A COURT IN TRANSITION:

THE LITERARY CULTURE OF THE ENGLISH COURT, c.1590-1612

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For my parents

and in memory of Sam

and Nana "Blue Car". Thank you for keeping on asking 'when will I get to see you in the red gown?'. It was the best motivation to complete this thesis.

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Abstract

The accession of James I in 1603 transformed the English court, altering its personnel, formal organisation, and protocols. This interdisciplinary thesis examines how these changes affected and were addressed in the court's literary culture.

Most previous investigations of early Jacobean English court culture have focused on a limited number of texts, especially court masques. By contrast, this thesis provides the first sustained study of a broad range of literary texts written, read and performed by courtiers, who carried out a variety of roles at the court. It examines forms of court literature that have previously been neglected by scholars, including chivalric entertainments, verse libels, and vernacular and neo-Latin poetry by Scottish courtiers. By analysing such texts, this thesis deepens scholars' understanding of, and revises assumptions about, the English court and its culture during an important period of transition. It illuminates the contributions made by Scottish courtiers both before and after 1603, and demonstrates that courtiers routinely expressed reservations, and even criticisms, about changes to the court.

The Introduction justifies the distinctive range of sources examined in the thesis, and summarises the major institutional changes to the court that followed James's accession and how they affected court politics. Chapter One uses the baptism of Prince Henry of Scotland in 1594 as a case study to reveal what English courtiers knew of Scottish court culture before 1603. Chapter Two demonstrates the vibrancy and political significance of the court's chivalric culture, arguing that chivalric pageantry and ceremonial was used (with varied success) to foster amity between courtiers. Chapter Three examines how the changes at court were addressed in court sermons: although preachers helped to smooth James's accession, they also expressed reservations about new personnel and protocols at court. Chapter Four analyses poetry by Scottish courtiers, revealing their distinctive interpretations of James's accession, their contributions to court culture, and their criticisms of court life. Chapter Five examines the career and writings of Sir Fulke Greville to show how the changes at court effected and were analysed critically by a former Elizabethan courtier. Chapter Six analyses an overlooked form of court literature, in which changes at court were depicted most unsparingly: verse libels. The Conclusion evaluates the thesis's revisionary account of early Jacobean English court culture, and discusses how its approach could be used to study other courts in transition.

Long Abstract

The accession of James I in 1603 transformed the English royal court, altering its personnel, formal organisation, and protocols. This interdisciplinary thesis examines how these changes affected and were addressed in the court's literary culture. It analyses a wide range of texts that were written and read by individuals at the English court between James's marriage to Anna of Denmark in 1589 and the death of Prince Henry, their eldest son, in 1612, a distinctive period during which the prospect and then the reality of changes at court were addressed most intensely within court culture. This thesis aims to deepen scholars' understanding of, and revise assumptions about, the English court and its culture during this important period of transition.

Scholarship on the culture of the early Jacobean English court has largely examined a limited range of texts, especially court masques. Similarly, most previous studies of literary responses to the changes at the court have investigated texts that were produced for the public stage or as part of civic culture. By contrast, this thesis provides the first sustained study of texts written, read and performed by courtiers, who carried out a variety of roles at the early Jacobean court. It uses a wide range of literary sources to reveal how the significant changes at the court were anticipated and experienced by courtiers themselves.

By analysing such texts, this thesis presents an unfamiliar view of early Jacobean English court culture. It examines writers and forms of literature whose significance at the court has been occluded hitherto by the predominance of the masque in most previous scholarship. For example, it analyses texts by chaplains-in-ordinary and Scottish courtiers, and demonstrates the important roles performed by such neglected literary forms as chivalric entertainments and verse libels. Examining these texts reveals many major themes within the court's literary culture that have previously gone unappreciated, such as chivalric values. Most significantly, this thesis demonstrates that literary tropes and political ideas from James's Scottish court were an important influence within English court culture both before and after 1603. Furthermore, whereas previous studies have proposed that court literature enhanced James's authority and promoted his iconography and policies, especially his quest to achieve a formal political union between England and Scotland, this thesis reveals alternative dynamics. It shows that early Jacobean court culture was much more critical than scholarship has usually acknowledged. The changes at the court, especially the presence of Scottish courtiers and

increasingly restricted access to the monarch, were debated extensively, with reservations, and sometimes forthright criticisms, expressed often.

The Introduction justifies the thesis's distinctive sources and its chronological and geographical range. It argues that an interdisciplinary and British approach can best illuminate contemporary courtiers' experiences of a change of regime which mixed the personnel and cultures of the English and Scottish courts. It then summarises the major institutional changes to the English court after James's accession; most notably, the arrival of Scottish-born courtiers, and the limitation of most courtiers' access to the king by new regulations governing access to the Bedchamber and the Privy Chamber and by James's hunting habits. These changes, which disrupted established practices of patronage and counsel, were addressed in the writings, in numerous genres, of courtiers.

Chapter One uses the case study of the baptism of Prince Henry of Scotland at Stirling Castle in 1594 to examine what English courtiers knew of Scottish court culture before 1603. The chapter begins by drawing on recent scholarship that has demonstrated the complicated, fluctuating nature of Anglo-Scots relations during the "long 1590s" to situate the festival in more precise political contexts than has been attempted before. The baptism occurred at an especially low point in Anglo-Scottish relations. However, it also provided an opportunity to repair relations. Additionally, it was an opportunity for James to persuade English courtiers to support his claim to the English throne. In order to achieve these aims, various aspects of the festivities attempted to demonstrate the compatibility of the English and Scottish courts: showing that they shared martial, Protestant values, and foregrounding the security offered to England by the fertility of the Stewart royal family. However, misinterpretations that occurred in performance and in print limited the short-term effectiveness of the festivities' intended political messages. Nonetheless, the baptism bequeathed a range of ways of thinking about James and the dynastic union of England and Scotland which, as later chapters show, proved to be influential at the English court after 1603.

Chapter Two examines chivalric pageantry and ceremonial at the early Jacobean English court. Previous studies have suggested that chivalric culture declined at the court following Elizabeth's death, except in the household of Prince Henry, where (it has been claimed) chivalry was used to express opposition to James's pacific foreign policy. By contrast, this chapter demonstrates the continued vibrancy, and political significance, of chivalric culture at the English court after 1603. It argues that chivalric entertainments,

ceremonies, and institutions were used (with varying degrees of success) to secure the new regime and to foster amity amongst courtiers. Several entertainments performed before the court during the first year of James's English reign, such as *The Masque of Knights* staged at Hampton Court on New Year's Day 1604, and a pageant performed during James's triumphal entry into London on 15 March 1604, used martial and chivalric tropes to assuage concerns about the arrival of a foreign-born king and his entourage. These spectacles sought to demonstrate that English and Scottish courtiers were united by a common chivalric culture. This chapter also examines the important roles played by Jacobean Orders of Chivalry in court politics. It reveals James's intense interest in the Order of the Garter; including his implementation of conservative reforms to its statutes, his inclusion of its iconography in his official representations, and his use of its ceremonies and election of foreign princes to its membership to enhance his international reputation. Most significantly, James used the Order to create a fraternity between his most senior courtiers, and to encourage those courtiers to bond with his heir, Prince Henry. Finally, using the piecemeal surviving records, the chapter demonstrates the frequency and continued vibrancy of the tournament at the early Jacobean court, and indicates how James's accession altered its calendar, personnel, and pageantry. Courtiers such as the Herbert and Rich brothers used their appearances in the tiltyard to publicly display their loyalty to the king, and to advertise both their martial prowess and their ingenuity in pageant design. Meanwhile, James used court tournaments for multiple political purposes. Public tournaments staged on his Accession Day and 'barriers' competitions held in the Great Halls of palaces provided opportunities to impress foreign dignitaries with the majesty of his court and the martial talents of his courtiers, and to indicate his preferred policies and favoured courtiers (although such efforts were often frustrated by squabbles amongst ambassadors over precedence). James also encouraged chivalric pastimes as exercises in which courtiers might socialise together, including with Prince Henry. Revealing James's canny uses of chivalric institutions and occasions, the chapter challenges several prevailing stereotypes about him: particularly claims that he was uninterested in using court ceremonial for political purposes, and that Prince Henry's martial interests posed a destabilising challenge to his authority.

Shortly after his accession to the English throne, James made it mandatory for courtiers to attend the sermons preached in the Chapel Royal, and instituted an additional sermon every Tuesday. These changes made sermons an exceptionally important and influential literary form at the court. Previous scholarship on early Jacobean court sermons has mainly examined how court preachers addressed religious controversies, and has especially focused on sermons

preached by Lancelot Andrewes. Chapter Three analyses how Andrewes and several of his lesser-known contemporaries (who, as chaplains-in-ordinary, were all irregular, but nonetheless formally-sworn, members of the court) addressed James's accession and its impact on the court in their sermons. Chaplains-in-ordinary performed an important role in securing the establishment of the Jacobean regime. In their sermons, they cautioned their august auditory against opportunistically promoting religious reforms, and pre-emptively warned them against coups. Preachers also addressed courtiers' anxieties about James's accession. Anthony Rudd celebrated the new king's piety, and Thomas Blague argued that James would be well-counselled. Preachers at court routinely justified James's accession and his policies, especially in the sermons preached on the new Jacobean feast days: Gowrie Day and Gunpowder Day. Lancelot Andrewes' vivid preaching on these occasions encouraged the court to reflect upon, and to verbally and communally affirm, providence's endorsement of James's accession. Preachers also defended James against criticisms of changes at the court. John Gordon repudiated complaints about Scots receiving offices, whilst William Smith, likely encouraged by senior courtiers, repudiated criticisms of James's hunting. Nevertheless, chaplains also expressed reservations, and even criticisms, about changes at court. Robert Wakeman, Anthony Rudd, and Richard Eedes all questioned the changed dynamics of access, the appointment of Scottish courtiers, and the influence of church papist courtiers. Preachers at court repeatedly urged the king to keep his own counsel. This advice was not an expression of "absolutism" but the result of clerics' efforts to use their office to mitigate the changes in personnel and habits at the court.

Chapter Four reveals the existence of an important, distinctively Scottish poetic culture at the early Jacobean English court. It analyses works, in both English and Latin, by five Scottish courtiers: William Alexander, Robert Ayton, Alexander Craig, William Fowler, and Thomas Murray. Their writings contain strikingly different perspectives on James's accession, and on life at the early Jacobean English court, from works by English-born writers better known to scholars. As these courtier poets have received little critical attention, and have not been examined as a group before, the chapter begins by summarising their biographies, and examining how they used poetry to secure employment at James's English court. The poems they wrote to commemorate James' accession to the English throne (often in Latin and printed) addressed many of the same themes as accession panegyrics by canonical English poets. However, they also offered alternative interpretations of the political and cultural significance of the Union of Crowns, informed by long-standing Scottish religio-political and literary

traditions that were Anglophile and militantly Protestant. They depicted James's accession as a conquest, which would inaugurate a Stuart-led military crusade against Spain and the papacy. Yet they also addressed the likely losses that James's accession would cause for Scottish governance, identity, and poetry. The chapter also shows that Scottish courtiers made significant contributions to court culture: including their literary dedications to one another's printed works, and William Fowler's literary gifts to the king's cousin, Arbella Stuart. Scottish courtiers also produced verse responses to major events and cultural texts: such as Alexander Craig's responses to James's *A Counterblaste of Tobacco* and Philip Sidney's *Arcadia*, and Robert Ayton's English and Latin poems on the Gunpowder Plot. These poems drew on the political ideas and literary tropes that had long been used by militant Protestants in Scotland. Scottish courtiers also wrote and printed verse that criticised the English court. Alexander Craig's poetry in particular often complained about the fatigue and monotony of court service, and endemic corruption practises by courtiers. Overall, this chapter performs a long overdue re-integration of the contributions and perspectives of Scottish courtiers, including their critical views of the court, into accounts of English court culture after 1603.

Chapter Five examines the court career and early Jacobean writings of Sir Fulke Greville to illustrate how the changes at court affected and were critically analysed by a former Elizabethan courtier. It supplies a revisionary account of Greville's career at the late Elizabethan and early Jacobean court. Especially during the final years of Elizabeth's life, Greville was a more significant figure at court than has been acknowledged. As a favoured supernumerary Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber, nominally more senior courtiers, especially the earl of Essex, used Greville to intercede with the queen on their behalf. Greville also enjoyed auspicious royal favour at the start of James's English reign. Most notably, he was granted privileged access to James's Privy Chamber. However, by summer 1604 Greville had left the court. His departure has usually been attributed to the machinations of Robert Cecil, but this chapter suggests that Greville's position became unsustainable after he imprudently challenged the patronage powers of the newly-ascendant Charles Howard, earl of Nottingham. Greville's fall therefore illustrates the rapidly altered dynamics of power at the court. The chapter then examines the writings Greville produced in the decade after leaving the court, including lyric poems, revisions of his Elizabethan closet dramas, his verse treatise *A Treatise of Monarchy*, and *A Dedication*. It also suggests that Greville may have planned, but abandoned, a union tract. Whilst these texts have usually been studied separately, this chapter considers them together, as Greville intended, as a coherent (though ultimately uncompleted)

project that was intended to be read at court. Greville's writings offered sustained criticisms of the changes at the court following James's accession. Drawing on his experiences at the Elizabethan and Jacobean courts, Greville diagnosed a troubling combination of a king with several bad habits (including mismanaging household finances, diminishing his authority through the sale of honours, delegating his duties, and a predilection for sententiousness and intellectual vanity), and base, self-interested courtiers who abused dynamics of counsel, imperilling the commonwealth.

Chapter Six analyses the literary form in which courtiers expressed their grievances about the changes at court most unsparingly: manuscript verse libels. Previous scholarship has mostly considered verse libels as a feature of early seventeenth-century popular culture and news networks. This chapter demonstrates that scribally-circulated defamatory poems were a significant phenomenon at the early Jacobean court, and an important instrument through which courtiers debated, and sought to influence, court politics. Courtiers wrote and circulated verse libels in reaction to several changes implemented by James, especially his court appointments and religious policies, as well as to a number of court scandals, including the Main Plot and the marriage of Charles Blount and Penelope Rich, and the deaths of prominent courtiers, most notably of Sir Robert Cecil in 1612. Occasionally, the publication of these verse libels provoked counter-libels by other courtiers. These libels and counter-libels introduced several negative depictions of the court that had not featured in verse libels at the Elizabethan court. Addressing the downfalls of Sir Walter Ralegh and the earl of Northumberland, the largesse enjoyed by Scottish courtiers, and the pre-eminence of Cecil, verse libels complained that, at the Jacobean court, insufficient regard, even suspicion, was shown towards the nobility and traditions of aristocratic honour. Many of the libels that made this complaint were written by servants of the Howard family. Verse libels increasingly complained that illicit sexuality had become rampant at the court; allegations of insatiable sexual appetites became a standard component of posthumous libels about courtiers. Several courtiers, most notably Henry Howard and Robert Cecil, were accused of crypto-Catholicism in campaigns to inspire royal distrust. Many of these novel allegations about the court were combined potently in the posthumous libels on Cecil, which depicted a corrupt political, sexual, and popish network ruling the court. Although courtiers, most notably the earl of Pembroke, attempted to repudiate these libels, their efforts ultimately proved counter-productive, simply supplying material that could be used to further escalate libellous attacks within the court and beyond. Furthermore, the critical literary responses to changes at the court that courtiers

expressed in verse libels had a long, consequential, legacy. They are a previously unacknowledged source of many of the themes that scholars have observed in hostile representations of later Jacobean, and even Caroline, court scandals.

The Conclusion reviews how the thesis advances scholarship on the early Jacobean period. Its analysis of largely neglected texts reveals an alternative view of the culture of the English court, according prominence to previously overlooked writers, genres, and themes. It extends recent research on the late Elizabethan succession question and the establishment of the Jacobean regime by demonstrating the role of writings by English and Scottish courtiers in anticipating and criticising this important transition at the English court. Finally, it suggests how future scholarship could adopt its approach, and use literary sources and a transnational perspective in order to study regime change at other early modern courts.

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Jones's *Ladybird Histories: Kings and Queens of England* when I was three. Although it seems a very poor way to acknowledge my enormous debts, this thesis is dedicated to them, with love.

List of Abbreviations

Birch, *Court*	Thomas Birch, *The Court and Times of James the First: Illustrated by Authentic and Confidential Letters* (2 vols, London, 1848).
Birch, *Memoirs*	Thomas Birch, *Memoirs of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, from the year 1584 till her death* (2 vols, London, 1754).
BL	London, The British Library.
Bod.	Oxford, Bodleian Library.
Burgess, Wymer, and Lawrence (eds), *Accession*	Glenn Burgess, Rowland Wymer, Jason Lawrence (eds), *The Accession of James I: Historical and Cultural Consequences* (Basingstoke, 2006).
CEWBJO	*The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Ben Jonson Online*, ed. David Bevington, Martin Butler, and Ian Donaldson (Cambridge, 2013).
Cogswell, Cust, and Lake (eds), *Politics*	Thomas Cogswell, Richard Cust, and Peter Lake (eds), *Politics, Religion, and Popularity in Early Stuart Britain: Essays in Honour of Conrad Russell* (Cambridge, 2002).
Collins, *Letters and Memorials*	Arthur Collins, *Letters and Memorials of State, in the Reigns of Queen Mary, Queen Elizabeth, King James, King Charles the First, Part of the Reign of King Charles the Second, and Oliver's Usurpation* (2 vols, London, 1746).
CP	Hatfield, Hatfield House, Cecil Manuscripts.
CSPD Elizabeth	*Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reigns of Edward VI, Mary, Elizabeth: Preserved in the State Paper Department of Her Majesty's Public Record Office*, ed. Robert Lemon, Mary Anne Everett Green, (7 vols, London, 1856-71).

CSPD James	*Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of James I: Preserved in the State Paper Department of Her Majesty's Public Record Office*, ed. Mary Jane Everett Green (5 vols, London, 1857-72).
CSPS	*Calendar of the State Papers Relating to Scotland and Mary, Queen of Scots, 1547-1603: Preserved in the Public Record Office, the British Museum and elsewhere in England*, ed. Joseph Bain, William Keown Boyd, Annie I. Dunlop, Montague Spencer Giuseppi, and John Duncan Mackie (Edinburgh: 13 vols in 14, 1898-1969).
CSPV	*Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts, Relating to English Affairs, Existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice, and in Other Libraries of Northern Italy*, ed. Rawdon Brown, Horatio F. Brown, Allen B. Hinds (38 vols, London, 1864-1947).
Doran and Kewes (eds), *Doubtful*	Susan Doran and Paulina Kewes (eds), *Doubtful and Dangerous: The Question of Succession in Late Elizabethan England* (Manchester, 2014).
EHR	*The English Historical Review*.
Gajda, *Essex*	Alexandra Gajda, *The Earl of Essex and Late Elizabethan Political Culture* (Oxford, 2012).
Guy (ed.), *Reign*	John Guy (ed.), *The Reign of Elizabeth I: Court and Culture in the Last Decade* (Cambridge, 1995).
HJ	*The Historical Journal*.
HLQ	*Huntington Library Quarterly*.
HMC	Historical Manuscripts Commission.
HMC Downshire	*HMC, Report on the Manuscripts of the Marquess of Downshire: Preserved at Easthampstead Park, Berks.* (6 vols, London, 1924-1995).

HMC Earl Cowper	*HMC, The Manuscripts of the Earl Cowper, K.G., Preserved at Melbourne Hall, Derbyshire* (3 vols, London, 1888-9).
HMC Salisbury	*HMC, Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Most Hon. the Marquis of Salisbury, K.G. &c. Preserved at Hatfield House, Hertfordshire*, ed. Richard Arthur Roberts, Edward Salisbury, Montague Spencer Giuseppi, and Geraint Dyfnallt Owen (24 vols, London, 1883-1976).
Houlbrooke (ed.), *James*	Ralph A. Houlbrooke (ed.), *James VI and I: Ideas, Authority, and Government* (Aldershot, 2006).
James, *Political Writings*	King James VI and I, *Political Writings*, ed. Johann P. Sommerville (Cambridge, 1994).
JEH	*The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*.
JBS	*Journal of British Studies*.
Kewes and McRae (eds), *Succession*	Paulina Kewes and Andrew McRae (eds), *Stuart Succession Literature: Moments and Transformations* (Oxford, 2019).
LPL	London, Lambeth Palace Library.
MS	Manuscript.
N&Q	*Notes and Queries*.
NAL	London, Victoria and Albert Museum, National Art Library.
Nichols's Progresses Elizabeth	*John Nichols's The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth I: A New Edition of the Early Modern Sources*, ed. Elizabeth Goldring, Faith Eales, Elizabeth Clarke, and Jayne Elisabeth Archer (5 vols, Oxford, 2015).
Nichols, *Progresses James*	John Nichols, *The Progresses, Processions, and Magnificent Festivities of King James the First* (4 vols, London, 1828).
NLS	Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland.

NRO	Northampton, Northamptonshire Record Office.
ODNB	Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, ed. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford, 2004; online edition 2008).
P&P	*Past & Present*.
Peck (ed.), *Mental World*	Linda Levy Peck (ed.), *The Mental World of the Jacobean Court* (Cambridge, 1991).
Proclamations	*Stuart Royal Proclamations: Royal Proclamations of King James I, 1603-1625*, ed. James F. Larkin and Paul L. Hughes (Oxford, 1973).
SEL	*Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*.
SHR	*The Scottish Historical Review.*
SiP	*Studies in Philology*.
SJ	*Sidney Journal*.
Smuts (ed.), *Age of Shakespeare*	R. Malcolm Smuts (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Age of Shakespeare* (Oxford, 2016).
SP	State Papers.
SSL	*Studies in Scottish Literature*.
Starkey (ed.), *English Court*	David Starkey (ed.), *The English Court: From the Wars of the Roses to the Civil War* (London, 1987).
TNA	Kew, The National Archives.
TRHS	*Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*.
UNL	Nottingham, University of Nottingham Libraries.
Winwood, *Memorials*	Ralph Winwood, *Memorials of Affairs of State in the Reigns of Q. Elizabeth and K. James: Collected, Chiefly, from the Original Papers of Sir Ralph Winwood*, ed. Edmund Sawyer (3 vols, London, 1725).

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A Note on the Text

The spelling and punctuation in primary sources has not been modernised. It is assumed that all works printed before 1800 were published in London unless otherwise stated. Dates are given in Old Style, but it is assumed that the year begins on 1 January.

Where translations are my own, this is indicated in a footnote by 'my translation'.

This thesis covers two decades during which many individuals acquired new titles, most notably James VI of Scotland also becoming James I of England in 1603. Individuals are usually referred to by their contemporary title. However in order to prevent confusion, several frequently-discussed individuals are described by one name. For example, Robert Cecil, who became Baron Cecil in 1603, Viscount Cranborne in 1604, and Earl of Salisbury in 1605, is always simply Sir Robert Cecil. In keeping with current trends, James's queen is referred to by her preferred name of Anna, and in the main text I spell Sir Walter Ralegh's name thus.

Introduction

Beyond the Masque: Studying the Literary Culture of a Court in Transition

The accession of a new monarch always entails the possibility of an abrupt, radical transformation of the royal court and its culture. Throughout global history, the beginnings of reigns have often precipitated the reorganisation of the upper echelons of court offices, with the most trusted servants of the old ruler vulnerable to replacement by their successor's intimates. Additionally, many new rulers have secured their positions by remoulding their courts: altering access protocols, the functions of courts offices, and even the architecture of royal palaces.[1] In the early modern world these changes could have far-reaching consequences because princely courts were the pre-eminent sites of political and cultural power.[2] They provided a 'point of contact' between central government and the localities, and were the font of royal bounty, with all political offices ultimately connected, via complex patronage networks, to the court.[3] Courts were also the premier site for performances of royal charisma and majesty, and rituals of sacred monarchy.[4]

My thesis investigates how the phenomenon of royal succession was experienced by courtiers at the English court when, in 1603, Queen Elizabeth I was succeeded by her second cousin, King James VI of Scotland. Even when Elizabeth was dying in March 1603, the identity of her successor was not known for certain; the queen having long forbidden public discussion of the succession question.[5] However, clandestine communication between James

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[1] Jeroen Duindam, *Dynasty: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford, 2019), pp. 61-81.
[2] A.G. Dickens (ed.), *The Courts of Europe: Politics, Patronage, and Royalty 1400-1800* (London, 1977); Starkey (ed.), *English Court;* Ronald G. Asch and Adolf M. Birke (eds), *Princes, Patronage, and the Nobility: The Court at the Beginning of the Modern Age, c.1450-1650* (London, 1991); Jeroen Duindam, *Dynasties: A Global History of Power, 1300-1800* (Cambridge, 2016), pp. 156-226.
[3] G.R. Elton, 'Tudor Government: The Points of Contact. III. The Court', *TRHS*, 26 (1976), pp. 211-28; David Starkey, 'Court and Government', in John Guy (ed.), *The Tudor Monarchy* (London, 1997), pp. 189-212; Linda Levy Peck, *Court Patronage and Corruption in Early Stuart England* (London, 1990), pp. 1-74; Wallace T. MacCaffrey, 'Patronage and Politics under the Tudors', in Peck (ed.), *Mental World*, pp. 21-35.
[4] Roy Strong, *Art and Power: Renaissance Festivals, 1450-1650* (Woodbridge, 1984); R. Malcolm Smuts, 'Art and the Material Culture of Majesty in Early Stuart England', in idem (ed.), *The Stuart Court and Europe: Essays in Politics and Political Culture* (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 86-112; John Adamson (ed.), *The Princely Courts of Europe: Ritual, Politics and Culture under the Ancien Régime* (London, 1999); Simon Thurley, *Houses of Power: The Places That Shaped the Tudor World* (London, 2017).
[5] Howard Nenner, *The Right to Be King: The Succession to the Crown of England, 1603-1714* (Basingstoke, 1995), pp. 13-25; Jean-Christophe Mayer (ed.), *The Struggle for the Succession in Late Elizabethan England: Politics, Polemics and Cultural Representations* (Montpellier, 2004); Doran and Kewes (eds), *Doubtful.*

and the English court, and inaction by the supporters of rival candidates, ensured that James's accession to the English throne, to the surprise of many, went largely unchallenged.[6]

This was an especially consequential change of monarch, which affected English administration, and religious and foreign policy.[7] More fundamentally, upon James's accession, the political relationship between England and Scotland was transformed as the two kingdoms were joined in a dynastic union. Across early modern Western Europe it was increasingly common for formerly-separate polities to be united under a single ruler by dynastic policy or fortune. Such states, which included Denmark-Norway, Poland-Lithuania, Spain, and France, have been dubbed 'mixed monarchies', 'multiple monarchies', 'composite monarchies', and, more recently, 'dynastic agglomerates'.[8] In the sixteenth century, England was already a 'mixed monarchy': The Crown of Ireland Act 1542 had joined the crowns of England and Ireland. The political problem of governing Ireland shaped politics at the Elizabethan court.[9] However, the mixed monarchy of England and Ireland was not reflected in the personnel of its royal court. During Elizabeth's reign, only a handful of Irish subjects attended the queen's court (and usually only for brief visits).[10]

By contrast, the Union of the Crowns of England and Scotland in 1603 altered the personnel of the royal court dramatically. Upon acquiring a new territory, most rulers of a dynastic agglomerate remained in their original kingdom, governing their new realm through viceroys, who might establish shadow courts. Unusually, in 1603, James, his wife Queen Anna, and their three surviving children (Henry, Elizabeth, and Charles) left Scotland, which James had ruled for thirty-five years, to take up residence in English royal palaces.[11] Following the dissolution of the Scottish court, England's new royal family were also accompanied by

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[6] Susan Doran, '1603: A Jagged Succession', *Historical Research*, 93/261 (2020), pp. 443-65.
[7] Kenneth Fincham and Peter Lake, 'The Ecclesiastical Policy of King James I', *JBS*, 24/2 (1985), pp. 169-207; Pauline Croft, '*Rex Pacificus*, Robert Cecil, and the 1604 Peace with Spain', in Burgess, Wymer, and Lawrence (eds), *Accession*, pp. 140-54; Diana Newton, *The Making of the Jacobean Regime: James VI and I and the Government of England, 1603-1605* (London, 2005); Charles W.A. Prior, *Defining the Jacobean Church: The Politics of Religious Controversy, 1603-1625* (Cambridge, 2005).
[8] J.H. Elliott, 'A Europe of Composite Monarchies', *P&P*, 137 (1992), pp. 48-71; John Morrill, 'Dynasties, Realms, Peoples and State Formation, 1500-1720', in Robert von Friedeburg and John Morrill (eds), *Monarchy Transformed: Princes and Their Elites in Early Modern Western Europe* (Cambridge, 2017), pp. 17-43.
[9] Hiram Morgan, '"Never Any Realm Worse Governed": Elizabeth I and Ireland', *TRHS*, 14 (2004), pp. 295-308; Rory Rapple, 'Brinkmanship and Bad Luck: Ireland, the Nine Years' War and the Succession', in Doran and Kewes (eds), *Doubtful*, pp. 236-56; Brendan Kane and Valerine McGowan-Doyle (eds), *Elizabeth I and Ireland* (Cambridge, 2014).
[10] Brendan Kane and Valerie McGowan-Doyle, 'Elizabeth I and Ireland: An Introduction', in idem (eds), *Elizabeth I and Ireland*, pp. 1-2.
[11] There was a brief dispute in April 1603 concerning whether Prince Henry would remain in Scotland: J. Leeds Barroll, *Anna of Denmark, Queen of England: A Cultural Biography* (Philadelphia, 2001), pp. 28-34. Prince Charles came to England in July 1604.

over one hundred Scottish aristocrats and gentlemen, who received posts in their households.[12] Notoriously, James's efforts to implement a full political union of England and Scotland failed, following opposition in both English and Scottish parliaments, and criticisms in manuscript and printed polemics.[13] Therefore, the most significant and public manifestation of the dynastic union of England and Scotland was the presence of Scottish-born individuals at the royal court in England.

My thesis is an interdisciplinary study of how James's accession transformed and was addressed in the English court's literary culture. It is not intended to provide a detailed account of the institutional changes or administrative practices at the court, which have been described in Neil Cuddy's seminal research.[14] Nor will I supply a prosopographical survey of personnel at James's English court, although such a study is badly-needed.[15] Instead, I will investigate how various aspects of the transition from the court under Elizabeth to that under James were treated in a wide range of literary texts that were written and circulated by courtiers at the English court during the two decades between two significant dynastic events: James's marriage to Anna of Denmark in 1589, and the death of Prince Henry, their eldest son, in 1612. James's marriage intensified discussions about the prospect of a Stewart succession, and the establishment of an Anglo-Scottish court. From around 1611, the number of Scots at the English court declined, due to deaths and increasingly prohibited access.[16] The death of Henry, as well as of several other senior courtiers by 1612, most significantly George Home, earl of Dunbar, and Sir Robert Cecil, substantially altered the political and cultural dynamics that had been established by James's accession.[17] My thesis therefore examines and illuminates a

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[12] Neil Cuddy, 'Anglo-Scottish Union and the Court of James I, 1603-1625', *TRHS*, 39 (1989), pp. 107-24; Keith M. Brown, 'The Scottish Aristocracy, Anglicization and the Court, 1603-38', *HJ*, 36/3 (1993), pp. 543-76.
[13] Bruce Galloway, *The Union of England and Scotland, 1603-1608* (Edinburgh, 1986); Jenny Wormald, 'The Union of 1603', in Roger A. Mason (ed.), *Scots and Britons: Scottish Political Thought and the Union of 1603* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 17-40; Sarah Waurechen, 'Imagined Polities, Failed Dreams, and the Beginnings of an Unacknowledged Britain: English Responses to James VI and I's Vision of Perfect Union', *JBS*, 52/3 (2013), pp. 575-96; Roger A. Mason, '1603: Multiple Monarchy and Scottish Identity', *History*, 105/366 (2020), pp. 402-21. Several polemics (mostly opposing the idea) are collected in *The Jacobean Union: Six Tracts of 1604*, ed. Bruce Galloway and Brian P. Levack (Edinburgh, 1985).
[14] Neil Cuddy, 'The King's Chambers: The Bedchamber of James I in Administration and Politics, 1603-25', (D.Phil. thesis, University of Oxford, 1987); idem, 'The Revival of the Entourage: The Bedchamber of James I, 1603-1625', in Starkey (ed.), *English Court*, pp. 173-225; idem, 'Reinventing a Monarchy: The Changing Structure and Political Function of the Stuart Court, 1603-88', in Eveline Cruickshanks (ed.), *The Stuart Courts* (Stroud, 2000), pp. 59-88.
[15] However, for a useful overview of holders of higher court offices, see P.R. Seddon, 'Patronage and Officers in the Reign of James I' (Ph.D. thesis, University of Manchester, 1967), pp. 293-310.
[16] Brown, 'Scottish Aristocracy', p. 445.
[17] Johann Sommerville, 'The Death of Robert Cecil: End of an Era', in Jeanne Shami, Dennis Flynn, and M. Thomas Hester (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of John Donne* (Oxford, 2011), pp. 495-505; Alastair Bellany, 'The Rise of the Howards at Court', in idem, pp. 537-53.

significant, discrete period in the history of the English royal court: the two decades during which the possibilities, and then the realities, of an Anglo-Scottish court were addressed most intensely within the court's literary culture.

Many investigations of courts at the beginning of reigns have examined how ordinary court rituals and ceremonies, and representations of majesty, such as festivals and patronage of the arts, helped to secure new regimes.[18] Additionally, Martin Wiggins and Clare Whitehead have recently explored how dramatic performances staged at the court and elsewhere during the first eighteen months of James's English reign attempted to assuage anxieties about his accession by conferring on him a reassuring, legitimating aura of continuity.[19] However, in this thesis, I aim to show that scholars interested in the phenomenon of successions at royal courts could gain much by expanding their studies beyond rituals and dramatic performances to explore various forms of court literature. Numerous historians have shown that sensitive study of literary sources, including attending to their imagery, and formal, rhetorical and material properties, can supply insights into political culture which cannot be recovered from other sources.[20] Additionally, recent interdisciplinary scholarship on the phenomenon of "succession literature" has illuminated the multiple functions performed by literary works produced at moments of transfer of power.[21] I develop these approaches, using court literature as a tool to illuminate experiences of and attitudes towards the court in transition.

Numerous scholars have investigated the literary culture of the early Jacobean English court and contemporary responses to the Jacobean succession. Recent studies have examined

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[18] Sean Kelsey, *Inventing a Republic: The Political Culture of the English Commonwealth, 1649-1653* (Manchester, 1997), pp. 25-52; Jennifer Shun-Yee Ng, 'Bedchamber Ritual and the Performance of Stability in Jacobean England, 1603-1625' (Ph.D. thesis, University of California, Los Angeles, 2011); Tim Blanning, 'The Hanoverian Monarchy and the Culture of Representation', in Andreas Gestrich and Michael Schaich (eds), *The Hanoverian Succession: Dynastic Politics and Monarchical Culture* (Abingdon, 2015), pp. 129-46; Marc W.S. Jaffré, 'The Royal Court and Civil War at the Founding of the Bourbon Dynasty, 1589-95', *French History*, 31/1 (2017), pp. 20-38.

[19] Martin Wiggins, *Drama and the Transfer of Power in Renaissance England* (Oxford, 2012), pp. 41-64; Clare Frances Whitehead, 'Performing for the New King: Continuity and Change at the Early Jacobean Court' (Ph.D. thesis, Queen Mary University of London, 2014). On the various concerns about James's accession, see Judith M. Richards, 'The English Accession of James VI: National Identity, Gender and the Personal Monarchy of England', *EHR*, 117/472 (2002), pp. 513-535.

[20] Exemplary studies include: Kevin Sharpe, *Criticism and Compliment: The Politics of Literature in the England of Charles I* (Cambridge, 1987); R. Malcolm Smuts, *Court Culture and the Origins of a Royalist Tradition in Early Stuart England* (Philadelphia, 1987); Blair Worden, *The Sound of Virtue: Philip Sidney's "Arcadia" and Elizabethan Politics* (New Haven, 1996); Matthew Jenkinson, *Culture and Politics at the Court of Charles II, 1660-1685* (Woodbridge, 2010).

[21] Wiggins, *Drama*; *Literature of the Stuart Successions: An Anthology*, ed. Andrew McRae and John West (Manchester, 2017), pp. 1-28; Paulina Kewes and Andrew McRae, 'Introduction', in Kewes and McRae (eds), *Succession*, pp. 1-18.

overlooked genres of court literature, including sermons, and drama performed at court.[22] Some of the most significant research of the past few decades has explored the influence exerted on English court culture by Tacitean 'politique' histories and their negative depictions of courts and courtiers.[23] Nevertheless, most previous scholarship has dealt with a limited range of texts. The published writings of King James, the works of Ben Jonson, and the pageants and arches produced for James's triumphal entry into London on 15 March 1604 have been discussed repeatedly.[24] Most notably, there have been innumerable studies of the court masque.[25] Meanwhile, several scholars have explored the literature that was produced to commemorate James's accession.[26] Others have examined how literary texts addressed – often critically – significant changes at the court, such as the influx of Scottish courtiers, the king's largesse, and altered dynamics of access.[27] Yet, scholars have usually examined representations of changes at the court in texts that were produced as part of civic culture or for the public stage, rather than in texts that were written, performed, or circulated at the court itself.[28]

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[22] Peter E. McCullough, *Sermons at Court: Politics and Religion in Elizabethan and Jacobean Preaching* (Cambridge, 1998); John Astington, *English Court Theatre, 1558-1642* (Cambridge, 1999); Richard Dutton, *Shakespeare: Court Dramatist* (Oxford, 2016); Sophie Chiari and John Mucciolo (eds), *Performances at Court in the Age of Shakespeare* (Cambridge, 2019).

[23] J.H.M. Salmon, 'Seneca and Tacitus in Jacobean England', in Peck (ed.), *Mental World*, pp. 169-90; R. Malcolm Smuts, 'Court-Centred Politics and the Uses of Roman Historians, c.1590-1630', in Kevin Sharpe and Peter Lake (eds), *Culture and Politics in Early Stuart England* (Basingstoke, 1994), pp. 21-43; idem, 'Varieties of Tacitism', *HLQ*, 83/3 (2020), pp. 441-65.

[24] Graham Parry, *The Golden Age Restor'd: The Culture of the Stuart Court, 1603-42* (Manchester, 1981); Jonathan Goldberg, *James I and the Politics of Literature: Jonson, Shakespeare, Donne, and Their Contemporaries* (Baltimore, 1983); Jane Rickard, *Writing the Monarch in Jacobean England: Jonson, Donne, Shakespeare, and the Works of King James* (Cambridge, 2015).

[25] Older studies include: Stephen Orgel, *The Jonsonian Masque* (Cambridge, Mass., 1965); Stephen Orgel, *The Illusion of Power: Political Theatre in the English Renaissance* (Berkeley, 1975). Significant recent work includes: David Bevington and Peter Holbrook (eds), *The Politics of the Stuart Court Masque* (Cambridge, 1998); Barroll, *Anna*, pp. 74-161; Barbara Ravelhofer, *The Early Stuart Masque: Dance, Music and Costume* (Oxford, 2006); Martin Butler, *The Stuart Court Masque and Political Culture* (Cambridge, 2008); Kevin Curran, *Marriage, Performance, and Politics at the Jacobean Court* (Farnham, 2009).

[26] Astrid Stilma, 'Scottish Farewells and English Greetings: How James VI Became James I', in Gerard Steen (ed.), *From Shakespeare to Propaganda: Four Papers for Rod Lyall* (Amsterdam, 2005), pp. 68-87; Wiggins, *Drama*, pp. 41-64; Jessica Lazar, '1603. The Wonderfull Yeare: Literary Responses to the Accession of James I' (D.Phil. thesis, University of Oxford, 2016); Richard A. McCabe, 'Panegyric and Its Discontents: The First Stuart Succession', in Kewes and McRae (eds), *Succession*, pp. 19-36.

[27] Albert H. Tricomi, *Anticourt Drama in England, 1603-1642* (Charlottesville, 1989); Curtis Perry, *The Making of Jacobean Culture: James I and the Renegotiation of Elizabethan Literary Practice* (Cambridge, 1997); Blair Worden, 'Favourites on the English Stage', in J.H. Elliott and L.W.B. Brockliss (eds), *The World of the Favourite* (New Haven, 1999), pp. 159-83; Curtis Perry, 'The Politics of Access and Representations of the Sodomite King', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 53/4 (2000), pp. 1054-83; Alex Garganigo, '*Coriolanus*, the Union Controversy, and Access to the Royal Person', *SEL*, 42/4 (2002), pp. 335-59.

[28] Honourable exceptions that examine drama performed at court include: Daniel Cadman, '"Th'accession of these mighty States": Daniel's *Philotas* and the Union of Crowns', *Renaissance Studies*, 26/3 (2012), pp. 365-84; Whitehead, 'Performing', pp. 131-91.

My thesis offers the first sustained analysis of how the Jacobean succession was addressed in a wide range of literary texts that were written, read, and performed by courtiers, serving in a range of roles in different sub-departments of the court. Of course, "the court" and "courtiers" are terms that were used in multiple, contradictory senses by contemporaries and remain much-debated by modern scholars. This is because the early modern English royal court was an incredibly complicated, multi-faceted institution (and was made even more complicated by the change of monarch in 1603).

The structure of the court had developed based on its original purpose: to serve the monarch's various needs (first bodily, then political).[29] It was a network of different departments or units, which corresponded roughly to different rooms within a royal palace. The Household, governed by the Lord Steward, was devoted to menial tasks, such as cooking food and laundry.[30] Meanwhile, the Chamber ("the household above stairs") was governed by the Lord Chamberlain, in which a great deal of government administration, such as meetings of the Privy Council and audiences with ambassadors, occurred. The Chamber was subdivided into the Guard Chamber (manned by the Yeoman of the Guard), the Presence Chamber (staffed by an elite guard of gentlemen pensioners), and the Privy Chamber.[31] The final, innermost part of the Chamber, was the Bedchamber, headed by the Groom of the Stool, where the monarch slept and relaxed in the company of their closest intimates. The staff of the Chamber were formally sworn into their roles by the Lord Chamberlain.

However, the relationships between and within these sub-departments was complicated. They overlapped in ways that were not always clear to contemporaries, much less to modern scholars. For example, although the Lord Chamberlain was head of the Chamber, which included the Privy Chamber and the Bedchamber, these two sub-departments were under the authority of the Groom of the Stool. It is not at all clear whether the Lord Chamberlain had the authority to intervene in affairs in, for example, the Privy Chamber, without the Groom of the Stool's assent. Likewise, a division between a functional, more menial Household and a ceremonial, elite Chamber did not always hold. For example, the Household included the Hall, a large ceremonial space in which banquets, tournaments, and masques were staged. Meanwhile, the Master of the Horse (responsible for maintaining the

[29] David Loades, *The Tudor Court*, third edition (Oxford, 2003), pp. 25-8.
[30] Loades, *Tudor Court*, pp. 36-43.
[31] Ibid, pp. 28-36; W.J. Tighe, 'Gentlemen pensioners in Elizabethan politics and government' (Ph.D. thesis, University of Cambridge, 1984); idem, '*Familia Reginae*: The Privy Court', in Susan Doran and Norman Jones (eds), *The Elizabethan World* (London, 2011), pp. 76-91.

royal horses in the stables) and the Master of the Leash (responsible for the royal hunting hounds) were both members of the Chamber.

Beyond the Household and the Chamber, there were further sub-departments of the court. The institution of the Chapel Royal served the spiritual needs of the royal family and organised religious services for the whole court population held in the court's own chapel (confusingly called the Chapel Royal) or in the court's outdoor preaching courtyard. Although the Lord Chamberlain had some jurisdiction over appointments to the Chapel Royal, it was officially run by the Dean. Finally, the palace also featured some outdoor spaces, most notably gardens and sports centres, including the tiltyards.

During James's reign, the queen and (after 1610) the princes also had their own households.[32] These had similar structures, with their own staff and entourages.[33] Additionally, some major courtiers maintained their own separate, often grand, households in London.[34] As such, under James, the royal court was a polycentric institution. It was also a mobile, or peripatetic, institution. Although the court was increasingly located at Whitehall, the monarch often moved between around half-a-dozen palaces near London. During the summer, the monarch, accompanied by their household, might travel, usually to the Home Counties and East Anglia, on progresses.[35] As King of England, James spent a very large amount of his time on hunting excursions, especially at his favourite hunting lodges in Royston and Newmarket, where he would be accompanied by an entourage of favourite companions, secretaries, and chaplains. Therefore, during the Jacobean period, "the English court", in the sense of the monarch and his household, was often a few dozen individuals in some (rather dilapidated) lodges in the countryside. However, because institutions such as the Privy Council and the Chapel Royal were held to *represent* the monarch's authority, contemporaries could conceive of the royal palaces as "the court" even when the monarch was physically absent.[36] For example, many sermons preached in the Chapel Royal while James was away on summer progresses or hunting trips, were nonetheless described as having been preached to the court.

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[32] R. Malcolm Smuts, 'Cultural Diversity and Cultural Change at the Court of James I', in Peck (ed.), *Mental World,* pp. 99-113; Barroll, *Anna*.
[33] Timothy Wilks, 'The Court Culture of Prince Henry and His Circle, 1603-1613' (2 vols, D.Phil. thesis, University of Oxford, 1987).
[34] Smuts, *Court Culture,* pp. 53-72; Simon Thurley, 'The Politics of Court Space in Early Stuart London', in Marcello Fantoni, George Gorse, and R. Malcolm Smuts (eds), *The Politics of Space: Europe Courts: ca. 1500-1750* (Rome, 2009), pp. 293-316.
[35] Mary Hill Cole, *The Portable Queen: Elizabeth I and the Politics of Ceremony* (Amherst, Mass., 1999).
[36] David Starkey, 'Representation through Intimacy: A Study in the Symbolism of Monarchy and Court Office in Early Modern England', in Guy (ed.), *Tudor Monarchy*, pp. 42-77.

The early modern English royal court was therefore a polycentric and peripatetic institution made up of many different overlapping sub-departments and spaces. Generally, the greater access an individual had to the innermost sanctums of court and privileged sites of intimacy – the monarch's Privy Chamber (and, after 1603, the Bedchamber), the more fully they could be said to belong to the court.[37] However, the protocols regulating access were important, but not all-important. The overlapping jurisdictions of the court meant it was still possible for those who did not enjoy a right of access to the Privy Chamber or Bedchamber to access royal intimacy, even if in mediated form. Individuals could be members of multiple households or sub-departments of the court. They might, for example, be a member of the household of an important noble, the prince, and have a role in the Chapel Royal. Additionally, people certainly did not stay entirely within their allotted spaces and roles at court and did not socialise only with members of their court department. As a result, a close relationship (whether kinship, friendship, or employment) with a major courtier or member of the royal family could be translated into privileges and varying degrees of access to royal power. For example, neither Alexander Craig and Thomas Murray, Scottish-born courtiers who will be discussed in Chapter Four, held an automatic right of entry to the court's innermost rooms. However, due to their employment in the households of the earl of Dunbar (Head of the King's Bedchamber) and Queen Anna respectively, they enjoyed a mediated form of access to the monarch.

Faced with the complexity of the early modern court, many historians and literary critics have therefore sought to define "the court" and "courtiers" in order to make their investigations manageable. These definitions for whether an individual should be considered to be a courtier or not have usually been based upon whether they meet a minimum prescribed level of intimacy with the monarch. Some historians, most notably David Starkey, have adopted a rigid definition of a courtier as the most intimate bodily and political servants of the monarch (the Privy Chamber and the Privy Council).[38] In his 1991 *The Elizabethan Courtier Poets*, Steven May adopted a similarly strict, although more inclusive, definition of courtiers as those who were granted access to the Privy Chamber.[39] In a recent study, Susan Doran extended May's definition slightly, limiting her investigation to those 'who were allocated

[37] David Starkey, 'Intimacy and Innovation: The Rise of the Privy Chamber, 1485-1547', in Starkey (ed.), *English Court*, pp. 71-118; Cuddy, 'Revival of the Entourage'.
[38] David Starkey, *The Reign of Henry VIII: Personalities and Politics* (London, 1985); idem, 'Intimacy and Innovation'.
[39] Steven W. May, *The Elizabethan Courtier Poets: The Poems and Their Contexts* (Columbia, Mo., 1991).

rooms in the palaces and invited to enter the privy chamber'.[40] Imposing such definitions can yield transformative insights into court politics and culture: Starkey's explanation of the central political role of Henry VIII's Bedchamber, May's revisionary account of Elizabethan court culture, which demonstrated that courtiers such as Sir Arthur Gorges and literary genres, such as devotional verse, were far more significant than had been recognised, and Doran's fine-grained account of the personal and political relationships at the Elizabethan court. However, it also entails several significant costs.

Imposing strict definitions of 'the court' or 'courtiers' based on rights of access, and relegating those who do not meet the threshold to 'non-courtiers' or the 'satellite-courtly' can lead to inclusions and exclusions that seem arbitrary and distort our understanding of the court.[41] Many individuals who are to be considered 'courtiers' under these more formal definitions were actually at court only rarely, and made negligible contributions to its cultural life. For example, during James's reign, several senior Scottish courtiers, such as the earls of Mar and Dunbar, were often employed on administrative duties at the Anglo-Scottish border or in Scotland.[42] Conversely, strict definitions of who belonged to the court ignore how the mobile, polycentric court enabled people to influence court politics and culture without holding a formal, sworn post at court or right of access to the Chamber's inner records. Additionally, many of the most recognisable features of early modern English court culture were produced by people who would not be considered courtiers under the definitions of Starkey, May or Doran. As I have mentioned, many studies of early Jacobean court culture have examined James's triumphal entry into London and the ideas about the new monarch and his court it conveyed. However, the entry was largely organised by the city of London, with the Privy Council involved, at best, distantly.[43] Similarly, during James's reign, court masques became the spectacular foci of the court's Christmas season. Although they were performed by courtiers, their texts, sets, and costumes were usually produced by specially-commissioned artisans.[44] An account of early seventeenth-century English court culture that includes Mar and Dunbar but excludes, for example, Ben Jonson on the grounds that he did not enjoy regular access to the Privy Chamber and was not a regular member of the court's bureaucracy until he

[40] Susan Doran, *Elizabeth I and her Circle* (Oxford, 2015), pp. 2-3.
[41] Arthur F. Marotti, *Manuscript, Print, and the English Renaissance Lyric* (Ithaca, 1995), p. 8.
[42] Anna Groundwater, 'From Whitehall to Jedburgh: Patronage Networks and the Government of the Scottish Borders, 1603 to 1625', *HJ*, 53/4 (2010), pp. 871-93.
[43] On the court's limited involvement, see Ian W. Archer, 'Court and City Connected: The Material Dimensions of Royal Ceremonial, ca. 1480-1625', *HLQ*, 71/1 (2008), pp. 160, 167.
[44] An exception (a masque written by Ludovic Stewart, the Duke of Lennox) is discussed in Chapter Two.

received a pension in 1616, would be distorting and deficient.[45] A nuanced account of the court and court culture should not lose sight of the fact that the court was a complicated, amorphous institution with fluid and porous boundaries, where the distinction between a courtier and a non-courtier was not always clear nor, for that matter, important. Rigid definitions of who belonged to the court, ultimately, seem anachronistic.

Nonetheless, there is no escaping from the fact that the early modern royal court was a truly complex institution, the overlapping sub-departments and unclear boundaries of which can render challenging precise discussion by scholars. It is perhaps helpful, therefore, to remember that the court was an institution that performed multiple functions. Among these functions were, of course, catering for the royal family's bodily needs and leisure activities, and a range of administrative functions. Another of these functions was to project the monarch's authority outwards into the country and, indeed, to other realms and courts. This function of the court meant that it did not truly have an outermost geographical boundary. Royal magnificence was presented to the outside world through a wide range of devices: the architecture and decoration of royal palaces; the festivals and ceremonies such as masques and tournaments that occurred there; sermons preached at court; ceremonies that occurred away from royal palaces, such as coronations and street pageants; royal proclamations; the entourage of an ambassador.[46] As mentioned above, most of the public displays of monarchy were constructed by artisans who did not enjoy regular access to the Privy Chamber, but whose contributions were commissioned and paid for by the Chamber.[47] These figures included, for example, the tailors who made the monarch's clothes, the artisans who built and painted the royal barge, and the musicians who performed at special ceremonial events. Of course, they also included writers who lived in London, such as Ben Jonson, who were commissioned to furnish the texts for court masques.

Historians and literary critics have generally devoted far more attention to these types of public display and performances to the outside world by the early Jacobean court than they have to the literary culture within the court. The texts that were read, written, circulated, or performed by individuals who were employed as servants carrying out the court's various administrative functions, which were not intended for public display, have been examined only

[45] Leah Marcus, 'Jonson and the Court', in Richard Harp and Stanley Stewart (eds), *The Cambridge Companion to Ben Jonson* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 30-42.
[46] Smuts, 'Art and the Material Culture of Majesty'.
[47] R. Malcolm Smuts, 'The Structure of the Court and the Roles of the Artist and Poet under Charles I', *CH*, 9/2 (2004), pp. 103-17.

rarely. Of course, the distinction between these two major functions of the court and court culture – magnificence and administration – was not absolute. Even the mundane aspects of court life, such as dining and processions, were important acts of display, rituals showing political hierarchies and the religious settlement. Similarly, the literary texts that were read and written by people employed in a variety of roles at court were also cultural projections about the court. Although they were far less public than masques or pageants, they too contained images of the court. Therefore, I suggest that it is helpful to think about the court's literary culture in terms of texts and performances that had different degrees of publicness or exclusivity. For example: street pageants and progresses processions were exceptionally (and deliberately) public performances by the court, taking place outside of the palace walls; a tournament pageant or a sermon preached in the Preaching Place had a smaller audience but were still imagined as public displays, taking place in the most accessible parts of the palace; a sermon preached in the Chapel Royal or a masque performed in the Hall were less public still, with a certain social position being necessary for entry; a manuscript passed between courtiers in the Privy Chamber or a conversation in the Bedchamber were the most private acts of display at court. This thesis undertakes the first major examination of how the phenomenon of the Jacobean succession was addressed in a range of court texts situated at the more exclusive end of this scale.

A special, intermediary group that contributed to the court's public display, and who will also be considered in this thesis, were the clerics who were commissioned to preach sermons at court. These preachers were not regular members of the court; a visitor to the court in the early seventeenth century was very unlikely to bump into a particular preacher in the corridors in the same way they might encounter a gentleman. Almost all those who preached at court had dioceses elsewhere in England, and only attended court for a month at a time, as dictated by the preaching rota. However, unlike the other artisans and writers who were employed by the court on an *ad hoc* basis, court preachers were given an official, recognised attachment to the court by being sworn into their role as a chaplain-in-ordinary by the Lord Chamberlain.

Therefore, recognising the various types of individual who contributed to the court's culture and acknowledging that the early modern court was a messy, complex institution, my thesis examines a wide-range of literary texts – with various degrees of publicity or exclusivity – that were written, commissioned, read, circulated, and performed by individuals who served in various different roles within the court's different sub-departments and enjoyed various

degrees of royal access (sometimes direct, sometimes mediated). It investigates the verse libels that circulated discreetly in the Privy Chamber or Presence Chamber and sometimes reached the table of the Privy Council (or, indeed, were nailed to its door). It will explore the poems written by individuals (English and Scottish) who served in the households of various members of the new royal family. It examines the sermons preached in the Chapel Royal and Preaching Place, and the tournament pageants performed in the tiltyards of various royal palaces. And, through the example of Sir Fulke Greville, it explores how erstwhile courtiers thought and wrote about the court even when they were in the countryside. Thus, by examining texts produced in a variety of sub-departments of the court, it will be able to supply a more complete view of the court and its culture.

