Miii1, Miii2, N0(section about), O0(section about), P0 (section about), R0, R4, R5, R6

Villiers, John, Viscount Purbeck, K1v, L1, Miii2, Oi9, Oiii1

Villiers, Katherine (née Manners), Duchess of Buckingham, L0, L10, Miii2, Nv18, Oii4, Oii8, Pi19, Piii17, Piii19, Piii20, Piii22, R5, R6

Villiers, Mary *see* Compton, Mary

Villiers, Susan *see* Feilding, Susan

Villiers, William, Viscount Grandison, R5

Virgil (classical), I2, Nv17, Oi1, Piii16

Vitry, Captain, Oiii5

Vulcan (classical), I11, L7, Nv6, Pi37

W

Waad, William, Sir, C1ii, C1iv

Walden, second Baron de *see* Howard, Theophilus

Wallingford, Viscount *see* Knollys, William

Walsingham, Audrey, Lady, D1, D12, D18, D19

Walsingham, Thomas, Sir, D1, D12, D18

Wandesford, Christopher, Oiii4

Ward, John, F4

Warwick, Countess of *see* Rich, Susan

Warwick, Earl of *see* Rich, Robert

Watson, Thomas, F9

Wentworth, John, Sir, Miii2

Wentworth, Thomas, Earl of Strafford, Oiii4, R0, R8

Weston, Frances (née Stuart), R6

Weston, Jerome, Earl of Portland, R6

Weston, Richard, H0, H1, H3, H20, H26, K1iv

Weston, Richard, Sir, Miii1, Oiii15

Whitaker, Lawrence, Oiii4

Whitaker, William, B2  
White, John, B10  
Whiteway, William, viii, I23, Oi15  
Whitgift, John, Archbishop of Canterbury, A0, B0, B1, B11, E5, E6  
Williams, Abraham, E1  
Williams, John, K1ix, L10, Miii3, Ni2, Oi9  
Willoughby, George, Pi1  
Wilton, Lord Grey of *see* Grey, Thomas  
Wiltshire, Earl of *see* Scroope, William  
Wimbledon, Countess of *see* Cecil, Sophia  
Wimbledon, Viscount *see* Cecil, Edward  
Winchester, Earl of *see* Spencer, Hugh  
Windsor, Catherine, Lady Windsor, Oiii9  
Windsor, Thomas, Lord Windsor, Nv15, Oiii9  
Wingfield, Robert, Sir, C1ii  
Winwood, Ralph, Sir, K1vi, K1vii, Miii1  
Wither, George, vii  
Wood, Roger, C1iv  
Woodhouse, Mary *see* Killigrew, Mary  
Worcester, fourth Earl of *see* Somerset, Edward  
Wray, Edward, L10  
Wren, Matthew, Bishop of Norwich, R8  
Wriothsley, Henry, Earl of Southampton, A8, A10, A13, Oiii5, Pi24, Pi32  
Wriothsley, James, Pi24  
Wymark, Edward, C1ii  
X  
Xantippus (classical), Piii1  
Xerxes, King of Persia (classical), Nv10, Oii14  
Y  
Yelverton, Henry, Sir, K1vii, Mii1, Miii2

Yonge, John, Sir, C1iii

Yonge, Walter, Oi12, Oiii2, Oiii3, Pii3

York, Duke of *see* Richard

Young, John, Mii3

Younge, Richard, C1iii

Z

Zebedee (biblical), Nv3, Nv4

Zophar (biblical), L8

Zouch, Sophia *see* Cecil, Sophia

Zouche, Edward, Sir, L5

Zwingli, Huldrych, B2

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