I will, however, largely eschew discussing court masques. Granted, as many previous studies have shown, masque-writers and their patrons used masques to offer important comments about court politics.[48] However, it is my belief that the court masque has come to dominate studies of the early Jacobean court excessively. Scholars would benefit from considering other aspects of court culture, especially those that were written and circulated beyond the sight of most outsiders. By focusing on other texts by courtiers, my thesis provides a fresh appreciation of the court and its culture, revealing writers, genres, and themes that have been occluded by the masque's predominance in scholarship.

My thesis reveals the contributions made to court culture by many lesser-known Jacobean courtiers, who occupied a range of different positions and played different roles within the court, and enjoyed different degrees and forms of royal access. One of the defining features of the English court under Elizabeth was that numerous courtiers and aspiring courtiers were poets, translators, and dramatists. By contrast, although the Jacobean Privy Council contained several poets (including the earls of Dorset and Pembroke, and Sir Robert Cecil), far fewer courtiers produced notable literary works during James's English reign (hence, previous scholars' tendency to examine 'satellite-courtly' works). Several explanations for the dearth of verse by senior Jacobean courtiers have been proposed, although none is entirely convincing. Sonnets and chivalric pageantry had provided a vehicle through which courtiers expressed their patronage ambitions to an unmarried queen.[49] It has been claimed that imaginative literature

[48] Butler, *Stuart Court Masque*; Curran, *Marriage*.
[49] Arthur F. Marotti, '"Love is Not Love": Elizabethan Sonnet Sequences and the Social Order', *ELH*, 49/2 (1982), pp. 396-428; Louis A. Montrose, 'Celebration and Insinuation: Sir Philip Sidney and the Motives of Elizabethan Courtship', *Renaissance Drama*, 8 (1977), pp. 3-35.

no longer performed this sociological function at the court of James, a married male monarch.[50] It has also been argued that the challenges of addressing verse to a king who was also a published writer, and able to offer an authoritative rejoinder, discouraged many courtiers from producing imaginative works for James.[51] Furthermore, at the late Elizabethan court, vast quantities of manuscript and printed literature had been inspired by Robert Devereux, second earl of Essex, his aspirations, and his rivalries with other courtiers.[52] Essex's execution after his failed rising in 1601 deprived the court of a significant stimulus for literary production, and no comparable political polarisation of the English court expressed through literary conflicts arose during the first decade of James's reign. Nonetheless, as this thesis demonstrates, large amounts of literary writings were produced by courtiers, albeit often by uncanonical figures that held minor posts. My thesis reintegrates texts by individuals who have been omitted from most previous accounts of court culture.

My examination of texts written, read, and performed by courtiers from various sub-departments of the court also enables me to analyse a much wider range of literary sources than most previous studies. The hitherto neglected aspects of the court's literary culture I will explore include its chivalric entertainments, vernacular and neo-Latin poetry written by Scottish courtiers, and verse libels. Studies centred on court masques risk treating occasional, usually festive, performances (albeit spectacular and widely-anticipated ones) as representative of court culture. By contrast, my thesis gives prominence to the more routine and prosaic aspects of the court's literary culture, exploring writing produced for tournaments (which occurred multiple times a year), sermons (which were preached thrice weekly), and verses written by courtiers during vacant hours from their administrative duties. I also acknowledge that the court's literary culture was multi-lingual. Although the majority of texts examined are in the vernacular, I explore some examples of tournament literature, sermons, and poetry in Latin.

By analysing a range of literary forms by courtiers who served in different parts of the court, my thesis revises prevailing assumptions about the dominant themes in and dynamics of

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[50] However, for examples of writers presenting literary works to James as patronage suits, see, James Doelman, *King James I and the Religious Culture of England* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 20-56; Sebastian Sobecki, 'John Peyton's *A Relation of the State of Polonia* and the Accession of King James I, 1598-1603', *EHR*, 129/540 (2014), pp. 1079-97; Richard A. McCabe, *'Ungainefull Arte': Poetry, Patronage and Print in the Early Modern Era* (Oxford, 2016), pp. 288-301.

[51] Perry, *Making*, pp. 15-49; Rickard, *Writing*, pp. 59-95.

[52] Annaliese Connolly and Lisa Hopkins (eds), *Essex: The Cultural Impact of an Elizabethan Courtier* (Manchester, 2013).

the literary culture of the early Jacobean court. Previous studies have, for example, explored the iconography through which James and royal authority were represented, especially imagery of Augustus, David, and Constantine.[53] The texts I will examine, however, were animated by alternative preoccupations. Courtiers were concerned with ideas of chivalry and honour, and troubled by the influence of "popery" at court. Above all, I show that the various ways in which James's accession transformed the court was a topic addressed in all forms of court literature. Furthermore, this issue was often addressed critically. Influenced by New Historicist debates about the degree to which literature reinforced or challenged power, scholars have often claimed that court literature promoted James's policies, especially his elevated claims about royal authority and his quest for a formal Anglo-Scottish Union.[54] Yet courtiers repeatedly expressed reservations about limited access to James and concerns about his advisors in their writings, regardless of how public their texts were intended to be or the degree of royal access they enjoyed. The texts I analyse demonstrate that writing originating at the early Jacobean court was more critical than has been acknowledged, often anatomising problems and proposing remedies.

Finally, and most importantly, my thesis corrects the Anglo-centric nature of most previous accounts of early Jacobean court culture. I demonstrate that the presence and influence of Scottish courtiers was discussed extensively in numerous genres of court literature that originated and circulated within the court's different sub-departments. Furthermore, I show that Scottish courtiers made significant, but hitherto largely overlooked, contributions to court culture in their own right. My thesis's distinctive chronological and geographical range and chosen texts illuminate how the culture of James's Scottish court influenced the literary culture of the English court both before and after 1603. In all of the chapters below, I explore how numerous courtiers anticipated, experienced, and responded to the creation of a court that had a British personnel.

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[53] Parry, *Golden Age*, pp. 1-39; Goldberg, *James I;* Doelman, *Religious Culture,* pp. 73-101; John N. King, 'James I and King David: Jacobean Iconography and Its Legacy', in Daniel Fischlin and Mark Fortier (eds), *Royal Subjects: Essays on the Writings of James VI and I* (Detroit, 2002), pp. 421-53; Kevin Sharpe, *Image Wars: Promoting Kings and Commonwealths in England, 1603-1660* (New Haven, 2010), pp. 9-134.

[54] Orgel, *Illusion;* Goldberg, *James I*; Kevin Sharpe, 'The King's Writ: Royal Authors and Royal Authority in Early Modern England', in Sharpe and Lake (eds), *Culture and Politics*, pp. 117-38; Jane Rickard, *Authorship and Authority: The Writings of James VI and I* (Manchester, 2007).

Overall, by examining texts associated with writers who occupied different positions with the court, this thesis will provide a fuller account how the culture of the early Jacobean court in England.

The remainder of this introduction summarises the most significant changes at the English court following James's accession; changes which the texts I will study addressed and interrogated.

The English Court Transformed

James's accession transformed the population, formal organisation, and protocols of the English court, profoundly altering the dynamics of court politics. Elizabeth I's death prompted the dissolution of her household, and the reversion of all court offices to the Crown, to be dispensed by James. Anticipating this redistribution of court offices, many English courtiers spent the final decades of Elizabeth's reign manoeuvring to ensure that they would be favourably positioned in the next reign. Numerous debates at the late Elizabethan court, concerning court appointments, and foreign or religious policy, were shaped by courtiers' calculations to ensure that their preferred candidate succeeded Elizabeth, and that they (or their allies and patrons) were placed influentially in that successor's regime.[55] Several courtiers, including the earl of Essex, Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland, Robert Cecil, and Henry Howard, conducted clandestine correspondence with James, whilst others, such as Sir John Harington, sent him gifts.[56]

James initially declared that all Elizabethan court appointments would continue until his coronation in June, and reappointed Elizabeth's Privy Council on 4 May.[57] However, during his first weeks as king of England, James displayed favour and disfavour to many English courtiers, especially rewarding those who had proven loyal or useful to him in his pre-accession correspondence or during his journey south to London. Amongst James's earliest English court favourites were Sir Philip Sidney's nephews, the Herbert brothers: William, earl

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[55] Gajda, *Essex*, pp. 37-40, 180-88; Peter Lake and Michael Questier, *All Hail to the Archpriest: Confessional Conflict, Toleration, and the Politics of Publicity in Post-Reformation England* (Oxford, 2019).
[56] Jason Scott-Warren, *Sir John Harington and the Book as Gift* (Oxford, 2001), pp. 177-81; Alexander Courtney, 'The Scottish King and the English Court: The Secret Correspondence of James VI, 1601-3', in Doran and Kewes (eds), *Doubtful*, pp. 134-51.
[57] *Proclamations*, pp. 4-6. On administration during the first months of James's English reign, see Alexander Courtney, 'The Accession of James VI to the English Throne, 1601-1603' (M.Phil. thesis, University of Cambridge, 2004).

of Pembroke, and Philip (created earl of Montgomery in 1605). The brothers had languished in the relative parsimony of Elizabeth's last years; Pembroke had been banished from court in 1601 after his affair with Mary Fitton, one of Elizabeth's maids of honour, was discovered.[58] The Herberts received several offices and honours from James, who displayed his countenance publicly by kissing Pembroke at his coronation.[59] In addition to Pembroke, James rewarded several other former associates of the earl of Essex. Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy was created earl of Devonshire, whilst the earl of Southampton, who had been imprisoned in the Tower of London following Essex's rising, was released days after James's accession. James also displayed conspicuous favour to the Howard family, who had largely been excluded from the Elizabethan court due to the execution of Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk for treason in 1572, and their widely-known (but discreetly practised) Catholicism. James created Norfolk's brother Henry earl of Northampton, and his son Thomas earl of Suffolk, appointed both to the Privy Council, and confirmed Suffolk as Lord Chamberlain in April 1603. Although James disappointed many Catholics' hopes by not granting them formal toleration, the Spanish ambassador celebrated the appointment of church papists to such influential positions at court.[60] Several other senior Elizabethan courtiers, including Cecil, Thomas Egerton, and Thomas Sackville, earl of Dorset, were reappointed to their posts of Secretary of State, Lord Keeper, and Lord Treasurer respectively. However, other courtiers, most notably Sir Walter Ralegh, against whom James had been turned in his pre-accession correspondence with Henry Howard, were not reappointed.[61] James's appointments altered the court's balance of power, confirming Cecil, Northampton and Suffolk as amongst the most influential figures at court.

However, the most substantial change to the court's personnel was that, after James's accession, the English court contained a mixture of English and Scottish courtiers. The sixteenth-century English court had always been cosmopolitan: ambassadors from across the known world were usually in attendance, and the court's musicians and portrait painters were increasingly likely to have come from continental Europe. During the reign of Mary I, King Philip's Spanish entourage had attended court; but their roles had largely been ceremonial or

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[58] Paul E.J. Hammer, 'Sex and the Virgin Queen: Aristocratic Concupiscence and the Court of Elizabeth I', *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 31/1 (2000), pp. 94-6. On late Elizabethan royal parsimony, see Simon Adams, 'The Patronage of the Crown in Elizabethan Politics: The 1590s in Perspective', in Guy (ed.), *Reign*, pp. 20-45;
[59] Brian O'Farrell, *Shakespeare's Patron: William Herbert, Third Earl of Pembroke 1580-1630: Politics, Patronage and Power* (London, 2011), pp. 46-7, 50-1; *CSPV*, x, p. 105
[60] A.J. Loomie, *Spain and the Jacobean Catholics* (2 vols, London, 1973-8), i, pp. 2-6. On hopes amongst Catholics that James would institute at least a form of toleration, see Michael Questier, 'The Politics of Religious Conformity and the Accession of James I', *Historical Research*, 71/174 (1998), pp. 14-30.
[61] Penry Williams and Mark Nicholls, *Sir Walter Raleigh in Life and Legend* (London, 2011), pp. 223-45; Courtney, 'Scottish King', pp. 143-4.

bodily service, and neither they nor Philip remained at the English court for long.[62] James's arrival in London accompanied by an entourage of Scots transformed the mixed nature of the English court.[63] Within a year, James had appointed six Scots to the English Privy Council, and awarded such senior court posts as the Captain of the Guard and Master of the Rolls to Scotsmen.[64] Overall around forty-per-cent of higher court offices at the early Jacobean court were held by Scots.[65] Amongst the most significant Scottish courtiers at the English court were: George Home, earl of Dunbar and head of James's Bedchamber; Ludovic Stewart, duke of Lennox, the king's cousin; Sir James Hay, an early favourite of the king, and, latterly Robert Carr. However, James did attempt to regulate the number of Scots attending the English court. In August 1603 he ordered those Scots without a court post to return to Scotland, and from 1604 Scots required a licence to visit the English court. [66]

As noted above, James's accession also substantially altered the formal structure of the English court. Unlike Elizabeth, James had a spouse and children. This necessitated the establishment of an additional household to accommodate Queen Anna, the royal children, their entourages, and their servants.[67] James's cousin, Arbella Stuart, who had spent much of Elizabeth's reign at Hardwick Hall, was also invited to join the queen's household in autumn 1603.[68] It has been claimed that the creation of multiple households was disruptive. A 'polycentric court' provided rival sources of patronage to the king's, and encouraged the expression of opposition to his policies.[69] However, my analysis of courtiers' writings, including chivalric ceremonial, sermons, and literary gifts by Scottish courtiers suggests, as more recent scholarship has argued, that representations of Anna and the royal children were assets for James.[70]

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[62] David Loades, *Intrigue and Treason: The Tudor Court, 1547-1558* (Harlow, 2004), pp. 178-213.
[63] James's entourage also contained several French individuals through his maternal kinship with the Guise family, whilst Anna's household contained a handful of Danish-born servants.
[64] Cuddy, 'Revival', pp. 174-82.
[65] Brown, 'Scottish Aristocracy', p. 552.
[66] *The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland* (14 vols, Edinburgh, 1877-98), vi, pp. 407, 602.
[67] An additional household was established in 1610 when Prince Henry was created Prince of Wales: Timothy Wilks, 'Poets, Patronage, and the Prince's Court', in Smuts (ed.), *Age of Shakespeare*, pp. 159-79.
[68] Sarah Gristwood, *Arbella: England's Lost Queen* (London, 2003), pp. 253-328.
[69] Smuts, 'Cultural Diversity', p. 104; Roy Strong, *Henry, Prince of Wales and England's Lost Renaissance* (London, 1986); Barbara Kiefer Lewalski, *Writing Women in Jacobean England* (London, 1993), pp. 15-44; Barroll, *Anna*; Timothy Wilks (ed.), *Prince Henry Revived: Image and Exemplarity in Early Modern England* (London, 2007); McCabe, *'Ungainefull Arte',* pp. 302-13.
[70] Anna-Marie Linnell, 'Writing the Royal Consort in Stuart England' (University of Exeter, Ph.D. thesis, 2016), pp. 20-38; Catriona Murray, *Imagining Stuart Family Politics: Dynastic Crisis and Continuity* (London, 2017), pp. 34-44; R. Malcolm Smuts, 'Royal Mothers, Sacred History, and Political Polemic', in Kewes and McRae (eds), *Succession*, pp. 282-290.

The organisation of the English court was also transformed by the creation of an additional set of rooms, with heavily-regulated access protocols. During the summer of 1603, the monarch's Privy Chamber was subdivided to produce an innermost sub-department: the Bedchamber.[71] Here, the king dressed, ate, relaxed, and slept, attended on by the Gentlemen of the Bedchamber, headed by the earl of Dunbar. The intimacy of service in the Bedchamber could translate into exceptional political influence.[72] Granted automatic access to the king during his daily routine and leisure hours, members of the Bedchamber were well-placed to suggest policies or promote suitors to him. Until 1605, only one English-born courtier was made a Gentleman of James's Bedchamber: the earl of Montgomery, appointed in 1605.[73] Scholars have defended James's decision to staff his Bedchamber almost entirely with Scots as a prudent strategy that honoured the Scottish nobility and gentlemen whilst James was an absentee monarch.[74] Furthermore, at least until Robert Carr worked to derail the Great Contract in the 1610 parliament, Scottish members of the Bedchamber exerted little influence over policy.[75] Nonetheless, the Scottish monopoly of the Bedchamber proved controversial amongst English courtiers and observers of the court, particularly because the Gentlemen received a disproportionate amount of James's largesse, especially in the form of extraordinary, large financial gifts and lands in Ireland.[76] Household ordinances forbade admission to the Bedchamber to any except those 'sworn of it', 'Princes of Our Blood', or those with 'a special licence'.[77] Therefore, unless they received a special invitation, almost all English courtiers, including Privy Councillors, were excluded access to James's person in the most private part of the court, and to the possible political benefits of intimacy there.

Additional changes further reduced the ability of most courtiers to access and influence the monarch. In July 1603 it was announced that automatic right of entry to the Privy Chamber would be restricted to members of the Privy Council and sworn members of the Privy Chamber.[78] All other individuals would have to arrange an appointment via the Lord

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[71] Cuddy, 'Revival'.
[72] Starkey, 'Representation through Intimacy'. See also Brian Weiser, *Charles II and the Politics of Access* (Woodbridge, 2003).
[73] Cuddy, 'Revival', pp. 197-8.
[74] Jenny Wormald, 'James VI and I; Two Kings or One?', *History,* 68/223 (1983), pp. 206-7; Linda Levy Peck, '"For a King Not to be Bountiful Were a Fault": Perspectives on Court Patronage in Early Stuart England', *JBS,* 25/1 (1986), pp. 31-61; Simon Wortham, '"Part of My Taill Is Yet Untolde": James VI and I, *The Phoenix,* and the Royal Gift', in Fischlin and Fortier (eds), *Royal Subjects,* pp. 182-204.
[75] Alastair Bellany, 'Carr [Kerr], Robert, earl of Somerset (1585/6?-1645)', *ODNB.*
[76] Lawrence Stone, *The Crisis of the Aristocracy, 1558-1641* (Oxford, 1965), pp. 470-6, 774-6.
[77] NUL, MS Portland PwV92, fo. 7v.
[78] CP 103, fo. 41.

Chamberlain, with physical entry ultimately regulated by the Yeoman of the Guards, headed by their new, Scottish, Captain, Thomas Erskine, earl of Mar. This limitation of access to the Privy Chamber was a drastic change from the customs of the English court under Elizabeth, where most gentlemen could assume a right of entrée, and would often wait in the Privy Chamber hoping to secure a chance encounter with Elizabeth or senior courtiers in order to press suits. Elizabeth's habit of holding 'probouleuctic' meetings, discussing policy ideas with various interlocutors, meant that attending the Privy Chamber gave courtiers who were not Privy Councillors opportunities to effect matters of state.[79] The changes to access protocols after James's accession abruptly terminated these mechanisms for political influence.

In addition, James was frequently absent from the royal palaces on hunting trips. Elizabeth had largely restricted her hunting pursuits to a few days a year during her summer progresses.[80] However, by as early as summer 1603, resident courtiers, visitors to the court, and foreign ambassadors had all noticed James's habit of spending a far larger portion of his time hunting.[81] This posed numerous problems, not least that the king might be injured or killed in a hunting accident, or kidnapped or assassinated whilst at the chase.[82] However, James's hunting also created challenges for court administration. The Privy Council had to adapt rapidly to the reality that the king would often be a day's ride away, even during the making of important policy decisions. After he had been overwhelmed by petitioners whilst hunting during autumn 1603, James issued a proclamation commanding he not be interrupted unannounced during his hunting trips.[83] Robert Cecil managed to devise communication channels and procedures to ensure the efficient flow of information between royal palaces and James's newly-acquired royal hunting lodges at Royston and Newmarket.[84] However in 1605, James formally devolved powers to the Privy Council during his hunting excursions. He ordered that the Council should assemble every Sunday 'in such placis as our derest wife shall keepe her Court', to receive petitions from subjects.[85] Petitioners and aspiring courtiers unable to access the Bedchamber, Privy Chamber, or James's hunting lodges were therefore required

[79] Natalie Mears, *Queenship and Political Discourse in the Elizabethan Realms* (Cambridge, 2005), pp. 33-72.
[80] Simon Adams, '"The Queenes Majestie…is now become a great huntress": Elizabeth I and the Chase', *CH*, 18/2 (2013), pp. 143-64.
[81] Alan Stewart, *The Cradle King: A Life of James VI and I* (London, 2003), pp. 175-81.
[82] These were real threats. James entered London in May 1603 with his arm in a sling, having injured himself hunting: *CSPV*, x, p. 66.
[83] *Proclamations*, p. 45.
[84] John Cramsie, *Kingship and Crown Finance under James VI and I, 1603-1625* (London, 2002), pp. 43-50; Alan Stewart, 'Government by Beagle: The Impersonal Rule of James VI and I', in Erica Fudge (ed.), *Renaissance Beasts: Of Animals, Humans, and Other Wonderful Creatures* (Urbana, 2004), pp, 101-15.
[85] TNA, SP 14/12, fo. 17r.

to present their suits to the Privy Council. Containing multiple contrasting interests, the Council was a poor alternative to the singular authority of the king.

Collectively, these extensive changes to its population, organisation, and protocols disrupted the dynamics of patronage and counsel at the court drastically. Under Elizabeth, political success, whether the pursuit of office, patents, gifts, or advocacy of a particular policy, depended upon securing personal access to the monarch (either directly, or through an interceding patron).[86] The frequent references in Elizabethan court poetry to despair at being denied the queen's presence expressed in verse the courtier's peril when channels of access to Elizabeth were closed.[87] Numerous conflicts at the Elizabethan court can be understood as competitions over access to the monarch.[88] Most noticeably, several of the earl of Essex's most rash actions had been provoked, at least partly, by his fears of being excluded from the queen's person, and that his rivals would use their intimacy with the queen to his detriment.[89] The changes at court following James's accession in fact made it more difficult for most courtiers to gain access to the monarch and exert political influence. Although these changes were in keeping with trends towards increasingly restrictive court architecture and regulation of the inner sanctums at courts across Europe, most notably those of the Habsburgs, many English courtiers were disappointed nonetheless.[90] Elizabeth's gender had meant that the primary beneficiaries of intimacy with the monarch were the Ladies of the Privy Chamber, who served as informal but influential patronage brokers.[91] Many male courtiers anticipated that they would enjoy greater opportunities to reap the benefits of access and intimacy at the court of male monarch. According to Sir John Harington James's candidacy to succeed Elizabeth was rendered attractive by the prospect of his sociability with male courtiers: 'wee ar not like to be governed by a ladye shut up in a chamber from all her subjects and most of her servants'.[92] Yet, instead of benefiting from a revitalised politics of intimacy at court, most English courtiers found they were denied opportunities to offer the king counsel or submit patronage suits.

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[86] MacCaffrey, 'Patronage'; Starkey, 'Representation'.
[87] Catherine Bates, *The Rhetoric of Courtship in Elizabethan Language and Literature* (Cambridge, 1992).
[88] Simon Adams, 'Eliza Enthroned? The Court and Its Politics', in idem, *Leicester and the Court: Essays on Elizabethan Politics* (Manchester, 2002), pp. 24-45; Williams, 'Court and Polity'.
[89] Janet Dickinson, *Court Politics and the Earl of Essex, 1589-1601* (London, 2011), pp. 43-64.
[90] Hugh Murray Baillie, 'Etiquette and the Planning of the State Apartments in Baroque Palaces', *Archaeologia*, 101 (1967), pp. 169-99.
[91] Pam Wright, 'A Change in Direction: The Ramifications of a Female Household, 1558-1603', in Starkey (ed.), *English Court,* pp. 147-72; Joanne Lee Hocking, 'Aristocratic Women at the Late Elizabethan Court: Politics, Patronage, and Power' (Ph.D. thesis, University of Adelaide, 2015).
[92] John Harington, *A Tract on the Succession to the Crown (A.D. 1602),* ed. Clements R. Markham (London, 1880), p. 51.

The changes to the court and to court politics provoked a range of responses with which scholars are very familiar. The disparities in appointments and access were the subject of public petitions.[93] One widely-circulated example, addressed to the king, complained that 'manie ancient and poore Officers at Court be displaced & the[ir] place[s] given to yo[r] countriemen the Scottishe', whilst 'the meanest of that countrie maie enter the Prseence [Chamber]…but the English very unseasonable (I wiss) are kept out'.[94] A copy of this petition circulated in the literary circle of the earl of Mar, who, as the new Captain of the Guard, was responsible for excluding unlicensed Englishmen from the Privy Chamber.[95] English MPs frequently complained about the access and gifts enjoyed by Scottish courtiers: John Holles begged 'his Majesty his Bedchamber may be shared as well to those of our nation as to them', whilst Christopher Piggot notoriously labelled the Scots 'beggars' and 'proud' in the House of Commons in 1607.[96] Ben Jonson, George Chapman, and John Marston's 1605 play *Eastward Ho!* featured numerous satires of Scotland, Scots, and Scottish courtiers, including Captain Seagull's wish (expressed in lines that were censored from the printed quarto of the play) that the Scots leave England.[97] The transformation of the court also incited conspiracies. Loss of court office and disenchantment with James's policies drew Henry Brooke, Lord Cobham, and Sir Walter Ralegh into a network of plots during summer 1603.[98] Antipathy towards the new arrangements at the court, especially the prominence of Scots, also motivated the Gunpowder Plotters.[99] Guy Fawkes complained to Philip III of Spain that, under James, 'near his person everyone in his Chamber are Scots, wherever there is an English official he has placed another Scotsman'.[100] Furthermore, as all of the chapters below explore in detail, these extensive changes also animated various components of the literary culture of the court itself.

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[93] On petitioning at the beginning of James's reign, see Newton, *Making*, pp. 79-97.
[94] BL, MS Additional 22601, fos 16v, 14v.
[95] On this manuscript's connections to Mar, see Curtis Perry, 'Royal Authorship and Problems of Manuscript Attribution in the Poems of King James VI and I', *N&Q*, 46/2 (1999), pp. 244-5.
[96] *HMC, The Manuscripts of His Grace the Duke of Portland: Preserved at Welbeck Abbey* (10 vols, London, 1891-1931), ix, p. 113; Thomas Craig, *De Unione Regnorum Britanniae Tractatus*, trans. and ed. C. Sanford Terry (Edinburgh, 1909), p. 356.
[97] Ian Donaldson, *Ben Jonson: A Life* (Oxford, 2011), pp. 206-12.
[98] Mark Nicholls, 'Two Winchester Trials: The Prosecution of Henry, Lord Cobham, and Thomas, Lord Grey of Wilton, 1603', *Historical Research*, 68/165 (1995), pp. 26-48; idem, 'Sir Walter Ralegh's Treason: A Prosecution Document', *EHR*, 110/438 (1995), pp. 902-24.
[99] Jenny Wormald, 'Gunpowder, Treason and Scots', *JBS*, 24/2 (1985), pp. 141-68.
[100] A.J. Loomie, *Guy Fawkes in Spain: The 'Spanish Treason' in Spanish Documents* (London, 1971), pp. 61-3.

Thesis Outline

Chapter One uses the case study of the baptism of Prince Henry of Scotland at Stirling Castle in 1594 to examine what English courtiers knew of Scottish court culture before 1603. Drawing on recent scholarship that has demonstrated the complicated, fluctuating nature of Anglo-Scots relations during the "long 1590s", and on work which has examined the manoeuvres undertaken by various English courtiers in anticipation of Elizabeth's death, I situate the festival and English courtiers' responses to it within their specific political contexts. I argue that the baptism occurred at an especially low point in Anglo-Scottish relations, but that it also provided an opportunity to repair relations and for James to persuade English courtiers to support his claim to the English throne. Various aspects of the festivities attempted to demonstrate the compatibility of the English and Scottish courts. In particular, the two courts' shared martial, Protestant values, and the security offered to England by the fertility of the Stewart royal family were emphasised. This chapter therefore illuminates how Scottish courtiers attempted to use court literature to influence English court politics. However, misinterpretations that occurred in performance and print limited the short-term effectiveness of the festivities' intended political messages. Nonetheless, the baptism bequeathed a range of ways of thinking about James and the Union which, as later chapters show, were influential at the English court after 1603.

Chapter Two examines the chivalric pageantry and ceremonial of the English court during the decade after James's accession, especially the ceremonies of the Order of the Garter, and court tournaments. Previous studies have suggested that the court's chivalric culture declined following Elizabeth's death, except in the household of Prince Henry, where (it has been claimed) chivalry was used to express opposition to James's pacific foreign policy. By contrast, I demonstrate the continued vibrancy of the court's chivalric culture after 1603, and explore its various uses in court politics. I show that the king and courtiers engaged intensely with the Order of the Garter, and, using the piecemeal surviving records of the early Jacobean court tournament, indicate how James's accession altered the form's calendar, personnel, and pageantry. I argue that chivalric entertainments and ceremonies were used (with varying degrees of success) to encourage support for the new regime, and to foster amity between courtiers. These occasions required English and Scottish courtiers to advertise that they shared a chivalric culture. They also encouraged courtiers to bond with one another, and with Prince Henry. Revealing James's canny uses of chivalric culture at court, this chapter challenges several prevailing stereotypes about him, particularly that he was unskilled in using courtly

ceremonial for political purposes. It also challenges the assumption that Prince Henry's martial interests were a destabilising expression of tensions with his father.

Chapter Three analyses how James's accession and the subsequent changes at court were addressed in the sermons preached in the Chapel Royal. Due to James's decree that all courtiers should attend the sermons preached at court, and his establishment of an additional sermon every Tuesday, the sermon was a uniquely important and influential literary form at the early Jacobean English court. Previous scholarship on Jacobean court sermons has largely examined how preachers addressed religious controversies, and has usually focused on the preaching of Lancelot Andrewes. In this chapter, I analyse sermons preached by at the court by Andrewes and several of his lesser-known contemporaries, such as William Smith, Thomas Blague, Anthony Rudd, and Richard Eedes. I show that, in their sermons, these chaplains performed important stabilising roles during the establishment of the Jacobean court, and offered varied perspectives on the court in transition. Court preachers helped to secure the regime by discouraging plotting and opportunism by courtiers during the uncertain period of transition, and by offering reassuring messages about James's piety, respect for legal customs, and the quality of his advisors. They also repudiated complaints about significant changes to the court, such as James's absences on hunting trips. However, animated by principles of clerical counsel, preachers also offered potent notes of caution to their august auditory about changes at the court, especially concerning the limited access to James, and the appointments and influence of Scottish courtiers.

Chapter Four examines literary works in both English and Latin by five Scots who held posts at the English court after 1603: William Alexander, Robert Ayton, Alexander Craig, William Fowler, and Thomas Murray. Their poems reveal alternative perspectives on James's accession and the changes at the English court from more familiar sources by English-born writers. The works that these courtiers wrote to mark James's accession to the English throne (many of which were in Latin and printed) offered distinctive interpretations of James's accession, in particular indebted to Scottish Protestant religio-political and literary traditions. They depicted the Union of Crowns as a conquest, and a prelude to a British-led Protestant crusade on the continent, but also as a loss for Scottish governance, identity and literary culture. This chapter also reveals the significant contributions made to court culture by Scottish courtier poets, including their literary dedications to one another, and William Fowler's literary gifts for Arbella Stuart. It examines their literary responses to major events and cultural texts; for example, Alexander Craig poetic responses to James's *A Counterblaste of Tobacco* and to

Philip Sidney's *Arcadia*, and Robert Ayton's poems on the Gunpowder Plot. I argue that through these writings, the literary tropes and political ideas of the late-sixteenth-century Scottish court (and particularly of the militant Protestants who had championed Anglo-Scots union at the late-sixteenth-century Scottish court), were expressed in English court culture. Furthermore, whereas scholars are familiar with English depictions of Scottish courtiers as parasites, siphoning off royal revenue, this chapter reveals that Scottish courtiers also wrote poetry critical of the court, complaining about the monotony of court service and endemic corruption. Overall, in this chapter I reveal the existence of a distinctively Scottish poetic culture at the early Jacobean English court.

In Chapter Five, I examine the court career and early Jacobean writings of Sir Fulke Greville to illustrate how the changes at court affected and were critically analysed by a former Elizabethan courtier. It is well known that Greville, who departed the court in 1604, criticised various royal policies in his early Jacobean writings, particularly in *A Dedication to Sir Philip Sidney*. However, I demonstrate that the lyric poems, verse treatises and prose works that Greville planned and produced between 1604 and 1612 (including revisions to his late Elizabethan closet dramas) also offered sustained criticism of the changes at the court following James's accession. I also supply a revisionary account of Greville's career at the late Elizabethan court, and of his departure from court in the first year of James's reign. I argue that Greville was a far more influential courtier during the final years of Elizabeth's reign than has been acknowledged, and challenge the conventional view that his downfall was the result of Robert Cecil's machinations; instead showing that the Jacobean era began auspiciously for Greville, including the granting of privileged access to James's Privy Chamber. His court career was only terminated when he unwisely challenged the patronage powers of the newly-ascendant Charles Howard, earl of Nottingham. Whilst the writings Greville produced during the first decade of James's English reign have usually been studied separately, I examine them together as a coherent project, as Greville envisaged, in which he drew on his experiences at the Elizabethan and Jacobean courts to diagnose a troubling combination of a king with several bad habits (including mismanaging household finances, diminishing his authority through the sales of honour, delegating his duties, and a predilection towards sententiousness and intellectual vanity), and base, self-interested courtiers.

In Chapter Six, I analyse the form of court literature in which courtiers expressed their grievances about the changes at court most unsparingly: manuscript verse libels. Whereas previous scholarship has usually considered verse libels as a feature of early seventeenth-

century popular culture and news networks, this chapter demonstrates that scribally-circulated defamatory poems were a significant phenomenon at the English court itself during the first decade of James's reign. Courtiers wrote and circulated verse libels in response to James's court appointments and religious policies, and several scandalous events at the court, including the Main Plot, and the marriage of Charles Blount and Penelope Rich. Occasionally, these verse libels provoked counter-libels by other courtiers. The verse libels and counter-libels introduced several negative depictions of the court that had not featured in verse libels at the Elizabethan court: most significantly, they claimed that a disregard for the nobility and traditional honour values, illicit sexuality, and a crypto-Catholic agenda had all become troublingly pervasive at the court after James's accession. The court's verse libels, inspired by the changes, personnel, and events at the early Jacobean court are therefore, I argue, a previously unacknowledged source of many of the themes that scholars have observed in hostile representations of later Jacobean, and even Caroline, court scandals, most notably the Overbury Scandal. Courtiers' literary responses to the transformations of the English court at James's accession therefore had a very long legacy, supplying resources that were used to criticise the court for decades.

By using neglected literary sources, and adopting a broad chronological and geographical range, my thesis deepens scholars' understanding of, and revises our assumptions about, the English court and its literary culture before and after the Union of Crowns.

1

Anticipating the Jacobean Court: The Baptism of Prince Henry, 1594

In order to understand how English court culture was changed by the Jacobean succession, it is first necessary to study what impressions different members of the English court had formed of the Scottish king and his entourage before they came south in 1603. The question of late sixteenth-century English knowledge about Scotland has drawn investigation before. However, existing work on the topic has mostly made use of a rather narrow body of evidence. In particular, the accounts of scholars have usually presented English courtiers, MPs and writers forming their expectations of James as king almost exclusively through their readings of his own published works, and especially of his political treatise *Basilikon Doron*.[1]

In this chapter, I will demonstrate that English courtiers had access to a wider range of material about the Scottish court than historians have previously considered. This material, read in various ways by different groups at the English court, bequeathed a range of ideas about the possible next king of England and expectations about the kind of regime he might introduce. Whilst some found reason to expect that James's accession to the English throne would bring the fulfilment of their agendas for court appointments, religious or foreign policy, others found reason to fear that the king of Scotland would not translate to the throne of England well. In this chapter, I will examine responses by English courtiers to the baptism of Prince Henry in 1594 to illuminate how various members of the Elizabethan court anticipated the coming of the Jacobean court.

The last major piece of Scottish court pageantry that English courtiers were able to attend before the death of Elizabeth I was the baptism of James's eldest son, Prince Henry, at Stirling Castle in August 1594. Elizabeth was asked to be godmother and sent a delegation of twelve men, headed by the fifth earl of Sussex, to represent her at the ceremony.[2] Befitting the

[1] Jenny Wormald, 'James VI and I, *Basilikon Doron* and *The Trew Law of Free Monarchies*: The Scottish Context and the English Translation', in Peck (ed.), *Mental World,* pp. 36-54; Curtis Perry, *The Making of Jacobean Culture: James I and the Renegotiation of Elizabethan Literary Practice* (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 15-49; James Doelman, '"A King of Thine Own Heart": The English Reception of King James VI and I's *Basilikon Doron*', *The Seventeenth Century*, 9/1 (1994), pp. 1-9.
[2] TNA, SP 52/53, fo. 35r; TNA, SP 52/54, fo. 2r.

baptism of a future king of Scotland (and possibly of England too), a week of festivities full of Renaissance splendour was planned. Before the baptism, the dignitaries, who, in addition to the English party, included the representatives of Scandinavian and German princes, were treated to a tournament display, where James and eight of his courtiers ran at the ring dressed as Christian Knights, Turks and Amazons. The celebratory banquet held after the baptism featured several dramatic interludes, the most spectacular of which involved a forty-foot ship, fully crewed by forty figures, entering the dining hall before unloading its cargo of sea creatures modelled out of sugar while actors representing classical deities discussed the fertility of the Stewart dynasty. However English courtiers other than those in attendance at Stirling were also able to read about the event. The baptism is the only sixteenth-century Scottish court ceremony for which a printed pageant book was produced, written by Queen Anna's secretary, William Fowler.[3] The book was printed in England within the month by Joan Butter.[4]

In the first section of this chapter, I will situate the baptism in a more precise diplomatic context than has been attempted before. I draw on recent scholarship that has demonstrated the complicated, fluctuating nature of Anglo-Scots relations during the "long 1590s" to show that the baptism and its associated festivities took place at an exceptionally low point in Anglo-Scots relations. Indeed, I believe that neither the gravity nor the complexity of the immediate diplomatic context to the baptism has been adequately appreciated by previous scholars. Section two examines how a range of motifs were used to attempt to repair Anglo-Scots relations, and to promote James's candidacy to the English throne. Various parts of the festival, including the tournament, the baptism ceremony, and a knighting ceremony held after the baptism, advertised the harmony of Scottish and English religious, political and cultural values. My analysis will pay particularly close attention to how Fowler's printed narrative portrayed the Scottish court as an ardent ally of England and foe of popish sedition, and James as a militant, chivalric Protestant hero. However, section three will demonstrate how this endeavour failed. It will explore how different aspects of the festivities as performed, and Fowler's printed account, provoked concerns amongst different communities at the English court about what would happen to the English court in the event of a Stewart succession.

[3] Sarah Dunnigan, 'William Fowler (1560/61-1612), writer and courtier', in *ODNB.*
[4] William Fowler, *A True Reportarie…* (London, 1594); Amy Blakeway, '"Newes from Scotland" in England, 1559-1602', *HLQ,* 79/4 (2016), p. 557.

Anglo-Scots Relations in 1594

With a few honourable earlier exceptions, it is only in the last decade or so that the baptism of Prince Henry has become more than a footnote in histories of the 1590s.[5] Several scholars' accounts have therefore been preoccupied simply with providing an itinerary of this relatively-unknown occasion.[6] The few existing analyses of the baptism by Scottish cultural historians have tended to use the occasion's splendour to argue the polemical point that the late sixteenth-century Scottish court was not a northern backwater, but a hub of Renaissance culture that deserves comparison with the other princely courts of Europe. In two important essays, Michael Lynch has presented the festivities as exercises in princely magnificence that were intended to assert the pre-eminent status of Scotland, Scottish court culture, and the Stewart royal family, on the European stage.[7] Developing Lynch's view, Michael Bath has demonstrated that many of the devices and costumes featured in the entertainments had European, especially French, provenance.[8] This concern is certainly evident in proceedings. £100,000 Scots was spent completely renovating the Chapel Royal at Stirling in neo-classical style, complete with triumphal arches and tapestries.[9] The Scottish court's grandeur and cosmopolitanism was asserted most emphatically during the baptism banquet. The unloading of the forty-foot ship was accompanied by a self-explanatory Latin song: 'Scotia, quae quondam multis tenebrosa vocata es / Lumina magna nitent in te superantia coelum' ('Scotland, who many once called gloomy / Let great light surpassing the heavens shine forth in you').[10] Some scholars have attempted to move beyond treating the festivities as simply a generic display of princely magnificence and to relate them to contemporary politics and diplomacy. For several critics, the festivities were a component in James VI's long campaign throughout

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[5] James Fergusson, *The White Hind and Other Discoveries* (London, 1963), pp. 84-96; Jerry Wayne Williamson, *The Myth of the Conqueror: Prince Henry Stuart, a Study of 17th Century Personation* (New York, 1978), pp. 1-11.

[6] Amy Juhala, 'The Household and Court of King James VI of Scotland, 1567-1603' (Ph.D. thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2000), pp. 211-5.

[7] Michael Lynch, 'Court Ceremony and Ritual during the Personal Reign of James VI', in Julian Goodare and Michael Lynch (eds), *The Reign of James VI* (East Linton, 2000), pp. 88-90; Michael Lynch, 'The Reassertion of Princely Power in Scotland: The Reigns of Mary Queen of Scots and King James VI', in Martin Gosman, Alasdair MacDonald and Arjo Vanderjagt (eds), *Princes and Princely Culture, 1450-1650* (2 vols, Leiden, 2003), i, pp. 223-7.

[8] Michael Bath, '"Rare Shewes and Singular Inventions": The Stirling Baptism of Prince Henry', *Journal of the Northern Renaissance*, 4 (2012).

[9] *The Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland: A.D. M.C.XXIV.- AD. MDCCVII*, ed. Thomas Thomson, Cosmo Innes, and Archibald Anderson (12 vols, Great Britain, 1814-75), iv, pp. 40-2; Aonghus MacKechnie, 'James VI's Architects and their Architecture', in Goodare and Lynch (eds), *Reign of James VI*, pp. 162-5; Ian Campbell and Aonghus MacKechnie, 'The "Great Temple of Solomon" at Stirling Castle', *Architectural History*, 54/1 (2011), pp. 91-118.

[10] William Fowler, 'A True Reportarie of the Baptisme of the Prince of Scotland, 30 August 1594', ed. Michael Ullyot in *Nichols's Progresses Elizabeth,* iii, p. 763. My translation.

the 1590s to promote the suitability of the Stewart dynasty to succeed to the throne of England; in Clare McManus's words, 'advance James VI's succession to the English throne'.[11] However, previous commentators have overlooked that the baptism of Prince Henry took place at a very particular moment in Anglo-Scots relations. When Henry was born in February 1594, relations between the two kingdoms were, for several reasons, at an especially low point.

Several recent narrative surveys have illustrated that the decade after the Treaty of Berwick in 1586 was one of peaks and troughs in Anglo-Scottish relations, often with very abrupt oscillations.[12] Of course, neither the English court nor the Scottish court was a monolith. Both contained individuals who were pursuing a wide range of political and religious agendas. Nevertheless, there were many sources of tensions and mutual suspicions, not least lingering anger amongst many of the Scottish nobility over the execution of Mary Stewart in 1587.[13] Meanwhile, many important religious conformists on the Elizabethan Privy Council and in the Church of England were frustrated by what they perceived as James's overindulgence of the more strident Presbyterians in the Scottish Kirk. After the passage of the so-called "Golden Act" in 1592, in which James recognised the authority of presbyteries, this resulted in mutual public mudslinging.[14] Richard Bancroft, Bishop of London, denounced the Kirk in print, whilst, in the Scottish parliament, James condemned the English established Church as popish.[15] However in early 1594 the greatest and most persistent source of diplomatic tension between England and Scotland was James's continued tolerance of the rebellious activities of several of his Catholic nobles, especially the earls of Huntly, Errol, and Angus. Surviving correspondence in the State Papers and Cecil Papers demonstrates that this particularly troubled Elizabeth's Lord Treasurer, William Cecil, Lord Burghley and her Secretary of State, his son Sir Robert Cecil.

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[11] Clare McManus, *Women on the Renaissance Stage: Anna of Denmark and Female Masquing in the Stuart Court (1590-1619)* (Cambridge, 2002), p. 79. See also: Rick Bowers, 'James VI, Prince Henry, and *A True Reportarie* of Baptism at Stirling 1594', *Renaissance and Reformation*, 29/4 (2005), pp. 3-22.

[12] Wallace T. MacCaffrey, *Elizabeth I: War and Politics, 1588-1603* (Princeton, 1992), pp. 304-16; Susan Doran, 'Loving and Affectionate Cousins? The Relationship between Elizabeth I and James VI of Scotland 1586-1603', in Susan Doran and Glenn Richardson (eds), *Tudor England and its Neighbours* (Basingstoke, 2005), pp. 203-34; Michael Questier, *Dynastic Politics and the British Reformations, 1558-1630* (Oxford, 2019), pp. 206-68.

[13] Susan Doran, 'Revenge her Foul and Most Unnatural Murder? The Impact of Mary Stewart's Execution on Anglo-Scottish Relations', *History*, 85/280 (2000), pp. 589-612.

[14] On the lead-up to the passage of the "Golden Act", see Alan R. MacDonald, *The Jacobean Kirk, 1567-1625: Sovereignty, Polity and Liturgy* (Aldershot, 1998), pp. 34-49.

[15] Paulina Kewes, 'The Puritan, the Jesuit and the Jacobean Succession', in Doran and Kewes (eds), *Doubtful*, pp. 47-70. For Bancroft see Jenny Wormald, 'Ecclesiastical Vitriol: The Kirk, The Puritans, and the Future King of England', in Guy (ed.), *Reign*, pp. 171-91; Patrick Collinson, *Richard Bancroft and Elizabethan Anti-Puritanism* (Cambridge, 2013), pp. 10, 65.

Since 1586, the English Privy Council had been intercepting ciphered letters from these earls to King Philip II of Spain and the Duke of Parma, in which they offered their support for future Spanish invasions of England. In addition to these communications and harbouring Jesuits priests, the earls had also staged an armed rising at Brig O'Dee in 1589, attempting to depose James's Anglophile Chancellor, John Maitland. In England, the rising was interpreted as a Counter-Reformation plot.[16] Concern amongst English Privy Councillors, especially the allies of the Cecils, that collusion between Scotland's Catholic nobles and Spanish agents could allow Scotland to be used as a postern gate in a Spanish invasion of England became especially acute in 1592, when it was discovered that the Catholic earls had sent several signed but otherwise blank letters to Spain.[17] Several of the earls' letters to Spain were printed in England that same year as *A Discourse of Vnnatural and Traiterous Conspiracies*. Yet, James had done little to discipline the Catholic Hispanophile members of his nobility. Although Scottish historians have demonstrated that there were good political reasons for James not to punish major magnates (several of whom were also his kinsmen) too harshly, his leniency was frustrating or suspicious to the anti-Spanish Cecils, their allies, and their agents.[18] James's inaction was surprising given that so many of his public pronouncements since becoming king of Scotland, especially in print, had declared his ardent commitment to defeating popish plots in his realm. James was failing to live up to the unequivocal anti-popish stance of his *Confession* of 1581, in which he had announced that he and his court would 'oppose all kynde of Papistrie', and his 1584 *Declaration*, which were both available in print (the latter included in Holinshed's Chronicles) and manuscript copies in England.[19] At a time when English anti-Catholic laws were being strengthened (with these measures often justified by the presence of Jesuits and Catholic sympathisers in Scotland), James's seeming permissiveness towards his Catholic earls' activities appeared to the likes of Elizabeth I and the Cecils to be either a sign of crypto-popery, duplicity, or simply of naivety or weakness.[20] Furthermore, James's suspicious leniency towards this threat to England's security was thrown into sharper relief by

[16] Ruth Grant, 'The Brig O'Dee Affair, the Sixth Earl of Huntly and the Politics of the Counter Reformation', in Goodare and Lynch (eds), *Reign of James VI*, pp. 93-109.
[17] Keith M. Brown, *Bloodfeud in Scotland, 1573-1625: Violence, Justice and Politics in Early Modern Society* (Edinburgh, 1986), pp. 162-8; W.B. Patterson, *King James VI and the Reunion of Christendom*, (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 13-19.
[18] Grant, 'The Brig O'Dee Affair'.
[19] John Craig, 'The Negative Confession, 1580', in *Scots Confession, 1560 (Confessio Scoticana) and Negative Confession, 1580 (Confessio Negativa*), ed. George David Henderson (Edinburgh, 1937), pp. 103-5; http://english.nsms.ox.ac.uk/holinshed/texts.php?text1=1587_1310; LPL, MS 2014, 174-177v.
[20] *Tudor Royal Proclamations*, ed. Paul L. Hughes and James Francis Larkin (3 vols, New Haven, 1964-9), iii, pp. 89, 166-8, 181-2.

the strong campaigns undertaken against the earls by the Scottish Council and Kirk, the latter of which excommunicated the earls in September 1593. Official diplomatic correspondence between England and Scotland therefore became increasingly acerbic throughout 1593. Thomas Burgh and Edward Zouche were dispatched as ambassadors to chide James.[21] The tone of Elizabeth's own letters to James also shows that their relationship was strained by the issue of the Catholic earls. She noted that by not punishing the earls for conspiring with Spain, James was taking 'a wonderful uncertain course…which maketh her not a little to seek what way to run with him' and bluntly insulted James as a 'seduced king'.[22] In another letter, Elizabeth urged James to 'put them now to the horn as traitors', because not to do so was 'the ready way to make himself despised and to animate them the more'.[23] Insinuations were also made that continued inaction against the earls would result in non-payment of the pension that James had been receiving from the English treasury since 1586.[24] Just a few weeks before Henry's baptism, Elizabeth and the Cecils' anxieties about James's conduct were likely raised further by rumours that the King of Spain had offered the perpetually-impoverished James an annual pension of 10,000 crowns if he offered liberty of conscience to Catholics in Scotland.[25]

However, Anglo-Scottish relations had also degraded by early 1594 because of actions taken by the English Privy Council. The Privy Council had advanced knowledge of an armed rising at Leith on 2 April 1594, led by Francis Stewart, the earl of Bothwell, which aimed to remove the Catholic earls.[26] The rising failed and Bothwell swiftly fled into England. James had never forgotten nor forgiven English support for the Ruthven regime of 1582-3, which had kept him under house arrest.[27] He was angered that Elizabeth had returned to a policy of communicating with, and even financially sponsoring, rebels within his realm and seeking to cultivate an Anglophile party at the Scottish Court.[28] This had been the usual patronising English policy towards Scotland before the Treaty of Berwick.[29] Elizabeth justified her dealings with Bothwell as a necessary response to James's 'slow pursuit of the popish lords,

[21] BL, MS Cotton, Caligula D2, fos 76r-81r; TNA, SP 52/51, fo. 73r.
[22] TNA, SP 52/51, fo. 75r.
[23] *CSP Scotland*, xi, p. 287.
[24] Ibid, xi, p. 303. On this pension, see Julian Goodare, 'James VI's English Subsidy', in Goodare and Lynch (ed.), *Reign of James VI*, pp. 110-25.
[25] TNA, SP 59/29, fo. 129v.
[26] *CSP Scotland*, xi, pp. 312, 315.
[27] Steven J. Reid, 'Of Bairns and Bearded Men: James VI and the Ruthven Raid', in Miles Kerr-Peterson and Steven J. Reid (eds), *James VI and Noble Power in Scotland, 1578-1603* (London, 2017), pp. 32-56.
[28] John Spottiswood, *History of the Church of Scotland: Beginning the year of our Lord 203, and continued to the reign of King James VI* (3 vols, Edinburgh, 1847-51), ii, pp. 448-50.
[29] Doran, 'Loving and Affectionate Cousins?'.

and the favour shewn to them in Scotland'.[30] In early 1594, James was therefore actively seeking alliances with continental princes. Most notably, he expressed interest in renewing the traditional "Auld Alliance" between Scotland and France. He sent an ambassador, John Colville, to France with hopes of seeing the Franco-Scottish 'auncient league…renewed and confirmed…in all points and articles'.[31] The new King of France, Henri IV, was also named godfather to Prince Henry, with Henry's name chosen partly to honour the King of France.[32] Thanks to observations made by Robert Bowes, the resident English ambassador in Edinburgh, the English Privy Council was aware that James was attempting to strengthen Franco-Scottish relations.[33]

However, Prince Henry's baptism in August 1594 offered an opportunity for Elizabeth and James to restore their relationship. Both had powerful motives to pursue a rapprochement. Recent events in European print made it wise for James to seek to repair relations with England, or at least to attempt to cultivate a party there that viewed him favourably. It is possible that James had been made anxious by the publication in Antwerp in 1593 of Robert Persons's tract, *Newes from Spayne and Holland*.[34] The 'newes from Holland' portion of the pamphlet presented arguments for why Catholics and mainstream Protestants alike should support a Catholic successor to the English throne. The tract suggested James's candidacy faced two major obstacles: his status as the son of an English traitor, and the fact that he was in the pocket of his Kirk ministers, 'tossed and tumbled' by them.[35] It also hinted that Lord Burghley would favour Arbella Stuart's claim over James's. There is no clear evidence that James had read Persons's tract, although it was being circulated and discussed widely. Nonetheless, the threat it posed to his candidacy to the English throne would have provided a potent motivation to seek to rehabilitate his public image in England.

Despite James's flattering overtures, Henri of France, ultimately did not send a delegation to the baptism, and did not even acknowledge the invitation until November 1594,

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[30] Birch, *Memoirs*, i, p. 177.
[31] *CSP Scotland*, xi, p. 315.
[32] Richard Hillman, 'God-Fathering Prince Henry', in Jean-Christophe Mayer (ed.), *The Struggle for the Succession in Late Elizabethan England: Politics, Polemics and Cultural Representations* (Montpellier, 2004), pp. 313-26.
[33] *CSP Scotland*, xi, pp. 309, 314-5.
[34] The text is often overshadowed by the more famous Person's *A Conference about the next succession to the crowne of Ingland*. It arguments and style are summarised in Kewes, 'The Puritan, The Jesuit, and the Jacobean Succession', pp. 60-2.
[35] Quoted in Kewes, 'The Puritan, The Jesuit, and the Jacobean Succession', p. 60.

three months after the event.[36] Why he did so is not clear, although in November Henri explained that the demands of war and domestic affairs had held his attention.[37] It is possible that Henri, newly-converted to Catholicism and still excommunicated by the Pope, believed that sending a delegation to the baptism was not in his immediate interests. To publicly advertise kinship with a Protestant dynasty would not endear him to those Catholics in France, or elsewhere in Europe, who still doubted the sincerity of his abjuration of Protestantism. It may also have been the result of a diplomatic misstep. Several ambassadors claimed that James had offended Henri by sending the invitation with one of the French king's own servants rather than his own specially-appointed ambassador.[38]

From Elizabeth's perspective, with the French not attending, Henry's baptism now presented an opportunity for Anglo-Scottish amity to be displayed publicly and for several English policy objectives to be advanced. The rituals and ceremonies of the baptism, in which the English party would now share the limelight, could be used to exorcise the threats of Spanish influence in Scotland and of a renewed Auld Alliance, and to urge James to finally deal with his Hispanophile Catholic nobility. As Elaine Kruse has argued, Elizabeth was very skilled at using the role of godmother as a diplomatic tool. For example, she had previously accepted the invitation to be godmother to Princess Isabella of France in October 1572 as a means of repairing the Anglo-French *entente-cordiale* and keeping the prospect of a marital union with the duke of Alençon alive in the aftermath of the St Bartholomew's Day Massacre.[39] Given the English party would be the sole representatives of a royal godparent at the baptism, the ceremony held even more diplomatic potential than Elizabeth's godparenthood to Princess Isabella had. In August, Elizabeth officially accepted the role of godmother in a personal capacity by writing effusive letters of congratulation to both James and Anna.[40] She also sent elaborate gifts of 'a fair Cupboard of Silver' and 'some Cups of massy Gold', which seem to have been designed to be more spectacular than those brought by other ambassadors.[41] Elizabeth also made the gesture, significant to the cash-strapped James, of being the only monarch represented at the baptism who covered 'the whole expences [sic]' of her own

[36] Thomas Birch, *The Life of Henry Prince of Wales* (London, 1760), pp. 1-2. In the long term, however, Henri would prove to be an engaged godfather to Henry: Hillman, 'God-Fathering Prince Henry'.
[37] *CSP Scotland*, xi, p. 479.
[38] TNA SP59/29, fo.132r; *List and Analysis of State Papers, Foreign Series Elizabeth*, v, pp. 493-4.
[39] Elaine Kruse, 'The Virgin and the Widow: The Political Finesse of Elizabeth I and Catherine de' Medici', in Carole Levin and Robert Bucholz (eds), *Queens & Power in Medieval and Early Modern England* (Lincoln, 2009), pp. 131-3.
[40] *CSP Scotland*, xi, pp. 410-11.
[41] James Melville, *The Memoires of Sir James Melvil of Hal-Hil* (1683), p. 204.

ambassador.[42] That Elizabeth viewed Prince Henry's baptism as an exceptionally useful diplomatic occasion is best indicated by her comparatively sparse engagement with the baptisms of James's other children. Even though she was also godmother and namesake to Princess Elizabeth, Elizabeth sent neither an extraordinary delegation nor a gift to her baptism in 1596.[43] As these events later in the 1590s showed, if it did not appear to further English interests, Elizabeth was perfectly capable of ignoring dynastic ceremonies at the Scottish court.

Meanwhile, during the summer, and under pressure from the Kirk and the Stewart faction at court, James finally acted against the Catholic earls. In May, they were declared traitors by the Scottish parliament for 'betraying their native country to the cruel and merciless Spain', with their lands forfeited under the terms of the Act of Oblivion.[44] Throughout summer 1594, English ambassadors at the Scottish court repeatedly reported that James was preparing to take military actions against the earls in the autumn, perhaps even on the day after the baptism.[45] Sussex's memorial for the baptism explicitly instructed him to convey as his first point of conversation with James that Elizabeth was 'wonderfully well satisfied with his kingly resolution to proceed forthwith to supress these dangerous persons'.[46] This was a complete reversal from two years previously when Elizabeth had appointed Robert Bowes as resident ambassador because of her concerns about how James was dealing with the earls: 'being desirous from tyme to tyme to heare of your direct proceadings in overruling your disobedient subjects…the faction of such as are knowne sworne papistes'.[47] Pleased that she was, at last, 'be[g]in[nin]g to see' fruits from James's promise to deal with the Catholic earls, Elizabeth reciprocated by severing her ties with the earl of Bothwell.[48] Elizabeth had originally, even as late as August, considered having her ambassadors intercede with James on Bothwell's behalf at the baptism.[49] However, she issued a proclamation in the Borders against harbouring Bothwell, and directly threatened him not to attempt kidnapping Prince Henry: 'in no case to

[42] *Nichols' Progresses Elizabeth*, iii, p. 747.
[43] TNA, SP 52/60, fo. 50r.
[44] Spottiswoode, *History*, ii, p. 451; *Acts of the Parliament of Scotland*, iv, pp. 56-61.
[45] *CSP Scotland*, xi, pp. 359, 379, 394, 400, 415, 416.
[46] TNA, SP 52/54, fos 1r-4v.
[47] TNA, SP 52/48, fo. 38r.
[48] *CSP Scotland*, ix, p. 389.
[49] Ibid, ix, pp. 373-4, 377, 398-400, 424. More duplicitously, they also chose not to raise the issue because they knew that the representatives of the Duke of Mecklenberg and the king of Denmark were planning to intercede on Bothwell's behalf: *CSP Scotland*, xi, pp. 391-2.

seek the Prince'.[50] Sussex was instructed to tell James that he had heard Elizabeth 'in court publicaly avow the detestation' of Bothwell and his treasons.[51]

If this context of a mutual retreat from a diplomatic low point is born in mind, I would argue that the baptism ceremony, and William Fowler's printed account of it, can be seen as interventions in a more specific diplomatic situation than has previously been acknowledged. The ceremonial and festivities of the baptism, and a printed account of them published in England, provided James with an opportunity to secure his alliance with England that had so recently seemed imperilled. It also presented him with an opportunity to rehabilitate his image at the English court, where his lenient treatment of his Hispanophile Catholic nobility and Presbyterians in the Kirk had earned him the suspicion of important figures who cherished England's security and the preservation of the established Church. This public relations exercise was especially important as Person's polemic unleashed debates about the next succession to the English throne.

Images of the Scottish Court

Various aspects of the baptism, including the ceremony itself and the associated festivities, such as the tournament held on the day before the baptism ceremony, and the knighting ceremony and banquet held on the evening after it, attempted to massage away anxieties about James's previous laxity towards the Catholic earls and to present him as a monarch who was committed to confronting his and Elizabeth's shared enemies.

However, as with many early modern pageants, the complexity of authorship issues demands that caution be taken when making pronouncements about intention. Although the printed narrative of events was written by William Fowler, the devising and composition of the festivities involved multiple agents. Fowler's account ascribes the conceit for the tournament to himself and Lord Lindores, whilst claiming that the governing motif of a sea voyage for the post-baptism banquet was James's 'owne invention'.[52] Scholars should not ignore the possibility that Fowler, himself already a printed court poet, used his printed account of the baptism as a means of further promoting his literary talents. His description of how 'rare

[50] Spottiswood, *History*, ii, p. 458; *CSP Scotland*, xi, p. 306.
[51] *CSP Scotland*, xi, p. 409.
[52] *Nichols's Progresses Elizabeth*, iii, pp. 747, 762.

shewes and singular inventions' were produced despite facing severe challenges of 'shortnes of time and other considerations', such as a lack of participants and artisans necessitating last-minute changes, seems like an effort to advertise the resourceful ingenuity of the devisers, Fowler amongst them.[53] Given these difficulties of attribution and agenda, it is reasonable to follow Curtis Perry's suggestion that, when discussing the manuscript and printed witnesses of court texts, scholars should ascribe 'something closer to authorisation than literal authorship'.[54] Nevertheless, even if diplomatic objectives merely provide the *inventio* for the occasion, it can still be shown that the ceremony's motifs aimed to demonstrate that England and Scotland had common cause in religion and court culture, and that James was not in thrall to popery and Spanish influence but in command of his nobility.

The attempt to use the baptism celebrations to exorcise anxieties amongst various groups in England that James or his court had popish sympathies was clearly indicated by the choice of Patrick Galloway to deliver the baptism sermon. Galloway had been a vocal critic of the Catholic earls since 1592.[55] He and another preacher at the ceremony, David Cunningham, the Bishop of Aberdeen, had been amongst those appointed to oversee the distribution of the earls' forfeited property.[56] The effort to communicate a message that James and the Scottish court were committed to a policy of militant anti-popery can also be seen in the pre-baptism tournament and, in particular, in its shield decorations.

During the tournaments held at princely courts across Renaissance Europe, spectators did not simply observe the martial sports. They also looked at and interpreted the costume of the participants, especially their shields.[57] Participants' shields were decorated with a motto and an image, together called an *impresa*.[58] The *imprese* carried by the Scottish courtiers competing in the tournament at Prince Henry's baptism advertised James's determination to root out religious enemies, and attempted to fashion the court of Scotland as one that was pro-actively defending true Christianity. James, dressed as a Christian knight, bore an *impresa* of a 'Lyons heade with open eyes'.[59] Although the lion was a fairly conventional piece of royal iconography in both Scotland and England, when it was combined with the Latin motto 'timeat

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[53] Ibid, iii, p. 747.
[54] Curtis Perry, 'Royal Authorship and the Problems of Manuscript Attribution in the Poems of King James VI and I', *N&Q*, 46/2 (1999), p. 245.
[55] Richard Greaves, 'Patrick Galloway (c.1551-1626), Church of Scotland minister', *ODNB*.
[56] *CSP Scotland*, xi, p. 359.
[57] Alan Young, *Tudor and Jacobean Tournaments* (London, 1987).
[58] Alan Young and Beert C. Verstraete, *The English Tournament Imprese* (New York, 1988).
[59] *Nichols's Progresses Elizabeth*, iii, p. 749.

et primus et ultimus orbis' ('Let they who are first and last in the world be afraid (of me)', which articulated a confident power to strike fear into even the powerful, the king's leonine shield advertised his intention to rule over all regardless of rank.[60] Or, as Fowler glossed for readers, the king's shield 'signifieth…Fortitude and Vigilancie'.[61] Following James's previous hesitancy to discipline the Hispanophile Catholic earls, his appearance in the tiltyard bearing such a confident heraldic statement of his royal authority and his commitment to no longer tolerate aristocratic impudence, would be welcomed by the likes of Elizabeth, the Cecils, and their allies. Other courtiers' *imprese* underscored the messages of militarism, such as the earl of Mar's 'offendit et defendit' ('he attacks and defends'), and of royal watchfulness, such as Lord Lindores's device: 'A Crown, an eye, and a Portcullis'.[62] Collectively, the *imprese* at the tournament demonstrated that Elizabeth's insulting label that James was a 'seduced king' no longer applied. Perhaps, they also challenged the more general stereotype, found in English literary and dramatic culture, that the Scottish were not a chivalric people.[63] Instead, they advertised James's commitment to acting against all agitators in his realm, even his powerful nobility. Rick Bowers has argued that a general semiotics of novelty was performed by the architecture constructed for the baptism.[64] However, as I have shown, costuming also helped to promote an impression of a new arrangement: one in which the Scottish crown would be lenient and passive no more.

It is worth noting that Lord Lindores's device of a crown and eye over a portcullis could be found in contemporary English emblem books.[65] Historians have long commented on the affinity between the baptism tournament and the English Accession Day triumphs, and have speculated that it may have been designed specifically to please an English audience.[66] I would argue further that the tournament, and particularly the way it is described in Fowler's printed account, was tailored to appeal to English court tastes (or at least, what informed Scottish courtiers considered to be English court tastes). Fowler had visited the English court from 1581 to 1583. He likely knew that English courtiers with pretensions to gentility were fascinated by *imprese* and it is possible that, like other foreign visitors to the Elizabethan court,

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[60] Ibid, iii, p. 749. My translation.
[61] Ibid, iii, p. 749.
[62] Ibid, iii. p. 749. My translation.
[63] Roger Mason, 'Scotland' in, Paulina Kewes, Ian Archer and Felicity Heal (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Holinshed's Chronicles* (Oxford, 2013), pp. 647-662; Susan Doran, 'Polemic and Prejudice: A Scottish King for an English Throne', in Doran and Kewes (eds), *Doubtful,* pp. 219-20.
[64] Bowers, 'Baptism at Stirling', p. 7.
[65] P.S., *The heroicall deuises of M. Claudius Paradin Canon of Beauieu* (1591), pp. 39-40.
[66] Lynch, 'Court Ceremony', pp. 89-90.

he saw the Queen's collection of tournament *imprese* displayed in the Shield Gallery at Whitehall.[67] Quotations in his papers reveal that Fowler was aware that, by the early 1590s, there was a market in England for books that printed lists of *imprese*, such as Geffrey Whitney's 1586 *A Choice of Emblemes* and William Segar's 1590 *Book of Honor*.[68] Fowler's account therefore includes a list of the tournament participants' *imprese*. Whilst a long list of shield decorations might seem tedious to modern readers, the act of including one in a pageant book printed in England advertised to English readers that Fowler (and, by implication, James) appreciated English court fashions and the English conventions for printing accounts of tournaments. Importantly, it indicated that the two courts spoke the same ceremonial language.

Indeed, it deserves further comment that in his printed account of the festivities Fowler took a number of opportunities to advertise the close relationship between England and Scotland. Previous commentators have noted that the printed account was Anglicised from Fowler's original manuscript.[69] They have also noticed the, unsurprisingly, prominent role of the English delegation during Fowler's description of the baptism ceremony, in which Sussex held Prince Henry during the procession and naming before sitting at the king's left hand during the banquet.[70] Scholars have, however, underplayed how strenuously Fowler structured his narrative to foreground the English delegation. Repeatedly, for example during his descriptions of the sending of invitations to the baptism, of the procession into the Chapel Royal, of the seating of ambassadors at the baptism ceremony, and of the post-baptism banquet, Fowler's account describes the ambassadors present from the many other polities in one paragraph, before devoting another, more substantial one, to the English party.[71] Fowler's description of the invitation, journey, and arrival of the English representatives is four times as long as his accounts of the arrival of the representatives of Denmark, Brunswick, Mecklenburg-Güstrow, Holland, and Zeeland combined.[72] Fowler's narrative and rhetorical structures foregrounding the English delegation as crucial to proceedings and subsuming the remaining ambassadors into an amorphous mass of less-important others is epitomised in his pointed description of Sussex and Robert Bowes processing into the Chapel Royal 'vnder the which

[67] For example, Gottfried von Bülow and Wilfred Powell, 'Diary of the Journey of Philip Julius, Duke of Stettin-Pomerania through England in the Year 1602', *TRHS*, 6 (1892), pp. 23-5.
[68] NLS, MS Hawthornden 2064, fos 50r-52r; Bath, 'Rare Shewes'.
[69] *Nichols' Progresses Elizabeth,* iii, p. 752; Bowers, 'Baptism at Stirling'. The original manuscript is NLS, GD1/371/1.
[70] *Nichols*' *Progresses Elizabeth*, iii, p. 754.
[71] Ibid, iii, pp. 745-6, 751, 758.
[72] Ibid, iii, pp. 745-6.

pale', with the remaining representatives listed as 'about the pale'.[73] Fowler also emphasised English prominence in the festivities by describing the French absence. He noted the empty 'fair wyde Chaire' underneath the arms of France, to the right of James's throne in the Chapel Royal.[74] Describing this absence only emphasised the abundance of English representation within the Chapel. Fowler described how the seats on the king's left hand side were for the two English ambassadors, Sussex and Bowes, who were flanked by a pair of English ushers, Lord Wharton and Sir Henry Bromley.[75] According to the usual baptism rites, the royal baby should have been held during the naming by the infant's godfather or his proxy. Describing Sussex performing the role in the formal part of proceedings that should have been taken by the representatives of France also suggested that England stood in France's stead as a close, reliable ally of Scotland. Whilst previous commentators have noted the content of Fowler's text commenting on the especial close relationship of England and Scotland, the contribution of its form to the same endeavour should not be overlooked.

However, the attempt to use the baptism to show the political, religious and cultural affinities between the Scottish and English courts is seen most clearly in the knighting ceremony that occurred in the Prince's Presence Chamber on the evening after the baptism ceremony. James made seventeen new knights, including the infant Henry, to commemorate the day. The ceremony featured the swearing of nine chivalric pledges. Many of these were conventional staples of the chivalric tradition, derived from Lull. For example, in the sixth oath the new knights pledged to 'defend the just action and quarrel of al Ladies of Honour, of all true and friendless Widowes, of Orphanes, and of Maidens of good fame', while in the eighth they swore to 'maintain 'Horse, harnisse, and other knightly abillzements'.[76] These reassuringly advertised that the knights of the Scottish courts subscribed to a chivalric ethos found at courts across Europe, and could be sure of a warm welcome at the English court, particularly amongst "forward Protestants", especially the associates of Robert Devereux, earl of Essex, who were committed to the chivalric tradition.[77] However, articles one and five of the knights' oath entailed a more politically-pointed commitment. The knights declared, 'I Shall fortifie and defend the true Christian Religion…now presently preched within this

[73] Ibid, iii, p. 753.
[74] Ibid, iii, p. 751.
[75] Ibid, iii, p. 751.
[76] Ibid, iii, p. 756.
[77] Richard C. McCoy, *The Rites of Knighthood: The Literature and Politics of Elizabethan Chivalry* (Berkeley, 1989), pp. 79-102; Richard Cust, 'Chivalry and the English Gentleman', in Smuts (ed.), *Age of Shakespeare*, pp. 462-8.

Realm' and 'defend [it]…, from all Allieners and strangers'.[78] The inclusion, and subsequent printing, of a sworn commitment to the religion 'now presently' practised declared a turning away from the courses, indulging both Presbyterians and Catholics, that had generated so many exasperated comments by various English ambassadors to Scotland during the previous decade. The vow to defend Scotland's state religion from 'aliens and strangers' seems especially relevant as a statement that James would not tolerate the Catholic earls' harbouring of the Jesuits James Gordon and William Ogilvie, which had been discovered in July.[79] The knight's oath therefore epitomises how both the ceremony and Fowler's printed account of it attempted to signal that, after years of tension, the English and Scottish courts, finally had common cause in religion.

Reception

Unfortunately, no English attendee at the baptism reported that they had been struck by a message of common religio-political cause and shared cultural values between England and Scotland during proceedings. They did not report that the festivities had made plain that James had determined to turn away from his policies that had so frustrated many on the English Privy Council. Nor, do I believe that these messages were likely taken away by court-based readers of Fowler's text after it was printed in London in September 1604. Instead there were numerous aspects of the ceremony, including its language, costumes, and motifs, that were at best jarring for an English audience and readership and at worst raised unsettling questions and anxieties about the compatibility of English and Scottish court politics and culture. Previous scholars have also speculated that the ceremony may have been poorly received by English readers. Michael Lynch once reached this conclusion by noting the lack of references to the tournament in the official reports sent to the Cecils by the ambassadors Robert Bowes and the earl of Sussex.[80] However, more recently, by itemising aspects of splendour and magnificence, Lynch has argued instead that the ceremony did impress English observers.[81] By locating the tournament's motifs within English traditions of court performance, and by considering contemporary Anglo-Scottish politics and the politics of the Elizabethan court in 1594 (including, of course, the perpetual concern about the succession). I will suggest that Lynch's

[78] *Nichols' Progresses Elizabeth*, iii, p. 756.
[79] Patterson, *Reunion*, p. 15.
[80] Lynch, 'Court Ceremony', p. 89.
[81] Lynch, 'Reassertion of Princely Power', pp. 226-7.

first impression was more accurate. Far from persuasively showing James's commitments to ruling his Catholic nobility firmly, and that he would be a suitable king of England, the baptism ceremony and its printed account publicised the differences between the Scottish and English courts. Ultimately, the misprinting of the English edition's frontispiece, advertising the 'Babtism' of Prince Henry, was merely the first example of it presenting the Scottish court to the English one in jarring fashion.

The effort to use the tournament to present James as a figure committed to rooting out popish sedition in his realm was handicapped by a number of logistical difficulties. It had originally been proposed that the English delegation would be led by George Clifford, earl of Cumberland. Cumberland, who had succeeded Sir Henry Lee as the organiser of the English court's Accession Day tournaments in 1590, would have been the ideal figure to interpret the political messages encoded in the tournament pageantry and then report them back to the English Privy Council. Unfortunately, he fell ill at the last moment. The life of his replacement, Robert Radcliffe, fifth earl of Sussex, has not yet drawn much scholarly attention but what little is known indicates that, at this stage of his life, he was more interested in forging a military career than in interpreting ceremonial codes.[82] As it happened, delays whilst travelling meant that the English party did not arrive at Stirling Castle until after the tournament had already taken place. As a result, the tournament, designed to showcase James's renewed commitment to policies that would please Elizabeth, delivered in forms popular at the English court, received no mention in either of the ambassadors' reports.[83]

Therefore, the only way that English courtiers could find out about the tournament and its motifs about James and the Scottish court was by reading Fowler's printed account. However, the pageant book contains numerous accidental missteps or insensitivity to English generic expectations. Michael Lynch has commented that 'it was in effect an English tournament that James was staging'.[84] However, despite Fowler's experiences of English Accession Day tournaments – his travels to England make it likely he was able to see the 1581 triumphs organised by Sirs Henry Lee and Philip Sidney – the one that he arranged was full of moments that would seem indecorous to both English spectators and readers. Clare McManus has argued that observers would be troubled by several of the costumes of the tournament and

[82] Victor Stater, 'Robert Radcliffe, fifth earl of Sussex (1573-1629), soldier and courtier', *ODNB*.
[83] TNA, SP 52/54, fos 24r-v; TNA, SP 52/54, fos 25r-v.
[84] Lynch, 'Reassertion of Princely Power', p. 226.

banquet, such as that of Turks, Amazons, and Moors.[85] However, McManus sees this discomfort arising because of a universal, ahistorical tendency to be troubled by depictions of the Other. Instead, these costumes troubled because they appeared strange from the perspective of late sixteenth-century English court dramatic traditions. Although English tournaments did feature courtiers appearing costumed, they did so as allegorical knights or hermits. They never appeared in the guises of Turks or Amazons as James and his courtiers did. It was simply too demeaning for a courtier to appear dressed as another race (as would, of course, later be seen in the outrage levelled at *The Masque of Blackness* in 1605). Meanwhile appearing in the guise of an Amazon had been impolitic at Elizabeth's court. As Michael Bath has suggested, the cast of cross-dressed and foreign figures was much more acceptable to French eyes, given the Valois court's visual and performance traditions of courtiers appearing cross-dressed or as other races.[86] Therefore, although it would likely have been well received by a French audience (had they attended), the pageantry's conceit appeared alien and indecorous to the English.

Additionally, the pageant's message about the victory of watchful Christian knights, committed to striking fear into domestic and foreign rebels, was undercut by the fact that the tournament was actually won by the Duke of Lennox, who had competed dressed as a Turk. The possibility of such an awkward jarring between the sport's outcome and the political message of the pageantry had been eliminated in the organisation of English tournaments during the early 1580s, especially after Elizabeth had derailed Philip Sidney's intended conclusion to *The Lady of May*.[87] Whether watched or read, the baptism tournament appeared to those used to participating in or watching English Accession Day events, not as a Renaissance triumph but, as amateurish. Cumulatively these, admittedly rather superficial, moments of generic jarring and misfiring communicated a rather more serious impression that English and Scottish court cultures operated according to different ceremonial protocols and languages.

However the printed account also advertised the existence of more serious, continuing disagreements between James and the English Privy Council. The attempt to advertise a new shared commitment to religious policy was undermined by the use of Robert Waldegrave, the king's printer, to publish the text in Scotland, with his name also appearing on the frontispiece of the English edition. In England in the late 1580s, Waldegrave had been the printer of a

[85] McManus, *Women on the Renaissance Stage*, pp. 87-8.
[86] Bath, '"Rare Shewes"'.
[87] Edward Berry, 'Sidney's May Game for the Queen', *Modern Philology*, 86/3 (1989), pp. 252-64.

number of anti-episcopal tracts, most noticeably the first four *Martin Marprelate Tracts*.[88] Denounced as a 'disobedient and godlesse person' by the Richard Bancroft, Bishop of London, by 1594 Waldegrave was an exiled fugitive in Scotland (though under the twin protection of the King and the Kirk).[89] There, he had continued to print anti-episcopal material, including works attacking the ideas and person of Bancroft. As a result in September 1594, the English Privy Council were still campaigning to extradite Waldegrave to England to prevent him from 'exercis[ing] his science so apperantlie against the state of England'.[90] That Waldegrave's name featured as a paratext to the printed account of the baptism drew attention to the uncomfortable existence of another long-running source of Anglo-Scots tensions: James's continued sheltering of English puritan exiles. Fowler's text was therefore unlikely to encourage senior ecclesiastical figures in England to view James warmly.

Additionally, the opportunities to use the occasion to persuade English courtiers to support James's candidacy to succeed Elizabeth, made freshly urgent by the circulation of Person's *Newes from Spayne and Holland,* was reduced by the impolitic fashion in which the English succession question was addressed. After Patrick Adamson had caused offence to the English party at James's baptism in 1566 with his poem *Serenissimi ac Nobilissimi Scotiae Anglicae Hybernie Henrici Stuardi et Mariae Reginae,* which praised James as the future king of England, Scotland and Ireland, it seems that some efforts were made to avoid explicit references to the English succession at the baptism of his son. For example, the motif of union was downplayed in the English print account by removing the frontispiece of the impaled arms of Scotland and Denmark which had adorned the Edinburgh edition. Nevertheless, the ceremony and its printed account still featured a governing motif of future union. The ship which entered during the post-baptism banquet bore the motto 'en quae divisae beatos efficiunt collecta tenes' ('what makes these realms blessed is you holding them together'), apostrophising Henry as a future agent of union.[91] Critics have long noted that the dominant motif of the banquet was fertility.[92] Six allegorical figures of abundance appeared on the table which brought in desert. One Fecundity, carried poppies, which Fowler informed his readers 'representeth broodiness', whilst her cloak was decorated with the words 'crescant in mille'

[88] Katherine van Eerde, 'Robert Waldegrave: The Printer as Agent and Link between Sixteenth-Century England and Scotland', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 34/1 (1981), pp. 40-78.
[89] Alastair Mann, 'Robert Waldegrave (c. 1554-1603/4), printer', *ODNB*; Martin Marprelate (pseud.), *The Martin Marprelate Tracts: A Modernised and Annotated Edition*, ed. Joseph Laurence Black (Cambridge, 2008), pp. 11, 23-5.
[90] *CSP Scotland*, xi, p. 435.
[91] *Nichols's Progresses Elizabeth*, iii, p. 761. My translation.
[92] Williamson, *Myth of the Conqueror*, pp. 8-11; McManus, *Women on the Renaissance Stage*, pp. 85-6.

('May they grow into thousands').[93] Equally the sermon text, *Genesis 21,* on the birth of Isaac, and the post-dinner song, *Psalm 128,* were both concerned with future generations.

However, these changes and more subtle motifs of the future, which were of course appropriate to the baptism of a royal child, were not enough to prevent the English ambassadors and the Privy Council from perceiving various aspects of the celebrations to be intrusions into the *arcana imperii* of the succession question. During his oration, David Cunningham, the Bishop of Aberdeen, offered a roll call of the ambassadors, introducing them by 'the proximitie and neerness of bloode they had with Scotland, beginning at the Ambassador of England'.[94] This pedigree, which insinuated the place of both James and Henry in the English succession, caused the English resident ambassador, Robert Bowes, to take offence. Bowes complained that Cunningham had 'laboured much to make known how' Henry 'was descended from these princes, namely [i.e. mainly] from the Kings of England'.[95] Bowes reported to Burghley that the Bishop 'rubbed on the rack wheron Mr Melville had struck'.[96] Andrew Melville had recently published a neo-Latin poem, *Principis Scoti-Britannorum Natalia* which unequivocally prophesised a future union of England and Scotland, and imagined a 'Scoto-Britannic state / [would] Unite! Under a Scoto-Britannic king, one prince / Calls them together into one Scoto-Britannic people'.[97] The poem caused offence by imagining the glorious, violent defeat of the forces of Anti-Christ taking place in a future united British Isles; one ruled by a Stewart king, in which Elizabeth was dead. By prematurely imagining James as king of the British Isles, 'naming him king of all Britain in possession', it violated Elizabethan English treasons laws forbidding imagining the queen's death or discussing her successor which, Robert Bowes argued, 'cannot but breed offence to her Majesty'.[98] The Anglophile Scot, John Colville, in a letter to Robert Cecil, similarly characterised Melville's poem as 'made by some placebo to flatter our King and offend her Majesty'.[99] Although Melville's poem was not officially commissioned by James, he had given permission for it to be printed by the royal printer, Robert Waldegrave, a fortnight before the baptism. Over a week before the baptism ceremony, Bowes had already been charged by Cecil to confront both king and printer.[100] The

[93] *Nichols's Progresses Elizabeth*, iii, p. 759. My translation.
[94] Ibid, iii, p. 755.
[95] *CSP Scotland*, xi, p. 422.
[96] TNA, SP 52/54, fo. 24v.
[97] Andrew Melville, 'Principis Scoti-Britannorum Natalia', in *George Buchanan: The Political Poetry*, ed. Paul J. McGinnis and Arthur H. Williamson (Edinburgh, 1995), p. 278.
[98] *CSP Scotland*, xi, p. 431.
[99] Ibid, xi, p. 424.
[100] Ibid, xi, p. 420.

Cecils' agents at the Scottish court were therefore already predisposed to react poorly to any discussion of Henry's descent from the English royal family. The Bishop's discussion of pedigree was similar enough to Melville's poem to arouse Bowes's suspicion and he pledged to Burghley, 'I will shortly call for account', efforts he doubled when it emerged there were plans to print Cunningham's oration.[101] After all, it was concerning that the issue had been raised in two different forms so close together. It may have seemed that James was using the baptism to declare his hereditary entitlement to Elizabeth's throne, first to representatives of some of the greatest princes of Europe, and then to wide publics in print. As a result, although the ambassadors' reports of the baptism do mention the good signs witnessed for James's anti-popish policy, Cunningham's discussion of Henry's pedigree was the only element of the baptism festivities that Bowes described in any detail in his despatches to the Cecils. The outcome that the queen and Cecil had so long desired, James taking action against his rebellious Catholic earls, was overshadowed by Bowes' and the Cecils' campaign to seek an explanation and apology for the bishop's comments about Henry's genealogy.

Of course, in responding furiously to Cunningham's discussion of the possible future of the English crown, the Cecils, and Bowes and Colville, their agents at the Scottish court, were simply promoting the "official" English perspective: that of the queen. To Elizabeth, those who imagined a period after her death were threatening treason and sedition, and it was therefore in her interests to investigate further to determine their motives. However, others at the English court would likely have responded very differently. Unfortunately, there is no evidence that indicates how, for example, the earl of Essex or his associates responded to Melville's poem or Cunningham's discussion of the Stewart claim to the English throne. Nonetheless, given that Essex had become a clandestine proponent of James's claim to be Elizabeth's successor during the early 1590s, it is unlikely that he or those around him would have been offended by Melville or Cunningham's discussions of the Stewarts' hereditary claim in the way the Cecils and their agents had to profess to be.[102]

Unfortunately, as the decade continued, the presentation of James as a confident enemy of his and Elizabeth's shared enemies within his realm came to seem disingenuous. At first, there were good signs that James was committed to policies of which Elizabeth and her Privy Council approved. He launched a military venture against the rebel Catholic earls in the

[101] TNA, SP 52/54, fo. 24v; *CSP Scotland*, xi, p. 431.
[102] Gajda, *Essex*, pp. 180-8.

autumn, with the houses of Huntly and Errol burned following the Battle of Glelivet. The earls were expelled from Scotland in February 1595. Additionally, James intervened to prevent mercenaries from the Highlands from supporting the rebels against Elizabeth in Ireland.[103] Elizabeth was delighted that James seemed to be acting to ensure her security, taking the decisive forceful action against his seditious subjects that she had long craved. Relations were so promising that, in late 1594, James received double his usual annual pension from England and Robert Bowes, having been appointed to his embassy to monitor James's relations with the Catholic earls, was finally able to return home in late 1594.[104] However, this was not to last. Governed by shifting tides in Scottish domestic politics, as well as continental affairs, James once again pursued policies that, to the likes of Elizabeth and the English Privy Council, seemed ambiguous, even threatening. The Catholic earls returned to Scotland in 1596, after an exile of only fourteen months. Although Huntly's most recent biographer has argued that the earls never returned to influence at the Scottish court, Catholics, including Catholics with sympathies for the Jesuit mission in the British Isles, remained visibly prominent at the Scottish court in the late 1590s, including leading Octavians such as Alexander Seton and James Elphinstone and the court poet Alexander Montgomerie.[105] James continued to take Catholic counsel and keep Catholic company at his court. In the aftermath of the publication of Robert Person's *A Conference about the Next Succession* in 1594, now anticipating the succession to the English throne would be contested by the major powers of Europe, James also made overtures to Europe's Catholic princes, as well as the earl of Tyrone in Ireland.[106] In his 1598 tract, *A pithie exhortation to her* Maiestie, a treatise written in support of James's claim, Peter Wentworth complained that James had 'already shewed himself too too remisse in punishing so manie of his' Catholic subjects.[107] The conditions of 1594, when many in England had looked with scepticism at James's policies towards Catholics in Scotland, had returned within a few years. All of this meant that the image presented to the English court in the baptism festival of James as a chivalric Protestant hero, devised to redress a range of suspicions of him

[103] Ross Crawford, 'Noble power in the West Highlands and Isles: James VI and the end of the mercenary trade with Ireland, 1594-6', in Kerr-Peterson and Reid (eds), *James VI and Noble Power*, pp. 120-6.
[104] Goodare, 'James VI's English Subsidy'.
[105] Ruth Grant, 'George Gordon, Sixth Earl of Huntly and the Politics of the Counter-Reformation in Scotland, 1581-1595' (Ph.D. thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2010), pp. 336-62; Julian Goodare, 'The Octavians', in Kerr-Peterson and Reid (eds), *James VI and Noble Power*, p. 182.
[106] Susan Doran, 'James VI and the English Succession' in Houlbrooke (ed.), *James*, p. 33.
[107] Peter Wentworth, *A pithie exhortation to Her Maiestie for establishing her successor to the crown* (Edinburgh, 1598), p. 4.

held by various groups at the English court in 1594, ultimately had a negligible impact on Anglo-Scottish relations in the 1590s.

Nevertheless, although, for a range of reasons, they failed to make a clear, immediate impact on readers at the English court in 1594, the motifs and imagery of the baptism festivities, and their animating political concerns, had a long, complicated legacy at the English court, especially amongst particular groups. Later in the 1590s, James pursued a range of strategies to position himself to succeed Elizabeth. As he did so, the militant Protestant, apocalyptic imagery that had been represented in various aspects of the baptism ceremony, received less prominence in the culture of the Scottish court.[108] It did not die out, however. It continued to feature in representations of James, and his candidacy for the English throne, that were disseminated to the continent.[109] Furthermore, it would also find a receptive audience in those "forward Protestants" at the English court who advocated for military action against the continental forces of popery and Spain. Increasingly, these sorts of courtiers, especially the former associates of Philip Sidney and the earl of Essex, projected their hopes onto Prince Henry, who was portrayed as a future conquering chivalric Protestant hero.[110] After Henry's death in 1603, these same Protestant prophetic visions of continental conquest were attached to Princess Elizabeth and the Elector Palatine. Additionally, the image of England and Scotland sharing a chivalric and militant Protestant culture, would live on in the verse of some Scots who found posts at the English court after 1603. As the following chapters will demonstrate, this distinctive aspect of Scottish court culture had a persistent influence on the culture and politics of the English court after 1603. It was through this, rather than hurried readings by many courtiers in summer 1603 of *Basilikon Doron*, that elements of Scottish court culture shaped the English court.

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[108] Doran, 'James VI and the English Throne'.

[109] Astrid Stilma, '"As Warriouris in Ane Camp": The Image of King James VI as a Protestant Crusader', in Kevin J. McGinley and Nicola Royan (eds), *The Apparelling of Truth: Literature and Literary Culture in the Reign of James VI: A Festschrift for Roderick Lyall* (Newcastle, 2010), pp. 241–51.

[110] Williamson, *Myth of the Conqueror*; Roy Strong, *Henry, Prince of Wales and England's Lost Renaissance* (London, 1986); Timothy Wilks, 'The Court Culture of Prince Henry and His Circle, 1603-1613' (2 vols, D.Phil. thesis, University of Oxford, 1987).

2

The Chivalric Culture of the Early Jacobean Court

One of the most notable features of the culture of the late Elizabethan English court had been a revival of chivalry. Chivalric values, such as martial fortitude, courtesy, and a concern to defend one's personal and family honour, informed many Elizabethan courtiers' behaviour, aspirations, and self-presentations.[1] Courtiers also drew on narratives and tropes from chivalric literature to articulate their complicated relationship with their unmarried female monarch, most significantly in poetry and in the court's annual Accession Day triumphs.[2] Several scholars have shown that chivalric ideas about honour and the privileges of the aristocracy continued to preoccupy the English nobility during James's reign; occasionally provoking (much to his frustration) duels, and, in the 1620s, political conflicts between the king and nobles.[3] However, it has often been assumed that, after Elizabeth I's death, chivalry played a limited role in English court culture.[4] Most previous studies of James's English court have considered the significance of chivalry only within the circle of Prince Henry, connecting the prince and his associates' chivalric pursuits and iconography with opposition to James's pacific foreign policy.[5] James's reign has therefore been described as a period during which, except

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[1] Mervyn James, 'English Politics and the Concept of Honour, 1485-1642', in idem, *Society, Politics and Culture: Studies in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 1986), pp. 308-413; R. Malcolm Smuts, *Culture and Power in England, 1585-1685* (Basingstoke, 1999), pp. 8-17; Janet Dickinson, *Court Politics and the Earl of Essex, 1589-1603* (London, 2011), pp. 5-24; Richard Cust, 'Chivalry and the English Gentleman', in Smuts (ed.), *Age of Shakespeare*, pp. 458-76.

[2] Frances A. Yates, *Astraea: The Imperial Theme in the Sixteenth Century* (London, 1975), pp. 88-111; Roy Strong, *The Cult of Elizabeth: Portraiture and Pageantry* (London, 1977), pp. 129-86; Helen Hackett, *Virgin Mother, Maiden Queen: Elizabeth I and the Cult of the Virgin Mary* (Basingstoke, 1995).

[3] Richard Cust, 'Honour, Rhetoric and Political Culture: The Earl of Huntingdon and His Enemies', in Susan Amussen and Mark Kishlansky (eds), *Political Culture and Cultural Politics in Early Modern England: Essays Presented to David Underdown* (Manchester, 1995), pp. 84-111; Richard C. McCoy, 'Old English Honour in an Evil Time: Aristocratic Principle in the 1620s', in R. Malcolm Smuts (ed.), *The Stuart Court and Europe: Essays in Politics and Political Culture* (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 133-54; Keith Thomas, *The Ends of Life: Roads to Fulfilment in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 2009), pp. 44-77, 147-60; Courtney Erin Thomas, *If I Lose Mine Honour, I Lose Myself: Honour among the Early Modern English Elite* (Toronto, 2017). On duelling, see Markku Peltonen, 'Francis Bacon, the Earl of Northampton, and the Jacobean Anti-Duelling Campaign', *HJ*, 44/1 (2001), pp. 1-28.

[4] J.S.A. Adamson, 'Chivalry and Political Culture in Caroline England', in Kevin Sharpe and Peter Lake (eds), *Culture and Politics in Early Stuart England* (Basingstoke, 1994), pp. 161-97.

[5] J.W. Williamson, *The Myth of the Conqueror: Prince Henry Stuart, a Study of 17th Century Personation* (New York 1978); Roy Strong, *Henry, Prince of Wales and England's Lost Renaissance* (London, 1986); Timothy Wilks, 'The Court Culture of Prince Henry and His Circle, 1603-1613' (2 vols, D.Phil. thesis, University of Oxford, 1987); Timothy Wilks (ed.), *Prince Henry Revived: Image and Exemplarity in Early Modern England* (London, 2007).

in the household of the heir apparent, chivalry declined 'as an effective political and artistic model'.[6] In this chapter, I challenge this view. I will reveal the vibrancy of chivalric culture at the English court following James's accession, and illuminate its political significance during this important period of transition.

At first glance, many of James's policies seem unlikely to have nurtured a chivalric culture at court. During Elizabeth's reign, agitation for continental warfare and then war itself had inspired much literature on chivalric themes, particularly in the circles of Robert Dudley, earl of Leicester, and Robert Devereux, earl of Essex.[7] By contrast, James's English reign began with two peace treaties (the Treaty of Mellifont, concluding the Nine Years' War in Ireland, and the Treaty of London, ceasing fifteen years' of hostilities with Spain), which removed this significant stimulus for courtly chivalry.[8] Indeed, many early Jacobean imaginative writers, including writers of some court masques, argued that true virtue lay in peace not chivalric militarism, and often depicted knight errantry satirically.[9] Additionally, James notoriously oversaw a so-called 'inflation of honours', which contemporaries complained diluted the rarefied status of knighthood.[10] By Christmas 1604 James had trebled the number of knights in England, he permitted courtiers to sell knighthoods, and, in 1610, he created a new for-purchase dignity, the baronetcies. He also allowed several traditional English chivalric institutions and offices, such as the Court of Honour, the Earl Marshal, and the Lord Constable, to lapse.[11]

Nonetheless, this chapter will show for the first time the significance of chivalry within early Jacobean court culture, including its importance to the king. The first section analyses the previously overlooked chivalric themes in several entertainments performed before the court in the first year of James's English reign: including during the 1603-1604 Christmas

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[6] Norman Council, 'Ben Jonson, Inigo Jones, and the Transformation of Tudor Chivalry', *ELH*, 47/2 (1980), p. 259. See also, Mervyn James, 'At A Crossroads of the Political Culture: The Essex Revolt, 1601', in idem. *Society*, pp. 416-66.
[7] Richard C. McCoy, *The Rites of Knighthood: The Literature and Politics of Elizabethan Chivalry* (Berkeley, 1989); Paul E.J. Hammer, *The Polarisation of Elizabethan Politics: The Political Career of Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex, 1585-1597* (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 144-8, 202-8.
[8] Pauline Croft, '*Rex Pacificus*, Robert Cecil, and the 1604 Peace with Spain', in Burgess, Wymer, and Lawrence (eds), *Accession*, pp. 140-55; Robert Cross, 'To Counterbalance the World: England, Spain, and Peace in the Early Seventeenth-Century' (Ph.D. thesis, Princeton University, 2012).
[9] Peter Holbrook, 'Jacobean Masques and the Jacobean Peace', in David Bevington and Peter Holbrook (eds), *The Politics of the Stuart Court Masque* (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 67-83; David Norbrook, *Poetry and Politics in the English Renaissance*, revised edition (Oxford, 2002), pp. 155-72.
[10] Lawrence Stone, *The Crisis of the Aristocracy, 1558-1642* (Oxford, 1965), pp. 75-97; Richard Cust, *Charles I and the Aristocracy, 1625-1642* (Cambridge, 2013), pp. 22-41.
[11] Cust, *Charles I*, pp. 7-21.

season at Hampton Court, and in James's triumphal entry into London in March 1604. The second section examines the roles of Orders of Chivalry, especially the Order of the Garter. Analysing courtiers' correspondence, contemporary poetry and drama, and records from the Ashmole Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, it shows that James and his courtiers engaged with the Order far more intensely than has been recognised. In the third section, I use the often-piecemeal surviving records of the early Jacobean court tournament to demonstrate the form's continued vitality after 1603, and indicate how James's accession altered its calendar, personnel, pageantry, and political functions.

In each section, I show that the court's chivalric entertainments, pageants, ceremonies, and institutions performed important sociological functions. Across late medieval and early modern Europe, rulers used chivalric institutions and ceremonial to secure the loyalty of their nobilities.[12] The chivalric tradition proved particularly valuable for new monarchs: for example, chivalric representations of Henri IV of France helped to endear him to French courtiers.[13] In Chapter One, I argued that chivalric themes were included conspicuously in the festival for Prince Henry's baptism in 1594 as part of a campaign to rehabilitate James's reputation at the English court and to persuade English courtiers to support his candidacy to succeed Elizabeth. In this chapter, I will show that, after James's accession, the English court's chivalric culture was used (with varying degrees of success) to negotiate several distinctive tensions that arose at the mixed court of a dynastic agglomerate; most notably, English concerns about a foreign-born king, and rivalries at court (especially between English and Scottish courtiers). Chivalric pageants and ceremonies presented a reassuring message that James and his courtiers (both English and Scottish) all shared common cultural forms and values. Meanwhile Orders of Chivalry and court tournaments helped to enhance the new king's authority, and to foster a community at court, especially by providing ritualised occasions when courtiers could build their relationships with one another, James, and Prince Henry.

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[12] Sydney Anglo (ed.), *Chivalry in the English Renaissance* (Woodbridge, 1990).
[13] Nick Myers, 'Hercule Gaulois, Great Britain's Solomon – Myths of Persuasion, Styles of Authority', in Eveline Cruickshanks (ed.), *The Stuart Courts* (Stroud, 2000), pp. 29-42; Ronald G. Asch 'The Newcomer's Dilemma: Henry IV of France and James I of England', in Liesbeth Geevers and Mirella Marini (eds), *Dynastic Identity in Early Modern Europe: Rulers, Aristocrats and the Formation of Identities* (Farnham, 2015), pp. 52-3.

Chivalric Entertainments, 1603-1604

Scholars have explored how several dramatic performances staged during 1603-1604 addressed and attempted to defuse various anxieties that were provoked by James's accession.[14] However, the chivalric themes in these entertainments, especially some performed before the court, have largely been overlooked.

During the first months of James's English reign, numerous public events, texts and images portrayed him in chivalric and martial guises. One of James's first actions after entering England was a military display.[15] Upon arriving at Berwick Castle on the Anglo-Scottish border on 7 April 1603, he inspected the fortifications and fired one of its cannons himself to demonstrate 'how much he loued and respected the Art-militarie'.[16] The most widely disseminated images in England of the new king were his likenesses on the Great Seal and on coinage.[17] Both depicted James as a warrior-king: in armour, mounted, or with a drawn sword.[18] Furthermore, several of James's writings from the 1580s, in which he had advocated military action against continental Catholicism (including his 1581 *Confession of Faith,* his exegesis *A Fruitefull Meditation,* and his poem *Lepanto*) were reprinted in London during spring and summer 1603 in Anglicised editions.[19] The Venetian ambassador, Giovanni Carlo Scaramelli, noted 'the heroic virtues ascribed to [James] when he left Scotland, and inculcated in his books'.[20] James's controversial dubbing of nearly one-thousand knights by July 1603 may also have been a misguided attempt to display his chivalric interests; reportedly he created so many 'in imitation of King Arthur', who, according to one legend, had knighted one-thousand men.[21]

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[14] Martin Wiggins, *Drama and the Transfer of Power in Renaissance England* (Oxford, 2012), pp. 41-64; Clare Frances Whitehead, 'Performing for the New King: Continuity and Change at the Early Jacobean Court' (Ph.D. thesis, Queen Mary University of London, 2014), pp. 29-81.
[15] Useful narratives of James's journey include: Leanda de Lisle, *After Elizabeth: The Death of Elizabeth and the Coming of King James* (London, 2004); Diana Newton, *The Making of the Jacobean Regime: James VI and I and the Government of England, 1603-1605* (London, 2005), pp. 17-32.
[16] T. M., *The true narration of the entertainment of his royall maiestie, from the time of his departure from Edenbrough; til his receiuing at London* (1603), sig. C2v.
[17] On James's intense involvement in the design of the latter, see B.J. Cook, '"Stampt with your Own Image": The Numismatic Dimension of Two Stuart Successions', in Kewes and McRae (eds), *Succession,* pp. 307-8.
[18] Kevin Sharpe, *Image Wars: Promoting Kings and Commonwealths in England, 1603-1660* (New Haven, 2010), pp. 80-3.
[19] Jane Rickard, *Authorship and Authority: The Writings of James VI and I* (Manchester, 2007), pp. 76-83.
[20] *CSPV*, x, p. 90.
[21] Ibid, x, p. 106.

Before 1603, James had often been depicted as a warrior-king in order to discourage military opposition in the event of his accession to the English throne.[22] In 1603, continuing to emphasise James's military inclinations was prudent. It was not yet clear that his accession would go unchallenged.[23] In the days after Elizabeth's death, there were brief popular risings in Cork and Waterford in Ireland.[24] More significantly, in late June 1603, several complexly-interconnected conspiracies were discovered: the Bye Plot, Lord Grey's treason, and the Main Plot. The plotters, including disgruntled Appellant Catholics and courtiers, most notoriously Sir Walter Ralegh, schemed to replace the Privy Council, and possibly even James himself.[25] Although Philip III of Spain's plan to launch an invasion was abandoned, English contemporaries could not be certain that they would not soon face an invasion.[26] James's martial attributes were therefore emphasised in order to deter further domestic or foreign challenges to his accession.

However, chivalric tropes and forms performed another, hitherto overlooked, function during the first year of James's reign. They were used to portray the English court, now containing both English and Scottish personnel, as a harmonious site. Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland had forewarned James that 'the name of Scotts is harche in the earres of the [English] wulgar'.[27] It did not take long for tensions between his English and Scottish subjects to manifest.[28] Shortly after James's coronation in July 1603, a ballad circulated that crudely mocked the appearance of Scottish courtiers during the coronation procession: 'And at the erse of them marched the Scotish peeres / With lowzie shirts, and mangie wrists'.[29] In the same

[22] Paulina Kewes, 'Julius Caesar in Jacobean England', *The Seventeenth Century*, 17/2 (2002), pp. 155-86; Astrid J. Stilma, '"As Warriouris in Ane Camp": The Image of King James VI as a Protestant Crusader', in Kevin J. McGinley and Nicola Royan (eds), *The Apparelling of Truth: Literature and Literary Culture in the Reign of James VI: A Festschrift for Roderick Lyall* (Newcastle, 2010), pp. 241–51.
[23] Susan Doran, '1603: A Jagged Succession', *Historical Research*, 93/261 (2020), pp. 443-65.
[24] Brendan Fitzpatrick, *Seventeenth-Century Ireland: The Wars of Religion* (Dublin, 1988), pp. 8-10.
[25] The plots are difficult to disentangle, but good summaries are provided in: Mark Nicholls, 'Two Winchester Trials: The Prosecution of Henry, Lord Cobham, and Thomas, Lord Grey of Wilton, 1603', *Historical Research,* 68/165 (1995), pp. 26-48; idem, 'Treason's Reward: The Punishment of Conspirators in the Bye Plot of 1603', *HJ*, 38/4 (1995), pp. 821-42; idem, 'Sir Walter Ralegh's Treason: A Prosecution Document', *EHR*, 110/438 (1995), pp. 902-24. See also, Peter Lake and Michael Questier, *All Hail to the Archpriest: Confessional Conflict, Toleration, and the Politics of Publicity in Post-Reformation England* (Oxford, 2019), pp. 254-75.
[26] Albert J. Loomie, 'Philip III and the Stuart Succession in England, 1600-1603', *Revue belge de Philologie et d'Histoire,* 43/2 (1965), pp. 492-514.
[27] *The Correspondence of King James VI of Scotland with Sir Robert Cecil and Others in England*, ed. John Bruce (London, 1861), p. 56.
[28] Judith M. Richards, 'The English Accession of James VI: National Identity, Gender and the Personal Monarchy of England', *EHR*, 117/472 (2002), pp. 514-24; David Cressy, *Dangerous Talk: Scandalous, Seditious, and Treasonable Speech in Pre-Modern England* (Oxford, 2010), pp. 91-4.
[29] John Aubrey, *Brief Lives: With, an Apparatus for the Lives of Our English Mathematical Writers*, ed. Kate Bennett (2 vols, Oxford, 2015), i, p. 298.

month, James issued a proclamation condemning the 'many Insolencies' committed by Scots against his English subjects.[30] By autumn 1603, several ambassadors, especially those from Venice and France, speculated that the evident mutual 'hatred' between English and Scottish portended the Union of Crowns would end in failure.[31] Several entertainments performed before the court in early 1604 attempted to counter these impressions. They used chivalric devices to assert that English and Scottish courtiers were in fact bonded by chivalric culture.

This use of chivalry animated the first known court masque of James's English reign: *The Masque of Knights*, performed in the Great Hall of Hampton Court on 1 January 1604.[32] In the masque, a magician arrived from India, accompanied by four Indian knights and four Chinese knights.[33] The knights then approached James's dais and, one-by-one, presented him with their decorated shields before performing a pre-rehearsed dance together, after which they revealed their true identities. Four of the knights were played by Scottish-born courtiers, all members of James's Bedchamber, whilst the other four were played by English-born courtiers.[34] Previous scholars have argued that the spectacle of English and Scottish courtiers performing together modelled James's ambitions for an incorporating union between his kingdoms.[35] However, they have overlooked that the masque's plot, featuring a page introducing knights from a far-off land, who then offered their shields to the monarch, closely resembled the pageantry of an Elizabethan Accession Day tournament. On these occasions, a competitor entered the tiltyard dressed as a fictional knight. His page would then explain the courtier's persona to Elizabeth, before presenting her with his shield.[36] The masque therefore did not promote James's hopes for Anglo-Scots Union simply by featuring English and Scottish performers. It went further; advertising the compatibility of English and Scottish court cultures. It showed that Scottish courtiers were not aliens, but individuals fully conversant in the established forms and conventions of the English court tournament.

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[30] *Proclamations*, i, p. 39.
[31] *CSPV*, x, p. 94.
[32] The masque has been given various names by scholars: Martin Wiggins and Catherine Richardson (eds), *British Drama, 1533-1642: A Catalogue* (8 vols, 2012-), iii, p. 65.
[33] There is no surviving text of this masque. However, it was described in detail by one spectator, Dudley Carleton, in a letter sent to John Chamberlain: TNA, SP 14/6, fos 53-v.
[34] The Scottish masques were Ludovic Stewart, duke of Lennox, Esme Stuart, Seigneur d'Aubignty, Sir James Hay and Richard Preston. The English masquers were William Herbert, third earl of Pembroke, Sir Philip Herbert, Thomas Somerset, and Henry Goodere.
[35] Martin Butler, *The Stuart Court Masque and Political Culture* (Cambridge, 2008), pp. 61-8; Wiggins, *Drama*, pp. 56-9.
[36] Alan Young, *Tudor and Jacobean Tournaments* (London, 1987), pp. 80-8.

The masque's reassuring message that Scottish and English courtiers held a chivalric culture in common was likely intended, with James's approval, for foreign observers. Although the masque's writer is unknown, its preparations were overseen by one of the performers, Ludovic Stewart, duke of Lennox, who Dudley Carleton described as its '*rector chori'*.[37] Lennox had previously organised another entertainment that used chivalric devices to suggest affinities between English and Scottish courtiers: the tournament at Prince Henry's baptism. However, as James spent part of 22 December 1603 observing the rehearsals for *The Masque of Knights*, it can be assumed that he endorsed its conceits.[38] His approval is further indicated by the fact that he encouraged ambassadors to attend its performance. During Christmas 1603-1604 there were an unusually large number of ambassadors at the English court. As plague had forced the court to be peripatetic for most of the summer, many extraordinary ambassadors, sent to convey their ruler's congratulations to James, had not yet been formally dismissed. The Christmas season therefore presented the first opportunity to use courtly spectacle to repudiate ambassadors' gossip about tensions between English and Scottish courtiers. James especially encouraged the French ambassador, the Sieur de Beaumont, to attend *The Masque of Knights* and witness its argument that, underpinned by a common chivalric culture, the mixture of English and Scottish personnel at the English court was viable.[39]

Chivalric motifs were also used to assert the existence of Anglo-Scottish amity in James's triumphal entry into London, which plague delayed until 15 March 1604.[40] Scholars have long known that the celebrations included some martial elements, most notably a pageant and arch funded by Dutch merchants, which implored James to continue providing military support to Dutch Protestants.[41] However, they have largely ignored that the festivities began with a pageant at Fenchurch Street, designed by Thomas Dekker, which used chivalric characters and costumes to depict the success of the Union of Crowns. According to Dekker's design, the patron saints of England and Scotland, St George and St Andrew, would wait mounted and armed for the procession, which included the king and important figures from the

[37] TNA, SP 14/5, fo. 45r.
[38] TNA, SP 14/5, fo. 45r.
[39] Berta Cano-Echevarrìa and Mark Hutchings, 'The Spanish Ambassador and Samuel Daniel's *Vision of the Twelve Goddesses*: A New Document', *English Literary Renaissance*, 42/2 (2012), pp. 245-6.
[40] David Bergeron, *English Civic Pageantry, 1558-1642*, revised edition (Tempe, Ariz., 2003), pp. 40-9; Ian W. Archer, 'Royal Entries, the City of London, and the Politics of Stuart Successions', in Kewes and McRae (eds), *Succession*, pp. 261-4.
[41] Gervase Hood, 'A Netherlandic Triumphal Arch for James I', in Susan Roach (ed.), *Across the Narrow Seas: Studies in the History and Bibliography of Britain and the Low Countries: Presented to Anne E.C. Simoni* (London, 1991), pp. 67-82.

court and city. The spectacle of two armed knights of different nationalities in the street would prompt the alarmed Genius of London to challenge them: 'why you bear (alone) th'ostent of Warre…how dare you shine in Steele?'[42] The saints would have reassured her that, despite being 'Knights at Armes', they were 'both sworne into a League of Vnitie'.[43] They showed this unity by 'rid[ing] hand in hand', and displaying their breastplates and saddles, which were embossed with the quartered arms of England and Scotland.[44] However, in performance, the pageant did not follow Dekker's original design.[45] According to Gilbert Dugdale, an eyewitness, the procession encountered the knights in battle. However, a hermit 'ioyned them hand in hand, and so for euer hath made them as one harte'.[46] The performed version of the pageant was more dramatic than Dekker had planned. It depicted the peace-making process, which was prompted by James's arrival in the vicinity. Nonetheless, it is striking that in both Dekker's design and the performance as recalled by Dugdale, chivalric devices were used to show the establishment of Anglo-Scottish peace and fraternity to the procession of English and Scottish courtiers.

Of course, assertions in dramatic spectacles that English and Scottish courtiers shared a chivalric heritage did not preclude tensions, and even violence, including over matters of honour. In March 1612, the Scottish-born William Ramsay, page of the Bedchamber, whipped Philip Herbert, earl of Montgomery, across the face at the Croydon races.[47] Most dramatically, in November 1609, an argument over cards in the earl of Essex's chambers escalated into the first duel fought between English and Scottish courtiers.[48] The participants, George Wharton, gentleman of the Privy Chamber, and James Stewart, the king's kinsman, were both killed. James was concerned that the ritualised bloodshed should provide a cautionary tale about the importance of Anglo-Scottish concord. Wharton and Stewart were buried in the same grave, reportedly at James's command.[49] A contemporary ballad about the duel depicted Wharton and Stewart praying together for Anglo-Scottish amity in their dying breaths: 'That Britain still

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[42] Thomas Dekker, *The Magnificent Entertainment* (1604), sig. B1r.
[43] Ibid, sig. B1v.
[44] Ibid, sig. A4r.
[45] Anne Lancashire, 'Dekker's Accession Pageant for James I', *Early Theatre*, 12/1 (2009), pp. 39-50.
[46] Gilbert Dugdale, *The Time Triumphant* (1604), sig. B2v. On Dugdale's reliability as a witness, see David Bergeron, 'Gilbert Dugdale and the Royal Entry of James I', *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 13 (1983), pp. 111-25.
[47] TNA, SP 14/69, fo. 16r. Montgomery was criticised by some English court gossips for not seeking recompense strenuously.
[48] *HMC Downshire*, ii, pp. 182, 185.
[49] Ibid, ii, p. 184. Daniel Lysons, *The Environs of London: Being an Historical Account of the Towns, Villages, and Hamlets, within twelve miles of that Capital,* second edition (2 vols, London, 1811), ii, p. 488.

may live in one / In perfect love and unity'.[50] Yet, despite its peroration's theme of peaceful union, the ballad, in contrast to the dramatic performances before the court, used the chivalric code to depict natural enmity between English and Scottish courtiers. Notably, it portrayed the Scottish Stewart as the villain: attributing to him the first blow at cards, the issuing of the challenge, and the demand that the duel be fought to the death.[51] The ballad also emphasised Stewart's Scottish identity, introducing him as 'Sir James, Scottish knight'. During its account of the duel, it only described him as 'The Scotch Knight'. Wharton, by contrast, was always referred to by name or, following his death, as 'Our English knight'. Additionally, he was described as fighting on behalf of English honour, challenging Stewart: 'Let our brave English lords alone'.

The martial iconography that featured in early depictions of James and entertainments before the court also became less prevalent once his succession was secure. Thereafter, James embraced a reputation as a bringer of, in his words in his speech to the English parliament on 19 March 1604, 'outward peace' and 'peace within'.[52] The avoidance of a civil war, invasion by foreign powers, or both, and the end to expensive Elizabethan wars were repeatedly cited as proof that James's accession was legitimate, even providential. Furthermore, by eschewing bellicose rhetoric James reduced the risk of provoking a foreign invasion or domestic resistance.[53] Nevertheless, James's pragmatic eschewal of overtly warlike iconography early in his English reign does not mean that he neglected the various ways in which chivalric culture could aid him as a newly-established king.

Orders of Chivalry

Orders of Chivalry were one of the primary means through which rulers across early modern Europe attempted to direct their nobility's chivalric impulses into forms that were supportive of the state. These institutions' splendid rituals indulged nobles' fantasies of knight errantry whilst requiring them to affirm the sovereign's holiness, and swear fealty to them. Historians have examined the political functions of Orders of Chivalry during the reigns of most sixteenth-

[50] [Anon], *A lamentable ballad of a combate lately fought, near London, between sir James Steward, and sir George Wharton* (n.d.).
[51] In fact, Wharton had been the instigator: BL, MS Stowe 143, fos 105r-6r.
[52] James, *Political Writings*, pp. 133-4.
[53] R. Malcolm Smuts, 'The Making of *Rex Pacificus*: James VI and I and the Problem of Peace in an Age of Religious War', in Daniel Fischlin and Mark Fortier (eds), *Royal Subjects: Essays on the Writings of James VI and I* (Detroit, 2002), pp. 374-8.

and seventeenth-century English monarchs.[54] However, their roles during James's English reign have not yet received scholarly attention. James used these institutions for the conventional purposes of regulating his nobles and enhancing his majesty. However, as I will show, he also used them cannily to assuage the challenges he faced as a new, foreign-born king ruling over a mixed court. Most notably, he used the Order of the Garter to establish or reinforce relationships with foreign princes, to create a sworn fraternity amongst his senior courtiers, and to establish bonds between those courtiers and his heir apparent, Prince Henry.

James's accession caused the *de-facto* re-establishment of one English chivalric institution: the Order of the Bath. Knights of the Bath were only created before major dynastic ceremonies, such as coronations, royal weddings, and the investitures of royal princes and dukes. The knights supplied the honour guard on these occasions. As no such events had occurred in England since 1559, the Order was essentially extinct by 1603 (reportedly, only two members were still alive).[55] Sixty new Knights of the Bath were created for James's coronation in July 1603.[56] Eleven more were made to mark Prince Charles's investiture as Duke of York on Epiphany 1605; with a further twenty-five for Prince Henry's creation as Prince of Wales in June 1610.[57] James was praised for revitalising an institution that 'have bin long in oblivion' but now, containing the 'young, gallant, worthy and valiant', seemed 'honourably living, so it will never die'.[58] After Elizabeth's long reign, James acquired a reputation as a patron of English chivalry simply by performing the rituals required of any new English monarch.

The Order of the Bath was not an especially elevated honour. Its members were not granted higher precedence than individuals knighted on other occasions. Nevertheless, companions cherished their membership of the Order, particularly because its installation ritual included physical contact with the monarch, who placed the new knight's sword and spurs upon him. Sir Edward Herbert considered his installation into the Order by James in 1603 a life-changing event: he took his knight's oath to defend the vulnerable so seriously that he

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[54] Strong, *Cult,* pp. 164-86; Steven Gunn, 'Chivalry and the Politics of the Early Tudor Court' in Anglo (ed.), *Chivalry,* pp. 109-16; Raymond B. Waddington, 'Elizabeth I and the Order of the Garter', *The Sixteenth Century Journal,* 24/1 (1993), pp. 97-113; Adamson, 'Chivalry'; Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Tudor Church Militant: Edward VI and the Protestant Reformation* (London, 1999), pp. 30-6; Cust, *Charles I,* pp. 119-39; Antii Matikkala, *The Orders of Knighthood and the Formation of the British Honours System, 1660-1760* (Woodbridge, 2018).
[55] *CSPV,* x, p. 75.
[56] Nichols, *Progresses James,* i, pp. 221-6
[57] Ibid, i, pp. 477-8; ii, pp. 341-44.
[58] Dugdale, *Time Triumphant,* sig. B1v.

became prone to quarrels, and even duels.[59] Conferring this honour was therefore an effective means through which James, unknown to many of his new English subjects, could cultivate goodwill amongst the middle tier of the English political nation. However, although the majority of individuals that James created Knights of the Bath were English, in 1603 he also installed seven Scots: Robert Kerr, James Erskine, John Lindsey, James Hay, Patrick Murray, William Anstruder, Richard Preston.[60] Apart from Erskine and Lindsey, all were members of James's Bedchamber. Their installation as Knights of the Bath aided court etiquette by ensuring that the king's intimate servants held a minimum English dignity. Furthermore, the Order's peculiar installation ritual, which required the new knights to pray, fast, sleep, and bathe together, provided an opportunity for James's Scottish-born courtiers to establish personal, ritualised bonds with his English subjects.



FIGURE 1. Miniature (possibly by Nicholas Hilliard) of James I as sovereign of the Order of the Garter. Windsor, St George's Chapel Archive and Chapter Library, MS 2, p. 149 © Deans and Canon of Windsor

Upon becoming king of England, James also became the sovereign of England's other chivalric order: the Most Noble Order of the Garter. Founded by Edward III in the 1340s, the Order was an exclusive institution.[61] Its membership comprised, at most, the monarch, their eldest son, and twenty-four other members (called companions). Although the majority of the Order's companions had been English nobles or, more rarely, gentry, it was possible for foreigners to be elected to the Order; they were known as Stranger Knights. Unless they were

[59] Alex Davis, *Chivalry and Romance in the English Renaissance* (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 134-68.
[60] Nichols, *Progresses James*, i, pp. 222-3.
[61] D.H.B. Chesshyre and Peter J. Begent, *The Most Noble Order of the Garter: 650 Years* (London, 1999).

expelled (a process known as degradation), all companions were members for life. They met on 23 April to commemorate the feast day of the Order's patron, St George, with a procession, a religious service, and public dining, which included dispensing alms. These celebrations were sometimes held in St George's Chapel, Windsor, the Order's traditional home, but usually took place at a London palace, especially Whitehall or Greenwich. The companions also convened for extraordinary meetings, or chapters, to discuss business, or to install new companions (which always occurred in St George's Chapel). Unlike the Order of the Bath, election to the Garter brought many benefits. Each companion received their own stall in St George's Chapel, above which their banner, arms, and sword (collectively called their achievements) were displayed until their death. In addition to receiving a pension, companions were granted precedence by an Elizabethan edict below the Lord Treasurer, and were permitted to wear the Order's regalia at court on feast days.[62] They could also expect to receive an increased number of patronage suits and literary dedications. Understandably, after being elected to the Order in 1606, Sir Robert Cecil incorporated its motto 'Honi soit qui mal y pense' (Shame on him who thinks ill of it) into his personal seal.[63]

James engaged intensely with his role as sovereign of the Garter. This aspect of his kingship has not been recognised before. However, James's interest in the Order began long before he became its sovereign. Scotland had no chivalric orders, and had James attempted to participate in the late-sixteenth-century trend for European rulers to create or re-found them, he would likely have encountered opposition from the Kirk.[64] Becoming a companion of the Garter therefore presented James with an opportunity to assert his place amongst European princes. Additionally, it would provide a further reminder of his position as Elizabeth's likely, if unacknowledged, heir. Aware of this, the English regime used the Order as a diplomatic tool: offering James the prospect of election 'to whet him to proceed against' his Hispanophile Catholic earls in the late 1580s, and, after his election in 1590, delaying the dispatch of his regalia following rumours that he had dealt with the Duke of Parma.[65]

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[62] George Frederick Beltz, *Memorials of the Order of the Garter from its foundation to the present time* (London, 1841), p. civ.
[63] Pauline Croft, 'Robert Cecil and the Early Jacobean Court', in Peck (ed.), *Mental World*, p. 140.
[64] Katie Stevenson, 'The Union, St Andrew and the Thistle: Was There an Order of Chivalry in Late Medieval Scotland?', *SHR*, 83/215 (2004), pp. 3-22.
[65] TNA, SP 15/31, fos. 38r, 177r.

Upon becoming its sovereign, James found in the Order an institution very congenial to his view of kingship as 'free monarchy'.[66] The sovereign would seek the companions' counsel concerning alterations to the Order's statutes or the election of new companions, but ultimately all decisions were theirs alone. James deployed this absolute authority when appointing the Order's officers: the six individuals who, although not companions, oversaw its administration. In January 1604 James replaced Sir William Dethick as Garter King of Arms with Sir William Segar.[67] Dethick had been an outspoken proponent of the Stewart claim to the English throne since at least the 1580s, but had acquired a reputation for embezzlement and forging pedigrees.[68] When the Chancellor of the Order, Edward Dyer, died in 1607, John Gordon, the Scottish-born Bishop of Salisbury petitioned to succeed him. Gordon argued that the Chancellorship was conventionally awarded to the Bishop of Salisbury (although Elizabeth had violated this custom). James instead appointed Sir John Herbert, and convened a chapter of the Order where he declared that appointments were his prerogative 'wholly independent from other Laws', including custom.[69] These appointments illuminate James's conception of the Order, and challenge stereotypes about his largesse. He prioritised asserting his own powers and maintaining the Order's reputation for virtue over rewarding his fellow Scots or Englishmen who had promoted his accession.

James's interest in the Order is further indicated by the reforms he encouraged. These mostly comprised enforcing adherence to the Order's statutes, after Elizabeth had permitted numerous deviations.[70] Unlike her, James did not permit companions to observe St George's Day separately in the localities, or to wear regalia other than that proscribed by the statutes.[71] Additionally, he was less willing than his predecessor to leave vacancies in the Order, or to tolerate companions not arranging their installations. Most notably, shortly after his accession, James decided that no less a figure than Rudolf II, Holy Roman Emperor, who had first been elected to the Order in 1578, had forfeited his membership by not organising his installation in person or by proxy. When compared with the sweeping post-Reformation modifications proposed by Edward VI, or Charles I's extensive reforms of the Order's liturgy and regalia, James's alterations can seem minor. They included modifications to the precedence of stalls

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[66] J.H. Burns, *The True Law of Kingship: Concepts of Monarchy in Early-Modern Scotland* (Oxford, 1996), pp. 222-54.
[67] *CSPD James*, i, p. 70.
[68] Anthony R.J.S. Adolph, 'Dethick, Sir William (1543-1612)', *ODNB*.
[69] Elias Ashmole, *The Institutions, Laws and Ceremonies of the Most Noble Order of the Garter* (1672), p. 241.
[70] Strong, *Cult*, pp. 174-6.
[71] Ibid, pp. 215, 511.

in St George's Chapel and to the ceremony in which a deceased companion's achievements were removed.[72] James did, however, plan more thoroughgoing reforms. Piecemeal changes by sixteenth-century monarchs had left the Order's statutes contradictory, especially concerning religion.[73] On 14 May 1611, James commissioned five companions (the earls of Nottingham, Worcester, Southampton, Montgomery and Arundel) to 'examine the Registers' of the Order, and produce proposals to remove anything in them that seemed 'obscure' or 'contrariety'.[74] James told the companions that their task was a conservative one: 'with no endeavour of innovating any thing, but an intention of renewing all things as neer as might be to the first and most ancient Institution of the Order'.[75] The group's efforts were slow, and they did not produce a report until 1622.[76] Nonetheless, through these minor modifications and proposed reforms, James made important statements about his kingship. It has been speculated that Elizabeth's permissive approach to the Order's statutes granted her latitude as a female sovereign of an otherwise all-male institution.[77] By contrast, James asserted his authority by insisting on conformity to the statutes. This resembles his more well-known tendency to equate subscription to religious prescriptions with respect for his royal office.[78] James's conservative, even *ad fontes*, approach to the Order was prudent. As a foreign-born king, initiating radical reforms would likely have provoked xenophobic complaints. Instead, James cultivated respect by showing himself to be a steadfast defender of the traditions of England's oldest chivalric order.

Indeed, from the very beginning of his reign, James used the Order of the Garter, in various creative ways, to secure his position as England's new monarch. He clearly understood that the Order's ceremonies provided special opportunities to form strong personal relationships with the English nobility, and to have them ritually affirm his legitimacy as king. As he travelled south from Edinburgh in April 1603, James sent a letter to Charles Howard, earl of Nottingham, the Order's most senior companion, requesting that the St George's Day feast be prorogued until after he had arrived in London. He commanded Nottingham to inform all of the companions 'not to fail to be present at that day…to perform and celebrate with him the said Feast'.[79] The delayed feast, held on 3 July 1603 in Windsor, three weeks before James

[72] Ashmole, *Institutions*, pp. 630-1.
[73] Strong, *Cult*, pp. 171-3.
[74] Ashmole, *Institutions*, p. 195.
[75] Ibid, p. 196.
[76] Ibid, pp. 195-6, 201.
[77] Waddington, 'Elizabeth I', pp. 108-9.
[78] Kenneth Fincham and Peter Lake, 'The Ecclesiastical Policy of King James I', *JBS*, 24/2 (1985), pp. 169-207.
[79] Ashmole, *Institutions*, p. 481.

and Anna's coronation, was the first public demonstration of the court's support for James. Spectators in St George's Chapel watched the companions utter a communal prayer that described James as 'anciently and rightly descended'.[80] This performance of the court's unity was enhanced by the unusual attendance of the entire royal family, who had left London due to plague. While James oversaw the installation of new companions, nearby 'the chiefe Ladies of England did their homage vnto the Queene', kissing her hand one-by-one.[81] Anna then joined James to preside over the dinner, where, according to one observer, 'ther was such an infinit companie of Lords and Ladies and so great a Court as I think I shall never see the like'.[82]

By good fortune, the prorogued feast provided additional support to the new regime. It occurred mere days after the discovery of the Bye and Main Plots. Shockingly, one of the conspirators, Henry Brooke, Lord Cobham, was a companion of the Order. The festivities therefore showed, in contrast to Cobham's treasonous statement that 'things will never be well in England, till the King and his Cubs were taken away', that the court had overwhelmingly accepted the new royal family.[83] James also used Cobham's subsequent degrading from the Order as an opportunity to show his mercy. Cobham's achievements were removed and 'spurned [kicked] out of the Church [west] door' of St George's Chapel on 16 February 1604.[84] However, the usual custom of them being kicked into a ditch was forgone, reportedly 'by the king's clemency'; perhaps out of deference to Cobham's nobility, or their kinship (James's father had been Cobham's godfather).

Furthermore, the Order helped to reinforce James's dubious religious reputation. Despite being portrayed as a Protestant warrior prince, James's lenient treatment of his Catholic nobles in Scotland meant that many Protestants feared that he would behave sympathetically towards English Catholics. The Order of the Garter was often cited to refute such anxieties. Admittedly, the Order's rituals featured several vestiges of pre-Reformation paraliturgy, including bowing to the richly-decorated altar in St George's Chapel, and the festive observation of a minor saint's day.[85] Scottish clerics who attended the feast in July 1603 reportedly complained that the ceremonies 'sented too mikle of the pape'.[86] Additionally, the

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[80] Ibid, p. 541.
[81] John Stow, *The abridgement or summary of the English Chronicle…* ed. Edmund Howes (1607), p. 554.
[82] Nichols, *Progresses James*, i, p. 195.
[83] Mark Nicholls, 'Brooke, Henry, eleventh Baron Cobham (1564-1619)', *ODNB*.
[84] Ashmole, *Institutions*, p. 622.
[85] It has been argued that the Order provided both precedent and legitimacy for Laudian campaigns for "the beauty of holiness": Kenneth Fincham and Nicholas Tyacke, *Altars Restored: The Changing Face of English Religious Worship, 1547-c.1700* (Oxford, 2007), pp. 76, 81, 149-50.
[86] TNA, SP 14/2, fo. 93v.

Order's companions included church papists and foreign Catholic princes. Nevertheless, it was usually celebrated as an anti-papal institution. During Elizabeth's reign, the Order's pageantry, especially the companions' procession to court and the religious service held in the Chapel Royal on St George's Day, had celebrated England's status as a providentially-protected realm that would ultimately defeat continental anti-Christ.[87] This perspective persisted into James's reign. On St George's Day 1616, William Fennor, a Cambridge student, performed a song before the king and the companions in which he claimed that the companions' duty was 'to kill that serpent [who] would their King devoure': 'God keepe our King and them from Romes black pen'.[88] Preaching in the Chapel Royal at Whitehall on 8 May 1608, Daniel Price celebrated that the observation of the St George's Day feast a fortnight earlier, 'with manie laudable, honourable, and religious ceremonies', had shown the piety of the king and his most senior courtiers.[89] Price likened the Order to the scriptural Order of Saint Vincent, even suggesting in his peroration that the Garter companions might imitate that Order's military functions: 'O that yee were such knights, such Conquerors?'[90] The Garter therefore provided some forward Protestants with grounds to hope that James might prove a militant anti-popish king.

James also used the Order of the Garter to influence his relations with other states. Amongst the many European chivalric orders, the Garter enjoyed a special mystique because of its exclusivity. Other orders, such as France's Order of the Star had admitted so many companions that by the late sixteenth century, 'the Princes, and nobler sort, [were] disdayning to weare it'.[91] By contrast, the Garter's prestige was great enough that some European rulers, such as Maurice, Landgrave of Hesse, asked James to elect them to it.[92] James therefore regularly deployed the Order's regalia and ceremonies to impress foreign princes and their ambassadors. James was depicted wearing the Collar and George insignia of the Order in the first portrait painted of him as king of England, by John de Critz in 1604; a gift for the Archduke of Austria.[93] In January 1612, while considering a dynastic match with Savoy, James invited the visiting Savoyard ambassador, the count of Cartignana, to a dinner at which they were 'served in State by all the Knights of the Garter…with their collars on and their robes and

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[87] Strong, *Cult*, pp. 129-86.
[88] William Fennor, *Fennors Descriptions* (1616), sig. E1r.
[89] Daniel Price, *Praelium and Praemium: The Christians Warre and Rewarde* (Oxford, 1608), sig. D3r.
[90] Ibid, sig. D3v.
[91] Robert Dallington, *The View of Fraunce* (1604), sig. K1v-K2.
[92] *CSPV*, xi, p. 125.
[93] Karen Hearn, *Dynasties: Painting in Tudor and Jacobean England, 1530-1630* (London, 1995), pp. 184-5.

richest jewels'.[94] This spectacle was likely prompted by intelligence from the English ambassador in Savoy, Henry Wotton, who had inferred that the Duke of Savoy wished to be elected to the Order.[95]



FIGURE 2. Detail from John de Critz, *Portrait of James I* (1604). London, Greenwich, National Maritime Museum, Caird Collection. © Royal Museums Greenwich

Newly-elected companions travelled to be installed at Windsor, accompanied by a large train, wearing their livery. Companions generally spent heavily on these processions. Eyewitnesses claimed that when Robert Cecil was installed in May 1606 the cavalcade from London, which included at least one-thousand-two-hundred horses, 'surpassed the ceremony of [James's] coronation'.[96] Elizabeth I had expressed reservations about the size of companions' retinues.[97] As Francis Bacon warned, they could rival the majesty of monarchy, 'draw[ing] the Eyes of the People, somewhat aside from the Line Royall'.[98] Later in his reign, James limited the size of companions' trains to fifty.[99] However, initially, James appears to

[94] *CSPV*, xii, p. 278. Michael Questier, *Dynastic Politics and the British Reformations, 1558-1630* (Oxford, 2019), pp. 330, 337.
[95] *CSPV*, xii, pp. 108, 119.
[96] Ibid, x, p. 354.
[97] Collins, *Letters and Memorials*, i, p. 51.
[98] Francis Bacon, *The Essayes or Counsels, Ciuill and Morall, of Francis, Lo. Verulam, Viscount St. Alban* (1626), p. 72.
[99] Ashmole, *Institutions*, p. 339

have considered the spectacle an asset. He organised a room from which the French ambassador and his entourage could watch the departure of Cecil's magnificent procession.[100]

However, the most significant way that James utilised the Garter's cachet as a diplomatic tool was by electing foreign princes into the Order. By convention, the stalls and achievements of Stranger Knights were placed adjacent to the sovereign's in St George's Chapel, expressing the close relationship between England and the Stranger Knight's realm.[101] James recognised the new dynastic ties between England, Scotland, and Denmark-Norway by electing his Danish brothers-in-law, King Christian IV of Denmark (in 1603), and Ulrich, Duke of Schleswig-Holstein (in 1605), to the Order.[102] During the peace negotiations with Spain in 1603, James considered electing King Philip III of Spain to the Order should a vacancy emerge. This would have underscored the new Anglo-Spanish entente. However, James eventually decided against the idea.[103] He did, however, use the Order of the Garter to improve England's relations with Frederick I, Duke of Württemberg. Frederick had been elected to the Order in 1597, but Elizabeth had never organised his installation, much to his offence.[104] James repaired this breach by sending Robert, Lord Spencer and William Dethick to Stuttgart in September 1603 to invest Frederick with his regalia.[105] With Spencer and Dethick's assistance, a delighted Frederick staged a lavish festival that imitated the Order's installation ceremony, and a banquet, modelled on the St George's Day feast, in James's honour.[106] Frederick's investiture was commemorated with a manuscript work by the German polymath Simon Studion, which celebrated the eternal friendship between the evangelical powers of the Lion (England and Scotland) and the Nymph (Württemberg).[107] Arranging Frederick's investiture cost James very little, but, through it, he gained, in the first months of his English reign, a devoted German ally.

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[100] *Ambassades de monsieur de la Boderie, en Angleterre, depuis les années 1606 jusqu'en 1611,* ed. P.D. Burtin (4 vols, n.pl., 1750), i, p. 57; Lisa Jefferson, 'A Garter Ceremony Installation in 1606', *CH,* 6/2 (2001), pp. 144-5.
[101] Beltz, *Memorials*, p. ciii.
[102] Steve Murdoch, *Britain, Denmark-Norway and the House of Stewart, 1603-1660* (East Linton, 2000); Timothy Wilks, 'The Peer, the Plantsman, and the Picture-Maker: The English Embassy to the Court of Christian IV, 1603', *CH*, 12/2 (2007), pp. 155-71.
[103] CP 134, fo. 51r.
[104] Winwood, *Memorials*, i, pp. 403-4.
[105] Bod., MS Ashmole 1113, fo. 169v.
[106] For a contemporary account of these festivities, see Nichols, *Pageants James*, i, p. 282-9.
[107] Frances A. Yates, *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment* (London, 1972), pp. 33-5.

Until his death in 1608, Frederick frequently sent James gifts on St George's Day, including a portrait of himself wearing his Garter Robes.[108]

However, James also elected Stranger Knights in order to assert himself forcefully in European politics. In early 1612, he decided to elect Maurice of Nassau to the Order. This provoked objections at courts across Europe, including at the French court, where it was feared that 'this honour will tie [Maurice] hereafter altogether to England whereunto he was thought to be already addicted too much'.[109] The States General of the United Provinces also considered the honour an unwelcome intrusion into Dutch affairs following James's orchestration of a print campaign against the theologian Conrad Vorstius.[110] Concurrently, James elected Frederick, Elector Palatine, who was betrothed to Princess Elizabeth. In late 1612, two of the most prominent figures in European Protestantism were inducted into the Order. Following the assassination of Henri IV in 1610, and the conclusion of dynastic matches between France and Spain, James used the Order to claim a preeminent status amongst European rulers, positioning himself as the head of a network of Protestant princes.[111]

Although James skilfully and imaginatively deployed the Order as a diplomatic tool, he used it most distinctively as an instrument to manage court politics. In the words of an Edwardian addition to its statutes, one of the Order of the Garter's primary functions was to 'nourish a certaine amytie, fellowship, and agre[e]ment' between the companions.[112] There were many potential sources of tensions between courtiers at the early Jacobean English court. Some grievances were the legacy of late Elizabethan court rivalries.[113] Others were newer, provoked by limited access to James, and, of course, his award of offices and gifts. James used appointments to and the ceremonies of the Garter to moderate these tensions.

James appears to have immediately appreciated the Order's potential as an institution that could foster fraternity amongst his courtiers. In early 1603, there were five vacancies in the Order. The task of filling them preoccupied James within days of his accession. In addition

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[108] *CSPV*, x, p. 149; Tracey A. Sowerby, 'Negotiating the Royal Image: Portrait Exchanges in Elizabethan and Early Stuart Diplomacy', in Helen Hackett (ed.), *Early Modern Exchanges: Dialogues between Nations and Cultures, 1550-1750* (Farnham, 2015), p. 129.
[109] *HMC Downshire*, iii, p. 302.
[110] Ibid, iii, p. 424; Alastair Bellany and Thomas Cogswell, *The Murder of King James I* (New Haven, 2016), pp. 98-100; Helmer Helmers, 'English Public Diplomacy in the Dutch Republic, 1609-1619', *The Seventeenth Century*, 36/3 (2021), pp. 413-37.
[111] Questier, *Dynastic Politics*, pp. 334-41.
[112] Edward Maunde Thompson, 'The Revision of the Statutes of the Order of the Garter by King Edward the Sixth', *Archaeologia*, 54/1 (1894), p. 184.
[113] Paul E.J. Hammer, 'Patronage at Court, Faction and the Earl of Essex', in Guy (ed.), *Reign*, pp. 65-86.

to Christian IV and Prince Henry, James appointed the Duke of Lennox, Thomas Erskine, earl of Mar, Henry Wriothesley, earl of Southampton, and William Herbert, earl of Pembroke. James had already determined these appointees during his journey south, as the warrant to disburse Garter regalia to Pembroke and Southampton was dispatched on 8 May, the day after James arrived in London.[114]

James has acquired some notoriety for eagerly dispensing honours and offices. However, he showed great discrimination when selecting new Garter companions. Previous scholars have suggested that James attempted to appoint an even number of English and Scottish companions to the Order.[115] It is true that on several occasions James made paired elections of Scottish and English companions. In 1603 he elected the Scottish Lennox and Mar alongside the English Pembroke and Southampton; in 1608 he elected the Scottish earl of Dunbar and the English earl of Montgomery; and in 1611 he elected the Scottish Viscount Rochester and the English earl of Arundel. Noting the simultaneous elections of Dunbar and Montgomery, Zorzi Giustinian, the Venetian Ambassador, commended James's 'prudent' approach: 'nothing can more contribute to the Union than the idea and demonstration of an equality of rank between the two nations'.[116] However, James never pursued such a schematic strategy of balancing English and Scottish appointees to the Order. After all, he had no control over when vacancies would arise, nor how many.

Instead, James appears to have worked to ensure that the Garter companions included representatives of different nationalities, and different court networks, reflecting the arrangements of power at court, but satisfying the honour of as many groups as possible. James's first English appointees, Southampton and Pembroke, had been former allies of the earl of Essex. Their elections rewarded the Essex circle's long support for James's candidacy.[117] However, James filled the next vacancies that arose with former rivals of Essex: Viscount Bindon, and Robert Cecil. When Lord Cobham was degraded, James elected one of Cobham's enemies, Henry Howard, earl of Northampton, in his stead.[118] Notably, James's appointees included England's most senior nobles: the earls of Pembroke and Arundel. As a result of James's appointments, several great families had multiple members in the Order. In

[114] *CSPD James*, i, p. 106.
[115] Neil Cuddy, 'Anglo-Scottish Union and the Court of James I, 1603-1625', *TRHS*, 39 (1989), p. 122; Keith M. Brown, 'The Scottish Aristocracy, Anglicization and the Court, 1603-38', *HJ*, 36/3 (1993), pp. 567-8.
[116] *CSPV*, xi, p. 187.
[117] Gajda, *Essex*, pp. 180-8.
[118] Linda Levy Peck, *Northampton: Patronage and Policy at the Court of James I* (London, 1982), pp. 19-21.

1606, one contemporary observed 'there were now four Howards Knight of the Garter' (the earls of Nottingham, Suffolk, and Northampton, and Viscount Bindon).[119] In the few months between Arundel's election and Bindon's death in 1611, the Order included five Howards. There were also two Cecils, and two Herberts. James prioritised electing powerful figures over his personal favourites. Although the earl of Montgomery, the sole English Gentleman of the Bedchamber was first rumoured as a candidate to fill one of the Order's vacancies in 1606, Bindon and Cecil were elected instead.[120] Notably, James's early Bedchamber favourite, Sir James Hay, was never appointed to the Order. However, when circumstances permitted, like Henry VIII before him, James appointed his intimate favourites: Montgomery in 1608, and Robert Carr, Viscount Rochester in 1611.[121] By 1613, James had appointed eighteen companions to the Order, creating an elite fraternity of courtiers that included representatives of the traditional English and Scottish nobilities, the chief administrators at the English court and on the Privy Council, and his own personal favourites.

James's appointments provoked some complaints. Kings Henri IV and Christian IV both protested the election of Sir Robert Cecil who was, in their eyes, unacceptably *parvenu*.[122] Before his accession, opponents of James's claim, most notoriously Robert Persons, had warned that James would inevitably award English honours to Scots. Unsurprisingly, there were complaints about the appointment of Scottish individuals to England's oldest chivalric order. The election of the earl of Mar, who had proven popular during his embassy to the English court in 1601, proved unobjectionable. However, the election of the earl of Dunbar who, as head of the Bedchamber was largely responsible for restricting English courtiers' access to the king, was 'not taken in good part by the English, who ascribe it to a desire to advance the Scotch and to show that they are no whit inferior to the English'.[123] The election of Robert Carr was also described as 'displeasing to the English', especially as he had only been ennobled three months previously.[124] However, the Scottish writer David Hume of Godscroft made the opposing complaint. He argued that not enough Scots had been appointed to the Order. In the second, unpublished, part of his *De Unione Insulae Britannicae*, written around 1605, Hume complained that 'all things are bestowed upon a few'.[125] He proposed the

[119] BL, MS Harley 6166, fo. 156..
[120] *CSPV*, x, p. 343.
[121] Helen Miller, *Henry VIII and the English Nobility* (Oxford, 1986), pp. 87-92.
[122] *CSPV*, x, p. 343.
[123] Ibid, xi, p. 187.
[124] Ibid, xii, p. 136.
[125] David Hume, *The British Union: A Critical Edition and Translation of David Hume of Godscroft's De Unione Insulae Britannicae*, ed. Paul J. McGinnis and Arthur Williamson (Aldershot, 2002), p. 253.

creation of a new chivalric order, 'the Order of the Union', which would have an equal Scots and English membership, and be comprised of 'those most dedicated to the preservation of the Union'. In fact, during the earliest weeks of his English reign, James contemplated a similar endeavour. In a letter to the Privy Council in May 1603, he suggested that he was considering increasing the number of companions in the Order of the Garter, although he would 'forbear until herafter that the union of our two realms shall be settled'.[126] Increasing the Order's membership would have allowed James to add a large number of companions, likely mostly Scots, thereby balancing the Order's population. However, he ultimately chose not to proceed with what would have been an unprecedented expansion of the Order.

Despite his enthusiasm for the Order's iconography, his insistence on adherence to its statutes, and the deliberation he gave to electing its companions, James did not participate in many of its ceremonies. He attended chapters, usually participating vigorously in any debates that arose. He also observed the custom of the companions and the monarch spending All Saint's Day together; he attended in 1607, despite fears of plague, because he 'did not desire that the ancient custom of celebrating All Saints with great ceremony should be abandoned because of his absence'.[127] However, James usually attended the installation of a new companion when that companion was one of his sons or a Stranger Knight.[128] Attending the installation of King Christian IV, during his state visit to England in August 1606, for example, meant that James experienced, for the first time in his life, another monarch publicly 'doing his [o]beyance' to him.[129] However James did sometimes hold private ceremonies in his Bedchamber, where he presented new companions with their regalia before their formal installations.[130] Additionally, James did not always attend the Order's central ceremony: the St George's Day feast. Often, the companions convened in the Privy Chamber, and James nominated a lieutenant who led them in prayers in the Chapel Royal and presided over the dinner in his place.[131]

James's non-attendance at the Order's ceremonies might therefore seem negligent and curiously at variance with other evidence showing that he took his role as sovereign seriously. However, the sovereign's absence was both long-established custom, and helped the Order to

[126] CP 100, fo. 32r.
[127] *CSPV*, xi, p. 59.
[128] Ashmole, *Institutions*, pp. 300-1.
[129] Nichols, *Progresses James*, ii, p. 88.
[130] Ashmole, *Institutions*, pp. 198, 275; *CSPV*, xii, p. 472.
[131] Ashmole, *Institutions*, p. 515.

better perform its function of cultivating sworn brotherhood amongst the companions. Henry VIII had frequently appointed a lieutenant to preside over St George's Day feasts in his stead, and Elizabeth I had often only attended 'at some part of the Solemnity', pleading that other 'weighty affairs' demanded her attention.[132] With the monarch usually absent, the Order's rituals and festivities were largely occasions for sociability amongst the companions. For example, in contrast with the Order of the Bath, companions were usually installed by one another, not the sovereign. In 1606, the earls of Nottingham, Dorset, Suffolk, and Northampton, were commissioned by James to install Bindon and Cecil.[133]

Furthermore, whilst the king was usually absent, the Order's ceremonies provided opportunities for senior English and Scottish courtiers to establish relationships with Prince Henry. Initially, James appointed the earl of Nottingham as his lieutenant at chapters, feast days, and installation ceremonies.[134] However, increasingly that role was performed by Prince Henry, who first deputised for his father, aged only eleven, at the installations of the earl of Northampton and Duke Ulrich in May 1605.[135] The ceremonies of the Order therefore gave the companions opportunities to pray, take Holy Communion, and dine with the heir apparent. James's absence actually created an occasion for the new royal family to be embedded in court society by establishing connections between the likely future king and a carefully-selected upper echelon of the court's population.

Many of James's reforms enabled the companions to be more intimate during the Order's ceremonies. James initially continued Elizabeth's habit of inviting ambassadors to attend the companions' banquet on St George's Day. However, after a scuffle occurred between the Spanish and French ambassadors on St George's Day 1604, James appears to have determined 'never to invite the Ambassadors except apart' to the dinners.[136] Although he allowed ambassadors to observe the day's religious ceremonies, he had food sent to them in their chambers. By 1611, James had established a custom of sending a request for ambassadors to join the companions at dinner, on the understanding that this was merely a 'courtesy' that they should decline.[137] Jacobean St George's Day feasts were therefore largely domestic occasions. Furthermore, with the exception of the prorogued feast in July 1603, they were

[132] Miller, *Henry VIII*, pp. 91-2; Ashmole, *Institutions*, p. 535.
[133] Ashmole, *Institutions*, p. 298.
[134] Ibid, p. 345.
[135] Ibid, p. 535; LPL, MS 3202, fo. 5r.
[136] *CSPV*, x, pp. 149, 239.
[137] Ibid, xii, p. 154.

exclusively male events. During Elizabeth's reign, when the queen had attended the St George's Day processions, religious services, and the public feast, she had been accompanied by her ladies-in-waiting.[138] After James's accession, it became the norm for the companions to be left to pray, dine, and generally socialise with one another undisturbed.[139]

The scope for forming deep bonds amongst the companions on these occasions was enhanced by the fact that the membership of the Order was relatively new. Elizabeth had inherited a companionship composed of long-term Marian survivors. After James's installations in 1603, sixteen of the twenty-four companions had been installed since 1597. By 1613, only ten companions remained who had been appointed by Elizabeth. James's companions were therefore a group of courtiers who, mostly, had a shared history and experience of the Order.

The Jacobean Order of the Garter seems to have been successful in encouraging fraternity amongst its members. Several companions decorated their London residences or country homes with portraits of their fellow companions dressed in the Order's regalia.[140] In 1609 Viscount Bindon requested that Cecil send him a painting of himself in his Garter robes for Bindon to display in his Gallery.[141] In addition to bonding through the conviviality of feast days, the companions of the Garter were sworn to a mutual defence of honour. In 1609, whilst travelling to court for the St George's Day ceremonies, one companion, Robert Radcliffe, the earl of Sussex was challenged to a duel by William Palmes, a gentleman. Palmes was taken into custody and made to swear 'his submission upon his knees in the Chapel before all the fraternity'.[142] The companions also showed their collective chivalry in public acts of charity. The Order funded food and lodgings for a community of beadsmen based in Windsor College, the Poor Knights, many of whom were impoverished veterans of Elizabethan wars. Companions offered knightly hospitality by admitting Poor Knights, such as Richard Hales, Richard Norris, and Thomas Domvill in 1612.[143] The Jacobean companions took pride in their position in this exclusive chivalric fraternity.

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[138] Ashmole, *Institutions*, p. 570.
[139] Not all of the companions participated in these events. Notably, Cecil, central to government administration, could not always attend. For example, he did not join the other companions when the St George's Day feast was celebrated at Windsor in 1608: *Ambassades,* ii, pp. 73-4.
[140] Evelyn Philip Shirley, 'An Inventory of the Effects of Henry Howard', *Archaeologia*, 42/2 (1869), pp. 350, 356-7, 372; *Catalogue of Paintings in the Possession of the Right Honourable Viscount Dillon at Ditchley, Spelsbury, Oxfordshire* (Oxford, 1908), pp. 19, 22.
[141] CP 127, fo. 33r.
[142] Beltz, *Memorials*, pp. cvi-cvii.
[143] Bod. MS Ashmole 1111, fo. 92r; CP 129, fos 48r, 102r.

Both the court and the wider public were often reminded of the Order's vitality and the good relations it fostered between the companions. In July 1607, the royal family attended the annual dinner of the Merchant Taylors Company. A song performed at the dinner, likely written by Ben Jonson, described the keeping of major feasts in England, the Order's observation of the feast of St George foremost among them.[144] The song celebrated that St George's Day was kept 'yeare by yeare, / in England's royall court. / The king with all his noble traine, / in gould and rich array, / Still glorifies the festiuall'.[145] It also commended the quality of the Order's companionship, noting the Garter 'is worne, / by sundry worthy wights', and that it retained prestige on the continent: 'Princes come from forraine lands, / to be Saint Georges Knights'. In a sermon preached at court in May 1608, Daniel Price celebrated that, by participating in the Order's rituals, the companions furthered 'the glorie of your God, ioie of your King, honor of your nation, and eternal perpetuitie of loue among your selues'.[146] Both Jonson and Price encouraged their audiences and readers to be glad that Jacobean Orders of Chivalry were vibrant institutions, with which both king and courtiers were engaged. There was a similar liveliness and political utility in the most public display of the Jacobean court's chivalric culture: the court tournament.

Court Tournaments

Several modern scholars have argued that the English court tournament entered a period of (eventually terminal) decline after James's accession. They have claimed that James was not interested in tournaments, which gave courtiers little incentive to participate in the expensive occasions, and gradually suppressed spectators' interest.[147] Literary critics have also argued that the money spent on, and many of the creative elements involved in, Elizabethan tournament pageantry – including opulent costumes, musical performances, and characters addressing speeches of praise to the monarch – were transferred to the Jacobean court masque.[148] Certainly, some contemporary spectators complained that court tournaments had lost something of the lustre of an Elizabethan heyday. Philip Gawdy, who had attended Accession Day tournaments since the 1580s, considered that of 1613 'as poorely worthe the

[144] Gabriel Heaton, *Writing and Reading Royal Entertainments: From George Gascoigne to Ben Jonson* (Oxford, 2010), pp. 125-62.
[145] Richard Johnson, *A crowne garland of goulden roses* (1612), sig. A7r-v.
[146] Price, *Praelium*, sig. D3r.
[147] Young, *Tournaments*, pp. 37-42.
[148] Ibid, pp. 41-2; Butler, *Stuart Court Masque*, p. 73; Sydney Anglo, 'The Barriers: From Combat to Dance (Almost)', *Dance Research*, 25/2 (2007), pp. 91-106.

seing as any that euer I sawe in my lyfe'.[149] However, the piecemeal surviving records of the early Jacobean court tournament (including lists of participants, challenges, tiltyard speeches, *imprese*, score-cards, financial records, and references in letters by spectators) show that claims about the form's decline are mistaken. During James's reign, the tournament remained a vibrant feature of English court culture, although it underwent some notable changes. The tournament held on Accession Day 1605 was described as 'costly, and somewhat extraordinary', whilst that of 1607 was reportedly especially magnificent because the Crown donated to it some of the unspent funds that had been left over from the truncated entertainment programme for Christian IV's embassy.[150] Furthermore, early Jacobean court tournaments performed significant functions, with both the king and courtiers seeking to use these spectacular occasions to influence court politics, and even international relations.

Tournaments were one of the most frequent entertainments in the early Jacobean court's calendar. Fifteen masques are known to have been performed at court between March 1603 and March 1613, but twenty-seven tournaments were held during the same period, usually in the Henrician tiltyards at Whitehall or Greenwich.[151] Tournaments occurred far more frequently at the English court under James than they had under Elizabeth, at an average rate of between one and three a year. Such intensity had not been seen since the reign of Edward VI, when court tournaments had comprised an important component of the boy king's education.[152] As at the Elizabethan court, tournaments were organised to mark certain feast days, especially Shrovetide, and to honour important visiting dignitaries (such as King Christian IV in August 1606, James's French relative, Charles, Prince of Joinville in May 1607, and Queen Anna's brother-in-law Henry Julius, Prince of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel in March 1610). The Elizabethan custom, begun during the 1570s, of holding a large public tournament to mark the anniversary of the monarch's accession – the Accession Day triumphs – was retained, with its date changed from 17 November to 24 March.[153] Occasionally, the early Jacobean court was also entertained by more exclusive indoor tournaments staged in a palace's Great Hall. These were usually competitions known as barriers, in which participating courtiers fought with swords, separated by a bar, attempting to knock their opponent over. The

[149] BL, MS Egerton 2804, fo. 207r.
[150] Winwood, *Memorials*, ii, p. 54; *CSPV*, x, p. 487.
[151] Adapted from figures in Young, *Tournaments*, pp. 200-207; John Astington, *English Court Theatre, 1558-1642* (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 230-40.
[152] Jennifer Loach, *Edward VI* (New Haven, 1999), pp. 154-8.
[153] Strong, *Cult*, pp. 129-63; David Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells: National Memory and the Protestant Calendar in Elizabethan and Stuart England* (London, 1989), pp. 50-8.

accession of a monarch who had a family was partly responsible for the increased number of court tournaments. Special tournaments were organised to mark significant dynastic events that had not occurred at the court of the virgin queen, including the baptism of Princess Mary in 1605, the creation of Prince Henry as Prince of Wales in June 1610, and the wedding of Princes Elizabeth to Frederick, Elector Palatine in February 1613. Additionally, courtiers sometimes participated in informal tournaments that allowed Prince Henry opportunities to practise the martial arts.

Across sixteenth-century Europe, tournaments featured processions and dramatic entertainments, known as *carousels.* In keeping with this trend, Elizabethan Accession Day tournaments had accrued an associated pageantry that framed, and sometimes overshadowed, the day's sports.[154] A few weeks before the tournament, the Heralds of the College of Arms publicly proclaimed a challenge. This usually comprised a list of arguments drawn from the commonplaces of chivalric romances, which courtiers were invited to challenge through feats of arms. On the day of the tournament, each competitor entered the tiltyard as a character (often a knight from a fictional foreign land who had come to defend or answer the challenge), wearing emblazoned armour and accompanied by costumed pages, decorated wagons, and music that complimented this persona. One of the pages (or, more unusually, the courtier himself) then mounted a specially-constructed staircase to address a speech to Elizabeth, her ladies and invited guests, explaining the courtier's persona, and requesting the queen's permission for him to compete in the tournament. On her acceptance, the courtier presented her with a plasterboard shield, decorated with an image and a motto related to his persona: his *impresa*.[155] It appears that this Elizabethan formula continued in James's reign, with occasional variations. For example, in the 1613 Accession Day tournament, which so disappointed Philip Gawdy, only two competitors made speeches.[156]

A lack of surviving sources makes it difficult to reconstruct the dramatic elements of any early modern English court tournament.[157] This challenge is especially acute for the tournaments held at the early Jacobean court. Unlike for contemporary continental tournaments, and some late Elizabethan Accession Day triumphs, no printed pageant books

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[154] Strong, *Cult*, pp. 134-46; Young, *Tournaments*, pp. 43-8.
[155] Alan R. Young, *The English Tournament Imprese* (New York, 1988); Young, *Tournaments*, pp. 123-43.
[156] *Letters of Sir Henry Wotton to Sir Edmund Bacon* (1661), pp. 6-7.
[157] A.C. Hamilton, 'Problems in Reconstructing an Elizabethan Text: The Example of Sir Philip Sidney's "Triumph"', *English Literary Renaissance*, 26/3 (1996), pp. 451-81; R. Malcolm Smuts, 'Occasional Events, Literary Texts and Historical Interpretations', in Robin Headlam Wells, Glenn Burgess, and Rowland Wymer (eds), *Neo-Historicism: Studies in Renaissance Literature, History and Politics* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 179-98.

survive from this period.[158] Although spectators' accounts often praise the magnificent spectacle of tournaments, they usually contain at most sparse descriptions of competitors' devices or speeches. Nevertheless, there are some tantalising indications that there were experiments in altering the pageantry of the English court tournament following James's accession.

Elizabethan tournament challenges and tiltyard speeches were usually based on the conceit of knights defending the honour of an unattainable, superlatively virtuous mistress through feats of arms. This enabled courtiers to use their appearances in the tiltyard to offer compliment, and sometimes complaint, to the queen.[159] However, the Elizabethan models of knight errantry and Petrarchan courtly love might have seemed less obviously suited to addressing James, a married, male monarch. One alternative possibility was to address tournament pageantry to Queen Anna instead. This option was used at a small tournament staged at Hampton Court in early January 1604. James and nine courtiers competed in front of Queen Anna and her ladies 'for the honour of those goddesses'.[160] This referenced the characters that Anna and her ladies had played in Samuel Daniel's masque, *The Vision of Twelve Goddesses*, a few days earlier. Unfortunately, this is the sole surviving example of a tournament that was addressed to Anna, or of a Jacobean masque and tournament participating in a shared fiction.

Alternatively, there may have been attempts to use framing conceits that catered to James's interests. It is possible that this occurred in the very first Accession Day tournament of James's reign, on 24 March 1604. Four days after the tournament, the printer Thomas Pavier registered a ballad account of it: 'A newe song of the triumphs of the Tilt before the kinge'.[161] The ballad was to be performed to the melody 'Bragandary', a tune associated with moralising tales about monstrous women, especially mariticides and witches.[162] Scholars have long believed that early Jacobean writers produced plays for the public stage or court masques that featured witchcraft, such as Ben Jonson's 1609 *Masque of Queens*, in order to engage James,

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[158] Elizabethan examples include: George Peele, *Polyhymnia* (1590); William Segar, *Honor military and ciuill* (1602), pp. 194-200.
[159] Yates, *Astraea*, pp. 88-111; Strong, *Cult*, pp. 129-62; Philippa Berry, *Of Chastity and Power: Elizabethan Literature and the Unmarried Queen* (London, 1989), pp. 61-82; Catherine Bates, *The Rhetoric of Courtship in Elizabethan Language and Literature* (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 45-88.
[160] *The Journal of Sir Roger Wilbraham…* ed. Harold Spencer Scott (London, 1902), p. 66.
[161] Edward Arber, *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554-1640 A.D.* (5 vols, London, 1875-7), iii, p. 257.
[162] Sarah F. Williams, *Damnable Practises: Witches, Dangerous Women, and Music in Seventeenth-Century English Broadside Ballads* (Farnham, 2015), pp. 74-80.

whose battle against witches during his sea voyage to marry Anna in 1589-90 was an important part of his public image, most notably through his treatise, *Daemonologie*.[163] Pavier's specification of the tune 'Bragandary' gives reason to suspect that the pageantry of the 1604 Accession Day tournament included representations of witches. Unfortunately, as no copy of the ballad has survived, it is unclear what roles witches could have performed in the day's dramatic pageantry. Nonetheless, this tournament must now be acknowledged as likely the first known court performance at which the topic of witchcraft was used to entertain King James.

The indoor tournament held in Whitehall's Great Hall on Epiphany Night 1606, as part of the celebrations for the wedding of the third earl of Essex and Lady Frances Howard, featured a more decisive departure from, indeed a repudiation of, the conceits of Elizabethan tiltyard pageantry. Elizabethan challenges and speeches had often celebrated the queen's virginity.[164] However, in this early Jacobean court tournament, the ideal of virginity was rejected forcefully. Two identically-dressed ladies, both claiming to be Truth, appeared in the Hall. They proposed that the real Truth could be identified through combat, and invited courtiers to discover her by competing over the cause: 'That the most honor'd state of Man and Wife, / Doth farre exceeded th'insociate Virgin-Life'.[165] The tournament's framing dramatic pageantry, written by Ben Jonson, ensured that, regardless of who won the evening's martial sports, the team of courtiers defending marriage's superiority would ultimately emerge victorious. At the tournament's conclusion, an Angel appeared and commanded the courtiers competing for the cause of virginity to 'yee[l]'d'. The Angel then revealed that the "Truth" who championed virginity had actually been Opinion, a 'Counterfeit', who had impersonated Truth's appearance through sorcery. The tournament's pageantry staged the defeat of the ideal of virginity, and further tarnished it by associating it with deception and witchcraft. The tournament's promotion of marriage was, of course, appropriate for a wedding. However, it also made evident the differences between James and Elizabeth's royal iconographies. In her peroration, Truth addressed James, asking him to serve as the protector of the institution of marriage, because 'Where is Mariage more declar'd' than by kings.' The court tournament, a form that had previously given superlative expression to the Elizabethan cult of royal virginity,

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[163] Jane Rickard, *Writing the Monarch in Jacobean England: Jonson, Donne, Shakespeare and the Works of King James* (Cambridge, 2015), pp. 81-5, 230-43.
[164] Louis Montrose, *The Subject of Elizabeth: Authority, Gender, and Representation* (Chicago, 2006), pp. 144-66.
[165] Ben Jonson, 'Hymenaei: Or the Solemnities of Masque, and Barriers', *CEWBJO*.

was now being used for the opposite purpose: associating monarchy with fecundity. As I noted in Chapter One, the dramatic interludes during the banquet at Prince Henry's baptism had emphasised the fertility of the Stewart royal family. Iconography of fertility also featured conspicuously in several of the pageants performed during James's triumphal entry into London in 1604.[166] Court tournaments therefore adopted a strategy for representing James and the Stewart royal family to English courtiers that had been in use since the mid-1590s.

However, with the exception of these interesting examples, it appears that, usually, Elizabethan tournament conceits continued to be used in early Jacobean court tournaments. The only known surviving example of a Jacobean tournament challenge shares many features with Elizabethan precursors. On 1 June 1606, the Duke of Lennox, and the earls of Arundel, Pembroke and Montgomery issued a tournament challenge in the personae of the 'Four Knights Errant of the Fortunate Island'.[167] They described themselves as servants of Themis, 'our Soveraigne Ladie and Mistresse', who had asked them to organise a tournament in order to prove several causes through combat. These causes were commonplaces of chivalric romances, such as: 'that no fair Lady was ever false', and 'that none can be perfectly wise, but Lovers'. The spectacle of a quartet of senior courtiers defending against challengers had Elizabethan precedence; most famously in the tournament known as 'the Four Foster Children of Desire', performed before the visiting Duke of Anjou in 1581. The 'Knights' also declared their intention to meet their challengers at the fictional court of Mirefleur around a 'lucent [lunar] pillar'. Lunar imagery was commonplace in depictions of Elizabeth I, and a pillar with astral decorations had already featured in the 1590 Accession Day tournament.[168] Another group of courtiers, adopting the names of authors of, or characters from, works of chivalric fiction (Donzel del Phoebus, Amadis de Gaul, Palmerin de Oliva, and Ascuper le Huge), published a reply, advancing a contrary libertine and misogynistic position that women 'have spent all thir Virtue, which is sullied by Falshood' and that 'Men overcome with Women, are made less than themselves, and far inferior to the Valour of uneffeminate Knights'.[169] It does not appear that the accession of a married male monarch prevented knight errantry, courtly

[166] R. Malcolm Smuts, 'Royal Mothers, Sacred History, and Political Polemic', in Kewes and McRae (ed.), *Succession*, pp. 282-290.
[167] William Drummond, *The Works of William Drummond, of Hawthornden…,* ed. Thomas Ruddiman (Edinburgh, 1711), pp. 231-2.
[168] Strong, *Cult*, pp. 153-4.
[169] Drummond, *Works*, p. 233.

love, and the device of competing on behalf of a virtuous mistress's honour from continuing to supply the dramatic conceits for English court tournaments.

However, although James's accession did not significantly alter tournament pageantry, it did inaugurate several transformative changes to other aspects of the court tournament; most fundamentally, its martial sports. Elizabethan court tournaments had usually featured three main forms of combat: jousting (also called tilting), barriers, and tourney (a mock battle on horseback).[170] These games continued to feature in English court tournaments under James. However, after his accession, the sport of running-at-the-ring (in which competitors attempted to spear a suspended ring with their lance) became much more prevalent in court tournaments. In England, running-at-the-ring had traditionally been considered a lesser sport, mainly used to prepare young nobles for jousting.[171] It had therefore not featured in court tournaments since the reign of Edward VI. However, since the mid-sixteenth century, it had become the dominant chivalric sport at most other princely courts in Europe, including James's Scottish court, as the risk of participants' injuries or deaths was significantly lower than in jousting or tourney. The first recorded running-at-the-ring at James's English court was held on 9 January 1604.[172] Dudley Carleton described the 1609 Accession Day passing 'with the ordinary solemnity of running and ringing', suggesting that running-at-the-ring had become the dominant sport playing on Accession Day within a few years of James's accession.[173] Given the lack of interest in running-at-the-ring amongst English courtiers before 1603, there can be no doubt that it was James and his Scottish entourage who promoted the sport, bringing martial pastimes at the English court belatedly into European fashion.

The most prominent individual in the Elizabethan tiltyard had been the tournament champion, who participated in Elizabeth's place, wore her colours, and led the team of courtiers who defended the cause issued in the challenge. The champion may also have helped to train other courtiers in tiltyard combat, and generally served as an informal overseer of tournaments.[174] Tournaments at the Scottish court had featured no comparable figure and, after James's accession, the Elizabethan champion role appears to have been terminated almost immediately. Elizabeth's last tournament champion, George Clifford, third earl of

[170] For a summary of Elizabethan tournament sports, see Sue Simpson, *Sir Henry Lee (1533-1611): Elizabethan Courtier* (Farnham, 2014), pp. 34-6.
[171] Young, *Tournaments*, pp. 28-9.
[172] *Journal…Wilbraham*, p. 66
[173] Birch, *Court*, i, p. 92.
[174] Simpson, *Sir Henry Lee*, pp. 76-80.

Cumberland, was still alive when James became king of England. Cumberland's substantial northern estates made him a useful agent for managing any remaining tensions on the Anglo-Scottish border. James cultivated Cumberland's support by appointing him to the Privy Council and to the roles of Warden of the English Marches and Captain of Carlisle.[175] Cumberland organised the first known tournament performed before James in England, when the king visited his home, Grafton, in June 1603, and also participated in the first Accession Day tournament of James's reign, earning plaudits for his jousting.[176] However, James does not appear to have invited Cumberland to serve as his tournament champion. Records of the 1605 Accession Day triumphs show that the Duke of Lennox, not Cumberland, took the champion's traditional place leading the defenders.[177] Cumberland died in October 1605. Thereafter, Lennox is often found at the head of surviving lists of competitors or is described by spectators as leading the team of defenders.[178] As James's cousin, and an experienced organiser of court entertainments, including tournaments, Lennox would have been well-suited to serve as his champion. However, Lennox did not perform any of the other informal duties of the Elizabethan tournament champion. Instead, under James, numerous courtiers assisted in planning individual court tournaments. Hoping to impress the visiting Prince of Brunswick, James ordered William, Lord Compton to oversee preparations for the 1610 Accession Day tournament.[179] Unfortunately, concerns about Compton's sanity meant that an unnamed gentleman took his place in proceedings, wearing the 'magnificent costume of black velvet adorned with the richest embroidery' that Compton had prepared.[180] From 1610 the Zinzan brothers, Henry and Sigismond, who had competed in tournaments since the late 1590s, received an annual stipend of fifty-pounds each, suggesting that they performed some form of organisational role.[181] Under James, the unique role of the tournament champion was replaced by a more collaborative approach to organising tournaments.

Court tournaments, especially Accession Day tournaments, had been important, politically-useful occasions for Elizabethan courtiers. Many, such as Sir Philip Sidney and Sir Henry Lee, participated in tournaments in order to promote themselves, to appeal for royal

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[175] Richard T. Spence, *The Privateering Earl: George Clifford, 3rd Earl of Cumberland, 1558-1605* (Stroud, 1995), pp. 186-90.
[176] *The Diaries of Lady Anne Clifford*, ed. D.J.H. Clifford (Stroud, 2011), p. 25; Henry Foley, *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (7 vols, London, 1875-83), i, p. 59.
[177] BL, MS Additional 38139, fo. 192r; Winwood, *Memorials*, ii, p. 54.
[178] Birch, *Court*, i, p. 92; TNA, SP 14/72, fo. 162v.
[179] *CSPV*, xi, p. 453.
[180] Ibid, xi, p. 460.
[181] Young, *Tournaments*, p. 69.

patronage, and to recommend policy changes.[182] Most notoriously, the second earl of Essex sought to use his personae and speeches in the tiltyard to promote his campaign to be appointed Secretary of State and to encourage popular support for a policy of more engaged continental warfare.[183] There is no clear surviving evidence that shows any Jacobean courtier seeking to use their tiltyard appearances to comment on or influence policy in a fashion comparable to their Elizabethan predecessors. However, this does not mean that courtiers' participation in court tournaments ceased to be instruments of politics, especially court politics. Courtiers continued to seize the opportunity that court tournaments presented to establish their profiles at the court and beyond.

Placing well in the day's sports could enhance a courtier's public reputation. For example, on Accession Day 1604, the earl of Southampton received 'gretest commendation' for his jousting.[184] Southampton (who had been imprisoned in the Tower of London for his role in the Essex rising) had been released on James's orders shortly after his accession, and he marked his political rehabilitation with an impressive display in the tiltyard, exactly as the Dudley brothers, John and Robert, had done fifty years previously.[185] According to surviving score-checks and spectators' accounts, Theophilus Howard, Lord Walden was the most accomplished jouster at the early Jacobean court.[186] However, as Francis Bacon noted, the greatest acclaim was given to courtiers who presented impressive pageantry: 'Chariots, wherein the Challengers make their entry', 'the Deuices of their Entrance; …the Brauery of their Liveries; Or in the Goodly Furniture of their Horses, and Armour'.[187] Whilst the Exchequer bore the costs of constructing viewing scaffolds and the maintenance of the tiltyards, participating courtiers were responsible for devising and paying for their own armour and pageants. It was rumoured that some courtiers spent over a thousand-pounds on their decorated armour for the tournament staged for Prince Henry's creation as Prince of Wales on 6 June 1610, but Marc Antonio Correr, the Venetian ambassador, claimed that 'excessive expense' on tournament costume 'is the habit of this nation'.[188] Of all the components of a courtier's tiltyard appearance, his *impresa,* which he presented to the monarch and was

[182] H.R. Woudhuysen, 'Leicester's Literary Patronage: A Study of the English Court, 1578-1582' (D.Phil. thesis, University of Oxford, 1980), pp. 318-45; McCoy, *Rites*; Heaton, *Writing,* pp. 49-89.
[183] Paul E.J. Hammer, 'Upstaging the Queen: the Earl of Essex, Francis Bacon and the Accession Day Celebrations of 1595', in Bevington and Holbrook (eds), *Politics*, pp. 67-87.
[184] Foley, *Records,* i, p. 59.
[185] Richard C. McCoy, 'From the Tower to the Tiltyard: Robert Dudley's Return to Glory', *HJ*, 27/2 (1984), pp. 425-35.
[186] Birch, *Court,* i, p. 92; Winwood, *Memorials*, iii, p. 181.
[187] Bacon, *Essayes*, p. 226.
[188] *CSPV*, xi, p. 503.

displayed in a specially-constructed artificial tree during the tournament before being exhibited in Whitehall's Shield Gallery, was looked to by spectators as the surest indicator of quality. The ability to produce an ingenious and unified *impresa*, in which an artful correspondence between the image and the motto wittily commented on the courtier's personal situation, was considered a quintessential sign of gentility.[189] Courtiers therefore often commissioned writers, including Ben Jonson and William Shakespeare, to produce striking *impresa* for them.[190]

Many courtiers, both English and Scottish, produced spectacular tournament pageants, which were praised by domestic observers and visiting ambassadors alike. At the tournament marking Prince Henry's creation as Prince of Wales in June 1610, the Scottish courtier Richard Preston, recently-created earl of Desmond, presented a pageant cart that was shaped like a cloud that shot water onto the spectators to simulate rain and gave off flames in imitation of lightning.[191] At the same tournament, William, Baron Compton delivered his speech from a specially-constructed bower on the ramparts of St James's Park.[192] However, spectators occasionally complained that some tournament costumes or pageants were 'penurrious' or had been reused.[193] The Duke of Lennox and the recently-restored Thomas Howard, earl of Arundel were both ridiculed by several observers for the disappointing devices they presented on Accession Day 1606: according to John Chamberlain, 'there was more expected for Device and Cost' from these elite figures.[194] Although Arundel is famed as an art connoisseur, his talents do not appear to have extended to virtuosity in designing tiltyard pageantry.[195] Even though Richard Preston received commendation in 1610, he had previously been mocked for entering the tiltyard on Accession Day 1609 in a disastrously-executed pageant wagon, designed by Inigo Jones, which was decorated as an elephant with a castle on its back. The wagon arrived late and then disrupted events: the length of time it took 'creeping about the tilt-yard' meant that the running-at-the-ring, which had begun in its absence, had to be halted.[196]

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[189] William Camden, *Remaines of a greater worke* (1605), pp. 158-76; Henry Peacham, *The Compleat Gentleman* (1622), pp. 195-99.
[190] Although he wrote several tiltyard speeches, Jonson also mocked courtiers whose 'sharp devices' were 'put in' by other writers: Ben Jonson, 'Epigram XXIX – To Sir Annual Tilter', *CEWBJO*.
[191] *HMC, Report on Manuscripts in Various Collections* (8 vols, London, 1901-13), iii, p. 262.
[192] Ibid, iii, pp. 261-2. The *gravitas* of the spectacle comically undercut somewhat (at least to modern eyes) by the fact that Compton delivered his speech dressed as a sheep.
[193] TNA, SP 14/19, fo. 163r*; Letters Wotton to Bacon* (1661), p. 5.
[194] TNA, SP 14/19, fo. 163r; Winwood, *Memorials*, ii, p. 205.
[195] David Howarth, *Lord Arundel and His Circle* (New Haven, 1985). Arundel's father, Philip Howard, also seems to have lacked natural talent at devising tiltyard pageantry, employing Sir Henry Lee to design *imprese* for him: BL, MS Additional 41499A, fo. 6r
[196] Birch, *Court*, i, p. 92.

Preston's ambitious attempt to impress the court and the public, possibly by imitating and outdoing a pageant wagon that had been presented at the 1584 Accession Day tournament, which had involved 'horses…equipped like elephants', failed.[197]



FIGURE 3. Sir Richard Preston's Pageant for the 1609 Accession Day Tournament. Inigo Jones, 'Design for an Elephant Pageant' (pen and ink on paper). Chatsworth House. © Devonshire Collection, Chatsworth

The Jacobean courtiers who made the greatest impression with their tiltyard appearances were the Herbert brothers: William, earl of Pembroke, and Philip, earl of Montgomery. After languishing in parsimony and royal disrepute in the final years of Elizabeth's reign, they experienced a spectacular restoration to favour under James. By 1613 both were Knights of the Garter, and Montgomery was the only English Gentleman of the Bedchamber. The brothers were the dedicatees of more literary works than any other figures at court, with the exception of the royal family.[198] They were also mainstays of the tiltyard. Pembroke participated in every Accession Day tournament between 1604 and 1615.[199] During May 1605 a rhyme circulated at court, expressing anticipation to watch the brothers compete in the forthcoming 'great tilting' to celebrate Princess Mary's baptism: 'the Herberts every cockpit day / do carry away / The gold and glory of the day'.[200] However, although their martial talents were clearly admired, the brothers received greatest acclaim for their mastery of tournament pageantry.[201] John Chamberlain commended the Herbert brothers for their 'rich

[197] Goffried von Bülow, 'Journey through England and Scotland made by Lupold von Wedel in the Years 1584 and 1585', *TRHS*, 9 (1895), p. 258.
[198] Michael G. Brennan, *Literary Patronage in the English Renaissance: The Pembroke Family* (London, 1988).
[199] Dick Taylor Jr, 'The Masque and the Lance: The Earl of Pembroke in Jacobean Court Entertainments', *Tulane Studies in English*, 8 (1958), pp. 21-53.
[200] LPL, MS 3202, fo. 16r.
[201] Montgomery won the barriers competition on Epiphany 1610, now known as *Prince Henry's Barriers*: John Orrell, 'The London Stage in the Florentine Correspondence, 1604-1618', *Theatre Research International*, 3/3 (1978), p. 165.

and daintie' appearances on Accession Day 1606.[202] Pembroke was also complimented for his horse's caparison, decorated with pearls, at the tournament for Prince Henry's creation as Prince of Wales.[203] Sir Henry Wotton praised the brothers for their *imprese* at the 1613 Accession Day tournament. Considering many of the other *imprese* presented that day to be 'so dark that their meaning' was unfathomable, Wotton judged the Herberts' to be 'the two best'.[204] He was especially entertained by how their *imprese* complemented one another. When interpreted together, they presented a statement about the Herbert family's recent political fortunes. Pembroke's *impresa*, a white pearl, with the motto 'solo candore valco' (from dazzling worthy foundations) seemed to refer to the family's venerable ancestry. Montgomery's – the sun casting a shadow on a pillar, with the motto 'splendente refulget' (shining) – seemed to allude to their enjoyment of the full glare of royal favour.[205] Through their *imprese*, the brothers celebrated before the king, the court, and the wider public that they had the rare blessing of enjoying both noble wealth and superlative royal love at the same time.

However, many Jacobean courtiers looked forward to participating in court tournaments for reasons beyond the possibilities they presented to win courtly and popular fame. To many English courtiers, part of James's appeal as a possible candidate to succeed Elizabeth had been the prospect that, as a male monarch in his thirties, he would, like Henry VIII before him, bond with his courtiers through chivalric pastimes.[206] These expectations were perhaps unrealistic: after Henri II of France had been killed in a jousting accident in 1559, European monarchs generally avoided participating in tournaments. However, James had given English courtiers reason to believe that, as king of England, he would spend time with them in the tiltyard. He had competed in court tournaments in Scotland, most notably at Prince Henry's baptism.[207] In the opening of his 1604 *A Counterblaste to Tobacco*, his first printed publication as king of England, James argued that it was a monarch's duty to prevent his subjects from descending into vice 'by the example of his owne Person and Court' and that he intended 'to stirre vs vp to the practise againe of all honest exercises, and Martiall shadowes of

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[202] TNA, SP 14/19, fo. 163r.
[203] Winwood, *Memorials*, iii, p. 181.
[204] Amongst the *impresе* Wotton found impenetrable was that designed by William Shakespeare for Francis Manners, earl of Rutland: Park Honan, *Shakespeare: A Life* (Oxford, 1998), p. 193.
[205] *Wotton to Bacon* p. 6.
[206] Anne McLaren, 'The Quest for a King: Gender, Marriage, and Succession in Elizabethan England', *JBS*, 41/3 (2002), pp. 259-90; Judith M. Richards, 'The English Accession of James VI: 'National' Identity, Gender, and the Personal Monarch of England', *EHR*, 117/472 (2002), pp. 513-35. On Henry VIII's tiltyard companions, see Young, *Tournaments*, pp. 21-31.
[207] Jane E.A. Dawson, *Scotland Re-Formed* (Edinburgh, 2007), pp. 271-3.

Warre'.[208] However any hopes that, after over half a century, homosocial bonding with the monarch in the tiltyard would once again become a means for male courtiers to access royal favour and bounty, were to be largely disappointed. James only participated in Accession Day tournaments as a spectator. He competed in running-at-the-ring on a mere handful of occasions during the first decade of his English reign.[209] Of course, this did not mean that it was impossible for courtiers to secure his favour through tiltyard appearances. After all, James's favourite, Robert Carr, is reported to have first caught the king's attention during the 1607 Accession Day tournament, when Carr injured his leg descending from his horse to present his *impresa*.[210] The king's normal role as a spectator simply meant that courtiers seeking to use tournaments to enhance their position at court would need to attempt to do so by producing striking displays, as they had under Elizabeth, and not through the homosocial experience of competing alongside the king.

Whilst he only competed in them rarely, James was certainly interested in court tournaments. He clearly understood that they were spectacular events that could be used for various political purposes. Most obviously, he appreciated that the annual Accession Day triumphs, which were attended by thousands of Londoners and visitors from the localities, were an almost unparalleled opportunity for him to be celebrated by his new English subjects. There had not been a comparable event in the calendar of James's Scottish court, and he enthusiastically seized the opportunity to be the subject of adulation. On the morning of Accession Day, he would touch for scrofula, and in the afternoon he oversaw a tournament at which he was officially the subject of attention, receiving generalised acclaim from the crowds, and ritualised public homage from some of his courtiers.[211] For example, on Accession Day 1613 a page performed a speech to James, written by Ben Jonson, on behalf of the brothers Sir Robert and Sir Henry Rich. The page claimed that the Riches offered James, 'O king of men…their liues, their loues, their hartes!'.[212] Robert presented a pageant that included 'a Royall Alter of fayre peace', on which he offered to James his undying 'honour'. The page also explained that Henry's *impresa* – an eye looking through a magnifying glass at a 'little

[208] James I, *A Counterblaste to Tobacco* (1604), sig. A3v-A4r.
[209] *Journal…Wilbraham*, p. 66; H. Roberts, *Englands farewell to Christian the fourth, famous king of Denmarke* (1606) sig. B4r; *CSPV*, xi, p. 243; Nichols, *Progresses James*, ii, p.549
[210] Alastair Bellany, 'Carr [Kerr], Robert, earl of Somerset (1585/6-1645)', *ODNB*.
[211] James's touching for scrofula on Accession Day was noted in 1608, *CSPV*, x, p. 116. For an important discussion of James's evolving views on the royal touch and his incorporation of it into his political theology and rhetoric of kingship, see Stephen Brogan, *The Royal Touch in Early Modern England: Politics, Medicine and Sin* (Woodbridge, 2015), pp. 68- 80.
[212] Bod., MS Ashmole 38, p. 103.

poynte', depicting the moment before the glass ignited a fire – was a reminder that 'your Royal Eye…creattes new men', and that Henry Rich hoped to be transformed, under the royal gaze, from 'a little sparke' into a 'fier'. It enhanced James's reputation when his courtiers affirmed their loyalty to him and celebrated the scope of his patronage before an audience that comprised the court, the wider public, and foreign ambassadors. His attendance at tournaments also satisfied public desire to see the monarch's person. On Accession Day 1606, the public was particularly comforted by the fact that James could be seen in the tiltyard gallery at Whitehall. The tournament was held four months after the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot, and just two days after a wild rumour had spread, alleging that James had been assassinated whilst hunting.[213] Although the Privy Council had issued a proclamation 'to quiet the people's minds', the king's public physical presence was far more reassuring.[214] The crowd's joyous reaction to James's appearance was interpreted as 'striking proof of the affection his subjects [bore] him'.[215] James appreciated the utility of Accession Day to his reputation as an English king enough to prioritise it. He is notorious for having often left London to go hunting during major political events, such as the Somerset House peace conference with Spain and the meetings of the Commissioners for Union. However, he was always sure to return from hunting trips in time, or postpone them, in order to appear at Accession Day tournaments.[216]

James also used court tournaments to manage his relations with foreign princes. Like his English predecessors, and as he had done in Scotland, James sought to impress foreign representatives and dignitaries with the splendour of his court, the martial abilities of his courtiers, and the public's affection for him that were all on display at court tournaments.[217] Inviting ambassadors to tournaments could affirm alliances. For example, the Venetian, French and Spanish ambassadors were all invited to the first Accession Day tournament of James's reign.[218] After the false rumours of his assassination in March 1606 had provoked public outcry against 'Papists, foreigners, and Spaniards', James sought to reassure the Spanish ambassador that the Anglo-Spanish entente remained secure by inviting him to attend Accession Day as his guest.[219] When making complicated foreign policy decisions, James often invited relevant ambassadors to attend Accession Day tournaments in order to awe them. He invited the

[213] On the assassination rumour, see James Shapiro, *1606: Shakespeare and the Year of Lear* (London, 2016), pp. 232-6.
[214] *Proclamations*, pp. 134-5.
[215] *CSPV*, x, p. 332.
[216] Orrell, 'London Stage', pp. 161, 165.
[217] Sydney Anglo, *Spectacle, Pageantry, and Early Tudor Policy*, second edition (Oxford, 1997).
[218] Orrell, 'London Theatre', p. 159; Foley, *Records*, i, p. 59.
[219] *CSPV*, x, p. 333.

Venetian ambassador to the 1610 Accession Day tournament in order to discuss with him possible responses to the conflict in the United Duchies of Jülich-Cleves-Berg.[220] The count of Cartignana, the Savoyard ambassador was James's guest at Accession Day the following year, during his embassy to discuss a possible double dynastic match between England and Savoy.[221] Offering these invitations proved to be an effective way to earn ambassadors' appreciation and respect. The surviving accounts by ambassadors indicate that they were impressed by Jacobean court tournaments, especially by participants' costumes.[222] As the Crown contributed little to the day's expenses, including the aspects that most enraptured ambassadors, it was also an especially economical strategy.

James's participation in tournaments as a competitor was mainly limited to occasions when foreign princes were in attendance. On these occasions, tournaments allowed him to demonstrate his martial prowess to other European rulers. For example, at the tournament to celebrate the marriage of Princess Elizabeth, 'in the presence of many thousands of his subjects, the King mounted upon a steed of much swiftnes, [and] was the first who began the honourable pastimes'.[223] During Christian IV's state visit in 1606, James organised a game of running-at-the-ring in which he, Christian, and several English and Danish courtiers participated.[224] This tournament appears to have been part of a deliberate programme of displays intended to demonstrate that England's military capabilities were worthy of comparison with Denmark's formidable navy, and that James was comparable to his charismatic, martial brother-in-law.[225] For example, James also arranged for a display of weapons and a fencing demonstration so that Christian 'might see the manner of our fight'.[226] James also hoped that the programme of chivalric and martial entertainments during Christian's visit would feature a grand, international tournament, including participants sent from the French court.[227] He clearly hoped that, like at Prince Henry's baptism, such a tournament would promote deeper ties between the participating courts. Ultimately, this tournament did not occur due to a lack of

[220] Ibid, xi, p. 461.
[221] Orrell, 'London Stage', p. 167.
[222] Ibid, pp. 159, 161; *Ambassades*, ii, p. 144.
[223] Nichols, *Progresses James*, ii, p.549
[224] Roberts, *Englands farewell*, sig. B3v-B4r.
[225] Martin Bellamy, *Christian IV and His Navy: A Political and Administrative History of the Danish Navy, 1596-1648* (Leiden, 2006).
[226] Roberts, *Englands farewell*, sig. B4v.
[227] *Ambassades*, i, p. 105.

engagement by Henri IV, unexpectedly high costs, and the death of Princess Sophia in August 1606.[228]

However, using tournaments to honour or impress foreign ambassadors and princes was not without potential difficulties. James showed 'no small impatieness' when Christian bested him at running-at-the-ring, and, likely out of fear of being beaten again, he did not participate in the joust held the following day.[229] It also proved very challenging to negotiate the disputes about precedence that regularly arose between ambassadors when they were invited to attend tournaments. In 1603, James created a new office, which had existed at the Scottish court but not in England, to help the Lord Chamberlain and Master of the Revels to manage issues of etiquette between ambassadors during court ceremonial: the Master of the Ceremonies. One of the first tasks that faced James's appointee, Lewes Lewknor, was to prevent a 'confusion of precedence' between ambassadors from overshadowing the celebrations on Accession Day 1604.[230] Lewknor achieved this by seating the invited ambassadors in various positions in the tiltyard, from which they could all receive signs of honour: the French ambassador was placed on the right-hand-side, the conventional place of honour; the Spanish ambassador was positioned so that competitors would salute him.[231] Nevertheless, the ambassadors swiftly fell into arguments about whose seat signified the greatest precedence.[232] On various occasions thereafter, James simply refused to invite any resident ambassadors to the Accession Day tilts.[233] He sacrificed the opportunity that tournaments offered to cultivate good relations with foreign states in order 'to avoid the rock of precedence'.[234] This led one Venetian ambassador, Marc Antonio Correr, to conclude that under James 'it has not been the custom for ambassadors to attend his Majesty' at Accession Day tournaments.[235] However, the complications of European politics after 1610 forced James to relent, although even then he still only invited extraordinary ambassadors.

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[228] Ibid, i, p. 260.
[229] TNA, SP 14/23, fo. 14r; H. Neville Davies, 'The Limitations of Festival: Christian IV's State Visit to England in 1606', in J.R. Mulryne and Margaret Shewring (eds), *Italian Festivals and their European Influence* (Lewiston, 1992), pp. 311-35.
[230] Orrell, 'London Theatre', p. 159
[231] Foley, *Records*, i, pp. 59-60.
[232] *CSPV*, x, p. 141.
[233] James did not invite an ambassador to the Accession Day tilts in 1605, 1607, 1608, or 1609: Orrell, 'London Stage', p. 161; *CSPV*, x, pp. 234, 487; *Ambassades*, iii, p. 195.
[234] Ibid, xi, p. 256.
[235] *CSPV*, xi, p. 461.

James more astutely, and with less difficulty, took advantage of Prince Henry's growing interest in the tiltyard. Henry first participated in a court tournament, 'gallantly mounted' and displaying 'a hart as powerfull as any' on 5 August 1606, when he participated in a game of running-at-the-ring during Christian IV's state visit.[236] The tiltyard soon became a significant part of his life, even an obsession. It was reported in January 1611 that he 'was every day five or sixe howres in armor'.[237] Older studies of Prince Henry considered his interest in chivalric pastimes an embryonic threat to James; the martial prince could attract those dissatisfied with James, especially militant Protestants, and prove a rival.[238] However, more recent work has shown that the relationship between James and Henry, especially when Henry was a minor, was not straightforwardly antagonistic.[239] James, who had prescribed 'the tilt and the ring' as necessary elements of a royal education in *Basilikon Doron,* encouraged Henry's apprenticeship in the tiltyard.[240] Many prominent courtiers close to James assisted in Henry's chivalric pastimes; most notably at Shrovetide 1612 when royal favourites including Viscount Rochester, the Duke of Lennox, and Lord Hay participated in a six-a-side game of running-at-the-ring with the prince.[241] At Shrovetide 1609, James himself took an afternoon off from preparing his *An Apologie for the Oath of Allegiance*, to accept the prince's invitation to participate in a five-a-side running-at-the-ring at Whitehall, which Henry's team won.[242]

James encouraged Henry's activities in the tiltyard because the development of Henry's talents in the public eye presented him with political opportunities. It is true that James was reluctant to allow his son to organise public outdoor tournaments, refusing his consent when Henry began to plan some in 1607 and 1609.[243] He was happier for Henry to arrange tournaments that took place in more controllable, exclusive settings, with more elite audiences. James therefore permitted an outdoor tournament that Henry had planned for February 1610 to be staged instead on Epiphany 1610 as an indoor tournament, known as *Prince Henry's Barriers*.[244] Literary critics have noted that the tournament's framing speeches, written by Ben

[236] Roberts, *Englands Farewell*, sig. B4v.
[237] TNA, SP 14/68, fo. 65r.
[238] Williamson, *Myth*; Strong, *Henry*; Timothy Wilks, 'The Pike Charged: Henry as Militant Prince', in Wilks (ed.), *Prince Henry Reviv'd,* pp. 180-211.
[239] Aysha Pollnitz, 'Humanism and the Education of Prince Henry', in Wilks (ed.), *Prince Henry Reviv'd*, pp. 22-64; Catriona Murray, *Imagining Stuart Family Politics: Dynastic Crisis and Continuity* (London, 2017), pp. 34-44.
[240] James, *Political Writings*, p. 56.
[241] TNA, SP 14/68, fo. 144v.
[242] *CSPV*, xi, p. 243.
[243] Orrell, 'London Stage', p. 163; *CSPV*, xi, p. 401.
[244] *CSPV*, xi, pp. 403, 406.

Jonson, attempted to compliment both Henry and James.[245] Henry was celebrated as the 'glory of knights and hopes of all the earth', and projected to have a future of empire-building and military glory surpassing Henry V.[246] However Jonson's interlude also argued that Henry's future military works were only possible because of James's pacific foreign policy and good domestic government: 'Civil arts the martiaul must precede'. Nonetheless, although it expressed appreciation for James as *Rex Pacificus*, the tournament emphatically indicated that, under Henry's leadership, England and Scotland had military futures. Henry showed his own potential as a warrior: as lead defender, he remained on the floor all night, without resting, eventually seeing off fifty-four challengers. James was clearly satisfied with how the tournament portrayed himself, his heir, and his court. He invited several ambassadors to attend either the tournament or the banquets that accompanied it. The Spanish ambassador was invited to the dinner before the tournament, the Dutch ambassador was guest of honour at the dinner held afterwards, and the Venetian ambassador was invited to both the pre-tournament dinner and the tournament itself.[247] James even asked the Venetian ambassador to send an account of the tournament to the Doge and Senate.[248] During early 1610, James was debating whether to send troops to assist the siege of Jülich, and whether to join Henri IV in a formal anti-Habsburg league.[249] In this complicated moment in European geopolitics, it would grant James some diplomatic latitude if major European rulers were presented with evidence that England and Scotland would, in the future, be a military force to be reckoned with. James attempted to create fear of Henry's military potential amongst European princes. They might therefore prefer to come to accommodation with him in the present. In this way, Henry's chivalric interests and persona proved very useful to his father's diplomacy.

Court tournaments therefore enhanced the reputation of the English court abroad in various ways. Yet, like the Order of the Garter, they also advanced friendships and alliances

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[245] Mary C. Williams, 'Merlin and the Prince: The Speeches at "Prince Henry's Barriers"', *Renaissance Drama*, 8 (1977), pp. 221-30; Council, 'Transformation', pp. 270-2; Richard Badenhausen, 'Disarming the Infant Warrior: Prince Henry, King James, and the Chivalric Revival', *Papers on Language and Literature*, 31/1 (1995), pp. 23-7.
[246] Ben Jonson, 'Prince Henry's Barriers', *CEWBJO*.
[247] *CSPV*, xi, pp. 410-11; Orrell, 'London Stage', p. 165. The invitations to *Prince Henry's Barriers* were complicated by the disputes about ambassadors' precedence that also plagued invitations to the Accession Day triumphs. The Dutch ambassador was originally invited to the tournament but was politely disinvited (and conciliated by being made guest of honour at the post-tournament banquet) in order to avoid provoking the Spanish ambassador's jealousy: BL, MS Additional 17677G, fos 376r-386r. I am grateful to R. Malcolm Smuts for supplying this reference and a translation.
[248] *CSPV*, xi, p. 414.
[249] Maurice Lee, *James I and Henri IV: An Essay in English Foreign Policy* (Urbana, 1970), pp. 89-103; W.B. Patterson, *King James VI and I and the Reunion of Christendom* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 155-6; Michael Questier, *Dynastic Politics and the British Reformations, 1558-1630* (Oxford, 2019), pp. 322-6.

amongst courtiers at the court itself. In particular, tournaments normalised co-operation and socialisation amongst English and Scottish courtiers. Tournaments had been used to promote amity amongst mixed populations at the English court before. During the 1550s, King Philip had organised several court tournaments, hoping that the shared experience of ritual combat in the tiltyard would bond English and Spanish courtiers together.[250] The participation of some Scottish courtiers in court tournaments were commended by some English spectators. Dudley Carleton praised the Duke of Lennox's costume in the 1609 Accession Day tournament.[251] The only person whose sporting prowess impressed Philip Gawdy on Accession Day 1613 was Richard Preston.[252] The changes to the tournament after James's accession enhanced its ability to promote bonding amongst courtiers. Unlike jousting, which consisted of two teams (the defenders and the challengers), running-at-the-ring involved multiple teams. The 1613 Accession Day tournament, for example, included four teams, described as 'four fraternities', several of which contained a mixture of English and Scottish participants.[253] Running-at-the-ring also appears to have featured an element of gambling. The losing team paid for an elaborate supper for all of the participants, as well as an invited court audience, which provided a far more inclusive occasion for conviviality than the feasts of the Order of the Garter.[254] The first such supper occurred at the very beginning of James's reign in January 1604; another was hosted after the Shrovetide 1609 tournament in which Henry and James competed against one another.[255] The abolition of the role of tournament champion also avoided the risk of inspiring jealousy and xenophobia amongst English courtiers if James had appointed a Scottish courtier to that role or vice versa. These changes appear to have enhanced the ability of tournaments to join English and Scottish courtiers together. It is striking that several large tournaments, such as that proposed by the 'Four Knights Errant of the Fortunate Island' and *Prince Henry's Barriers* were organised by a mixture of Scottish and English courtiers. Early Jacobean court tournaments were a collaborative British endeavour.

However, tournaments could also encourage discord between courtiers. The tournament at the marriage of the earl of Essex and Frances Howard in January 1606 addressed the reorganisation of power at the court after James's accession a little too forthrightly and

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[250] David Loades, *Intrigue and Treason: The Tudor Court, 1547-1558* (Harlow, 2004), pp. 190-3.
[251] Birch, *Court*, i, p. 92
[252] BL, MS Egerton 2804, fo. 207r.
[253] *Letters Wotton to Bacon*, p. 5.
[254] TNA, SP 14/68, fo. 144v; John Finet, *Finetti Philoxenis* (1613), p. 11.
[255] Ernest Philip Alphonse Law, *The History of Hampton Court Palace* (3 vols, London, 1885-91), ii, p. 11; *CSPV*, xi, p. 246.

insensitively. The Essex-Howard marriage had been brokered to help disperse residual Elizabethan tensions between the Devereux and Howard families and their clienteles.[256] However, in performance, the entertainment showed the dominance of the Howards. The winning side, as pre-determined by Jonson's script, were comprised mostly of Howards and wore Frances Howard's colours. The losing side was full of former clients of the second earl of Essex (half had been knighted by him, and three had been imprisoned after the earl's rising).[257] The tournament undermined the intended reconciliation function of the nuptials by performing the defeat of Essex's kin and associates by the Howards. It is likely that this was considered too overt and humiliating for the Essex clientele, as the next time that Jonson wrote the pageantry for a tournament at a court wedding (*A Challenge at Tilt* performed to celebrate Frances Howard's second marriage to Robert Carr at Christmas 1613), he had the bridal party wear the groom's colours and vice versa in the tiltyard, and wrote a concluding scene in which the two sides were reconciled, rather than one submitted to the other.

Furthermore, the amity-building potential of court tournaments did not extend to observers. Letters by English spectators indicate that many viewed early Jacobean court tournaments as competitions between English and Scottish courtiers. The court gossip Samuel Calvert boasted that, at the 1605 Accession Day tournament, 'our English out-ran them in every respect'.[258] Resembling the ballad about the Wharton-Stewart duel, which depicted natural antagonism between English and Scots, Calvert described the Scottish competitors as rivals to be defeated by English courtiers, even though both jousting teams contained a mixture of English and Scots.[259] Calvert's comment was a departure from established Elizabethan conventions in reporting on noble sport. Then, although the heralds kept score and prizes were awarded to the top scoring courtiers, it would have violated the chivalric ethos to name any losers.[260] The visiting Ulrich, Duke of Holstein, who participated in the 1605 Accession Day tournament, was also mocked by English spectators. Dudley Carleton described how Ulrich's horse 'took it unkindly…to be Spur-galled on the Foreshoulder, that he laid his little Burden on God's fair earth'.[261] Carleton's euphemistic description of Ulrich's unseating literally belittled him but, given the equation in the chivalric code of horse-mastery with masculinity

[256] David Lindley, *The Trials of Frances Howard: Fact and Fiction at the Court of King James* (London, 1993), pp. 26-27.
[257] BL, MS Cotton, Julius C. iii, fo. 301v.
[258] Winwood, *Memorials*, ii, p. 54
[259] BL, Additional MS 38139, fo. 192r.
[260] McCoy, *Rites*, pp. 26-8.
[261] Winwood, *Memorials*, ii, p. 52.

and virility, was a deep insult. However, foreign observers, such as the Florentine ambassador, reported that Ulrich had competed well.[262] Dislike of the presence of the Scots, and even of James's Danish kin, at court changed the way that English spectators responded to court tournaments. They increasingly viewed these events as performances of Anglo-Scottish enmity.

Conclusion

During the dramatic interlude performed before the beginning of combat in *Prince Henry's Barriers*, an actor portraying the Lady of the Lake described a court bereft of chivalry: the 'house of Chivalry', she claimed, was 'decayed' and its walls were decorated with 'shields and swords' that were 'cobwebbed and rusty' from disuse.[263] Her repeated deictics and gestures left no uncertainty that the un-chivalric location she described was intended to be the English court itself.[264] Discussing the recent decline in the court's reputation for chivalric deeds with an actor playing Merlin, the Lady then prompted Prince Henry and sixty other courtiers to prove the court's martial credentials through feats of arms.

Most spectators would have appreciated that the interlude's conceit was a fictitious exaggeration, and not an accurate description of the contemporary English court. As this chapter has shown, in contrast to claims by many modern historians about its decline or even absence, chivalry was an important feature of English court culture during James's reign. However, its significance has been overlooked because texts related to the court's chivalric ceremonial and pageantry during this period have survived mainly in piecemeal forms. Yet, by combining a range of eclectic and fragmentary sources, I have been able to indicate the continued vibrancy and political significance of the English court's chivalric culture after Elizabeth's death, and of how James's accession caused that culture to develop.

As might be expected, Elizabethan chivalric court ceremonies were modified, particularly to accommodate James's gender. However, the most significant changes to the Order of the Garter and the court tournament during James's reign were related to the distinctive sociological functions that chivalric culture performed at James's unique court,

[262] Orrell, 'London Stage', p. 163.
[263] Jonson, 'Prince Henry's Barriers'.
[264] Janette Dillon, *The Language of Space in Court Performance, 1400-1625* (Cambridge, 2010), p. 151.

where a mixed population was ruled by a foreign-born king. James had written in *Basilikon Doron* that he hoped 'mixing through alliance and daily conuersation' might, 'with time, and at leisure' make his English and Scottish subjects 'grow and welde all in one'.[265] Previously, chivalry at James's English court has mainly been considered as a device that allowed the expression of opposition to his foreign policy. I have shown, however, that the court's chivalric institutions, ceremonies, and pageantry provided an important mechanism to address and attempt to defuse the concerns and tensions that were provoked at court by James's accession, and the arrival of hundreds of Scots, and to foster the amity amongst courtiers that he had envisaged.

In addition to recovering a significant aspect of English court culture that performed important roles during the transition between Elizabeth and James, my examination of the court's chivalric culture has challenged several long-standing assumptions about early Jacobean politics and culture. Most significantly, it has presented an unfamiliar view of James and his style of kingship. James has rarely been associated with chivalry. He was not a *roi connétable* like his contemporary Henri IV. With the exception of allocating unspent funds from Christian IV's state visit to the 1607 Accession Day triumphs, he rarely spent lavishly on tournaments as Henry VIII had. Nor was there a chivalric "cult of James" comparable to that of Elizabeth I. Nevertheless, I have shown that James was a monarch who took chivalric culture seriously, and appreciated the cachet of chivalric institutions and displays at court. Throughout his early English reign, James used chivalric motifs and the customs, rituals, sports, and literary aspects of Orders of Chivalry and court tournaments to secure his reign and to manage his court. Whereas most previous accounts of James's iconography have noted the use of Biblical and classical archetypes in representations of James, especially King David or Emperor Augustus, the Order of the Garter was also a significant component of his public image, especially in his dealings with foreign princes and ambassadors. He also showed great care when making appointments to chivalric orders, in contrast to his reputation for indiscriminate largesse when distributing honours. It has long been known that Charles I, Charles II and James II were interested in the Order of the Garter: the Order was a central emblem of Charles I's elevated sense of order and peace at the court, and his sons both selected St George's Day for their coronation days.[266] However, the Stuart family's interest in the Order

[265] James, *Political Writings*, p. 59.
[266] Adamson, 'Chivalry'; Cust, *Charles I*, pp. 119-39.

appears to derive from James's fondness for its statutes and iconography and his appreciation of its multivalent political utility.

James has long been contrasted unfavourably with Elizabeth for being ineffective at, or simply uninterested in, using courtly ceremonial and public display for political purposes. It is true that he showed little patience for the disputes about precedence that inevitably arose between ambassadors, and often opted to forsake the possible diplomatic benefits of chivalric occasions in order to avoid squabbles. However, my recovery of James's active engagement with and astute use of the court's chivalric occasions as instruments of foreign and domestic politics joins several other recent studies that have begun to question the conventional view of him as a king who was insensitive to image and ceremony.[267]

This chapter has also modified claims, made since at least the 1970s, that Prince Henry's interest in chivalric pastimes and martial representations threatened James. The records of the Order of the Garter and court tournament show that, instead, James supported Henry's chivalric interests. James appreciated that his eldest son's chivalric reputation was an asset in domestic and international politics. Foreign rulers' awareness that the English court contained a warrior-prince-in-training was a valuable diplomatic tool. Meanwhile, the tiltyard and the rituals of the Order of the Garter allowed the nobility to establish bonds with Prince Henry, integrating the new Stuart royal family into the upper echelons of the English court.

Of course, attempts to appeal to chivalric values to defend or embed the new royal family and the mixed court were not always successful. Indeed, as the popular literary responses to the duel between George Wharton and James Stewart and the comments by spectators of court tournaments suggest, chivalry was increasingly used by external observers to depict discord at the court, and especially to allege the incompatibility of, and enmity between, English and Scottish courtiers. Nonetheless, chivalric pageantry and ceremonial provided one, imperfect, means of addressing the inevitable tensions at a mixed court. In the next chapter, I will examine another literary form in which the challenges provoked by the changes at court following James's accession were addressed: court sermons. Occurring far more frequently and actively involving a far greater proportion of the court's population than chivalric pageantry and ceremonials, sermons were better placed to encourage support for the

[267] James's uses of media and performances are beginning to receive scholarly appreciation: Sharpe, *Image Wars,* pp. 58-123; Brogan, *Royal Touch*, pp. 68-80. See also discussion of his performances in the Chapel Royal in Chapter Three.

new regime and amity amongst courtiers. However, although court preachers supported the new regime in various ways, they also critiqued what happened at a court in transition.

3

Court Sermons and the Jacobean Succession

Whereas scholars have often ignored the early Jacobean court's chivalric pageantry and ceremonial, the study of the sermons preached at the English court during James's reign has been one of the most successful interdisciplinary endeavours of the last twenty years.[1] In his pioneering *Sermons at Court*, Peter McCullough recovered the venues, calendar, and logistics of preaching at the royal court.[2] Further scholarship has since investigated both the literary and rhetorical features of court sermons and how they addressed some of the most significant political and religious events and controversies of the first decade of James's English reign, including proposals for a formal Anglo-Scots Union, the aftermath of the Hampton Court Conference, the Gunpowder Plot, and the Oath of Allegiance Controversy.[3] However, in this chapter, I will examine a recurrent theme in sermons preached at the early Jacobean court that previous studies have largely overlooked: the diverse ways in which, between 1603 and 1612, court preachers addressed the transition from Elizabeth to James and the impacts of the new regime on the court's politics and culture.

It may seem strange to attempt to recover attitudes towards changes in the court's organisation, personnel, and protocols from texts that were delivered primarily for the court's spiritual edification. Nevertheless, several features of court preaching under James, including changes introduced after his accession, mean that sermons provide especially significant evidence of how the consequences of the Jacobean succession for the court were discussed at the court itself. Sermons were the most frequently performed literary form at the court, were attended by most courtiers, and were preached by individuals who were themselves courtiers. Sermons therefore formed something of an ur-text of the early Jacobean English court. It is

[1] Critical surveys of recent scholarship include: Mary Morrissey, 'Interdisciplinarity and the Study of Early Modern Sermons', *HJ*, 42/4 (1999), pp. 1111-23; Rosamund Oates, 'Sermon and Sermon-Going in Early Modern England', *Reformations*, 17/1 (2012), pp. 199-212.
[2] Peter E. McCullough, *Sermons at Court: Politics and Religion in Elizabethan and Jacobean Preaching* (Cambridge, 1998).
[3] Lori Anne Ferrell, *Government By Polemic: James I, The King's Preachers, and the Rhetorics of Conformity, 1603-1626* (Stanford, 1998); idem, 'The Sacred, The Profane and the Union: Politics of Sermon and Masque at the Court Wedding of Lord and Lady Hay', in Cogswell, Cust, and Lake (eds), *Politics*, pp. 45-64; Charles W.A. Prior, *Defining the Jacobean Church: The Politics of Religious Controversy, 1603-1625* (Cambridge, 2005).

necessary to study them in order to fully understand how courtiers reflected on the court in transition.

Scholars have long known that court preachers often promoted James's political and religious authority and policies.[4] Those preaching before the court often described the king's role in quasi-divine language.[5] At James and Anna's coronation, Thomas Bilson declared that 'kings are gods by office, ruling, judging, and punishing in God's stead and so deserving God's name here on earth'.[6] Unsurprisingly, the royal supremacy was regularly defended and celebrated in sermons preached at the early Jacobean court, such as on Accession Day 1607 when Lancelot Andrewes asserted that it was the only way 'to care for all, but above all, the matter of Religion'.[7] In 1620, when attempting to educate the eight-year-old Gerald Fitzgerald, fifteenth earl of Kildare, a royal ward whose mother held sympathies for the Jesuits, about the legitimacy of the royal supremacy, Christopher Hampton had only to give him a copy of a sermon that he had preached before James in July 1609, titling the repurposed sermon 'a treatise of soveraignetie'.[8]

Most importantly, almost all sermons preached at the court promoted and defended James's religious settlement. In October 1603, James had issued a proclamation condemning those 'seditiously seeking reformation in church matters'.[9] After the Hampton Court Conference in January 1604, James commanded that all English ministers should, by November 1604, offer their sworn subscription to three articles: affirming their belief in the royal supremacy, and that the English Prayer Book and Thirty-Nine Articles contained nothing contrary to God.[10] It has been estimated that at least seventy-eight clerics refused and were

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[4] Deborah Shuger, *Habits of Thought in the English Renaissance: Religion, Politics, and the Dominant Culture* (Berkeley, 1990), pp. 159-217; Glenn Burgess, *The Politics of the Ancient Constitution: An Introduction to English Political, Thought, 1603-1642* (Basingstoke, 1992), pp. 73-7; Ferrell, *Government*, passim.
[5] Kevin Sharpe, *Image Wars: Promoting Kings and Commonwealths in England, 1603-1660* (New Haven, 2010), pp. 53-6.
[6] Thomas Bilson, *A sermon preached at Westminster before the King and Queenes Maiesties, at their coronations on Saint Iames his day* (1604), sig. A6r.
[7] Lancelot Andrewes, *XCVI Sermons* (1629), p. 123.
[8] Christopher Hampton, *A sermon preached before the King's Most Excellent Majestie* (Dublin, 1620), sig. A2r-v; Charles William Fitz-Gerald, *The earls of Kildare and their ancestors, from 1057 to 1773*, third edn (Dublin,1858), pp. 241-2. On the Jacobean policy of acculturation of Ireland's elite youth, and Hampton's role therein, see Theodore William Moody, Francis X. Martin and Francis John Byrne (eds), *A New History of Ireland. III, Early Modern Ireland, 1534-1691*, third edn (Oxford, 2009), pp. 227-31,
[9] *Proclamations*, pp. 61-3.
[10] Useful summaries of the Hampton Court Conference and the "Jacobean settlement" include: Patrick Collinson, 'The Jacobean Religious Settlement: The Hampton Court Conference', in Howard Tomlinson (ed.), *Before the English Civil War: Essays on Early Stuart Politics and Government* (Basingstoke, 1983), pp. 27-51; Kenneth Fincham and Peter Lake, 'The Ecclesiastical Policy of King James I', *JBS*, 24/ (1985), pp. 169-207;

deprived.[11] Court sermons could defend "the Jacobean settlement" positively. For example, in March 1605 and 1606, Anthony Maxey celebrated 'the ceremonies of the Church, and especially the vse of the Crosse'.[12] More usually, however, as Lori Anne Ferrell has influentially explored, court preachers ridiculed and vilified non-subscribers and promoters of further reform in English church government or ceremonies as presumptuous seditionists.[13] Additionally, court preachers often accused them of unwittingly aiding the forces of Counter-Reformation. Preaching at Whitehall on Friday 16 March 1604, shortly after the conclusion of the Hampton Court Conference, Richard Field condemned those still campaigning for reform of *adiaphora*, such as 'sitting, standing and kneeling': 'whosoeuer heerafter shall blow the coals, and kindle the fire of that dissension any more, he shall for euer be branded with the note, and marke of a turbulent, vnquiet and factious spirit'.[14] Field cautioned that publicly agitating for religious reforms allowed continental Catholic polemicists to claim that insurmountable divisions existed within the reformed Churches.[15] On Accession Day 1606, Anthony Maxey similarly condemned reformers for failing to compromise their scruples for the greater cause of unity and peace. Taking *The Song of Songs 2:7* ('stir not') as his text, Maxey structured his sermon around the metaphor of a peacefully sleeping Church being awoken violently. Like Field, Maxey argued that the campaigns of radical reformers, such as Anabaptists and Elizabethan puritans who sought 'Scottish reformation in the Chur[c]h', had only ever served to inspire doubt, and conversions to Rome.[16] He also painted proponents of further reformation as seditious, claiming that monarchies 'haue neuer receiued such fearefull blowes, and vnexpected downefalls' as they had recently when 'Christian princes' were 'haunt[ed] and trouble[d] with bould and vnaduised petitions'.[17] As king of Scotland, James had viewed advocates of religious reform as populist and anti-monarchical, especially

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Prior, *Defining*, pp. 75-89; Alan Cromartie, 'King James and the Hampton Court Conference', in Houlbrooke (ed.), *James*, pp. 61-80.

[11] Kenneth Fincham, *Prelate as Pastor: The Episcopate of James I* (Oxford, 1990), pp. 323-6. For broader discussions of opposition to the settlement, see: Prior, *Defining*, pp. 89-97; Tim Harris, *Rebellion: Britain's First Stuart Kings, 1567-1642* (Oxford, 2014), pp. 80-4.

[12] Anthony Maxey, *An other sermon preached before the king at Greenwich on Tuesday before Easter, being the 26. of March. 1605* (1605), sig. D2v-D3r; idem , *The Churches Sleepe* (1606), sig. C3v-C4v.

[13] Ferrell, *Government*, passim.

[14] Richard Field, *A learned sermon preached before the King at Whitehall, on Friday the 16 of March* (1604), sig. B6v. For further discussion of this sermon, see Margaret Jones-Davies, 'Dr Richard Field and King James I: Politics in the Pulpit. A Commentary on *A Learned Sermon*', in Jean-Christophe Mayer (ed.), *The Struggle for the Succession in Late Elizabethan England: Politics, Polemics and Cultural Representations* (Montpellier, 2004), pp. 275-96.

[15] Field, *Learned sermon*, sig. B7r.

[16] Ibid, sig. B4r-B6v. It should be noted, however, that in other contexts Maxey displayed some sympathy for deprived non-subscribers: Stephen Wright, 'Maxey, Anthony (d. 1618)', *ODNB*.

[17] Maxey, *Churches Sleepe*, sig. B6r, A4r.

following the 1596 Presbyterian uprising in Edinburgh.[18] Therefore, preaching uncompromisingly at court against non-subscribers or those who protested over *adiaphora* was an excellent way for clerics to earn royal favour. William Smith's sermon preached at Whitehall on 27 April 1606, which complained that puritans would 'out-run themselves, their Soueraign & his lawes' rather than direct their 'zeale… against papist or atheist', and Martin Fothbery's sermon, preached on Sunday 15 November 1607, which portrayed Presbyterians and puritans as seditious agents of anarchy were both commanded to be printed by the notoriously anti-puritan Archbishop Bancroft.[19]

James often turned to his court preachers to assist him in his religious polemic projects. In September 1606, James summoned seven Kirk ministers, including Andrew Melville, to court.[20] The so-called "Second Hampton Court Conference' was intended to:

> Effect in vs all, both of Kyrke and Church vnitie in doctrine, vnanimitie in affection, vniformitie in obedience to your Maiesties Supremacie, whether in matters, either absolutely necessary as inioyned by God, or in themselues indifferent, but authoritatively necessary, as Commanded by your selfe.[21]

James recruited four of his English court preachers (Lancelot Andrewes, William Barlow, John Buckeridge, and John King) to deliver a series of four sermons to the invited Scottish ministers that would persuade them of the legitimacy and superiority of the Church of England's liturgy and, especially, of episcopacy. The texts of all four sermons were printed in late 1606 by the King's Printer, Robert Barker, likely with the intention of ensuring their dissemination in Scotland, and provoking debate there.[22] However the sermons, which defended ceremonies, and attacked Presbyterianism and the Kirk's right to call Assemblies, were dismissed by one Scottish reader, James Melville, as 'a most violent invective againes the Presbyteries'.[23] James

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[18] Roger A. Mason, 'George Buchanan, James VI and the Presbyterians', in Roger A. Mason (ed.), *Scots and Britons: Scottish Political Thought and the Union of 1603* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 112-37; Julian Goodare, 'The Attempted Scottish Coup of 1596', in Julian Goodare and Alasdair A. MacDonald (eds), *Sixteenth-Century Scotland: Essays in Honour of Michael Lynch* (Leiden, 2008), pp. 311-36. See also, Christopher Durston, 'James I and Protestant Heresy', in Houlbrooke (ed.), *James*, pp. 123-34.

[19] William Smith, *The Black-Smith* (1606), pp. 56-7; Martin Fotherby, *Foure sermons, lately preached* (1608), sig. M2r-L2v. On Bancroft's attitudes, see Patrick Collinson, *Richard Bancroft and Elizabethan Anti-Puritanism* (Cambridge, 2013).

[20] Alan R. MacDonald, *The Jacobean Kirk, 1567-1625: Sovereignty, Polity and Liturgy* (Aldershot, 1998), pp. 122-6.

[21] William Barlow, *One of the Foure Sermons Preached before the Kings Maiestie, at Hampton Court in September Last* (1606), sig. A2r.

[22] Ferrell, *Government*, p. 81. The sermons' possible readership was expanded by the printing of a Latin translation of Andrewes's sermon in 1608: Lancelot Andrewes, *Concio…de iure ac potestate conuocandorum coetuum* (1608).

[23] James Melville, *The Autobiography and Diary of Mr. James Melvill* (Edinburgh, 1842), p. 667.

also drew on these four clerics, and James Montagu, to assist him in his contributions to international confessional polemic. They helped James to research and write his *Apology for the Oath of Allegiance,* and also contributed their own tracts to the controversy.[24]

However, court preachers could never be simple mouthpieces for the king's views and agendas. They knew that the royal court was looked to as a model for behaviour: 'to see the populous court of a mightie King… peaceable, well giuen and religious' would inspire the rest of the country.[25] Clerics appointed to preach at court therefore routinely reproached their august auditory severely for their moral failings. Linda Levy Peck has noted that, in the final eight years of James's reign, preachers at court routinely excoriated courtiers for their corrupt financial practices.[26] However court preachers in the first decade of James's English reign could be just as stern, often deploying commonplace associations of courtliness with impiety, greed, and pride. William Smith chided other court preachers for not being sufficiently bold when admonishing the king and his courtiers: 'petlike' preaching was not appropriate 'for the kings Court and…the kings Chappel'.[27] Indeed, according to Smith, failure to 'strike at impietie in the highest' was a species of '*Scandalum Magnatum'*, insulting the king's honour. Therefore, on 18 April 1609, Smith 'well baighted the great Courtiers…for [their] briberie and corruption'.[28] At Whitehall on Friday 23 March 1604, the day before the first anniversary of James's accession, Richard Eedes told the court that the previous year's plague, which had 'visited at the gates of [the] court' and necessitated a long summer progress, was sent as punishment for their individual and collective sins.[29] Preaching in late 1612, following the death of Prince Henry, Daniel Price claimed that, when he read *Jeremiah,* it seemed as though the prophet 'cried to the English Court for reform'.[30] Preachers repeatedly urged the court, comprising many of the wealthiest individuals in England to give alms.[31] More positively,

[24] David Harris Willson, 'James I and His Literary Assistants', *HLQ*, 8/1 (1944), pp. 40-5; Lancelot Andrewes, *Tortura Torti* (1609); William Barlow, *An ansvver to a Catholike English-man* (1609).
[25] Maxey, *Churches Sleepe*, sig. C3r.
[26] Linda Levy Peck, *Court Patronage and Corruption in Early Stuart England* (London, 1990), pp. 167-73.
[27] Smith, *Black-Smith*, sig. C4v.
[28] TNA, SP 14/44, fo. 166v.
[29] Richard Eedes, *Six Learned and Godly Sermons* (1604), sig. H2r.
[30] Daniel Price, *Spirituall odours to the memory of Prince Henry* (Oxford, 1613), p. 25.
[31] San Marino, California, The Huntington Library, MS Egerton, D.3.6, fo. 15r; Thomas Playfere, *Ten Poems* (Cambridge, 1610) sig. B8v; Anthony Maxey, *A Copie of the sermon preached before the King at White-hall on Tuesday the eight of Ianuarie, 1604* (1605), sig. E2v-E3r; Andrewes, *XCVI Sermons*, p. 931.

Anthony Rudd suggested that courtiers could use Solomon as a model of how to 'taste of all courtly delights' whilst retaining wisdom and godliness.[32]

In addition to offering frank criticisms of courtiers' morality, court preachers believed that their peculiar office, entailing care for the souls of the monarch, the royal family, the court, and senior councillors, licensed them to comment critically on matters of state in their sermons.[33] Indeed, because souls were at stake, it has been argued that early modern 'ecclesiastical counsel could perhaps be pushed more forcefully than its lay counterpart'.[34] In a sermon preached at Hampton Court on Tuesday 9 August 1603, Richard Eedes discussed extensively the unique responsibilities of preaching at court. He described himself as an 'embassadour from the princes of princes', whose purpose was to 'make…not only good Christians…but good kings also.[35] To this end his sermons would offer 'assistance in power', advising the court on how 'to guide the helme of their civile gouernement'.[36] Whilst preachers who discussed the duties of "ecclesiastical counsel" usually took the prophets Elijah and, especially, Nathan as their archetypes, Eedes insisted that preachers 'in the courts of princes' should preach 'in the stile of a commander', offering 'correct[ion]' where necessary.[37] Several preachers at the early Jacobean court lamented that the ascendancy of ideas of *ragion di stato* amongst European monarchs and their advisers had produced a widespread conviction that government necessitated ethical compromise: 'godlinesse is no good courtier, religion too simple to bee a counsellour'.[38] Eedes, however, argued, that the world would be improved if 'the face of pietie be seene in the presence [Chamber], and the heart of pietie dwell in the most priuy chambers of the courts of princes'.[39] It was because he similarly believed 'that [for] our religion [to] be safe, doth certainly very much depend on the Prince' that Lancelot Andrewes repeatedly used the refrain 'Let kings know' in the sermon he preached at Greenwich on 5 August 1606.[40] On this occasion, Andrewes was in fact preaching before two kings: James,

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[32] Anthony Rudd, *A sermon preached before the Kings Maiestie at White-Hall vpon the ninth of Februarie. 1605.* (1606), sig. A5r.
[33] David Colclough, *Freedom of Speech in Early Stuart England* (Cambridge, 2005), pp. 93-102; Jacqueline Rose, 'Kingship and Counsel in Early Modern England', *HJ*, 54/1 (2011), pp. 47-71.
[34] Rose, 'Kingship and Counsel', p. 51.
[35] Eedes, *Six Learned*, sig. B1r, B2r.
[36] Ibid, sig. B5v, B2r.
[37] Ibid, sig. C8r.
[38] Smith, *Black-Smith*, sig. E5r; Daniel Price, *The Spring* (1609), sig. E2r. On contemporary arguments that the *vita activa* necessitated ethical compromise, see Alexandra Gajda, 'The Gordian Knot of Policy: Statecraft and the Prudent Prince', in Smuts (ed.), *Age of Shakespeare*, pp. 286-305.
[39] Eedes, *Six Learned*, sig. E5v.
[40] Andrewes, *XCVI Sermons*, p. 245. Andrewes repeatedly exhorted James to heed clerical counsel: Nicholas Lossky, *Lancelot Andrewes the Preacher, 1555-1626: The Origins of the Mystical Theology of the Church of England*, trans. Andrew Louth (Oxford, 1991), pp. 311-17.

and his visiting brother-in-law, Christian IV of Denmark. Using *Proverbs 8:15* 'By Me Kings Reign' as his text, Andrewes seized the rare opportunity to offer ecclesiastical counsel to a monarch who was not his sovereign. He reminded Christian, who was notoriously proud of his navy and had already offered impressive displays of his fleet on the Thames, 'there is no safety for [kings] in their navies…A ship is a weak vessel, and cannot save', only God could do that.[41]

Although clerics conceived of their preaching at court as vital for the souls of their auditory and for the good of the commonwealth, it was easy for their sermons' important pastoral and political messages to be misheard, misinterpreted, misremembered, or even ignored.[42] They therefore deployed a variety of strategies – the *ars praedicandi* – to make their court sermons comprehensible and engaging, and to increase the chances that their important counsel would be understood and acted upon.[43] They were aided by the fact that sermons preached at court usually lasted for a maximum of one hour; much briefer than the sermons preached in most English parishes or at St Paul's Cross.[44] According to one court preacher, George Meriton, the early seventeenth-century court auditory 'expect[ed] brevity' (although this occasionally meant that preachers were unable to cover all of their planned material).[45] Several preachers used theatrical performances in the pulpit, such as Thomas Playfere who combined verbal pyrotechnics with theatrical gesticulation.[46] Some preachers sought to interest the king through an erudite preaching style. For example, on Easter Sunday 1605 the Scottish-born cleric John Gordon preached on 'the matter of ceremonies' using Biblical history ('Ezechiell and other places of prophets'), Hebrew etymologies, and antiquarian details to '[find] out and approve the use of the crosse, cap and surplis'.[47] Others sought to appeal to the cultural interests of courtiers. For example, in a pair of court sermons preached in 1611, Joseph

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[41] Andrewes, *XCVI Sermons*, p. 238. Martin Bellamy, *Christian IV and His Navy: A Political and Administrative History of the Danish Navy 1596-1648* (Leiden, 2006).
[42] Arnold Hunt, *The Art of Hearing: English Preachers and Their Audiences, 1590-1640* (Cambridge, 2010); John Craig, 'Sermon Reception', in Peter McCullough, Hugh Adlington, and Emma Rhatigan (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of the Early Modern Sermon* (Oxford, 2011), pp. 178-97.
[43] Deborah Shuger, *Sacred Rhetoric: The Christian Grand Style in the English Renaissance* (Princeton, 1988); Bryan Crockett, *The Play of Paradox: Stage and Sermon in Renaissance England* (Philadelphia, 1995); Hunt, *Art*, pp. 60-116, 343-89; Karen Armstrong, 'Sermons in Performance', in McCullough, Adlington, and Rhatigan (eds), *Handbook*, pp. 120-36.
[44] McCullough, *Sermons*, p. 129.
[45] George Meriton, *A Sermon of Nobilite* (1607), sig. A4r. Thomas Playfere claimed he had only been able to preach 'scarse halfe his sermon' at Greenwich on Tuesday 12 March 1605: Thomas Playfere, *The sick-mans couch* (Cambridge, 1605), sig. A3r.
[46] Bryan Crockett, 'Thomas Playere's Poetics of Preaching', in Lori Anne Ferrell and Peter E. McCullough (eds), *The English Sermon Revised: Religion, Literature and History 1600-1750* (Manchester, 2000), pp. 59-83.
[47] TNA, SP 14/13, fo. 160r. In 1612, Gordon published *Eiphnokoinnia*, in which he argued that the Reformation had restored religious ceremonies to their Biblical purity, following idolatrous Catholic decay: Prior, *Defining*, pp. 180-2.

Hall encouraged his congregation to interpret the day's Biblical text as they would an *impresa*, appealing to courtiers' deep fascination with deciphering emblems, both for pleasure and as a sign of their gentility, which I discussed in Chapter Two.[48]

Principles of "ecclesiastical counsel" compelled preachers at the early Jacobean court to comment in their sermons on James's accession and its impacts on the court. This chapter provides the first dedicated study of the various perspectives preachers offered on these epochal changes. The first section reassesses how James's accession altered preaching itself at the English court, including by changing the preaching calendar and the individuals responsible for controlling the preaching rota. However, I also caution against a recent scholarly tendency to elevate the importance of sermons at the English court under James at the expense of other elements of religious services. In his enthusiasm for the Chapel Royal's architecture and its musical life, James was more akin to Elizabeth than has usually been acknowledged.

In the second section, I examine how court preachers addressed James's accession during the first year of his English reign. I argue that, during this unstable formative period, they communicated several important messages to the court and beyond. They urged quiescence, and cautioned courtiers not to risk instability by behaving opportunistically. Court preachers also sought to assist the transition by addressing and attempting to dispel different groups of courtiers' abiding anxieties about the new king, as well as other concerns which he provoked after entering England. In the third section, I analyse the role court sermons played in continuing to enhance royal authority and defend James's accession once the new regime was established. In particular, the sermons preached on the new feast days of Gowrie Day and Gunpowder Day were performances that attempted to involve the court in a communal celebration of James, his succession to the English throne, and his policies as providentially-sanctioned. Chaplains also defended several changes at the English court, especially the award of court offices to Scottish individuals, and the king's hunting habits, against disquiet amongst courtiers. However, preachers at court also scrutinised the changes in the personnel, politics, and culture of the court following James's accession. The final section of this chapter reveals how preachers expressed reservations about, and even opposition to, restricted access to the king, the character and influence of James's advisors, and, most significantly, the influence of

[48] On Hall's interest in *imprese* as images untainted by Catholic idolatry, see D.C. Mantz, E.M. Ramsden, and S.W. Gardner, '"The Benefit of an Image, Without the Offence": Anglo-Dutch Emblematics and Hall's Liberation of the Lyric Soul', in Bart Westerweel (ed.), *Anglo-Dutch Relations in the Field of the Emblem* (Leiden, 1997), pp. 253-76.

Scottish courtiers and counsellors over policy and court patronage. Notably, during the first decade of James's English reign, preachers at the English court increasingly urged the king to keep his own counsel. I will argue that this tendency arose, not as an expression of an "absolutist" ideology, but as an attempt to limit the influence of individuals and groups who had become newly-significant at the court after 1603.

By focusing on how court preachers addressed the phenomenon of the court in transition, this chapter deepens our understanding of the nature and roles of sermons at the early Jacobean court. Previous scholarship on court sermons in this period has usually focused on the preaching of Lancelot Andrewes.[49] As a result, Andrewes's distinctive, even idiosyncratic, political and religious views and preaching style have often been treated as typical of preaching at the early Jacobean court. By recovering the contributions that several of Andrewes's lesser-known contemporaries, including Thomas Blague, Richard Eedes, Anthony Maxey, Anthony Rudd, and William Smith, made to the sometimes-contentious debates about James's accession and the establishment of his English court, I will present an unfamiliar view of preaching at the English court under James. In particular, I will show that, although court preachers performed important roles in securing the establishment of the Jacobean regime, they could also offer striking reservations and criticisms about the court's changed politics and culture.

Preaching at the Early Jacobean Court

During the first eighteen months of James's English reign, many preachers at court included an aside in their sermons, in which they sought to reassure their courtly auditory that James's accession had resulted in no substantial alterations to English religious practices. Preaching at Hampton Court on Tuesday 9 August 1603, Richard Eedes gave thanks to God and the king that the Jacobean succession had been a 'change…without change. A change of the Gouernor, but not of the Religioun and gouernment of the land'.[50] However, Eedes's rhetoric masked the reality that James's accession resulted in notable changes to how preaching was organised and delivered at the English court.

[49] Peter Lake, 'Lancelot Andrewes, John Buckeridge, and Avant-Garde Conformity at the Court of James I', in Peck (ed.), *Mental World*, pp. 45-64; McCullough, *Sermons*, pp. 147-63; Lossky, *Lancelot Andrewes.*
[50] Eedes, *Six Learned*, sig. B2v.

The most immediately obvious of these changes was that, following James's accession, the amount of preaching at the English court increased. During Elizabeth's reign, two sermons had been preached in the Chapel Royal every Sunday morning (the first attended by the Household, the second by the Chamber, including the queen). Sermons were also preached at court on feast days, with three sermons preached each week during Lent (on Wednesday, Friday, and Sunday). Very early in his reign James instituted an additional sermon to be preached on Tuesday mornings; the first known example of which was delivered by Thomas Blague at the Charterhouse on 10 May 1603. Ironically, Eedes made his claim that James had introduced no discernible changes to religion during one of the first Tuesday court sermons, a novelty that many courtiers would not yet have been accustomed to.

The new Tuesday sermons brought worship at the English court into alignment with Scotland, where, since 1600, special sermons had been delivered nationwide every Tuesday to commemorate James's escape from the Gowrie Conspiracy at Saint Johnstone near Perth, which had occurred on a Tuesday.[51] This was therefore a significant first step in James's efforts to harmonise English and Scottish culture. In an early Tuesday court sermon, preached at Greenwich on 14 June 1603, Anthony Rudd explained that the court had gathered, like Scottish congregations, to commemorate 'that which was acted at Saint Iontstone vpon the fifth of August in the yeare 1600'.[52] The Tuesday sermon was deeply important to James, who treasured that it provided a weekly opportunity for his subjects in all his realms to celebrate the 'great deliveries wrought by God' upon him.[53] The Venetian ambassadors often complained that James would abruptly leave their meetings in order to attend the Tuesday sermon.[54] However, James's providential deliverances were only rarely addressed in the Tuesday sermons preached at the English court, perhaps due to widespread scepticism amongst the English political nation about the veracity of James's account of events near Perth.[55] Even the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot on a Tuesday, which elevated the day's auspiciousness

[51] *CSPS*, xiii, p. 856.
[52] Thomas Rudd, *A sermon preached at Greenwich before the Kings Maiestie vpon Tuesday in Whitson weeke being the 14. of Iune* (1603), sig. B2r.
[53] CP 113, fo. 48r.
[54] *CSPV*, x, pp. 193, 265; xi, pp. 307, 564.
[55] On Tuesday 8 January 1605, Anthony Maxey reminded the court that 'this daye wee doe acknowledge' the Gowrie Conspiracy: Anthony Maxey, *A Copie,* sig. H1v. On Tuesday 11 February 1606, Richard Meredeth discussed how 'so many plots [had been] defeated…vpon this a most memorable day of the weeke': Richard Meredeth, *Two Sermons Preached Before His Maiestie, in his chappell at Whitehall* (1606), sig. C3r. On English scepticism, see Jenny Wormald, 'The Gowrie Conspiracy: Do we need to wait until the Day of Judgement?' in Miles Kerr-Peterson and Steven J. Reid (eds), *James VI and Noble Power in Scotland 1578-1603* (Abingdon, 2017), pp. 194-206.

further, did not transform the English court's Tuesday sermon into the weekly reflection on James's providential protection that the king had envisaged.

In the earliest years of James's reign, two new feast days were also established, which included preaching at court.[56] These commemorated the anniversaries of significant, providential events in the new king's life: from 1603, Gowrie Day on 5 August, and, from 1606, Gunpowder Day on 5 November. James's additions to the court's preaching calendar elevated sermons into 'the pre-eminent literary genre at the Jacobean court'.[57] Whereas plays and masques were usually only performed to a select audience during Christmas and Shrovetide, three sermons were preached at the Jacobean court every week.

Courtiers engaged actively with the increased amount of preaching at court. During Elizabeth's reign, courtiers had often chosen to attend sermons preached in the localities or at other venues in London. James, however, urged courtiers to attend the sermons preached in the Chapel Royal, even if he was away from London on summer progress or hunting trips.[58] Indeed, sermons were one of the most publicly-accessible events in court life**.** In contrast to James's rigid regulation of access to the Privy Chamber, all gentlemen, regardless of whether they held a formal household post, were permitted to attend the services and sermons held in the Chapel Royal, as were resident and visiting ambassadors. During Lent, sermons were preached in Whitehall's sermon court, an outdoor preaching venue with a capacity of five-thousand auditors.[59] Recent court sermons were frequently discussed in the correspondence of court gossips, such as John Chamberlain and Dudley Carleton. The extraordinary accessibility of preaching at the Jacobean court meant that, on Christmas Day 1611, John Selman, a thief, was able to enter the Chapel Royal by dressing as a gentleman, where he attempted to steal the purse of Leonard Barry, a servant of John Harington, during Holy Communion.[60] Selman's trial and execution became a popular literary sensation and was alluded to in Ben Jonson's court masque, *Love Restored*, performed on the next Twelfth Night.[61] At James' urging, a far

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[56] On the marking of these feast days in the wider country, see David Cressy, *Bonfire and Bells: National Memory and the Protestant Calendar in Elizabethan and Stuart England* (London, 1989), pp. 141-55; Mary Morrissey, 'Presenting James VI and I to the Public: Preaching on Political Anniversaries at Paul's Cross', in Houlbrooke (ed.), *James*, pp. 107-22.
[57] McCullough, *Sermons*, p. 125.
[58] Ibid, pp. 130-1.
[59] Ibid, p. 48.
[60] TNA, SP 14/31, fo. 147r.
[61] Anon., *The araignment of Iohn Selman* (1612); Henry Smith, *The arraiinement, condemnation, and excution [sic] of the grand Iohn Selman and the Captaine Cut-Purse a new ballad shewing the most notirous abuse of life of Iohn Selman* (1612).

greater proportion of the population of the court (and indeed of London) attended sermons in the Chapel Royal than had been the case under Elizabeth. If courtiers attended a performance at the English court under James, it was far more likely to be a sermon than a masque or play.



FIGURE 4. John Selman, the "Christmas Cutpurse" who attended the service in the Chapel Royal on Christmas Day, 1611. Frontispiece from[Anon], *The araignment of Iohn Selman* (1612).

Courtiers shared their sermon notes with one another. Additionally, they could revisit many court sermons in print. Around fifty of the sermons that were preached at the English court during the first decade of James's reign were printed, often appearing shortly after they had been preached. Several went through multiple editions. A significantly higher number of court sermons were printed during James's reign than under Elizabeth. It is not entirely clear why it became 'a fashion to preach, and then to print' court sermons during James's reign.[62] However, there certainly was not a systematic, official approach to printing court sermons. Between 1603 and the end of 1612, the King's Printer, Robert Barker, only printed thirteen court sermons by the king's commandment, or occasionally by that of Richard Bancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury.[63] The majority of these had been preached on feast days. Curiously, several politically-important court sermons, such as the sermon preached by Thomas Bilson at James's coronation or John Gordon's sermon preached during the meetings of the Commissioners for Union, were not commanded printed by royal authority. Instead, most early Jacobean court sermons were printed due to the efforts of the preachers themselves, or of members of the auditory. It was comparatively easy to prepare sermons that had been

[62] Meriton, *Sermon*, sig. A4r.
[63] McCullough, *Sermons*, pp. 138, 210-11. On Barker's role, see Graham Rees and Maria Wakely, *Publishing, Politics, and Culture: The King's Printers in the Reign of James I and VI* (Oxford, 2009).

preached at court for printing because chaplains usually preached from a full text rather than notes to ensure their delivery before their elite auditory was more fluid.[64] As they did not generally require writing up, court sermons could be printed almost immediately. Thomas Playfere was notably eager to have the sermons he had preached *coram rege* printed rapidly, including in expanded versions.[65] However, some preachers were reticent to print their sermons, fearing that the printed page lacked the *actio* so integral to pulpit performances and was therefore an inadequate, and possibly misleading, substitute for the sermon as preached.[66] Therefore, court sermons were sometimes printed after an auditor, who, considering its wider dissemination 'for the publike good', obtained a copy of the text and arranged its printing.[67] For example, Thomas Bilson's sermon preached at James and Anna's coronation was not printed because of any action undertaken by Bilson himself. It was printed because an unknown individual procured a copy of the text from a mutual 'good friend' they shared with Bilson.[68] Courtiers discussed excitedly the forthcoming printing of sermons they had attended in the Chapel Royal.[69] The anonymously-written preface to a posthumously printed collection of Richard Eedes's court sermons confidently predicted that 'the Court which heard them, will be willing to read them' because 'copies… of them [had been] entreated from' Eedes during his lifetime.[70] Printing also enabled courtiers to read some of the sermons that had been preached before the king in the localities.[71]

In addition to having an auditory comprised of engaged courtiers, sermons were written and preached by individuals who were themselves courtiers, if a peculiar kind of courtier. Although they were usually beneficed elsewhere, preachers at the early Jacobean court were almost always selected from a list of chaplains-in-ordinary, a post to which they were formally sworn by the Lord Chamberlain and the Dean of the Chapel Royal. Whilst they were not regular members of the court in the sense that other members of the Chamber or Household were, the chaplains-in-ordinary nevertheless enjoyed an official recognised attachment to the

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[64] Hunt, *Art*, pp. 134-5. However, Tobie Matthew claimed he preached several sermons at Whitehall 'almost extempore': BL, MS Additional 4274, fo. 18r.
[65] Playfere, S*ick-mans couch* (Cambridge, 1605); idem, *Caesaris Svperscripto* (1606); idem, *Sermon Preached before the Kings Maiestie at Drayton* (Cambridge, 1609); idem, *Ten Sermons.*
[66] For fuller discussions of this anxiety, see Hunt, *Art*, pp. 117-87; James Rigney, 'Sermons into Print', in McCullough, Adlington, and Rhatigan (eds), *Handbook*, pp. 198-212.
[67] Rudd, *Sermon…Greenwich,* sig. A2v.
[68] Bilson, S*ermon*, sig. A3r.
[69] TNA, SP 14/37, fo. 105v.
[70] Eedes, *Six Learned*, sig. A2r.
[71] Samuel Walsall, *The life and death of Iesus Christ…In a sermon preached before the Kings Maiesty at Royston* (Cambridge, 1607); Christopher Hampton, *Two Sermons preached before the Kings most excellent Maiesty in the Church of Beavly in Hampshire* (1609).

court. Notably, almost all sermons preached at the early Jacobean court were delivered by English-born chaplains-in-ordinary. I know of only four occasions on which a Scottish-born cleric preached, and John Gordon (appointed Bishop of Salisbury in 1604), whose erudite preaching style appealed to James's intellectual tastes, was the only Scot who delivered a sermon at the early Jacobean court on multiple occasions.[72] The English dominance of the Chapel Royal departed strikingly from James's tendency to balance appointments of English and Scots within other sub-departments of the English court.[73] However, there are several reasons for the exclusion of Scottish preachers. Although James arrived in London in May 1603 accompanied by at least seven Scottish clerics, most of these men soon returned to Scotland.[74] They were more usefully deployed there, implementing James's plans to reintroduce episcopacy (finally achieved at the General Assembly in June 1610), than they would be waiting on the London court.[75] Additionally John Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury and Richard Bancroft, Bishop of London, had acted pre-emptively to ensure that Scottish Presbyterians would not be able to criticise the government and ceremonies of the Church of England in the King's Chapel.[76] In summer 1603, they presented James with a list of thirty-two English preachers who they considered 'fitt to preache before his Majestie', many of whom had regularly preached before the Elizabethan court.[77] This list formed the bedrock of clerics who preached at the early Jacobean court.

James regularly expanded the list of chaplains-in-ordinary by adding preachers he had enjoyed hearing during his progresses and hunting trips in the localities.[78] These individuals would, of course, be English. Literary critics have discussed extensively the phenomenon of English poets presenting or dedicating poems to the new king in an effort to gain his favour and rewards.[79] The English clerics who preached before James similarly sought to use their

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[72] Patrick Galloway on 4 December 1604, John Gordon on 28 October 1604, John Gordon on 28 April 1605, and John Gordon on 25 August 1605.
[73] Neil Cuddy, 'The Revival of the Entourage: The Bedchamber of James I, 1603-1625', in Starkey (ed.), *English Court*, pp. 173-225.
[74] David Lindsay, Peter Rollock, Patrick Galloway, Andrew Lamb, John Spottiswood, Gavin Hamilton, and Alexander Forbes.
[75] On James's campaigns to reintroduce episcopacy to Scotland, see MacDonald, *Jacobean Kirk*, pp. 148-70.
[76] On Whitgift and Bancroft's fears, see Jenny Wormald, 'Ecclesiastical Vitriol: The Kirk, The Puritans and the Future King of England', in Guy (ed.), *Reign*, pp. 171-91; Patrick Collinson, 'Bishop Richard Bancroft and the Succession', in Doran and Kewes (eds), *Doubtful*, pp. 93-107.
[77] London, Westminster Abbey Library, Muniment Book 15, fo. 6r; McCullough, *Sermons*, pp. 106-7.
[78] McCullough, *Sermons*, p. 116.
[79] Curtis Perry, *The Making of Jacobean Culture: James I and the Renegotiation of Elizabethan Literary Practice* (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 15-49; James Doelman, *King James I and the Religious Culture of England* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 20-38; Jane Rickard, *Writing the Monarch in Jacobean England: Jonson, Donne, Shakespeare and the Works of King James* (Cambridge, 2015); Richard A. McCabe, *'Ungainefull Arte': Poetry, Patronage, and Print in the Early Modern Era* (Oxford, 2016), pp. 288-302.

sermons to win court posts. After all, becoming a chaplain-in-ordinary granted a cleric exemption from non-residency fines and bans on pluralism, and was an essential stepping stone on the route to the episcopal bench. Tobie Matthew, Bishop of Durham, was amongst the most successful English clerics at ingratiating himself into James's favour through his preaching. Matthew had strongly opposed the Stewart claim to the English throne, arguing in 1594 that James was 'too Catholique or too cunning' to succeed Elizabeth.[80] However, preaching before James at Berwick on 6 April 1603, Matthew reportedly 'crav[ed] pardon for his opposicion heretofore, with promise of faithful service'.[81] His penance proved successful. Matthew was appointed Archbishop of York in 1604 and became one of the most important preachers at the early Jacobean court, preaching on many significant occasions including the first Gowrie Day sermon, at the Hampton Court Conference, before the Commissioners for Union, at Prince Charles's creation as Duke of York, and the first sermon preached at court after the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot.[82] Frustratingly, no texts of his court sermons have survived.

Although James's nominations expanded the pool of individuals who could possibly be called upon to preach at court, the court's actual preaching rota was decided by several senior court and ecclesiastical figures: Sir Robert Cecil, Secretary of State, Richard Bancroft, James Montagu, Dean of the Chapel Royal, and Richard Neile, Clerk of the Closet.[83] Every month, a combination of these figures selected two chaplains-in-ordinary who would 'wait on' the court for that month, preaching alternate sermons. Most of these men achieved control over court preaching for the first time in James's reign. Neither Neile nor Montagu had even preached at court before Elizabeth's death, let alone performed any organisational role. Although James had reportedly 'highly…commended' the 'doctrine and methode of preaching' of Elizabeth's Clerk of the Closet, John Thornborough, who preached before him at York on Palm Sunday 1603, he nonetheless had Thornborough replaced as Clerk by Neile.[84] Neile's position as one of Cecil's household chaplains was surely key to his appointment.[85] On Christmas Day 1603, Montagu was appointed Dean of the Chapel Royal, a position that Elizabeth had left vacant since the death of the previous Dean, George Carew, in 1583. With

[80] TNA, SP 59/29, fo. 33r. Rosamund Oates, *Moderate Radical: Tobie Matthew and the English Reformation* (Oxford, 2018), pp. 123-31.
[81] John Manningham, *The Diary of John Manningham, of the Middle Temple, 1602-1603,* ed. Robert Parker Sorlien (Hanover, N.H., 1976), p. 245.
[82] York, York Minster Library, MS Additional 18, fos 73, 76, 78, 80.
[83] McCullough, *Sermons*, p. 115.
[84] Nichols, *Progresses James*, i, p. 80.
[85] Andrew Foster, 'Archbishop Richard Neile Revisited', in Peter Lake and Michael Questier (eds), *Conformity and Orthodoxy in the English Church, c. 1560-1660* (Woodbridge, 2000) pp. 159-78.

Montagu's appointment, the institution of the Chapel Royal gained a say in the organisation of preaching at court for the first time in decades. In addition to contributing to the preaching rota, Montagu, assisted by the sub-dean, Leonard Davies, and between twenty and thirty Gentlemen of the Chapel, oversaw all logistical aspects of the Chapel Royal, from acquiring and training choristers to supplying cushions.

The chaplains who preached at the early Jacobean court represented a broad spectrum of religious views, and this can be accounted for by the religious beliefs of those who organised the preaching rota. Preachers in the early Jacobean Chapel Royal included individuals who had taken opposing sides in the late-Elizabethan debates about the Lambeth Articles, which had centred on the question of perseverance in grace.[86] Nonetheless, most court preachers subscribed to the Calvinist fundamentals of soteriology.[87] One of the most popular sermons preached at the early Jacobean court was Anthony Maxey's sermon delivered at Whitehall on Tuesday 8 January 1605. Maxey offered a classic exposition of double predestination, which he dubbed 'the Golden Cheine', explaining that God 'hath made choise of some to eternall life; & others hath left vnto perdition'.[88] The "Calvinist consensus" concerning soteriology was challenged only rarely in sermons preached at the early Jacobean court. For example, on Sunday 4 November 1610, an unknown preacher condemned Calvinist predestination: 'that they need no workes but maye straight from predestination step to glorification. But I saye that is presumption'.[89] Notably, this unorthodox sermon was delivered before the household, not before the king and senior courtiers. It was not until much later in James's reign that critiques of predestination were offered from the court pulpit with any frequency.[90]

Nonetheless, a range of views about liturgy were preached in the Chapel Royal. The majority of the individuals who controlled the preaching rota at the early Jacobean court were stalwart anti-puritans, and Cecil and Neile held religious beliefs that historians have labelled 'avant-garde conformity'.[91] This term describes those who believed that God's authority and mercy demanded an elevated, ceremonial response, including visual splendour, music, prayer,

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[86] Elizabeth Gilliam and W.J. Tighe, 'To "Run with the Time": Archbishop Whitgift, the Lambeth Articles, and the Politics of Theological Ambiguity in Late Elizabethan England', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 23/2 (1992), pp. 325-40.
[87] Peter Lake, 'Calvinism and the English Church, 1570-1635', *P&P*, 114 (1987), pp. 32-76.
[88] Maxey, *The sermon,* sig. B1r, E2r. Maxey prepared a royal presentation copy of the sermon, which also went through five print editions: BL, MS Royal 17 B. Art. XXXIV.
[89] Hertford, Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies Library, MS 44M69, fo. 5r.
[90] Lake and Fincham, 'Ecclesiastical Policy', pp. 198-202.
[91] Pauline Croft, 'The Religion of Robert Cecil', *HJ*, 34/4 (1991), pp. 773-96; Foster, 'Richard Neile Revisited', pp. 159-78.

and reverence for the Holy Communion.[92] The most famous practitioner of an avant-garde conformist style of worship is Lancelot Andrewes, whose court sermons used extraordinarily vivid language in an attempt to provoke a visceral apprehension of and appreciation for God's love amongst his auditors.[93] Andrewes's court sermons also frequently argued for the necessity of taking Communion, especially on feast days.[94] On Christmas Day 1610, he claimed that 'No fulnes there is of our Liturgie, or publike solemne service, without the Sacrament'.[95] However, several other chaplains-in-ordinary promoted avant-garde conformist views in their court sermons, especially concerning the importance of intense acts of devotion, such as ardent prayer and fasting. On Tuesday 25 February 1606, Richard Meredeth chastised the court for behaving as though 'all the chiefe parts, and points of the Christian religion consisteth in reading of scriptures, frequenting of Lectures, and hearing of sermons'.[96] Just as Andrewes sought to elevate reverence for Holy Communion at court, Meredeth attempted to revitalise the intensity of courtiers' prayers, by preaching an extended remedial pastoral course in how 'to make your prayers to bee effectual'.[97] In a sermon preached in March 1611 William Barlow 'praised very expressly auriculuar confession, invocation and fastings, things', the Venetian Ambassador, Marc Antonio Correr, noted, that were 'greatly abhorred by the purer of the Calvinistic sectaries'.[98] During the first decade of James's reign, the English court increasingly heard sermons that argued the Christian life demanded more than passive attendance of sermons. Cecil's, Neile's, and perhaps Bancroft's, roles in selecting preachers is certainly responsible for this. Many of the new preachers at the court were their chaplains: for example, George Montaigne, and John Bowles had all been household chaplains to Robert Cecil.

However, very occasionally, preachers in the Chapel Royal called for further reform of the Church of England (especially its liturgy), defended non-conformists, or criticised avant-garde conformist ideas. On Palm Sunday 1610, one 'Doctor Beck' emphasised the memorial rather than sacrificial function of the Eucharist, rebutting the elevated reverence for the

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[92] Peter Lake, 'Lancelot Andrewes'; Kenneth Fincham and Nicholas Tyacke, *Altars Restored: The Changing Face of English Religious Worship, 1547-c.1700* (Oxford, 2007), pp. 74-125.
[93] For a useful discussion of Andrewes's literary techniques in one court sermon, see Richard Harriers, 'Lancelot Andrewes's Good Friday 1604 Sermon', in Michael Hattaway (ed.), *A New Companion to English Renaissance Literature and Culture* (2 vols, Oxford, 2010), ii, pp. 430-7.
[94] Andrewes, *XCVI Sermons*, pp. 9, 22-3, 52, 254, 393, 402, 422, 454, 607, 649.
[95] Lancelot Andrewes, *A sermon preached before His Maiestie at White-Hall, on Tuesday the 25. of December…* (1610), p. 38.
[96] Meredeth, *Two Sermons*, sig. F1r.
[97] Ibid, E3v.
[98] *CSPV*, xi, p. 127.

Sacrament propounded by preachers like Lancelot Andrewes and Anthony Maxey.[99] Most notoriously, preaching at Greenwich on Tuesday 19 June 1604, John Burgess argued that James's plan to deprive clergy who did not subscribe to the Three Articles was a mistake, for which he was briefly imprisoned.[100] James Montagu, Dean of the Chapel Royal, appears to have been responsible for inviting several non-conformists, or clerics sympathetic to them, to preach *coram rege*. A supporter of episcopacy, church music, and vestments, who had helped to encourage conformity at the University of Cambridge, Montagu was by no means a puritan himself.[101] Nevertheless, alone amongst those who organised preaching at the early Jacobean court, Montagu was sympathetic to non-conformist Protestants. During his interrogation about his sermon, Burgess claimed that Montagu shared his belief that non-subscribers should not be deprived, a claim that was repeated a few months later by the puritan courtier Lewis Pickering, arrested for seditious libel in March 1605.[102] Burgess had almost certainly been selected to preach at court by Montagu.[103] Furthermore, as the former master of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, Montagu is most likely responsible for the phenomenon of evangelical preachers from the University of Cambridge being invited to preach before James during his hunting excursions.[104] On one such occasion at Newmarket, William Pemberton of Christ's College implored James not to describe reformers as puritans because 'the name of puritan properly belonged to the papists… and not to those painful ministers who laboured in preaching the Word'.[105] It has been argued plausibly that Montagu's appointment as Dean of the Chapel was promoted by Whitgift and Bancroft in a pragmatic ploy to placate English puritans by granting a significant role in the court's religious life to a "moderate puritan", who they were nonetheless certain would defend 'the due Performance of Gods Publick Service'.[106] Because the selection of preachers was shared between the avant-garde conformist Cecil and Neile and the puritan-sympathetic Montagu, the Chapel Royal achieved James's ambitions to create a broad Church

[99] Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies Library, MS 44M69, fo. 5r.
[100] For more detailed studies of Burgess's sermon, see McCullough, *Sermons*, pp. 141-7; Peter Lake, 'Moving the Goal Posts?: Modified Subscription and the Construction of Conformity in the Early Stuart Church', in Lake and Questier (eds), *Conformity and Orthodoxy*, pp. 179-210; Emma Rhatigan, 'Preaching to Princes: John Burgess and George Hakewill in the Royal Pulpit', *JEH*, 62/2 (2011), pp. 273-96.
[101] Peter E. McCullough, 'Montagu, James (1568-1618)', *ODNB*.
[102] CP 114, fo. 20r; 192, fo. 10r.
[103] McCullough, *Sermons*, pp. 185-6.
[104] B.W. Quintrell, 'The Royal Hunt and the Puritans, 1604-1605', *JEH*, 31/1, pp. 41-58.
[105] CP 128, fo. 21r. James does not appear to have been offended by Pemberton's sermon at the time, only taking umbrage with his defence of puritans when Pemberton beat his preferred candidate to be elected master of Christ's College, Cambridge in 1609: Stephen A. Bondos-Greene, 'The End of an Era: Cambridge Puritanism and the Christ's College Election of 1609', *HJ*, 25/1 (1982), pp. 197-208.
[106] McCullough, *Sermons*, pp. 107-8; Peter Heylyn, *Cyprianus Anglicus, or the History of the Life and Death of William Archbishop of Canterbury* (1688), p. 158.

that comprehended as many doctrinal views, churchmanships, and liturgical preferences as possible.[107]

Clearly, James's accession led to a range of changes that made sermons even more important events at the English court, in which a range of religious ideas were presented. However, my investigation of sermons is not intended to imply that they were the only significant component of worship at the early Jacobean English court. Previous scholarship has often risked exaggerating the centrality of sermons within the English court's religious culture under James. Partly, this is because James is so often portrayed as obsessed with sermons. There are numerous anecdotes about him debating recent court sermons at dinner or reading their texts in bed.[108] Peter McCullough claimed that James was so enamoured of sermons that he did not attend full Prayer Book services, and instead only attended the Chapel Royal for the sermon.[109] McCullough also proposed that chaplains-in-ordinary such as Richard Meredeth and Lancelot Andrewes celebrated prayer and Holy Communion in their court sermons in order to rebuke the disregard that James's example encouraged towards aspects of the service other than the sermon.[110] However, there is no substantial evidence to support McCullough's assertion that James neglected the religious services of the English Chapel Royal, thereby inspiring avant-garde conformist court preachers. McCullough's sole piece of evidence is Peter Heylyn's claim in his Restoration biography of William Laud that 'in the court since the first entrance of King James' it was customary for 'at what part soever of the Publick Prayers the king came into his Closet…the Divine service was cut off, and the Anthem sung, that the Preacher might go into the pulpit'.[111] Heylyn's claims about James's churchmanship should probably be understood as inventions or exaggerations by a hagiographer that were intended to make Laud's later achievements against the forces of anti-ceremonialism seem even more substantial.[112] Had James habitually been absent from most of the service in the Chapel Royal (which would have constituted a radical departure from Elizabeth I's usual attendance of the full Prayer Book liturgy), it would surely have provoked either elated comment by puritan anti-ceremonialists at court and beyond, or disquiet amongst

[107] Fincham and Lake, 'Ecclesiastical Policy'.
[108] TNA, SP 14/44, fo. 75r; Nichols, *Progresses James*, iii, p. 407.
[109] McCullough, *Sermons*, pp. 155-6.
[110] Ibid, pp. 155-63.
[111] Heylyn, *Cyprianus*, p. 166.
[112] Anthony Milton, *Laudian and Royalist Polemic in Seventeenth-Century England: The Career and Writings of Peter Heylyn* (Manchester, 2007).

more mainstream "Prayer Book" Protestants, avant-garde conformists, and church papists.[113] No such comments survive.

There is, however, plenty of contemporary evidence that James found various aspects of worship in the English Chapel Royal to his liking, and not just preaching. In particular, it is clear that James responded positively to the Chapel's music. Since the Reformation, church music in English cathedrals and especially in the Chapel Royal had increasingly been used as a means of sacralising monarchy, in a fashion the Kirk would never have permitted.[114] As king of England, James undertook several measures to ensure that music in the Chapel Royal could continue to twin monarchy and religion in spectacular fashion. On 19 May 1603 it was announced that the Gentlemen of the Chapel Royal, who were responsible for maintaining the Chapels in all royal palaces, and preparing and officiating the services held there, would be fined for 'absence, disobedience, or want of endeavour'.[115] In 1604, James requested clarification concerning who was responsible for 'the whole service and the songes to be performed in the Chappell'.[116] In an overlooked aspect of his largesse towards the English Church, James authorised a ten-pound increase to the stipends of the Gentlemen of the Chapel Royal, and confirmed royal funding for the board of the boys of the Chapel's choir, as well as scholarships for when their voices broke.[117] Despite her famed love of church music, Elizabeth had ignored the Gentlemen's repeated requests for extra funding since the 1580s.[118] From the earliest days of his English reign, James instituted disciplinary and financial measures to ensure that services in the Chapel Royal, and not just the sermons, were administered correctly. His enthusiastic funding of the Chapel, especially enabling its musical life, is understandable: ever since his visit to Denmark in 1589-90 James had been taken with the music and richly-decorated altars of Lutheran services; meanwhile, as two of the musicians in his Chapel Royal in Scotland, the brothers Robert and Thomas Hudson had been English emigrants, he was predisposed to view English church music favourably.[119]

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[113] On Elizabeth's habits for attending the Chapel Royal, see McCullough, *Sermons*, pp. 77, 155.
[114] David Starkey and Katie Greening, *David Starkey's Monarchy and Music: A History of Britain in Four Movements* (London, 2013), pp. 111-26.
[115] *The Old Cheque-Book, or, Book of Remembrance, of the Chapel Royal, from 1561 to 1744,* ed. Edward F. Rimbault (London, 1872), pp. 69, 72-4.
[116] Ibid, p. 71.
[117] Ibid, p. 61; *CSPD James,* i, p. 151; On James's liberality to the Church, see Andrew Foster, 'The Clerical Estate Revitalised', in Kenneth Fincham (ed.), *The Early Stuart Church* (Basingstoke, 1993), pp. 139-60.
[118] *Old Cheque-Book*, pp. 59-60.
[119] Helena M. Shire, *Song, Dance and Poetry at the Court of Scotland under King James VI* (Cambridge, 1969), pp. 71-4; Amy Juhala, 'The Household and Court of King James VI of Scotland, 1567-1603' (Ph.D. thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2000), pp. 187-8. For a brief discussion of music in services in the Jacobean Chapel

Additionally, the rituals and architecture of the English Chapel Royal complemented James's ideas about the reverence due to monarchy far better than those in Scotland had. There, James had usually heard sermons whilst sitting below the pulpit amongst the rest of the congregation in 'a very common chair that showed no ornament whatever', an arrangement that epitomised the Kirk's doctrine of ministerial parity.[120] As king of England, however, James usually heard sermons ensconced in the King's Closet, an elevated pew in the Chapel's west gallery, which was set against the backdrop of the Chapel's walls and ceiling, decorated lavishly with royal heraldry.[121] James capitalised on how the architecture of the Chapel Royal expressed the English Royal Supremacy by using it as the venue for a number of ceremonies of dynastic, courtly, and international significance. During the first decade of James's English reign, four marriages between courtiers and the baptisms of eight noble children (perhaps unsurprisingly all named James or Anna) were held in the Chapel Royal.[122] Elizabeth had not permitted the Chapel to be used for this purpose since the 1570s. It was also the location for the swearing of peace treaties with Spain in August 1604 and France in January 1611.[123]

James most clearly indicated his preference for the more hierarchical architecture and lavish ceremonies of the English Chapel Royal when, in 1616, he ordered the Chapel Royal at Holyrood to be redesigned following English models.[124] The following year, during his progress to Scotland, he held a service there according to the English Prayer Book liturgy, to cool reception from the Kirk. However, his interest in the ceremonies of the Church of England had been recognised much earlier. William Byrd mentioned James's augmentation of the Chapel Gentlemen's stipends in his dedication of his liturgical polyphony *Gradualia* to his fellow church-papist, the earl of Northampton (who it was reported had urged James to increase the Chapel's funding).[125] Byrd suggested that this bounty was an auspicious sign that James favoured more ceremonial worship. By contrast, Andrew Melville, when he attended sermons

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Royal, see Peter McCullough, 'Music Reconciled to Preaching: A Jacobean Moment', in Natalie Mears and Alec Ryrie (eds), *Worship and the Parish Church in Early Modern Britain* (London, 2013), pp. 109-30.

[120] Gottfried von Bülow, 'Journey through England and Scotland Made by Lupold von Wedel in the Years 1584 and 1585', *TRHS*, 9 (1895), p. 245.

[121] McCullough, *Sermons*, pp. 11-49; Emma Rhatigan, 'Preaching Venues: Architecture and Auditories', in McCullough, Adlington, Emma Rhatigan (eds), *Handbook*, pp. 105-8; Clare Frances Whitehead, 'Performing for the New King: Continuity and Change at the Early Jacobean Court' (Ph.D. thesis, Queen Mary University of London, 2014), pp. 94-5.

[122] *Old Cheque-Book*, p. 239.

[123] Ibid, pp. 151-3. For a discussion of these ceremonies, see Janette Dillon, *The Language of Space in Court Performance, 1400-1625* (Cambridge, 2010), pp. 83-90.

[124] Alan R. MacDonald, 'James VI and I, the Church of Scotland, and British Ecclesiastical Convergence', *HJ*, 48/4 (2005), pp. 884-7.

[125] William Byrd, *Gradualia*, second edition (1610), sig. A2r-v; *Old-Cheque Book*, p. 61.

at the English court in September 1606, was 'moved with indignatioun to see suche vanitie and superstitioun in a Christian Churche under a Christian king'.[126] He was especially incensed by the English Chapel Royal, which he described in a Latin epigram (that resulted in his imprisonment in the Tower of London until 1611 for *scandalum magnatum*) as 'a Chapel put in Romish dress'.[127] Instead of seeming excessively sermon-centred, as McCullough has claimed, James appeared (to contemporaries at opposing ends of the religious spectrum) to be an ardent enthusiast for the material and ceremonial features of worship at the English court, having displayed these interests from around the time of the Hampton Court Conference. In enjoying Prayer Book services and the music of the Chapel Royal, James's churchmanship was more comparable to Elizabeth's than has been appreciated.[128]

Defending the Transition, 1603

In the weeks immediately after Elizabeth I's death, sermons were preached across England that attempted to deter popular disorder during an exceptionally fragile political moment.[129] The sermons preached at court in the first months of the English Jacobean regime addressed James's accession in a manner distinctive from "accession sermons" preached at other venues. During the first month after Elizabeth's death, a bizarre institutional arrangement obtained. Technically there were two courts: Elizabeth's court at London, not formally dissolved until her funeral at Westminster Abbey on 28 April, and the mobile court accompanying James south from Edinburgh to London. Elizabeth had died during the Lent sermon series, and it was decided to continue the traditional thrice-weekly programme of sermons at Whitehall. Preaching at the "Elizabethan court" on 27 March, the first Sunday after Elizabeth's death, John King urged the court to give thanks that, in contrast to the 'feares and foretellinges of miseries like to fall upon us at these times', there had actually been a 'suddein peacable succession' with 'noe interregnum'.[130] Other chaplains-in-ordinary developed the prescribed Lenten themes of renewal, thanksgiving, and reconciliation to celebrate the peaceful start to

[126] David Calderwood, *The History of the Kirk of Scotland*, ed. Thomas Thomson (8 vols, Edinburgh, 1842-9), vi, pp. 597-8.
[127] Ernest R. Holloway III, *Andrew Melville and Humanism in Renaissance Scotland, 1545-1622* (Leiden, 2011), pp. 255-60.
[128] Patrick Collinson, 'Windows in a Woman's Soul: Questions about the Religion of Queen Elizabeth I', in idem, *Elizabethans* (London, 2003), pp. 109-10.
[129] David Colclough, '"I have brought thee up to a kingdom": Sermons on the Accessions of James I and Charles I', in Kewes and McRae (eds), *Stuart Succession Literature*, pp. 208-12.
[130] Manningham, *Diary*, p. 213.

James's English reign, and to implore continued harmony.[131] Notably, preachers in the Chapel Royal devoted much less time to justifying James's claim to the English throne than preachers in the localities or at St Paul's Cross.[132] For example, King only briefly hailed James as 'a sonne of the nobles; one that is fleshe of our fleshe'.[133] Clearly, most chaplains-in-ordinary did not consider it a priority to convince the court that James was Elizabeth's legitimate heir. Instead, motivated by their duty to provide "ecclesiastical counsel" to the political elite and thereby preserve the commonwealth, their sermons focused on managing how courtiers behaved in the uncertain, fledgling weeks and months of the English Jacobean regime. Court preachers were clearly concerned that powerful or ambitious courtiers might be sources of disorder during this vulnerable period. They therefore discouraged any rash actions that could destabilise the commonwealth, and addressed and attempted to alleviate a range of anxieties about James's character and style of kingship that could foment disquiet.

Preachers at the English court repeatedly cautioned courtiers against promoting large policy changes, especially in matters of religion. However, both before his accession, and by responding to petitions presented to him as he travelled south to London, James had offered hope to individuals from across the religious spectrum that he would implement the reforms they desired.[134] There were therefore many at court who expected that James would soon initiate their long-hoped-for religious reforms. During the first fortnight after Elizabeth's death, a couplet which '[ran] up and downe in the court' mocked the spectacle of courtiers of all religious persuasions speeding from London post-haste, hoping to be amongst the first English courtiers to reach their new king and use the privileged condition of first access to him to commit James to introducing their preferred religious reforms: 'Nevil for the Protestant, L. Thomas [Howard] for the papist / Bromley for the puritan, L. Cobham for the Atheist'.[135]

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[131] For example, Martin Heton preaching at Whitehall on Palm Sunday 1603: Manningham, *Diary*, pp. 231-2.
[132] Colclough, '"I have brought thee up"', pp. 208-12.
[133] Manningham, *Diary,* p. 213.
[134] Michael Questier, 'The Politics of Religious Conformity and the Accession of James I', *Historical Research,* 71/174 (1998), pp. 14-30; Nicholas Tyacke, 'Puritan Politicians and King James VI and I, 1587-1604', in Cogswell, Cust, and Lake (eds), *Politics,* pp. 21-44; Patrick Collinson, 'The Religious Factor', in Mayer (ed.), *Struggle*, pp. 243-73; Diane Newton, *The Making of the Jacobean Regime: James VI and I and the Government of England, 1603-5* (Woodbridge, 2005), pp. 57-97; William Craig, 'Hampton Court Again: The Millenary Petition and the Calling of the Conference', *Anglican and Episcopal History*, 77/1 (2008), pp. 46-70; Victor Houliston, 'Filling in the Blanks: Catholic Hopes for the English Succession', *SEDERI Yearbook*, 25/1 (2015), pp. 77-104; Michael Questier, *Dynastic Politics and the British Reformations, 1558-1630* (Oxford, 2019), pp. 269-79.
[135] Manningham, *Diary,* p. 235.

Court preachers attempted to deter such opportunism. John Manningham considered the text John Overall selected for his sermon on Wednesday 6 April (Matthew 26:41 'Watch and pray, that ye enter not into temptation') 'fit for…this change, least wee be tempted to desyre innovation'.[136] Overall was himself concerned that James might be influenced by strict Calvinists calling for further reformation.[137] His warnings were likely directed at those courtiers, such as Sir Henry Bromley, agitating for reforms in a puritan direction. Puritans did indeed attempt to influence religious policy, including through preaching before the new royal family. On 13 August 1603, preaching before Prince Henry at Oatlands, the idiosyncratic puritan Hugh Broughton criticised vestments and episcopacy, and urged a revision of the Prayer Book and the production of a new English translation of the Bible.[138] Conversely, John King praised the court's 'great nobles and counsellors' for remaining united against the destructive 'intestine discord' that he feared could have arisen from Catholic quarters.[139] In the peroration to his 27 March sermon, he directly addressed the Privy Council and reminded them that 'your peace continued ours'.[140] Preachers urged religious radicals at opposing ends of the religious spectrum not to act whilst the polity was in a vulnerable state.

It is striking how frequently sermons preached before the court in 1603 expressed fears that some form of court coup was imminent. Preaching at Charterhouse on 10 May, Thomas Blague warned that it would be vital 'to resist mischiefe in the beginning…if it be spred, it wil require Hercules labour to root it out'.[141] At Greenwich on Tuesday 14 June, Anthony Rudd discussed 'mutinous, seditious, and rebellious persons', citing numerous examples from the courts of Kings Saul and David, such as Chush and Doeg, and especially Absalon.[142] Rudd used these examples to counsel James that sedition could be practised against him by those he had shown favour to, but he should not show mercy to any elite rebels at the English court: 'those notorious malefactors deseruing death, whom princes doe pardon...doe afterward most vnthankfully and treacherously seeke to take the Scepter out of the hand, and to pull the Crowne

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[136] Ibid, p. 223.
[137] Nicholas W.S. Cranfield, 'Overall, John (bap. 1561, d. 1619)', *ODNB*.
[138] Hugh Broughton, *An Exposition vpon the Lords Prayer, Compared with the Decalogue* (Amsterdam?, 1613); Kirsten Macfarlane, 'Hugh Broughton (1549-1612): Scholarship, Controversy and the English Bible' (D.Phil. thesis, University of Oxford, 2017).
[139] Manningham, *Diary*, p. 213.
[140] Ibid, p. 215.
[141] Thomas Blague, *A Sermon preached at the Charterhouse* (1603), sig. A6r.
[142] Rudd, S*ermon…Greenwich*, sig. B4v, B1r-v, B7v. For other depictions of James as David in 1603, especially in the English printings of his scriptural exegeses, see Sharpe, *Image Wars*, pp. 26-7, 47, 54, 92-3. For a broader discussion of representations of James as King David, see John N. King, 'James I and King David: Jacobean Iconography and Its Legacy', in Daniel Fischlin and Mark Fortier (eds), *Royal Subjects: Essays on the Writings of James VI and I* (Detroit, 2002), pp. 421-53.

from the head, and to withdraw life from the body…[of the person who gave them] thir liues, lands, god, libertie and all'.[143] Notably, both of these sermons about how a new king should respond to court conspiracies were delivered before the discovery of the Bye and Main Plots.

Court preachers were clearly concerned that some at the court might be restless. The most obvious reasons for any disquiet was unhappiness that, amongst the various candidates who could have succeeded Elizabeth, the English throne had fallen to James, or disappointment that James did not live up to expectations.[144] During the clandestine polemical debates about the Elizabethan succession, opponents of James's claim had encouraged various fears about his character and the kind of king of England he might prove to be. Court preachers therefore discussed a range of James's virtues to make him more acceptable to those courtiers who had lingering or emerging doubts. They emphasised his piety most forcefully. On 14 June 1603, Anthony Rudd celebrated James's institution of Tuesday sermons at court as incontrovertible proof of his exceptional piety. Rudd likened this act to King David, at the start of his reign, 'declar[ing] how he will behaue himselfe in his kingdome' by singing God's glories in the Psalms.[145] By choosing 'to celebrate eurie Tuesdaye with publike prayer, and preaching in remembraunce of Gods mercie towards himselfe', Rudd argued, James had demonstrated that he was not a vainglorious king, attributing good fortunes to his own actions, but one who showed due thanksgiving to God, 'often meditate[d] vpon the mercie of God toward himself', especially for his recent 'great increase of temporall blessings'.[146] The mere fact that Rudd was preaching to the court on a Tuesday morning should render James's intense piety apparent to all the court. Other chaplains-in-ordinary celebrated that James seemed to be inspiring godliness at the English court by his own example. Preaching before the court in August 1605, Thomas Playfere claimed that, because of James's 'happy example', his sponsorship of preaching and services in the Chapel Royal, there had 'neuer heretofore [been] such diligent hearing [of the Word] in the Court, as now a dayes'.[147]

James's own actions did much to support his chaplains-in-ordinary's claims about his piety and commitment to the Church of England. Scholars have often praised Elizabeth for cultivating political capital by being observed processing to and attending sermons in the

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[143] Rudd, *Sermon…Greenwich*, sig. B7r-v.
[144] Judith M. Richards, 'The English Accession of James VI: National Identity, Gender and the Personal Monarchy of England', *EHR*, 117/472 (2002), pp. 513-35; Susan Doran, '1603: A Jagged Succession', *Historical Research*, 93/261 (2020), pp. 443-65.
[145] Rudd, *Sermon…Greenwich,* sig. A3r.
[146] Ibid, sig. B1v-B2r, A4r.
[147] Playfere, *Ten Sermons*, sig. N3r.

Chapel Royal or Whitehall's sermon court.[148] By contrast, it has been claimed that, because he was often absent from sermons preached in the Chapel Royal while he was on hunting trips, James deprived himself of the opportunities to publicly perform his piety that Elizabeth had used so effectively.[149] However, this ignores plentiful evidence that James conspicuously displayed his piety (and indeed that of the entire new royal family) through similar methods to Elizabeth on numerous occasions. His first act upon arriving in England in April 1603 was to enter Berwick Church to hear a sermon. On Palm Sunday 1603, during his journey south to London, he walked to hear a sermon at York Minster, having declared 'the people are desirous to see a king, and so they shall'.[150] Once in London, James frequently processed from his Bedchamber to services in the Chapel Royal, accepting petitions from those who lined the route, just as Elizabeth had.[151] As James's procession route to the Chapel Royal in Scotland had not exposed him to petitioners, he adapted well to this important English court custom, which was a novelty to him. Although James usually took communion privately in his closet, he received it publicly in the Chapel Royal on several occasions, especially on Maundy Thursdays and at Christmas.[152] He sometimes invited other courtiers to take communion with him, such as at Easter 1605.[153] On this occasion, James let it be known that he would note all courtiers who did not attend communion with him. Of course, as this would have embarrassed senior courtiers who were church papists, such as the Howards, it is unlikely that James intended to act upon his threat. More probably, it was intended as a boast to show his commitment to the rituals of the Book of Common Prayer.[154] Indeed the entire new royal family's commitment to the Church of England was beyond reproach. During the Lent sermons, preached in Whitehall's sermon court, James and Anna and, from 1609, Prince Henry could be observed listening from the Privy Council Chamber window.[155] On 5 April 1607, Prince Henry took his first communion in the Chapel Royal, kneeling beside James.[156]

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[148] McCullough, *Sermons*, pp. 25-9. 76-9.
[149] Ibid, pp. 131-7.
[150] Nichols, *Progresses James*, i, p. 80.
[151] CP 102, fo. 141; CP 98, fo. 27r.
[152] *Old Cheque-Book*, pp. 151-2
[153] *CSPV*, x, p. 233.
[154] However, the taking of communion in the Jacobean Chapel Royal was not always a decorous affair. Henry Aldred, the Yeoman of the Vestry, repeatedly appeared drunk, including during communion on Holy Wednesday 1608 where he uttered 'fearefull blasphemies, wicked execrac[i]ons and thretninges to spill bloud': *Old Cheque-Book*, pp. 139-42.
[155] TNA, E351/543, fos 153v, 189r, 211r, 247r, 260v.
[156] *Old Cheque-Book*, pp. 171-2.

Queen Anna, despite having converted to Catholicism in the 1590s, also helped to secure the pious reputation of the new royal family.[157] Historians have often fixated on the potential embarrassment Anna could have caused by not taking communion at their English coronation.[158] Yet she proved to be a consummate church papist. The expectation that she would usually take communion privately in her closet generally allowed her to escape suspicion, as did the fact that her own chaplains were unimpeachably godly and vehement critics of popery.[159] Anna regularly sat in her closet to hear sermons, including during the second Hampton Court conference, where she presented a united front with James against the Kirk.[160] In addition to attending services and sermons, she underwent churching ceremonies according to the rites of the English Prayer Book after the births of her daughters Princesses Mary and Sophie in 1605 and 1607.[161] She was so convincing, 'very asyduous at sermons' that the Catholic spy, Anthony Standen, who provided her with altar ornaments, doubted she would provide a means to convert the king or other courtiers.[162] Several recent accounts have emphasised tensions between Anna and James, noting in particular that the court masques she patronised often articulated rival political agendas to James.[163] However, in promoting the public image of the new English royal family as godly adherents of the Church of England, Anna and James functioned as an *arbeitspaare.*

Alongside the evidence presented in Chapter Two of the importance James accorded to his appearances at Accession Day tournaments, James's repeated, deliberate efforts to display his piety and that of his family suggests that the traditional characterisation of him as a king who lacked the skills in public display that Elizabeth had used so effectively, dating back to

[157] Maureen M. Meikle and Helen M. Payne, 'From Lutheranism to Catholicism: The Faith of Anna of Denmark (1574-1619)', *JEH*, 64/1 (2013), pp. 45-69.
[158] Ibid, p. 59.
[159] McCullough, *Sermons*, pp. 169-72.
[160] Melville, *Autobiography*, p. 664.
[161] *Old Cheque-Book*, pp. 169-71.
[162] TNA, SP 14/35, fo. 109r; Paul Hammer, 'Standen, Sir Anthony (d. in or after 1615), adventurer and spy', *ODNB*.
[163] J. Leeds Barroll, *Anna of Denmark, Queen of England: A Cultural Biography* (Philadelphia, 2001), pp. 74-116; Michael B. Young, 'Queen Anna Bites Back: Protest, Effeminacy and Manliness at the Jacobean Court', in Jessica Munns and Penny Richards (eds), *Gender, Power and Privilege in Early Modern Europe: 1500-1700* (Harlow, 2003), pp. 108-22; Anna Whitelock, 'Reconsidering the Political Role of Anna of Denmark', in Helen Matheson-Pollock, Joanne Paul, and Catherine Fletcher (eds), *Queenship and Counsel in Early Modern Europe* (Basingstoke, 2018), pp. 237-58; Maureen M. Meikle, 'Once a Dane, Always a Dane? Queen Anna of Denmark's Foreign Relations and Intercessions as a Queen Consort of Scotland and England, 1588-1619', *CH*, 24/2 (2019), pp. 168-80.

Bishop Goodman's influential claim that James 'did not love to be looked on', is now untenable.[164]

Although James may have enjoyed the services in the Chapel Royal sincerely, there was also a significant political benefit from his being seen participating in services and from court sermons that pronounced his commitment to preserving the Church of England's *status quo*. In 1603, James's views on ecclesiastical structures were unclear to many in England. Especially in the 1580s and early 1590s, as he struggled to manage his relationship with the Kirk, James had often appeared to be broadly sympathetic to Presbyterian views, and he had showed conspicuous favour to individual Presbyterian clerics.[165] The passage of the Golden Act in 1592, which recognised the authority of presbyteries, some of James's own publications which mocked the Church of England's government and liturgy, and his provision of refuge in Scotland for some Presbyterian victims of Whitgift and Bancroft, most notably Robert Waldegrave who he employed as the King's Printer, all suggested, in the eyes of English conformists, a suspicious sympathy for Presbyterianism. However, in the late 1590s, and especially following the 1596 Presbyterian rising in Edinburgh, James's outward views on church government seemed to have shifted. In his frequent assertions to the Kirk that he was supreme in all matters his views now seemed to align more closely with those of English bishops.[166] Nevertheless, it was still not clear that he agreed entirely with the anti-puritan positions of important figures in the Church of England, such as Whitgift and Bancroft. As he sought support for his claim to the English throne, and even as he travelled south to London in April 1603, James insinuated to a range of English puritans that he might be receptive to their requests for reform of the ecclesiastical structures and the liturgy of the Church of England.[167] It was far from certain that he would not now try to incorporate some elements of the Scottish Kirk into the English Church. The new royal family's conspicuous attendance at services at court, and the array of sermons preached at court in 1603-4 declaring James's admiration for English church government and liturgy were an important exercise in public relations, made necessary by James's deliberate, decades-long ambiguity in religious matters. They attempted to reassure conformists in the Church of England, particularly the important figures in the Church who attended court sermons or read them, that James would not implement

[164] Godfrey Goodman, *The Court of King James the First,* ed. J.S. Brewer (2 vols, London, 1839), i, p. 173.
[165] Wormald, 'Ecclesiastical Vitriol'; MacDonald, *Jacobean Kirk*, pp. 34-49.
[166] MacDonald, *Jacobean Kirk*, pp. 74-100.
[167] Tyacke, 'Puritan Politicians'; Collinson, 'The Religious Factor'; Newton, *Making,* pp. 57-97; Craig, 'Hampton Court Again'; Paulina Kewes, 'The Puritan, the Jesuit and the Jacobean Succession', in Doran and Kewes (eds), *Doubtful,* pp. 47-70.

Presbyterianism in England. Of course the sermons were also wishful speculation by conformist preachers. Publicly celebrating James's commitment to the Church as established in sermons that were preached before the court and sometimes printed provided a means to coerce him into maintaining the established settlement in English religion.

Beyond celebrating James's piety and his commitment to the ecclesiastical structures of the Church of England, court preachers also sought to reassure their auditors and readers who still harboured reservations about their new king by showing that he had good counsellors. At the Charterhouse on Tuesday 10 May 1603, Thomas Blague preached on *Psalm 1:12*: 'Blessed is that man which walketh not in the counsel of the vngodly'.[168] Blague claimed that good rulers maintained a diverse body of counsellors: as 'where many are that can give good counsel, there is safety'.[169] Blague's sermon, which included copious examples of wicked counsellors to be avoided, such as 'busiebodies', and 'carry tales', has previously been read as a general meditation on the ideal dynamics of royal counsel.[170] However, it also had more specific valences within contemporary court politics. Charterhouse was a residence of Thomas, Lord Howard de Walden. Blague's many aphorisms about good counsellors included that 'wisedome is the gray haire', and 'good men are odde men', descriptions that applied particularly well to the forty-one-year-old Howard's position.[171] After his father's execution in 1572, Howard had spent most of his life in the political wilderness, and only gradually returned to royal favour during Elizabeth's final years, becoming acting Lord Chamberlain in 1602.[172] James made Howard's position as Lord Chamberlain official on 6 April 1603, appointed him to the Privy Council the following day, and created him earl of Suffolk in July.

Blague's sermon was printed under the auspices of one 'H.H.', who described themselves as 'one being present at the time' who felt that as 'few persons in respect heard this', due to the small size of the Charterhouse's chapel, printing his 'notes of it' would 'make many other partakers of it'.[173] It is possible that 'H.H.' was Suffolk's nephew, Henry Howard, earl of Northampton. If so, the printing of the sermon advertised to a wide readership the influential role that the Howard family expected to play in English politics at the start of James' reign. Blague's sermon, arguing that kings 'resemble the maners of their Counsellors', and so

[168] Blague, *Sermon…Charterhouse,* sig. A3r.
[169] Ibid, sig. A5r.
[170] Ibid, sig. A6v-A7r; Whitehead, 'Performing', pp. 100, 111-14.
[171] Blague, *Sermon…Charterhouse*, sig. A4v, A3v.
[172] Pauline Croft, 'Howard, Thomas, first earl of Suffolk (1561-1626)', *ODNB.*
[173] Blague, *Sermon…Charterhouse,* sig. A2r.

focused on attributes that Thomas Howard possessed, indicated to informed readers that James would be advised by the scions of old families and, to those aware of Howard's crypto-popery, gave grounds for hope or for fear that James might be influenced to adopt more tolerant policies towards Catholics.[174] Suffolk did indeed attempt to influence preaching at the court. As Lord Chamberlain, he was responsible for swearing in chaplains-in-ordinary who could then be called upon to preach at court. In December 1603, he commanded that one of his servants, Edward Sheregwolde, be sworn in as a chaplain.[175] By convention, this ritual required the Gentlemen of the Chapel Royal to serve as witnesses to affirm the chaplain's 'sufficiency'. Suffolk opted to forgo this tradition. This earned him a rebuke, and James confirmed that the authority to admit chaplains lay solely with the Dean of the Chapel Royal.[176] Thereafter, Suffolk's role was firmly circumscribed to overseeing ceremonial, not arranging appointments. Nonetheless, it is striking that the printed editions of several court sermons were dedicated to Suffolk.[177] In his dedication to his *Sermon of Nobilitie*, George Meriton described Suffolk as an exemplary example of the hereditary nobility's function as 'the old brokers of parity'.[178] Court sermons, and especially their printed editions, could therefore reassure a wide public that the new king was well- and diversely-advised, and likely by someone who would promote issues that mattered to them. There was therefore no need for destabilising petitioning or protest.

However, court sermons also had to alleviate fresh concerns about James's suitability to be king of England that arose during the first months of his English reign. Those English who read James's *Basilikon Doron*, after it was printed in London in 1603, often misinterpreted James's vigorous arguments in the work against the Scottish Presbyterians or Robert Persons's theories of elective monarch as general statements of arbitrary tendencies.[179] Furthermore, on 21 April 1603 at Newark, James had ordered the execution of a cutpurse without trial.[180] The summary execution of thieves was the norm in Scotland, but not in most parts of England: it

[174] Ibid, sig. A5r.
[175] *Old Cheque-Book*, p. 39.
[176] Ibid, p. 70.
[177] Thomas Walkington, *Salomans sweete harpe* (Cambridge, 1608).
[178] Meriton, *Sermon of Nobilitie*, sig. A3r.
[179] Jenny Wormald, 'James VI and I, *Basilikon Doron*, and *The Trew Law of Free Monarchies*: the Scottish Context and the English Translation', in Peck (ed.), *Mental World*, pp. 36-54; James Doelman, '"A King of Thine Own Heart": The English Reception of King James VI and I's *Basilikon Doron*', *The Seventeenth Century*, 9/1 (1994), pp. 1-9; Peter Lake, 'The King (The Queen) and the Jesuit: James Stewart's "True Law of Free Monarchies" in Context/s', *TRHS*, 14 (2004), pp. 243-60; John Cramsie, 'The Philosophy of Imperial Kingship and the Interpretation of James VI and I', in Houlbrooke (ed.), *James*, pp. 43-60.
[180] Nichols, *Progresses James*, i, p. 89.

alarmed Sir John Harington, who speculated it could inaugurate a state of affairs when 'a man be tried before he has offended'.[181] James also created anxieties that he would practise an arbitrary style of government by issuing numerous proclamations during his journey to London, rather than acting in consultation with the Privy Council or parliament. Opponents of James's claim during the 1590s, most notoriously Robert Persons, had argued that James's Scottishness would lead him to disregard English legal customs.[182] Several events in the first months of his reign gave reason to suspect these warnings could prove true. Several court preachers therefore addressed these events, offering explanations to courtiers, and counsel to James, to attempt to alleviate the concerns they had raised.

Between May and August 1603, several court sermons featured the theme of the virtue of tempered mercy.[183] Anthony Rudd reminded the court, and especially James, that: 'we find it to be a laudable custome of princes at their first entrance into their kingdomes to shew mercie at their pleasure' (although he made an exception for ungrateful treason).[184] Rudd cautioned that excessive punishment, especially when the reason had not been explained to the people, could undermine a ruler's popular support: citing the story of Achan whose inscrutable actions caused 'the hearts of the people [to] melte away like water'.[185]

However, concerns that James did not understand or respect English legal norms were confronted most forthrightly in the sermon that Thomas Bilson preached at James and Anna's coronation at Westminster Abbey on 28 July 1603. The ritual of coronation always helped to legitimise a new monarch by positioning them within centuries of precedent. Bilson's sermon included a detailed description of the symbolism and antiquity of the ceremony's rites, oaths, and regalia.[186] He also linked James with Elizabeth, and her commitment to English principles of justice, by offering a series of prayers. Bilson described James as 'nothing inferiour to' Elizabeth 'in knowledge, prudence, magnanimity, bountie, mildnes of disposition, zeale of true religion, and resolution to doe Iustice and Equitie'.[187] This was underscored by the coronation

[181] Sir John Harington, *Nugae Antiquae*, ed. Henry Harington (2 vols, 1804), i, p. 16
[182] Susan Doran, 'Polemic and Prejudice: A Scottish King for an English Throne', in Doran and Kewes (eds), *Doubtful*, pp. 215-35.
[183] McCullough, *Sermons*, p. 104; Whitehead, 'Performing', pp. 109-12.
[184] Rudd, *Sermon…Greenwich*, sig. B3v.
[185] Ibid, sig. B5v.
[186] Sybil M. Jack, '"A Pattern for a King's Inauguration": The Coronation of James I in England', *Parergon*, 21/2 (2004), pp. 67-91; Nathan William Perry, 'The Politics of Spectacle: Ideology and Ambition in Jacobean Court Ceremonies' (Ph.D. thesis, University of California, Santa Barbara, 2012), pp. 45-117; Alice Hunt, 'The Bright Star of the North: James I and his English Coronation', *Medieval English Theatre*, 38 (2017), pp. 22-37.
[187] Bilson, *Sermon…Westminster*, sig. C8r.

oath itself, in which James swore to protect English laws and customs. Having situated James in an impeccable pedigree of respect for English legal custom, Bilson's sermon also claimed that James was prepared to govern England well. Bilson cut short his discussion of the duties of an English monarch by declaring that James had already demonstrated that he was familiar with the obligations facing a monarch: 'by penne and practise…witnessed…how well acquainted he is with Christian and godly gouernment'.[188] Although this message could appear to be simple flattery, it also held James to account in a paradigmatic instance of *laudando pracipere*. Bilson reminded James that there was a set of standards – James's reputation as king of Scotland and his own published works – against which his actions would be measured. He subtly acknowledged that there were already concerns that James was not living up to the standard of justice expected from him. Bilson used the coronation oath and sermon as opportunities to remind James of his obligations and expectations, and to urge him to recommit to honouring them. James's own later writings reveal that he took Bilson's discussion of the gravity of kingship to heart.[189] In this way, court sermons like Bilson's performed a vital role, helping to smooth over some of James's early missteps as king of England.

Court preachers also helped the court to process the earliest challenges to James's reign: the Main and Bye Plots. Richard Eedes's warning on 30 August that a king should maintain a vigilant watch over 'all such as haue accesse vnto him' was surely a reaction to the discovery of the Main Plot, which revealed that individuals who enjoyed access to the Privy Chamber, such as Lord Cobham and Sir Walter Ralegh, had plotted treason.[190] Court preachers returned to their counsel that monarchs, especially new monarchs, should act swiftly and decisively against traitors at court. Eedes's argument that kings should deliver justice 'without all respect of persons', suggested that James should not show clemency to Cobham because of his nobility.[191]

However, the most striking engagement with the Plots from the court pulpit was delivered in a sermon preached by the Scottish cleric Patrick Galloway in Salisbury on Tuesday 4 December 1603, shortly after the plotters' trials had rendered a guilty verdict. Galloway's sermon, though probably unwittingly, contributed to a potent royal spectacle by James. According to Dudley Carleton, who was amongst the sermon's auditory, Galloway condemned

[188] Ibid, sig. C3r-C3v.
[189] Jack , '"A Pattern for a King's Inauguration"', pp. 88-91.
[190] Eedes, *Six Learned*, sig. E8r-E8v.
[191] Ibid, sig. E1v.

'hotly…remissness and moderation of justice, in the head of justice'.[192] There were advocates for both clemency to and execution of the plotters at court, with the Privy Council largely recommending mercy, as the king would thereby 'gayne the title of Clemens as well as justus'. Carleton disagreed with Galloway's call for execution, which he attributed to 'private spleen and passion'. James's ambiguous statements throughout early December implied that he was not considering clemency, advising the Privy Council it 'became them not to be petitioners', and declaring that he would 'have the law take its course'.[193] Galloway's sermon furthered speculation that the plotters could be executed. This heightened the spectacle when, a week later, on 9 December, James granted the condemned plotters a last-moment reprieve, after they had already delivered dying speeches and mounted the scaffold. Carleton placed the sermon within his narrative of court affairs in early December 1603 as an example of how expectations had been raised that James order the plotters' execution. The surprise won James support, allowing him to bask, as the Privy Council had first urged, in the glory of clemency.[194] Unfortunately, it is less unclear whether Galloway was consciously part of James's strategy, or merely a coincidental accessory.

Previous studies of the sermons preached at court during the first year of James's English reign have primarily investigated how the chaplains-in-ordinary reminded James of his subordination to God and of his duty to heed preachers.[195] As the sermons often reminded James that he could expect desolation, rebellions, or injuries if he forsook godliness, Peter McCullough has described these sermons as 'a brief Indian summer' of 'resistance theory'.[196] However, looked at again, it is clear that the sermons preached at the English court in 1603 provided a legitimating service to the king, helping to urge quiescence at court and offering a range of defences of James's character and actions. Sermons were a crucial medium for securing support from courtiers for the nascent regime.

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[192] Birch, *Court*, i, p. 28.
[193] Ibid, i, p. 29.
[194] Newton, *Making*¸ p. 41
[195] McCullough, *Sermons*, pp. 101-6; Whitehead, 'Performing', pp. 98-114; Oates, *Moderate Radical*, pp. 132-42.
[196] McCullough, *Sermons*, pp. 104-5.

Supporting and Defending the New Regime

By early 1604, the major threats to the new Jacobean regime of foreign invasion, civil war, or court conspiracy had either been overcome or failed to materialise. Nevertheless, the Jacobean succession would still require defending. However, now, grievances were not simply the product of the moment of political successor. Several major changes to the English court following James's accession – principally the arrival of many Scottish courtiers and alterations to how the monarch was accessed – provoked debate, and complaint, at the court. Court preachers answered these complaints in their sermons.

Preachers used a range of devices to celebrate James's reign. Preaching at Whitehall on 8 May 1604, Henry Hooke used the image of the phoenix, which had been commonplace in poetic eulogies for Elizabeth I, to assert that James maintained fundamental continuities with Elizabeth's reign.[197] The old queen, Hooke claimed, had 'died not, but was revived in one of her own blood; her age renewed in his younger years'.[198] At Whitehall on Tuesday 11 February 1606, Richard Meredeth presented James as perfecting the Reformation undertaken by his Tudor predecessors. However, whereas Meredeth criticised the Henrician, Edwardian and Elizabethan Reformations for causing 'much tumult & hurliburly', bloodshed at home and abroad, James was celebrated by contrast as 'the voice…the still voice' who 'hath done more than any of his noble progenitors…to make vs al to be of one religion, on[e] god, on[e] faith, on[e] baptism'.[199]

Sermons preached at court on Accession Day provided an opportunity to rehearse the various blessings experienced since James's accession. On Accession Day 1606, Anthony Maxey related 'some…of those benefites', including the peace of his succession, the end of expensive wars in Ireland, and piracy with Spain, the dynastic security offered by the royal children ('How secure is now the state, in the vndoubted appearance of blessed issue'), and the Union of Crowns, which made England and Scotland 'happy…in our selves, and fearfull to other nations'.[200] Lancelot Andrewes' sermon preached at Whitehall on Accession Day 1611

[197] On phoenix imagery in elegies for Elizabeth, see Catherine Loomis, *The Death of Elizabeth I: Remembering and Reconstructing the Virgin Queen* (Basingstoke, 2010), pp. 65-6, 73-5.
[198] Henry Hooke, *A Sermon Preached Before the King at White-Hall* (1604), sig. C3r.
[199] Meredeth, *Two Sermons*, sig. B1v, B2r.
[200] Maxey, *Churches Sleepe*, sig. C1r-C3v.

contained an extended direct address to James, celebrating the good that had been wrought since his accession.[201] Unsurprisingly, the sermon was printed by the king's printer.

However, the most spectacular occasions on which court sermons celebrated and justified the Jacobean regime were the new feast days of Gowrie Day and Gunpowder Day. James interpreted the failure of a series of assassination plots against him as an indication that he, the institution of monarchy, his accession to the English throne, and his policies were all divinely-sanctioned. His belief that he was providentially-protected was only heightened by the coincidence, which James described delightedly as the 'prophetical mystery of my fortune', that the Gowrie and the Gunpowder plots had both failed on the fifth day of the month and on a Tuesday.[202] James's efforts to establish a weekly service of thanksgiving for his deliverances in England, first in 1603 and then in the weeks after the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot, had failed.[203] James therefore hoped to use the new commemorative feast days, which were marked at court with a special sermon and feasting, to encourage a heightened reverence for his person, his office, and his policies, at court and beyond. In much of the country, Gowrie Day was normally marked begrudgingly.[204] At court, however, where James oversaw festivities, it was much easier for Gowrie and Gunpowder Day to fulfil his hopes.

Nonetheless, the exciting subject matter of divine deliverance from violent conspiracies could inspire more disruptive exegeses than the monarch-centred celebrations James envisioned. The first Gowrie Day sermon, preached by Tobie Matthew on 5 August 1603, instead argued that James's deliverance should remind him of his subservience to God: that kings 'abide in the shadow of the Almighty'.[205] Sermons on Gunpowder Day in particular had the potential to become diatribes against Catholics. Many popular literary responses to the Gunpowder Plot called for strident persecution of recusants, or even war against Catholic Europe.[206] James had much to gain from portraying himself as a victim of domestic and international Catholic conspiracy, not least financially: after the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot, the usually-thrifty English parliament willingly voted him subsidies. By adopting the guise of a survivor of a Catholic assassination plot, James could interpose himself into the powerful narratives of the providential protection of the English Protestant monarchy that dated

[201] Lancelot Andrewes, *A sermon preached before his majestie at White-Hall* (1611), pp. 33-40.
[202] James VI and I, *Letters of King James VI & I,* ed. G.P.V. Akrigg (Berkeley, 1984), p. 309.
[203] CP 113, fo. 48r.
[204] Mary Morrissey, *Politics and the Paul's Cross Sermons, 1558-1642* (Oxford, 2011), pp. 142-7.
[205] BL, Additional MS 4274, fo. 18r.
[206] Anne James, *Poets, Players, and Preachers: Remembering the Gunpowder Plot in Seventeenth-Century England* (Toronto, 2016), pp. 187-250.

back to John Foxe.[207] However, James hoped to maintain the loyalty of most English Catholics and did not wish to alienate continental Catholic princes.[208] Official responses to the Gunpowder Plot therefore avoided the provocative rhetoric of anti-popery and emphasised that the majority of English Catholics were, in James's words, 'good and faithful Subjects'.[209] The sermons preached at court on Gunpowder Day rarely offered overtly anti-popish sentiments. In fact, one servant of the earl of Rutland interpreted the 1609 Gunpowder Day sermon as an indication that 'a milder course…with Catholiks' would be adopted henceforth.[210]

The sole exception to this trend was the sermon preached at court on Gunpowder Day 1608, by John King. King vividly described a perpetual Jesuit conspiracy which 'standeth ever bent' to implement destruction, and urged James to act against 'the seedes-men of Rome': 'administer iustice vpon them, in the timely execution of your Lawes, and necessary castigation, [and] coercion of their vnrestrainable audaciousnesse'.[211] King's strident sermon was reportedly 'well liked' by the court auditory, and it was printed by royal command (although, unusually, not in London but in Oxford, where King was Vice-Chancellor).[212] King possessed a reputation as a fierce critic of Catholicism, and so he must have been appointed with the expectation that he would unleash a diatribe.[213] King may have been selected due to the unusual diplomatic situation in 1608. Earlier in the year, a papal bull had deposed the archpriest George Blackwell, who had been persuaded to take the Oath of Allegiance.[214] Additionally, the publication of Cardinal Bellarmine's *Responsio* had embarrassed James by exposing that, before-1603, he had corresponded with the Pope, seeking his support to gain the English throne.[215] The frustrating intrusion by the pope and the Jesuits into James's careful

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[207] Peter Lake, 'Anti-Popery: The Structure of a Prejudice', in Richard Cust and Ann Hughes (eds), *Conflict in Early Stuart England: Studies in Religion and Politics, 1603-1642* (Harlow, 1989), pp. 72-106; John Watkins, '"Out of Her Ashes May a Second Phoenix Rise": James I and the Legacy of Elizabethan Anti-Catholicism', in Arthur F. Marotti (ed.), *Catholicism and Anti-Catholicism in Early Modern England* (London, 1999), pp. 116-36.
[208] Fincham and Lake, 'Ecclesiastical Policy', pp. 182-6.
[209] James, *Political Writings*, p. 152; Anthony Milton, *Catholic and Reformed: The Roman and Protestant Churches in English Protestant Thought, 1600-1640* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 258-63; A.W.R.E. Okines, 'Why Was There So Little Government Reaction to Gunpowder Plot?', *JEH*, 55/2 (2004), pp. 275-92; Michael Questier, 'Catholic Loyalism in Early Stuart England', *EHR*, 123/504 (2008), pp. 1132-65.
[210] *HMC, The Manuscripts of His Grace, the Duke of Rutland, G.C.B., Preserved at Belvoir Castle* (4 vols, London, 1888-1905), i, p. 420.
[211] John King, *A sermon preached at Whitehall the 5. day of November. ann 1608* (Oxford, 1608), pp. 31, 33, 34.
[212] TNA, SP 14/37, fo. 105v. King's sermon at the "second Hampton Court Conference" had also been printed at Oxford, suggesting that the location may have been King's decision.
[213] Peter E. McCullough, 'King, John (d. 1621)', *ODNB.*
[214] Michael Questier, *Catholicism and Community in Early Modern England: Politics, Aristocratic Patronage and Religion, c. 1550-1640* (Cambridge, 2006), pp. 344, 368.
[215] W.B. Patterson, *King James VI and I and the Reunion of Christendom* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 86-8.

irenicism likely animating both the selection of King as that year's Gunpowder Day preacher at court, and the decision to command the printing of his sermon. However, King's stridently anti-Catholic preaching also made possible the expression of sentiments that did not reflect so favourably upon James. King's sermon contained one of the earliest known examples of an individual retrospectively exaggerating Elizabeth I's defence of the Protestant faith in order to criticise or shame her successor's policies.[216] King praised Elizabeth for 'hazard[ing]…the dearest bloud in hir veines', and urged James to match her self-sacrificial defence of English religion.[217]

Almost all known Gowrie and Gunpowder Day sermons delivered at the early Jacobean court were preached by Lancelot Andrewes.[218] Andrewes' theology and preaching style meant that Gowrie and Gunpowder Day sermons generally did not address more destabilising or unflattering interpretations of James's deliverance as Matthew's and King's had. Instead, they supported the king's preferred monarch-centric, commemorative functions for the new feast days. Andrewes's sermons of course contained vehement denunciations of regicide and rebellion, often returning to the standard Biblical examples of the illegitimacy of resistance found in the life of King David, such as the stories of Absalon and Abishai. He addressed this theme at greatest length in his Gowrie Day sermon in 1610, which was preached three months after the assassination of King Henri IV of France. The sermon, which took *1 Chronicles* 16:22 'Touch not mine anointed' as its text, was printed in both English and Latin by the King's Printer.[219] However, Andrewes did not consider impressing the wickedness of rebellion and regicide upon the court to be the primary purpose of feast days. Somewhat idiosyncratically, he viewed feast days, as he told the court at Whitehall on 5 November 1606 (the first Gunpowder Day), as special occasions created by God 'of more excellent manner', that should not be marked by 'taking in boule after boule til they were sick again', but seized as an occasion to solemnly appreciate the scale of God's mercy, to thank God for past salvations, and to

[216] Perry, *Making*, pp. 153-65,
[217] King, S*ermon*, p. 33.
[218] The 1603 Gowrie Day sermon 1603 was delivered by Tobie Matthew, the 1608 Gunpowder Day sermon by John King, and the 1610 Gunpowder Day sermon by George Abbot. It is unknown who preached the sermon on Gowrie Day in 1604, 1605, 1609, 1611, or 1612, or on Gunpowder Day in 1611. Andrewes's sermons on Gunpowder and Gowrie Days have previously been studied in Lossky, *Lancelot Andrewes*, pp. 289-325; McCullough, *Sermons*, pp. 116-26; Neil Barclay Johnston, 'Pulpit Rhetoric and the Conscience: The Gunpowder Plot Sermons of Lancelot Andewes' (Ph.D. thesis, Baylor University, 2011), pp. 128-172; Jonathan McGovern, 'The Political Sermons of Lancelot Andrewes', *The Seventeenth Century*, 34/1 (2019), pp. 3-25.
[219] Lancelot Andrewes, *A sermon preached before his Maiestie on Sunday the fifth of August last* (1610), p. 39.

request his intercessions to make ones in the future.[220] Because Andrewes viewed his task as a preacher on feast days as provoking his auditors to reflect especially intensely on God's love, his sermons on the new Jacobean feast days did not usually offer confessional polemics or harangue the king. Rather, the techniques Andrewes used to provoke the court to apprehend and give thanks for divine mercy – such as frequent hyperbole and by inviting the auditory's verbal participation - also encouraged the court to actively and communally express reverence for the especially providentially-protected nature of James and his family.

Andrewes repeatedly used superlative comparisons with scriptural examples to emphasise the wonder of James's providential protection. He described James's deliverances as 'more famous' than Saul's escape from assassinations, and claimed that the glory of Israel's escape from the destruction of Sion '[fell] short…of ours'.[221] On Gunpowder Day 1608 he described the foiling of the Plot as an even greater providential act than the Exodus, because its beneficiaries had not had to endure captivity first: 'if ever there were a deed done, or a day made, by God in our days, this day, and the deed of this day, was it'.[222] On Gunpowder Day 1612 Andrewes claimed that, had the Plot succeeded, it would have been 'more lamentable than the Booke of Lamentations'.[223] Reminding many at the court about their close escape from death was, of course, an effective strategy to prompt thanksgiving. Andrewes's sermon shared this technique with the official printed account of the plot, known as *The King's Book* (containing James's speech to parliament and an official 'discourse'), which described the *tabula rasa* that would have been left had the plot succeeded in order to urge readers to truly comprehend its audacity.[224] Andrewes focused on the unprecedented audaciousness of the plots against James, claiming they lacked equals in Scripture, not in order to inspire anti-Catholic sentiment, but to elevate the court's appreciation of God's power and mercy.

Furthermore, instead of simply informing the court of the superlatively miraculous nature of the day, Andrewes required that his auditors actively, verbally, and communally acknowledge it. In the 1608 Gowrie Day sermon, Andrewes invited the congregation first to repeat David's words about Saul 'destroy him not', and then to amplify this by repeating a

[220] Andrewes, *XCVI Sermons*, pp. 891, 898-9. For a fuller discussion of Andrewes's view of feast days, see Lossky, *Lancelot Andrewes,* pp. 293-300.
[221] Andrewes, *XCVI Sermons*, pp. 793, 902.
[222] Ibid, p. 205.
[223] Ibid, p. 923.
[224] Mark Nicholls, 'Discovering Gunpowder Plot: *The King's Book* and the Dissemination of News', *British Catholic History*, 28/3 (2007), pp. 397-415.

prayer directed at James: 'Lord prosper, Lord add days to his days'.[225] Andrewes emphasised that this was a communal experience: 'let us with one voice cry Hosannah'.[226] Andrewes habitually included communal public prayer as a sacrificial aspect of worship during his court sermons.[227] His 1606 Gowrie Day sermon (preached at Greenwich in Latin due to the presence of King Christian IV) included a specially-composed prayer, which Andrewes invited the court to repeat after him. The prayer was near-monosyllabic, catechismic, and contained frequent pauses that allowed auditors to repeat it. It concluded with a communally-uttered declaration of James's divine protection: 'All our bones confess unto Thee, O Lord, that salvation is Thine, that Thou givest it, that Thou givest it unto Kings, that Thou hast given it to our King; and in Him, to us all'.[228] Introducing this prayer, Andrewes emphasised that James was its focus: 'as they then sung for their King, so do we now for ours'.[229] Andrewes encouraged his auditors at court, and later his readers, to intensely and communally experience, reflect upon, and verbally affirm the providential-protection and sanction of the Stuart royal family.

Court sermons also supported the Jacobean regime by defending its policies. Notably, several chaplains-in-ordinary defended the changes to the court's personnel and protocols that had followed James's accession against complaints made by courtiers. Perhaps the most perennial complaint that circulated at the English court under James was the (usually English) grievance that the king showed too great largesse towards Scottish nobles and courtiers. Preaching at Whitehall on Sunday 28 October 1604, whilst the Commissioners for Union were in session, John Gordon pleaded that competition between English and Scots should be replaced with mutual respect. His sermon, printed with the title *Enotikon* (Union) rehearsed by-now familiar arguments in favour of a formal political union between England and Scotland (although Gordon deployed his characteristic esoteric and antiquarian style, such as noting the common Hebraic etymologies of the names of Britain, Scotland, and Ireland, to argue that such a union had been pre-ordained).[230] Gordon argued that acquisitiveness and monopolising tendencies by both English and Scots would jeopardise this destiny. Deploying the commonplace conceit of the polity as a body, he implored:

> Let not the armes of the South, I meane the Officers, and great Gouernors in the South, attribute to themselues onely, the whole sustenance and nourishment that doth come

[225] Andrewes, *XCVI Sermons*, pp. 792-3.
[226] Ibid, p. 791.
[227] On Andrewes's composition of prayers, see Lossky, *Lancelot Andrewes*, pp. 303-8.
[228] Andrews, *XCVI Sermons*, p. 254.
[229] Ibid, p. 230.
[230] John Gordon, *Enotikon* (1604), pp. 24-6.

> from the head, that is to say, preferments, offices, and dignities as well Ecclesiasticall as Temporall, excluding from thence the fellow arme of the North, which is the other arme of this body.[231]

However, Gordon also cautioned that Scots should not attempt to levy their longer acquaintance with the king to secure appointments. They should not 'hunt after any preheminence in honour, dignitie, offices, or preferments, either temporall, or Ecclesiasticall, because that the *King his Maiestie*, our common head, was borne and bred, and had his beginning in the *North*'.[232] Instead, appointments at the court, to Privy Council and in the Church, should be made 'according to their talents, places, and merits, laying aside the place of their birth, whether it be *South*, or North'.[233] As a Scot who had been appointed to the vacant Deanery of Salisbury, Gordon's arguments for meritocracy were, of course, made from a privileged, secure position.[234] However, his view was promulgated by other Scots, such as David Hume of Godscroft, who in his *De Unione Insulae Britannicae*, printed in London in 1605, urged against possessive attitudes towards the court: 'I appeal to each of the two peoples…not to think of the royal court as belonging to you alone'.[235] Unfortunately, Gordon's arguments lacked tact. He depicted the Union of Crowns as a conquest of England by Scotland, using variations of the phrase England 'has fallen' twice in a single sentence: 'the South part is fallen to his royall person, both by the lawe of God, and nature'.[236] By most contemporary understandings of military conquests, England should have been subsumed into Scotland, including adopting its name.[237] His suggestion that English courtiers and readers should be grateful for James's 'great and laudable modestie' was unlikely to be taken well by them.

Sermons also defended one of the most immediately obvious changes to the English court following James's accession: the fact that the monarch was now absent from the royal palaces of London far more frequently on hunting excursions. James's hunting habits were controversial, because they interrupted the long-established norms of patronage at the English court, leaving suitors to petition the Privy Council instead of the king's singular authority. According to the Venetian ambassador, Nicolo Molin, people felt 'indescribable ill-humour'

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[231] Ibid, p. 10.
[232] Ibid, p. 39.
[233] Ibid, p. 40.
[234] Dorothy Mackay Quinn, 'The Career of John Gordon Dean of Salisbury, 1603-1619', *The Historian*, 6/1 (1943), pp. 76-96.
[235] David Hume, *The British Union: A Critical Edition and Translation of David Hume of Godscroft's De Unione Insulae Britannicae*, ed. Paul J. McGinnis and Arthur Williamson (Aldershot, 2002), pp. 103-5.
[236] Gordon, *Enotikon*, p. 29.
[237] For further depictions of the Union of Crowns as a Scottish conquest of England, see Chapter Four.

at being 'cut off from their natural sovereign' and 'forced to go before [the Privy] Council' instead.[238] A number of libels about James's absences hunting circulated in London, complaining that he negligently 'le[ft] all government entirely in the hands of ministers'.[239] One libel urging James to 'go back to London' was even found attached to the collar of one of his hunting dogs.[240] James defended his hunting habits to the Privy Council on several occasions.[241] William Smith answered these complaints in a digression in the sermon he preached at Whitehall on Sunday 27 April 1606, his first known sermon at court. Smith acknowledged the complaints of those who believed 'to be a King…is not to eate & drink, disport, & play'.[242] However, Smith argued, these critics were mistaken to believe that James's hunting was 'mispending of time' or a 'hindrance to the state, and offence to God'.[243] Royal pleasures such as hunting were 'lawful, & necessary occupations, though no ordinary…occupations' that better prepared James for his duties.[244]

There are several indications that Smith's digression on hunting was prompted by senior court figures. Smith's defences of the king's hunting adhered closely to those previously made by James and his advisers. Smith's description of hunting as a rarefied sport, appropriate for kings, echoed James's description of it in *Basilikon Doron* as 'the most honourable and noblest sorte' of exercise for princes.[245] Yet Smith also echoed more recent defences of James's hunting. In December 1604, Matthew Hutton, Archbishop of York, concerned that James's hunting was leading to the destruction of fields and imposing purveyance on communities in the localities, had suggested that the king pursue 'more moderation in the lawfull exercise of hunting'.[246] Sir Robert Cecil had rebuked Hutton, reminding the Archbishop that it 'was a praise in the good Emperour Trajan to be disposed to such manlike & active Recreacions, so ought it to be a joy to us to beholde our king'.[247] James had praised Cecil's 'excellent answer…concerning my hunting' given 'according to my heart's desire'.[248] The vocative 'God graunt vs always [a king] chasing the Wilde and sauage Beasts' in Smith's

[238] *CSPV*, x, pp. 218-9.
[239] Ibid, x, p. 301.
[240] LPL, MS 3201, fo. 233v.
[241] James, *Letters*, ed. Akrigg, p. 255; *CSPV*, x, pp. 218-20.
[242] Smith, *Black-Smith*, p. 10.
[243] Ibid, p. 10.
[244] Ibid, p. 10.
[245] James, *Political Writings*, p. 56.
[246] LPL, MS 3201, fo. 236r
[247]; BL, MS Harley 677, fos 47v-48r.
[248] James, *Letters*, ed. Akrigg, p. 256.

sermon resembles Cecil's royally-approved message to Hatton.[249] The sermon was then ordered printed by the King's Printer, by 'commaundement' of Archbishop Bancroft.[250] Smith's was only the second court sermon commanded into print in James's English reign. The sermon, which Smith described as 'this sillye sermon' is unlikely to have been accorded this honour based on its conceits: comparing the role of the preacher to a blacksmith, and a parody of puritans.[251] Instead it is likely that it was ordered printed because it had reminded the court and readers that James's hunting should not be a cause for concern. However, Smith's sermon did not dissuade criticisms about James's absences on hunting excursions. A complaint that the king was 'leav[ing] his subjects a prey to the cupidity of his Ministers' when he went hunting was found affixed to the Privy Council chamber door in May, less than a month after Smith's sermon was printed.[252] Whereas this was a 'paternal warning', later that summer James received another anonymous letter cautioning that he ought to 'devote himself to really king-like employments…and not be for ever running after wild animals'; if he did not adopt 'moderation', his hunting hounds would be poisoned.[253] That these notes reached areas of the court to which access was restricted, suggests that Smith's sermon, and its printing, had failed to persuade several senior figures at the court.

Critiquing the New Regime

The previous sections have demonstrated that the pulpit of the Chapel Royal was one of the most significant sites from which James's accession to the throne, and the distinctive transformations that followed at the English court were defended. Nonetheless, in their court sermons, several chaplains-in-ordinary expressed reservations about changes in personnel and protocol at the court. They stated concerns about changed dynamics of access to the king, which made various aspects of government more challenging. They also repeatedly aired reservations about the quality of James's councillors, especially the appropriateness of senior court roles being held by Scots, or by Catholics.

The complaints about James's hunting were, fundamentally, complaints that access to the king had been limited, which frustrated the usual channels of court patronage. Although

[249] Smith, *Black-Smith*, pp. 11-12.
[250] Ibid, sig. A2v.
[251] Ibid, sig. A2r.
[252] *CSPV*, x, p. 353.
[253] Friedrich Ludwig G. von Raumer, *History of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, Illustrated by Original Documents* (2 vols, 1835), ii, p. 217.

some chaplains-in-ordinary, like William Smith, used their court sermons to justify James's access arrangements, others, such as Robert Wakeman, used the opportunity to preach *coram rege* to condemn the stringent access protocols at the court. However, in keeping with convention, Wakeman presented James as the victim of bad advice. Preaching at Nonsuch on 30 April 1605, he criticised kings who kept a limited circle. He claimed that habits of restrictive or exclusive personal access to the monarch were often an early sign of tyrannical tendencies. 'Cursed Machiavels, and cunning politicians' would advise kings 'that to keep themselves always from the access of their subjects is the next way to make them great'.[254] Wakeman argued that the advice of these 'irreligious counsellors' was mistaken, and disengaging from the populace actually left princes vulnerable to rumour. Furthermore, such excessive privacy also meant that James's subjects would not adequately appreciate and celebrate the various blessings since his accession. Unique amongst the Chapel Royals of the English palaces, Nonsuch lacked a closet and James therefore heard sermons sat at ground level in his throne. Wakeman could therefore look directly at the king during his peroration: 'Your greatest honour [is] easie accesse and audience unto all that came to speak with you'. Although Wakeman conceded that James should not be 'facile of accesse-giving at all times, and to all persons', he nonetheless urged that he grant his subjects greater access to him, especially the poor, just as he would 'hope to have accesse to the presence of the king of heaven'. Wakeman's complaints and arguments resembled those written complaints about James's hunting that had sometimes been attached to the Privy Chamber door. This was especially apt as Nonsuch was originally a grand hunting lodge, and, when Wakeman preached this sermon before him, James was indeed on the route out of London to go hunting. Curiously Wakeman's sermon was printed, in Oxford, not in London, but it was sold at Simon Waterson's shop in St Paul's. The printing of a sermon like this went some way to bolstering James's reputation, showing that he was receptive to critical advice on issues that were of deep personal importance to him.

Wakeman's sermon attributed the unpopular lack of access to James to the influence of non-descript wicked advisors. John Burgess's sermon at Greenwich on 19 June 1604 went further, by insinuating that there were particular individuals who were responsible for misleading the king. Burgess's strident attack on James's plan to deprive non-subscribers in this sermon, for which he was briefly imprisoned in the Fleet, has drawn a great deal of attention.[255] As a result, his critique of court personnel, and the canny way he made it, has

[254] Robert Wakeman, *Salomans Exaltation* (Oxford, 1605), sig. C6r.
[255] McCullough, *Sermons*, pp. 141-7; Peter Lake, 'Moving the Goal Posts?'.

been overlooked hitherto. Burgess warned that a king out of favour with God 'flyeth the company of the wise and advanceth fooles, oppressours and flatterers'.[256] He attempted to interest and rouse James by using hunting imagery. He urged him to 'hunt away two beasts, the tame beast and the wilde, the flatterer and the false informer'.[257] Following his arrest, Burgess was required to clarify that the image of the tame and wild beasts was a literary archetype, rather than 'particularly and personal glancing' at 'any two particular persons'.[258] Burgess created further difficulties for himself by answering that, whilst he had not meant any two individuals, '(there is no doubt) but your Majesty hath more than two about you'.[259] Furthermore, he insisted that he was merely repeating a generally-held view: 'his remarks on the graciousness of princes and the impartiality of their favours were made, because the people murmured at the want of these qualities in the King'.[260]

On 14 June 1603 at Greenwich, Anthony Rudd had counselled James concerning the influence of his councillors, with greater tact than Burgess. Rudd cited the story in *1 Samuel* of David not favouring Achish because of the disapproval of the Philistines to demonstrate that 'Princes haue been sometimes ouerawed by the peeres of the Realme'.[261] The pressure to please the great nobles could deter princes from 'shew[ing] kindnes, and giue entertainment to good men whom they loued'. Rudd argued that James should not sacrifice companionship in order to satisfy his nobility's prejudices, and instead he should 'pack out his companie…in his kingdome and in the court' with those who 'pleased him'. Rudd's sermon offered a deeply unflattering image of the nobility, as destructively jealous. Rudd also depicted the nobility as vain and ungrateful, attributing their 'increase of wealth and honour' to 'their owne wit, force and power' rather than to God and the king.[262] Rudd preached this sermon on the morning of the day when chapter of the Order of the Garter was held to elect the duke of Lennox, the earls of Mar, Pembroke, and Southampton. It is therefore possible that Rudd was urging James to exercise his role as Sovereign of the Order of the Garter without fear. Rudd's arguments clearly proved popular, as an audience member engineered to have the sermon printed. Advice that James should keep his own counsel was a frequent feature of Rudd's preaching at court. At Whitehall on Sunday 13 May 1604, he used a range of Biblical examples to argue that the

[256] John Burgess, *A sermon preached before the late King James his Majesty, at Greenwich, the 19 of July 1604* (1642), sig. A4v.
[257] Ibid, sig. B2r.
[258] CP 187, fo. 145r.
[259] TNA, SP 14/8, fo. 173r.
[260] TNA, SP 14/8, fo. 171r.
[261] Rudd, *Sermon…Greenwich*, sig. B8r.
[262] Ibid, sig. B7r.

influence of 'temporizing States-man' could lead to king's disastrously 'halting betweene two opinions'.[263]

The most extensive discussion, and criticism, of James's court appointments by a Jacobean chaplain-in-ordinary were delivered by Richard Eedes in a sermon preached on 30 August 1603. Eedes forthrightly critiqued the influence of the court's Scottish population over English politics. He had previously addressed the theme of monarchs' intimates in a court sermon preached in 1596, when he offered conventional ideals that those who 'haue the honour to be the eares of princes' must avoid flattery and lies.[264] Eedes's sermon preached at the Jacobean court, which he later entitled 'The dutie of a king' repeated conventional warnings about wicked counsellors, reminding James of his duty to rid the court of 'two pernitious plagues of a princes court, the malitiously slanderous, and the ambitiously proud'.[265] However, Eedes also offered a more innovative, systematic, and polemical analysis, discussing the qualities appropriate to a courtier in a fashion that reflected critically on changes at the court. He profiled the necessary attributes of the court advisor, considering the sub-categories of 'counsailors' and 'inferiour officers'.[266] Counsellors, Eedes claimed, should be the '*veraces terrae*, the true and faiuthful of this land'. In his exegesis, Eedes gave special consideration to the term '*terrae*'. He explored how this word suggested that counsellors should be '*of the land*, and as hauing better experience of their owne estate than strangers'. In contrast to John Gordon's arguments that magistrates in Britain should be appointed based on merit, Eedes argued that royal councillors should always be native-born. His sermon can only have been intended and interpreted as a complaint about the personnel of the new court. Eedes implicitly criticised several of James's appointments, such as placing five Scotsmen on the English Privy Council, including to the vital government roles of Chancellor of the Exchequer (which went to George Home) and Master of the Rolls (Edward Bruce).[267] These appointees had displaced the Elizabethan English-born incumbents Sir Jon Fortescue and Sir Thomas Egerton. Boldly, mere weeks after James had finalised several important appointments, Eedes suggested that several of James's appointees were unqualified, lacking the 'experience', a pre-requisite to being an effective counsellor, which only came with being a native.

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[263] Anthony Rudd, *A sermon preached at the court at White Hall before the Kings Maiesty, vpon Sunday the 13. of May 1604* (1604), sig. A7r, B4r.
[264] Eedes, *Six Learned*, sig. O5r.
[265] Ibid, sig. E8v.
[266] Ibid, sig. F1r.
[267] On these appointments, see Cuddy, 'Revival', p. 175.

Eedes also argued that, amongst the 'inferiour officers' of the court, it should 'be a religion to them not to goe beyond their commission'.[268] The sermon may therefore be an attempt to use the court pulpit, (and, soon after, print) to publicly hold James to his pronouncements that the Scottish members of the Bedchamber and Privy Chamber were present for his own comfort, and would exercise no influence over policy.[269] Eedes inverted the terms of many late Elizabethan succession tracts against James's claim to the English throne. Many of these had argued that James should not be king because all of his counsellors would be Scottish. Eedes, however, asserted that James could be king, so long as his councillors were English, and his Scottish intimates stayed out of political affairs (which, until Robert Carr interfered in parliamentary debates about the Great Contract in 1610, they largely did). Vigorously anti-Scottish sermons, such as that preached at St Paul's Cross by Edward Robinson on 7 June 1607, were not delivered at court.[270] But even without indulging crude xenophobic tropes, Richard Eedes succeeded in preaching vehemently against the Scottish courtiers.

Nonetheless, anxieties about James's courtiers continued to be expressed in court sermons. Preaching at Whitehall on 18 April 1609, William Smith 'so schooled the K[ing] himself for being ledd by other men rather than by his owne Judgment'.[271] Only three years earlier, Smith had defended James's hunting habits against criticisms made at court and beyond. Now, he attacked the king's intimates and their influence. Smith may even have identified the individuals who he felt were corrupting influences on the king. He made his complaints 'particularly and plainly', with the result that he gave a sermon of apology.[272] Unfortunately, Dudley Carleton who noted this sermon's critical content did not indicate which individual courtiers Smith had identified. It is striking that so many preachers advised James to keep his own counsel. However, this was not motivated by an incipient "absolutism". Rather, insisting on the king's right to take his own counsel was a strategy to attempt to dilute the influence of various courtiers, both English and Scottish, over the court and policy. Although Smith's delivery was incautious, this sentiment was clearly appreciated by James: he invited Rudd to preach at court on multiple occasions.

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[268] Eedes, *Six Learned*, sig. F1v.
[269] Pauline Croft, *King James* (Basingstoke, 2002), pp. 59-61.
[270] Morrissey, *Politics*, pp. 84-5.
[271] TNA, SP 14/44, fo. 166v.
[272] *HMC Salisbury*, xxi, p. 46.

The most critical denunciations of courtiers were expressed after the death of Prince Henry in November 1612. Evangelicals had monopolised preaching in Prince Henry's household.[273] His chaplains preached several sermons to his household between his death and its formal dissolution in January 1613. Daniel Price on Tuesday 10 November, four days after Henry's death, attributed Henry's death to the sins of 'this Citie and Court…che[a]ting, whoring, drinking, swearing'.[274] However, Price also claimed that Henry's death was a divine punishment for the court's 'inundation of Popery'.[275] He railed against concessions being made to Catholics, at home or in diplomacy. He even suggested that Henry may have been killed by Catholic agents who were angry that he would not marry a French Catholic princess.[276] Overall, Price offered a polemical, confessionalised interpretation of Henry's death: 'the irrecouerable losse the Protestant world hath now sustained'.[277] Understandably, preachers at the early Jacobean court routinely denounced Catholic doctrines. Francis Rollenson's 1607 sermon, *The Triumph of Constancie* had warned that the papacy was sending seminary priests 'to the Courts of Princes, to stir them vp to make warre against the true Professours of the Gospel'.[278] However, as we have seen, with the exception of John King's 1608 Gunpowder Day sermon, court preachers generally avoided extreme anti-Catholic rhetoric. Following Prince Henry's death, however, royal chaplains unleashed an unprecedented denunciation of the influence of church papists at court. Straightforwardly (but correctly) claiming the Privy Council contained church papists, an unnamed preacher alleged: 'divers counsaillors heare masse in the morning, then go to a court sermon, and so to the counsaille' before revealing affairs of state to 'theyre Jesuites and confessors'.[279] Instead of apologising, in the next sermon 'he made the matter much more plaine'.[280] In another sermon, Daniel Price complained that the royal court had priests 'who wish more Rome in the Land'.[281] He was right. The following year a chaplain-in-ordinary, Benjamin Carier, who had been a regular Lent preacher at court since 1607, and whose sermons argued 'certain points of confession, contrition and satisfaction

[273] McCullough, *Sermons*, pp. 185-8.
[274] Daniel Price, *Lamentations for the Death of the late Illustrious Prince Henry* (1613), pp. 19-20
[275] Ibid, p.26.
[276] Price, *Spiritual Odours*, p. 29.
[277] Ibid, p. 17.
[278] Rollenson, *Sermons*, sig. D4r.
[279] TNA, SP 14/71, fo. 66v.
[280] TNA, SP 14/71, fo. 122r.
[281] Price, *Spirituall Odours*, p. 20.

which were not agreeable to the protestants', fled to Flanders and announced his conversion to Catholicism.[282]

In 1603, the chaplains-in-ordinary of the English court had used various strategies to attempt to make James's accession to the English throne as smooth as possible. A decade later, the chaplains that James had placed in his son's household were incessantly proclaiming the court was staffed by papists.

Conclusion

For at least three hours every week, the Jacobean court was addressed by preachers. This chapter has shown that court sermons were a significant genre that performed multiple important functions at the English court in transition. Chaplains-in-ordinary deployed a range of arguments to address and alleviate anxieties amongst courtiers about James's accession and the establishment of his English court. They took advantage of the changes introduced to the institution of the Chapel Royal and to the calendar of preaching at court shortly after James's accession to achieve these ends. Most strikingly, on the new feast days of Gowrie Day and Gunpowder Day, Lancelot Andrewes used vivid language and communal prayer to compel the court to express reverence for James, his accession, and his policies.

Sermons participated in the vibrant debates about the changes that James's accession had brought to the court. Some preachers took to the pulpit of the Chapel Royal, and subsequently to print, to endorse these changes. Others defended them against complaints that were being made at court, especially complaints concerning James's largesse and habits of delegation. Most importantly, preachers sometimes used the authority granted them by principles of clerical counsel to express reservations or criticisms about the changes to the court's protocols and personnel that had been introduced after 1603.This chapter has presented an unfamiliar vision of sermons at court. By, distinctively, investigating sermons preached at court as court texts, and treating court preachers as courtiers who participated in debates about court politics and culture, it has extended recent work by scholars such as Anthony Milton and Charles W.A. Prior which has shown that the Jacobean clergy were involved in debates other

[282] A.J. Loomie, *Spain and the Jacobean Catholics* (2 vols, London, 1973-8), ii, p. 14; Michael Questier, 'Crypto-Catholicism, Anti-Calvinism, and Conversion at the Jacobean Court: The Enigma of Benjamin Carier', *JEH*, 47/1 (1996), pp. 45-64.

than perennial questions of theology, especially predestination.[283] It has shown that, from the start of James's English reign, his accession, and how it had affected the court, were pervasive themes addressed by preachers at the English court. This chapter has also challenged several long-standing assumptions about James's involvement in the religious culture of the court. Far from engaging only with court sermons, James appreciated the Chapel Royal's architecture and Prayer Book services, and generously sponsored its musical life. Furthermore, like Elizabeth, James used his appearances at sermons and services to establish a reputation for piety amongst his new English subjects. However, most importantly, this chapter has shown that, although sermons performed crucial roles supporting and defending the regime, the Chapel Royal did not simply produce authority-confirming material. Court sermons could also be a critical form. When compared with preachers in other periods and venues, the sermons preached at the early Jacobean court may seem relatively quiescent. Court preachers generally did not harangue James concerning his religious policies, as had occasionally happened to Elizabeth, nor did they routinely condemn his private life, as the chaplains-in-ordinary at Charles II's court did.[284] With few exceptions, they promoted his religious policies. However, his secular policies, especially the changes that his accession had bought to the court, were more open to challenge by chaplains-in-ordinary. They aired their concerns about limited access to the king, and even about the wisdom of appointing Scots to certain posts at the English court. Even in the innermost sanctum of sacral monarchy, reservations about court personnel and practices could be aired.

Between 1603 and 1612, the Chapel Royal was an overwhelmingly English sub-department of the court. The organisation of services, appointment of preachers, and preaching itself were all undertaken almost exclusively by English-born figures. Court sermons can illuminate the attitudes of English courtiers towards the changes at court following James's accession. However, they can reveal relatively little about how these changes were experienced and reflected upon by Scottish courtiers. In order to recover the perspectives of the Scottish courtiers at the English court after 1603, it is necessary to investigate a group of literary texts that scholars have largely overlooked, and certainly have never treated together: the writings of the "Scottish courtier-poets".

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[283] Milton, *Catholic and Reformed:* Prior, *Defining*.
[284] McCullough, *Sermons*, pp. 36-7; Matthew Jenkinson, *Culture and Politics at the Court of Charles II, 1660-1685* (Woodbridge, 2010), pp. 75-106.

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The Scottish Courtier Poets

Perhaps the most significant change to the English court following the accession of James I was that its population now included many courtiers who had been born in Scotland. Yet, in most previous scholarship on the culture of the early Jacobean English court, these Scottish courtiers have largely featured (if at all) as the subjects of English animosity. However, several Scottish-born individuals who held formal posts at the English court after 1603 – William Alexander, Robert Ayton, Alexander Craig, William Fowler, and Thomas Murray – were active poets. Despite calls for further study by several leading critics of Scottish literature, these individuals, and especially the writings that they produced at the English court, have hitherto received little critical attention, except from their nineteenth- and twentieth-century editors.[1] Additionally, until now, they have never been considered as a group. I lack the space here to offer the thorough reappraisal that many of these courtier-poets deserve. However, I will examine their court careers and writings to show how the peculiar phenomenon of the English court in transition during the first decade of the seventeenth century was experienced and reflected upon by some of its Scottish-born courtiers. By recovering their distinctive literary voices, I will provide a novel view of English court culture after 1603.

As these "Scottish courtier poets" and their works are likely unfamiliar to many scholars, in the first section of this chapter I provide a brief outline of their court careers, especially exploring the role that their poetry played in securing their appointments at the English court. It seems that the publication of verse proved a more effective passport to employment at the English court for aspiring Scottish courtiers than for most of their English contemporaries. In the second section, I examine the poems that these courtiers (or, rather, soon-to-be-courtiers) wrote and published to mark James's accession to the English throne. I argue that they expressed significantly different interpretations of James's accession from their more-studied English contemporaries, drawing on distinctive Scottish ideologies and literary

[1] Helena M. Shire, *Song, Dance and Poetry of the Court of Scotland Under King James VI* (Cambridge, 1969), pp. 93-100; James Ayton, 'Sir Robert Ayton – The Last Castalian: Time for a Reappraisal', *SSL*, 33/1 (2004), pp. 281-90; David W. Atkinson, 'More than One Voice: The Poetic Accomplishment of William Alexander', in Sally Mapstone (ed.), *Older Scots Literature* (2005), pp. 584-94.

traditions. Most significantly, they portrayed the Union of Crowns as a conquest of England by Scotland, and celebrated its implications for the European Protestant cause. However, they also expressed concerns about Scotland's fate within the new dynastic agglomerate. The third section demonstrates and explores the Scottish courtier poets' varied and notable, but hitherto underappreciated, contributions to the English court's cultural life. It examines their participation in court patronage networks, and how their poems reflected on major political events and cultural texts at the court. I highlight how the works they produced at the English court retained distinctively Scottish literary features, most significantly the continued production of neo-Latin verse. The final section analyses how the Scottish courtier poets portrayed life at the English court in their poetry. Their verse offers a disillusioned account of the mundane reality of life as a court servant. Their complaints about feeling fatigued by their work at court and frustrated by the behaviour of other unscrupulous courtiers are a striking contrast, both with English poetry that celebrated the court's magnificence, and with the well-known complaints by various contemporary English commentators that the Scottish courtiers gleefully abused the financial resources of the English crown. Overall, this chapter reveals the presence and characteristics of a notable Scottish literary subculture at the English court after 1603, which represented James's accession and the changes that followed at the English court in unfamiliar, often surprising, ways.

The Scottish Courtier Poets and their Poems

The five individuals who I have termed the "Scottish courtier poets" – William Alexander, Robert Ayton, Alexander Craig, William Fowler, and Thomas Murray – were an eclectic group. All were born in Scotland, but received formal appointments at the English court after 1603, usually in administrative or secretarial roles. Most importantly, unlike the Scottish-born Gentlemen of the King's Bedchamber, they all wrote various forms of poetry whilst seeking employment at the English court, and whilst serving there. Their writings therefore represent the best place for scholars to seek Scottish courtiers' literary responses to the changing English court.

James's accession to the English throne did not encourage the wholesale transplantation to London of the poetic talents of his court in Scotland. Several of the Scottish court's most famous poets, such as Alexander Montgomerie and the English-born Robert Hudson had died before 1603, whilst others, such as Patrick Hume of Polwarth, chose to remain in Scotland.

Some who had previously been active writers at the Scottish court served at the English court after 1603, but do not appear to have produced much literary material there. Walter Quin, a multi-lingual poet at James's Scottish court, came to London to serve as one of Prince Henry's music tutors but is not known to have written anything between 1603 and 1611.[2] In fact, only one established courtier poet from James's Scottish court came to the English court after 1603 and remained active as a writer there: William Fowler, who had been Queen Anna's Secretary and Master of Requests since the early 1590s and continued in those roles in England until his death in 1612.[3]

Apart from Fowler, all of the Scottish courtier poets at the early Jacobean English court only began their careers as courtiers in England. There is no evidence that William Alexander, Robert Ayton, Alexander Craig, or Thomas Murray had ever served at James's court in Edinburgh before 1603. The Scottish nobility were generally not interested in moving to the English court and taking up roles there.[4] James's accession therefore presented opportunities for ambitious Scottish gentlemen who had trained at Scottish universities, who perhaps possessed some cosmopolitan finesse, and who were often second sons, to pursue bureaucratic and administrative roles at the English court. Many used imaginative writing, either producing bespoke dedicated manuscript verse, or arranging for works they had written before 1603 to be printed in London, to advertise their talents to potential court patrons.

Thomas Murray and Alexander Craig attained employment at the English court fairly rapidly. Murray was summoned to London by James, who paid over three-hundred pounds for his attendance, before appointing him as Prince Charles's tutor by 1605.[5] It is less clear when or how Craig first secured a position at the English court. The places described in his poem 'To his Calidonian Mistress' (including St Paul's, Farnham, and Woodstock), and a poem he wrote to Frances Prannell, Lady Hertford when the court visited Tottenham House in September 1603, suggest that Craig followed the new court during its first summer progress in

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[2] Walter Quin, *The Works of Walter Quin: An Irishman at the Stuart Courts*, ed. John Flood (Dublin, 2014), p. 31.

[3] On Fowler's life, see: Alessandra Petrina, *Machiavelli in the British Isles: Two Early Modern Translations of "The Prince"* (Farnham, 2009), pp. 69-86; Sebastiaan Verweij, *The Literary Culture of Early Modern Scotland: Manuscript Production and Transmission, 1560-1625* (Oxford, 2016), pp. 78-110; Allison L. Steenson, *The Hawthornden Manuscripts of William Fowler and the Jacobean Court 1603-1612* (London, 2020), pp. 23-56.

[4] Keith M. Brown, 'The Scottish Aristocracy, Anglicization, and the Court, 1603-1638', *HJ*, 36/3 (1993), pp. 543-76.

[5] R. Malcolm Smuts, 'Murray, Thomas (1564-1623), *ODNB*; Jamie Reid-Baxter, '"Scotland will be the Ending of all Empires": Mr Thomas Murray and King James VI and I', in Steve Boardman and Julian Goodare (eds), *Kings, Lords and Men in Scotland and Britain, 1300-1625: Essays in Honour of Jenny Wormald* (Edinburgh, 2014), pp. 323-4; Aysha Pollnitz, *Princely Education in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge, 2015), pp. 330-3.

1603, hoping to receive an appointment.[6] Craig had probably not secured a post at court by Christmas 1604 because, as part of the season's revels, he performed an oration before James in which he complained about 'his hard Fortunes in England', and requested royal employment or reward: 'Let Povertie I pray / Receaue his due disgrace: / And let thy Poet at this feast / Supplie'.[7] The following Christmas, Craig received a royal pension of four-hundred Scottish pounds 'for the guid trew and thankfull service done and to be done to' James, and by 1606 was recorded as working as the legal secretary to George Home (from 1606, earl of Dunbar), head of the King's Bedchamber and the individual at the English court primarily responsible for administering Scottish and Border affairs.[8] As he received such a substantial pension, it is very likely that Craig had been Hume's secretary for some time before this.

Other Scottish poets waited longer for preferment. William Alexander worked hard to attract attention to himself. In 1604, several of the literary works that he had already written in Scotland were printed in London, including his sonnet sequence *Aurora*, and two closet dramas, *Croesus* and *Darius*.[9] However, although these works were held in high esteem in England and Scotland (inspiring the jealousy of Samuel Daniel), it was at least three years before Alexander received either courtly honours or appointments.[10] Only in 1607 did he begin to be described, both in royal commissions and on the frontispieces of his printed works, as 'Gentleman of the Princes priuie chamber'.[11] These sources also indicate that he was knighted at some point between 1607 and 1609.

Of all the Scottish courtier poets, Robert Ayton endured the longest, and most impatient, wait before finally receiving a formal post at the English court. He was in France when Elizabeth I died, and quickly printed a Latin panegyric commemorating James's accession, *Ad Iacobum VI, Britanniarum regum, Angliam petentem* ('To James VI, king of the British kingdoms, upon claiming England'), in Paris.[12] This was the first time that Ayton had arranged for one of his poems to be printed, and was clearly intended to catch the attention of the king or someone influential at court. Ayton expressed his hopes that his panegyric would be 'borne across the ocean's dwellings' to 'arrest [James's] august ears with its pleasing

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[6] Alexander Craig, *The Poeticall Essayes of Alexander Craige Scotobritane* (1604), sig. E3v-4v; Alexander Craig, *The Poetical Recreations of Mr Alexander Craig, of Rose-Craig* (Edinburgh, 1609), sig. B2v.
[7] Craig, *Poetical Recreations*, sig. A4v, B2v.
[8] Michael R.G. Spiller, 'Craig [Craige], Alexander, of Rosecraig (1567?-1627)', *ODNB.*
[9] William Alexander, *Aurora* (1604); William Alexander, *The monarchicke tragedies* (1604).
[10] David Reid, 'Alexander, William, first earl of Stirling (1577-1640), *ODNB*
[11] William Alexander, *The monarchicke tragedies* (1607).
[12] Harriet Harvey Wood, 'Ayton, Sir Robert (1570-1638)', *ODNB;* Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Library, MS De.6.65. My translation.

originality' ('oceani transvecta domos et caerula regna, augustas grata novitate morabitur aures').[13] Like Craig and Alexander, Ayton probably travelled to England in 1603 and, once there, sought to impress a court patron with his literary talents, especially by displaying 'my bilingual mouth' ('gemino palato').[14] Whereas Alexander printed his works in Anglicised Scots, Ayton wrote several Latin manuscript poems to important court figures, including New Year's poems to Queen Anna (in 1604) and to Sir James Hay (in 1605).[15]

Like Alexander Craig, Ayton wrote several short poems complaining about his extended, uncertain wait for a post at the English court (although unlike Craig, Ayton wrote his plaintive verses in Latin). In his 1606 poem 'Aulae valedicit' ('Farewell to Court'), Ayton railed that he had been left 'obscure and without honour in the middle of the court' ('obscurus mediaque inhonorus in aula').[16] He emphasised his bitterness by repeatedly using the word 'tricked' ('fallacibus').[17] Having spent over two years in England unrewarded, Ayton claimed that he had been lured there under false pretences: 'you used to command me to hope for reward for my delay and for fortunes not unworthy of my merits. But now nothing remains for me in my misery' ('morae pretium sperare jubebas / fataque non meritis inferior meis / At nunc nil misero restat').[18] Furthermore, he complained that his despondency at failing to find a court position had meant that 'the sad Muses have fled me' ('tristes fugere Camoenae'), leaving him unable to write the very poetry that he hoped might secure him employment there.[19]

After writing 'Aulae valedicit', Ayton waited a further two years before finally being appointed a groom of James's Privy Chamber in May 1608. He celebrated the appointment by composing a forty-four-line neo-Latin poem of thanksgiving addressed to the king. Ayton celebrated that his new post granted him physical access to James, and would allow him 'to obtain the sacred gaze, to drink its speech with my ear, and to feast upon the learned speeches of a victorious tongue' ('obtutus captare sacros, bibere aure loquelas / doctaque flexanimae gustare oracula linguae'.[20] He also expressed hope that the financial security the position provided (it included an annual income of twenty-pounds), would finally allow him to prioritise

[13] *Delitiae Poetarum Scotorum: Huius Aevi Illustrium*, ed. Arthur Johnstoun (2 vols, Amsterdam, 1637), i, p. 49. My translation.
[14] Ibid, p. 48. My translation.
[15] Robert Ayton, *The Latin and English Poems of Sir Robert Ayton*, ed. Charles B. Gullans (Edinburgh, 1963), p. 168.
[16] *Delitiae*, i, p. 68. My translation.
[17] Ibid, i, pp. 67, 69. My translation.
[18] Ibid, i, p. 68. My translation.
[19] Ibid, i, p. 68. My translation.
[20] Ibid, i, p. 67. My translation.

his poetry: 'my muses, who have been driven by countless wrong turns, find their pleasant rest in their longed-for harbour' ('musasque meas erroribus actas / innumeris tandem optato requiescere portu / iusserit').[21] However, Ayton's poem contains some terminological confusion. He repeatedly described his appointment to the 'privatum Cubiculum', the king's private Bedchamber, when he had actually been appointed to the less-exclusive Privy Chamber.[22] Despite having petitioned for a role at the English court for over four years, Ayton was still not entirely familiar with its formal structures.

As James's English reign continued, many of the Scots who had initially accompanied him south returned to Scotland.[23] Unusually, having endured waits of varying lengths for their court appointments, the majority of the Scottish courtier poets made lifelong careers in England, receiving honours, pensions, and property for their good service. Some held influential court positions into the reign of Charles I. When William Fowler died in 1612, Ayton succeeded him as Queen Anna's secretary, and became Queen Henrietta Maria's secretary in 1625. Following Prince Henry's death in 1612, Thomas Murray suddenly became tutor, and then secretary, to the heir to the throne, and was therefore 'much courted'.[24] Sir William Alexander became Master of Requests for Scotland in 1614, received a seat on the Scottish Privy Council in 1615, and would become Secretary of State for Scotland in 1626. Furthermore, many of the Scottish courtier poets established strong personal relationships in England, especially with men of letters, including Ben Jonson and John Donne.[25] English writers praised their character, and sometimes their writings. Thomas Murray's death in 1623 prompted a flood of elegies by English poets.[26] When Thomas Dempster, James's English Historiographer Royal, came to write a brief Latin biography of William Fowler, he noted Fowler's fame for writing anagrams, listing nine examples of them.[27]

The exception to this trend is Alexander Craig, who returned to his hometown of Banff, where he married and settled down. He may have done so relatively early; the 'Epistle General' to his 1606 collection of poems, *Amorose Songes*, although printed in London, was addressed

[21] Ibid, i, p. 67. My translation.
[22] Ibid, i, p. 66.
[23] Brown, 'Scottish Aristocracy'.
[24] Smuts, 'Murray, Thomas'.
[25] Robert M. Cummings, 'The Poet as Hero: Sir Robert Ayton on Thomas Reid and Raphael Thory', in Kevin J. McGinley and Nicola Ryan (eds), *The Apparelling of Truth: Literature and Literary Culture in the Reign of James VI* (Newcastle, 2010), pp. 207-22; Reid-Baxter, 'Scotland will be', pp. 224-6.
[26] BL, MS Harley 3910, fos 123-47; James Doelman, '"The Daring Pen of Sorrow": Elegies on the Death of Thomas Murray (1564-1623)', *The Seventeenth Century*, 34/1 (2019), pp. 27-63.
[27] Thomas Dempster, *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum*, ed. Andrew Balfour (Edinburgh, 1829), p. 551.

from Banff.[28] It is not clear why Craig alone amongst the Scottish courtier poets chose to leave the English court. He was only in his mid-thirties and as George Home's secretary he was well-positioned to be advanced to yet more senior court roles in the future. As he had secured an ample pension, the allure of domestic life is certainly a possibility. Alternatively, as will be discussed in Section Four, Craig may have genuinely disliked the ethical compromise that court service necessitated. He wrote supportive poems when other Scottish individuals, such as Lady Anna Hay, also chose to return to Scotland after serving at the English court.[29] Nevertheless, Craig did not completely sever his connections with the English court. His 1609 collection, *The Poetical Recreations of Mr Alexander Craig*, which contained many pieces that he had written at the English court, was printed in Edinburgh by the King's Printer, Thomas Finlason, and Craig performed some verses before the court at Kinnaird Castle during James's progress to Scotland in 1617.[30]

It is noteworthy that Craig, Alexander, and Ayton all secured employment at the English court, at least in part, on the merit of their writings. At James's accession, the court gossip John Chamberlain noted the publication of a slew of works in which poets 'promise[d] themselves great part in his favour'.[31] Following a relative dearth of royal patronage towards writers during the late Elizabethan period, many English poets hoped that James, a published writer in multiple genres, would prove to be an enthusiastic patron of writers.[32] Scottish writers also hoped that James's English reign would be nurturing of poetry, and, in the poems they wrote to commemorate his accession, often depicted the English court as a poetic academy. Robert Ayton described poetry as 'the golden sun of the court, the lover of the king' ('sol aureus aulae / regis amor').[33] Thomas Murray's prefatory poem to his neo-Latin paraphrase of James's *Lepanto* hailed James as poet-king.[34] The volume in which this translation was printed, *Naupactiados*, also contained a poem on James's accession pointedly entitled 'In redivivum

[28] Alexander Craig, *Amorose Songes, Sonets, and Elegies* (1606), sig. B1v.
[29] Craig, *Poetical Recreations*, sig. C1r.
[30] Michael R.G. Spiller, 'Craig [Craige], Alexander, of Rosecraig (1567?-1627)', *ODNB*.
[31] *The Letters of John Chamberlain*, ed. Norman Egbert McClure (2 vols, Philadelphia, 1939), i, p. 192.
[32] On this theme in early Jacobean poetry, see Curtis Perry, *The Making of Jacobean Culture: James I and the Renegotiation of Elizabethan Literary Practice* (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 15-48; Richard A. McCabe, 'The Poetics of Succession, 1587-1605: The Stuart Claim', in Doran and Kewes (eds), *Doubtful*, pp. 199-206; Jane Rickard, *Writing the Monarch in Jacobean England: Jonson, Donne, Shakespeare and the Works of King James* (Cambridge, 2015), pp. 19-56. On the limited royal literary patronage of the 1590s, see Alistair Fox, 'The Complaint of Poetry for the Death of Liberality: The Decline of Literary Patronage in the 1590s', in Guy (ed.), *Reign*, pp. 229-58.
[33] *Delitiae*, i, p. 69. My translation.
[34] Thomas Murray, *Naupactiados* (1604), sig. A2v.

Musarum sub Iacobe Rege decus' ('On the resurrection of the muses under King James').[35] The high expectations that Scottish writers held for the place of poetry at James's English court is most apparent in Alexander Craig's verse. In the oration he performed for James at Christmas 1604, petitioning for employment, Craig praised James as 'O Poet most divyne'.[36] Craig linked James's mastery of poetry to his capabilities as a king 'thou be best and greatest both of Kinges / 'Mongst poets all, is none so sweetely singes', anticipating Ben Jonson's later, more-famous, description of James as 'best of Poets, best of Kings'.[37] The title of Craig's first work printed in London in 1604, *Poeticall Essayes* alluded to James's 1584 debut in print: *The Essayes of a Prentise in the Diuine Art of Poesie.* Throughout the volume, Craig depicted James as 'the sweete Museaeus of our days', and portrayed himself as James's 'Prentice in Poetry': 'You gaue mee Reuls, I giue you Ryms againe'.[38] The king's 'reuls' is certainly a reference to James's pronouncements on Scottish prosody in the 'Reeulis and Cautelis' contained in his *Essayes*. As he sought appointment at the English court, Craig, like many English poets, expressed in print his hope that James would assemble a poetic fraternity around him at his new court in England, who he would patronise and set literary tasks.

Yet, whilst they were more successful than many English poets in attaining formal positions at court, the Scottish courtier poets did not produce large quantities of verse or pageantry, and virtually none by royal commission. It used to be claimed that, at the Scottish court, James had overseen a group of courtiers, known as 'the Castalian Band', whom he routinely set poetic challenges in order to elevate the international prestige of Scottish verse.[39] Since the millennium, scholars have presented an array of evidence disputing this image of literary production at James's Scottish court.[40] Nonetheless, James did occasionally encourage courtiers to undertake literary projects, especially translations; for example, he challenged Thomas Hudson to translate Du Bartas's *La Judith*, and corrected his efforts.[41] He occasionally

[35] Ibid, sig. E4v-F1r. My translation.
[36] Craig, *Poetical Recreations*, sig. B1r.
[37] Ibid, sig. B4v; Ben Jonson, 'Epigram IV', *CEWBJO*.
[38] Craig, *Poeticall Essayes*, sig. B4v, A2v, F2r.
[39] Shire, *Song, Dance and Poetry*, pp. 93-100. On James's hopes to reform Scottish verse, see Carolyn Ives and David J. Parkinson, '"The Fountain and Very Being of Truth": James VI, Poetic Invention, and National Identity', in Daniel Fischlin and Mark Fortier (eds), *Royal Subjects: Essays on the Writing of James VI and I* (Detroit, 2002), pp. 104-23.
[40] Patricia Bawcutt, 'James VI's Castalian Band: A Modern Myth', *SHR*, 80/2 (2001), pp. 251-9; Theo van Heijnsbergen, 'Coteries, Commendatory Verses and Jacobean Poetics: William Fowler's "Trivmphs of Petrarke" and Its Castalian Circles', in David J. Parkinson (ed.), *James VI and I, Literature and Scotland: Tides of Change, 1567-1625* (Leuven, 2013), pp. 45-63; Sebastian Verweij, *Literary Culture*, pp. 24-53.
[41] Thomas Hudson, *The Historie of Judith* (Edinburgh, 1584), sig. A2v-A4r; Peter Auger, *Du Bartas' Legacy in England and Scotland* (Oxford, 2019), pp. 54-62.

recruited courtiers to pen works on his behalf, most notably defending his claim to the English throne.[42] William Fowler had been employed to write an account of Prince Henry's baptism to be printed in Edinburgh and London.[43] However, at the English court, the Scottish courtier poets did not usually enjoy even this more limited literary relationship with the king. James may have perused and commented on some of their verses. Robert Ayton claimed that James had read and enjoyed his poems: 'You praised, great prince, the poems that I wrote; they were not displeasing to your taste' ('Carmina quae scripsi, laudasti maxime Princeps; / et fuerant genio non male grata tuo').[44] Ayton also claimed that, after reading his poem 'To an Inconstant Mistress' James had commanded him to write a sequel.[45] However, there is no other evidence that any of the Scottish courtier poets were commissioned to produce literary works on the king's behalf during the first decade of his English reign. In the kinds of literary projects that he increasingly undertook or sponsored after becoming king of England, which were primarily works of political and theological controversy, James required the assistance of English clerics, especially his chaplains-in-ordinary and those at Chelsea College, not Scottish courtier poets.[46] Ayton was involved in the polemical controversy concerning the Oath of Allegiance (in which James sought to convince other European princes to denounce the pope's power to depose monarchs), but only as an envoy.[47] In 1609, in his capacity as Gentleman of the Privy Chamber, he was sent to deliver presentation copies of James's *Premonition to All Most Mighty Princes* to the German princes of Heidelberg, Württemberg, Hesse, Brunswick, Saxony, and Brandenburg.[48] It was not until the second decade of his English reign that James pursued a more active literary engagement with the Scottish poets at court: for example, collaborating with Sir William Alexander on a translation of the Psalms.[49] Scottish courtier poet's hopes that James's reign as king of England would see them fruitfully employed as his laureates largely went unrealised.

At any rate, the Scottish courtier poets' duties at court generally limited their ability to compose large amounts of poetry. In 1624, the Scottish-born courtier poet, and Gentleman of the Bedchamber, Sir Robert Kerr claimed that 'my Employment and Ingine concur to make

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[42] Susan Doran, 'James VI and the English Succession', in Houlbrooke (ed.), *James*, pp. 34-7.
[43] See Chapter One.
[44] *Delitiae*, i, p. 72. My translation.
[45] Ayton, *Latin and English Poems*, pp. 43-6.
[46] David Harris Willson, 'James I and His Literary Assistants', *HLQ*, 8/1 (1944), pp. 35-57.
[47] On the Controversy, see W.B. Patterson, *King James VI and I and the Reunion of Christendom* (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 75-123; R. Malcolm Smuts, 'Theological Polemics and James I's Diplomacy, 1603-1617', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 50/3 (2020), pp. 515-39.
[48] *CSPD James*, i, p. 514.
[49] Reid, 'Alexander, William'.

[poems]…few and evil'.[50] Early modern writers frequently claimed in the prefaces to their works that they had been occupied elsewhere and were thus too busy to write. King James deployed this excuse frequently.[51] Nevertheless, all of the Scottish courtier poets wrote far less after they received posts at the English court than they had before. Before coming to the English court, Thomas Murray had been a relatively prolific author of neo-Latin poems. His 1604 collection, *Naupactiados*, includes many individual poems dated back to the 1580s. However no further writings by him survive following his appointment as Prince Charles's tutor. Similarly, William Fowler's duties in Queen Anna's households in Scotland and England reduced his literary activity. In the late 1580s he had completed several demanding manuscript literary projects, including his sonnet sequence, *The Tarantula of Love*, and translations of works by Machiavelli and Petrarch. Following his appointment as Anna's secretary in 1590, Fowler's output dwindled.

Lacking royal commissions, and otherwise busily employed at the court, the Scottish courtier poets did not produce extended literary projects during the first decade of James's English reign. They did not, for example, write court masques. Instead, the majority of their surviving writings from this period are short, occasional poems, written for a small coterie or even for themselves. Nonetheless, these comprise an array of literary forms, such as paraphrases and translations. Many of their poems are sonnets. The late-sixteenth-century Scottish sonnet was a far more versatile form than the late Elizabethan court sonnet, which usually featured amatory subject matter but was related to court patronage.[52] The Scottish courtier poets therefore wrote sonnets for a range of purposes, including panegyrics and elegies. However, particularly numerous amongst their writings is the commendatory sonnet. They tended to use the distinctive rhyme scheme of the Scottish sonnet: overlapping rhymes, with a final couplet. Another particularly common form in which they wrote was the anagram, which had been popular at both the late Elizabethan English court and James's Scottish court. At the latter, it had been customary for courtiers to produce anagrams on the royal family's names,

[50] William Drummond, *The Works of William Drummond, of Hawthornden…,* ed. Thomas Ruddiman (Edinburgh, 1711), p. 12.
[51] James VI and I, *His Maiesties Poeticall Exercises at Vacant Houres* (Edinburgh, 1591), sig. A2r-v; idem, *An Apology for the Oath of Allegiance* (1609), p. 11.
[52] Michael Spiller, 'The Scottish Court and the Scottish Sonnet at the Union of the Crowns', in Sally Mapstone and Juliette Wood (eds), *The Rose and the Thistle: Essays on the Culture of Late Medieval and Renaissance Scotland* (East Linton, 1998), pp. 101-15.

especially at New Year. The Scottish courtier poets continued this practice at the English court.[53]

Disappointingly, the presence of Scottish writers at the English court did not lead to the adoption there of distinctive Scottish literary styles, most notably flyting. Flyting, which had been especially popular at the Scottish court in the 1580s, is best described as a performance before the court of witty insult.[54] It is unlikely the form's personal and bawdy attacks could ever have been reconciled with English courtiers' acute jealousy of their personal and family honour. Some of the dynamics of flyting survive in occasional pieces by the Scottish courtier poets. Alexander Craig wrote a fictionalised flyting between himself and his 'rival', who he mocked as a cuckoo and an ass, which he dedicated to the Scottish courtier and royal favourite, Sir James Hay.[55] Denied the opportunity for flyting performances at the English court, William Fowler instead expressed his coarse sense of humour in his private poems, which often contain jokes about drunkenness and scatology. He was reported to have upset the Danish-born Queen Anna by making the anagram 'canis merda' (dog shit) out of 'danismerca' (Danish merchants).[56] In one poem, he indecorously depicted the queen's household as a place populated by 'vs hogsheads drink / And apish lye with wemen men and boy, / with bootes in bonfyres'.[57] However, Scottish court writers, including the king, had frequently written ribald verse that jested at the debauchery that followed courtiers drinking excessively.[58]

However, one feature of Scottish court literature that was transferred to the English court was the composition of verse in languages other than English. The Scottish courtier poets were polyglots, writing in English, Scots, French, Italian, and especially Latin. Scholars have increasingly demonstrated the vibrancy of neo-Latin writing in late sixteenth century Scotland.[59] Writers, including at the Scottish court, wrote in Latin to access a readership across Europe.[60] When they arrived in England, the Scottish courtier poets continued to practise the

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[53] For example: Murray, *Naupactiados*, p. 40.
[54] Patricia Bawcutt, 'The Art of Flyting', *Scottish Literary Journal*, 10/2 (1983), pp. 5-24; Sally Mapstone, 'Invective as Poetic: The Cultural Contexts of Polwarth and Montgomerie's Flyting', *Scottish Literary Journal*, 26/2 (1999), pp. 18-40.
[55] Craig, *Poeticall Essayes*, sig.D3r-D4v.
[56] Dempster, *Historia*, p. 551.
[57] NLS, MS Hawthornden 2063, fo. 247r.
[58] Sally Mapstone, 'Drunkenness and Ambition in Early Seventeenth-Century Scottish Literature', *SSL*, 35/1 (2007), pp. 133-4.
[59] Steven J. Reid, 'A Latin Renaissance in Reformation Scotland? Print Trends in Scottish Latin Literature, c. 1480-1700', *SHR*, 95/1 (2016), pp. 1-29. For an anthology of texts, see *Corona Borealis: Scottish Neo-Latin Poets on King James VI and His Reign, 1566-1603*, ed. Steven J. Reid and David McOmish (Glasgow, 2020).
[60] Christopher Upton, 'National Internationalism: Scottish Literature and the European Audience in the Seventeenth Century', *SSL*, 26/1 (1991), pp. 218-225; Roger P.H. Green, 'George Buchanan, Chieftain of Neo-

vibrant, multi-lingual, and international nature of Scottish poetry. They often wrote about court life or major political events, and addressed poems to major patrons, in neo-Latin hexameters.

Between 1603 and 1607 Ayton, Alexander, Craig, and Murray had all sought to establish their profiles at the new English court by having their writings printed in London. However, once they were employed at the English court, the Scottish courtier poets generally ceased to print their poetry, in London or Edinburgh. As at the English court under Elizabeth and the Scottish court under James, there was a vibrant culture of courtiers circulating their poetry in manuscript clandestinely, in which the Scottish courtier poets participated.[61] Most of the verse that the Scottish courtier poets wrote whilst employed at the English court between 1603 and 1612 therefore survives either in contemporary manuscript copies, including enclosed in correspondence, or in miscellanies that were first compiled or printed after James I's death. For example, many of William Fowler's poems are preserved in five volumes of the Hawthornden Papers in the National Library of Scotland.[62] The disordered state of this collection makes it challenging to attribute any individual poem to Fowler's time at either the Edinburgh or English court with confidence.[63] Robert Ayton did not keep 'copies of anything he writ' and so when his nephew, Sir John Ayton, attempted to create a manuscript folio of his writings, he admitted the texts, on which scholars must now depend, were not authorial: 'imperftyte and uncorrect'.[64] Similarly, some poems, such as twenty-three post-1603 poems by Ayton and some verses by Thomas Murray, only survive in printed Caroline miscellanies, such as John Scott and Arthur Johnstoun's *Delitiae Poetarum Scotorum*, a two-volume compendium of Scottish neo-Latin verse printed in Amsterdam in 1637. It is often difficult to determine whether poems included in anthologies such as this were first written during the poet's career at the English court, and if so, when. Unusually, Alexander Craig arranged for several volumes of his poems to be printed in London and Edinburgh between 1604 and 1609. Although he referred to several of the poems included in his 1604 *Poeticall Essayes* as 'long coceyted', 'home-bred Rimes', 'from so remote a place', suggesting they had been written before 1603, the collection also contained several poems that had been written or performed while Craig sought employment at the court.[65] The poems in his 1606 *Amorose Songes* and

Latin Poets', in L.B.T. Houghton and Gesine Manuwald (eds), *Neo-Latin Poetry in the British Isles* (London, 2012), pp. 142-55.

[61] Steven W. May, *The Elizabethan Courtier Poets: The Poems and Their Contexts* (Columbia, Mo., 1991); Verweij, *Literary Culture*, pp. 24-53.

[62] NLS, MSS Hawthornden 2063-2067.

[63] Petrina, *Machiavelli*, pp. 87-112; Steenson, *Hawthornden Manuscripts*, pp. 57-86.

[64] BL, MS Additional 10308, fo. 1v.

[65] Craig, *Poeticall Essayes*, sig. A1v, A3r, A4r.

1609 *Poetical Recreations* were mostly written while he worked at the English court, and sometimes, helpfully, contain precise dates. Nonetheless, as various issues of provenance make dating many of the Scottish courtier poets' poems to their time at the English court so challenging, I have erred on the side of caution.

The Scottish courtier poets' careers at the English court, as courtiers and as poets, followed very different trajectories. They served in different roles and in different sub-departments, with varying seniority. William Fowler, fourth in the order of precedence in Queen Anna's household, was technically William Alexander and Thomas Murray's superior. Some, like Craig, printed their poetry, whereas others, most notably William Fowler, eschewed print almost entirely. It may therefore seem crudely reductive to group these figures together merely on the basis of their shared birth in Scotland and their common activities as poets. Nonetheless, the Scottish courtier poets at the English court after 1603 shared several striking features. They were all of similar ages, roughly contemporaries with the king: all were born between the mid-1560s and early 1570s. Several, as will be discussed below, had shared educational backgrounds or kinship connections. However, it is especially notable that they shared religious sympathies. James's Scottish court had featured several Catholic writers, most notoriously Alexander Montgomerie, who was banished in 1597 and died in exile a year later.[66] By contrast, the Scottish courtier poets at the English court were all Protestants, and several displayed strikingly militant tendencies or Presbyterian sympathies. In 1581, William Fowler had published a polemical piece challenging Catholic doctrines and Scottish Jesuits.[67] Although Fowler enjoyed friendships with crypto-Catholics at the English court, not least with Queen Anna, these good relationships occasionally troubled his conscience. Other Scottish courtier poets expressed anti-popery more forthrightly. Thomas Murray was a Presbyterian, who petitioned for Andrew Melville, a 'special friend' to be released from the Tower of London.[68] Murray's 1604 *Naupactiados*, printed in London, contained several poems he had written between 1599 and 1604 with anti-Catholic tropes, including an epitaph for Catherine de Bourbon in which Murray, who had long been interested in the sufferings of the French Huguenots, described Bourbon France as 'the excrement of popery' ('papana in faece').[69] The

[66] R.J. Lyall, *Alexander Montgomerie: Poetry, Politics, and Cultural Change in Jacobean Scotland* (Tempe, Ariz., 2005).
[67] William Fowler, *An answer to the calumnious letter and erroneous propositions of an apostat named M. Io. Hammiltoun* (Edinburgh, 1581).
[68] Thomas McCrie, *Life of Andrew Melville* (2 vols, Edinburgh, 1824), ii, pp. 269, 528.
[69] Murray, *Naupactiados*, p. 45. My translation. On Murray's interest in the Huguenot cause, see Reid-Baxter, '"Scotland will be…"', pp. 332-5.

Scots who came to the English court did include Catholics. However, they do not appear to have written or published poetry at the English court, and so will not be considered here.

Although I will use the label "the Scottish courtier poets" as a convenient shorthand, the courtiers examined in this chapter were not a homogeneous group, and neither were they representative of all the Scots at the English court after 1603. Instead, the courtiers investigated in this chapter represented a particular element of Scottish politics, religion, and culture. Dating back to the 1540s, a group of Scottish Protestants had advocated for a dynastic union between England and Scotland. As the sixteenth century continued, their arguments took on an increasingly prophetic, indeed apocalyptic tone. They argued that the dynastic union between England and Scotland would allow a united British military intervention on the continent, leading to the defeat of the papacy and the Habsburg empire and, ultimately, inaugurating the apocalypse.[70] Proponents of this view in the Kirk included John Napier and Andrew Melville.[71] At the court, it animated the excited reading of Du Bartas and the poetry of Walter Quin. As this chapter will show, this distinctive strand of Scottish Protestant thought, which equated Anglo-Scots Union with anti-popish continental crusade, was represented at the English court after 1603 by Scottish courtier poets.

Examining the court careers and writings of the "Scottish courtier poets" together allows fresh perspectives on the culture of the early Jacobean court to emerge. I cannot claim that their verse was of especially high quality, although several poems used innovative conceits that are striking or amusing. However, it is useful for reconstructing court dynamics and recovering courtiers' attitudes towards James's accession and changes at the English court after 1603 that have gone unnoticed hitherto.

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[70] Arthur H. Williamson, *Scottish National Consciousness in the Reign of James VI: The Apocalypse, the Union and the Shaping of Scotland's Public Culture* (Edinburgh, 1979); Jane E.A. Dawson, 'William Cecil and the British Dimension of Early Elizabethan Foreign Policy', *History*, 74/241 (1989), pp. 196-216; Roger A. Mason, 'The Scottish reformation and the Origins of the Anglo-British Imperialism', in idem (ed.), *Scots and Britons: Scottish Political Thought and the Union of 1603* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 161-85; Roger A. Mason, 'Scotland, Elizabethan England and the Idea of Britain', *TRHS*, 14 (2004), pp. 279-93.

[71] Paul J. McGinnis and Arthur H. Williamson, 'Politics, Prophecy, Poetry: The Melvillian Moment, 1589-1596, and Its Aftermath', *SHR*, 87/227 (2010), pp. 1-18; Paul J. McGinnis and Arthur H. Williamson, 'Radical Menace, Reforming Hope: Scotland and English Religious Politics, 1586-1596', *Renaissance and Reformation,* 36/2 (2013), pp. 105-30; Arthur H. Williamson, 'Empire and Anti-Empire: Andrew Melville and British Political Ideology, 1589-1605', in Roger A. Mason and Steven J. Reid (eds), *Andrew Melville* (1545-1622): *Writings, Reception, and Reputation* (Farnham 2014), pp. 75-100

Accession Poetry

James's accession to the English throne inspired a vast quantity of commemorative and celebratory writing.[72] Much of this, especially the panegyric verses and pageantry written by canonical English poets, including Ben Jonson, Michael Drayton, Samuel Daniel, and Sir John Davies, has been examined before.[73] However, previous scholarship has largely overlooked the verses (in both the vernacular and neo-Latin) that were written and published to commemorate James's accession by several Scottish poets who sought positions at James's English court.[74] Literature produced to commemorate a new monarch's accession often reveals its author's hopes and fears about the new reign. In their verses, William Alexander, Robert Ayton, Alexander Craig, and Thomas Murray offered very different interpretations of James's accession to the English throne, and deployed different literary devices and tropes to describe it, from the English panegyrists who are better known to scholars.[75] Most significantly, these Scottish writers offered distinctive interpretations of the political and religious significance of the Union of Crowns. They portrayed it as a conquest of England by Scotland, and prophesised that it would inaugurate an apocalyptic military engagement against the continental forces of antichrist. Unlike their English peers, they also expressed concerns about Scotland's fate under absentee kingship. Even when poems written by Scots shared themes with English panegyrists, such as defending the legitimacy of James's accession or discussing the importance of his taking counsel, they addressed them in distinctively Scottish style. These poems reveal alternative interpretations of the meaning of James's accession amongst courtiers.

It is to be expected that the verses written and published by English and Scots poets to mark James's accession would differ. After all, English and Scottish writers were addressing fundamentally different political events. English panegyrists were welcoming their new king,

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[72] Jessica Lazar, '1603. The Wonderfull Yeare: Literary Responses to the Accession of James I', (D.Phil. thesis, Oxford, 2016).
[73] Perry, *Making,* pp. 24-53; David Bergeron, 'King James's Civic Pageant and Parliamentary Speech in May 1604', Albion, 34/2 (2002), pp. 213-31; Richard A. McCabe, 'Panegyric and Its Discontents: The First Stuart Succession', in Kewes and McRae (eds), *Succession,* pp. 19-36.
[74] Honourable exceptions are: Morna Fleming, '"Kin[g]es be the glas, the verie scoole, the booke, / Where priuate men do learne, and read, and looke" (Alexander Craig, 1604): The Translation of James VI to the Throne of England in 1603', in Theo van Heijnsberger and Nicola Royan (eds), *Literature, Letters and the Canonical in Early Modern Scotland* (East Linton, 2002), pp. 90-110; Astrid Stilma, 'Scottish Farewells and English Greetings: How James VI Became James I', in Gerard Steen (ed.), *From Shakespeare to Propaganda: Four Papers for Rod Lyall* (Amsterdam, 2005), pp. 68-87.
[75] I will only examine poems by Scottish individuals who went on to attain formal posts at the English court. On the unprecedented number of neo-Latin print publications in Scotland celebrating James's accession to the English throne, see, Steven J. Reid, 'Scoto-Britain or Scoto-Latin? Scottish Latin Print Culture and the Union of the Crowns, c. 1603-1637', https://www.dps.gla.ac.uk/research-articles/display/?fid=printculture1.

whereas Scottish writers were commemorating their monarch of over three decades acquiring, and departing for, a new territory. Whilst Scots were addressing a ruler they knew well; English writers were writing about a king about whom they knew relatively little. Furthermore, the limited information that most English writers could access about James in 1603, whether through print, manuscript, or word of mouth, was often partial or distorted.[76] In England, panegyric verses were a component of the rituals organised to welcome James. They were often performed before the new king or members of the royal family when they entered a town or country house estate for the first time. Most famously, Samuel Daniel performed his *Panegyrike Congratulatorie* before James, and presented a copy of it to him, at Burley, Rutlandshire. As James took only two days after leaving Edinburgh on 5 April 1603 to reach the Anglo-Scottish border, Scottish writers had far fewer opportunities to ritually perform their poems before him. Therefore, they mainly published their verses about James's accession to the English throne in print, including in Europe.[77]

Yet despite the differences in their functions and modes of dissemination, accession poetry by Scottish and English writers shared many features. They all treated various themes that were dictated by any royal accession, as well as by the unique situation of James's personal union of the Crowns of England and Scotland.[78] Both Scottish and English poets deployed literary devices that were intended to naturalise James's accession, such as phoenix imagery.[79] Most significantly, both English and Scottish poets defended the legitimacy of James's accession to the English throne, countering the many putative impediments to his claim; including concerns that his accession violated English statutory or common law, and arguments that he had become king of England by election, which would circumscribe his powers.[80] Many English panegyrists defended James's accession by discussing his virtues (including his military prowess, hospitality, and wisdom), and the endorsement of providence.[81] Scottish

[76] For an example of how information about the Scottish court could become muddled during its transmission to England, see my discussion of the reception of the baptism of Prince Henry in Chapter One.
[77] Roderick Lyall, 'The Marketing of James VI and I: Scotland, England and the Continental Book Trade', *Quaerendo*, 32/3-4 (2002), pp. 207, 211.
[78] For a discussion of archetypal topics featured in accession panegyrics, see *Literature of the Stuart Successions: An Anthology*, ed. Andrew McRae and John West (Manchester, 2017), pp. 10-22.
[79] For example: *Delitiae*, i, p. 47. Catherine Loomis, *The Death of Elizabeth I: Remembering and Reconstructing the Virgin Queen* (Basingstoke, 2010), pp. 65-6, 73-5.
[80] On perceptions that James had been elected to the English throne and the various problems this posed to his authority, see Rei Kanemura, 'Kingship by Descent or Kingship by Election? The Contested Title of James VI and I', *JBS*, 52/2 (2013), pp. 317-42; Paulina Kewes, '"The Idol of State Innovators and Republicans": Robert Persons's *A Conference About the Next Succession* (1594/5) in Stuart England', in Kewes and McRae (eds), *Succession*, pp. 149-85.
[81] McCabe, 'Panegyric'.

writers also produced poems that listed James's virtues and experience, suggesting that these made him suitable to inherit the English throne. In his Latin panegyric, printed in Paris, Robert Ayton cited James's superlative, incomparable capabilities in 'governance': 'who matches you in worth and fortune, and who has dared to fight with you in the skill of governance?' ('qui te meritis et sorte secunda / aequiparet, tecumque ausit certare regendo').[82] He celebrated James's foreign alliances, including the 1586 Treaty of Berwick with England, his good relations with the king of France, and the dynastic ties with Denmark-Norway that had been created by his marriage to Anna, as assets.[83] Ayton also argued that the victory of James's party during the Scottish civil war offered an auspicious omen for his future English reign, likening it to the infant Hercules strangling snakes in his crib.[84] He underscored the role of providence in James's accession through his panegyric's striking opening word: 'fata' (fate).[85]

Scottish poets also used James's family as an argument to recommend his succession. Alexander Craig had the ghost of Elizabeth I urge her erstwhile subjects to be happy because James's accession guaranteed dynastic security: 'ye shall finde fiue for one' (meaning she would be replaced by James, Anna and their three surviving children).[86] Ayton's panegyric hailed Anna as both a 'daughter of kings' ('filia regis') and a 'kingly mother' ('regia mater'), who brought England dynastic alliances with Denmark-Norway and, through her children, was the guarantor of the future of the new Anglo-Scottish monarchy.[87] Ayton's panegyric used several fertility tropes; its second stanza was closely modelled on Vergil's fourth eclogue, which describes the birth of a saviour child.[88] Iconographies of fruitful vines and celebrations of Anna featured in the pageantry performed during James's delayed triumphal entry into London in March 1604.[89] However, writers at the Scottish court had used the fecundity of the Stewarts to argue in favour of James's candidacy to succeed Elizabeth since the 1590s, most prominently during the banquet at Prince Henry's baptism in 1594. Thus, even when they shared themes with English writers, Scottish poets drew on Scottish literary pedigrees.

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[82] *Delitiae*, i, p. 41. My translation.
[83] Ibid, i, pp. 42-3.
[84] Ibid, i, pp. 41-2.
[85] Ibid, i, p. 40. My translation.
[86] Craig, *Poeticall Essayes*, sig. C4r.
[87] *Delitiae*, i, p. 43. My translation.
[88] L.B.T. Houghton, 'The Scottish Fourth Eclogue', in Steven J. Reid and David McOmish (eds), *Neo-Latin Literature and Literary Culture in Early Modern Scotland* (Leiden, 2017), pp. 81-4.
[89] R. Malcolm Smuts, 'Royal Mothers, Sacred History, and Political Polemic', in Kewes and McRae (eds), *Succession*, pp. 282-8.

Although James's virtues, alliances, and fecundity were celebrated as incidental positives, the chief defence usually mobilised in favour of his irrefutable right to the English throne was his lineal descent from Henry VII. After Elizabeth's death, this argument was rehearsed in numerous discourses, including the official English proclamation that declared James king of England (describing him as king 'by law, by Lineall succession, and undoubted right'), the House of Commons' Act recognising his title in 1604, James's own speeches to parliament, and contemporary works of pageantry and drama.[90] Emphasising James's descent from Henry VII could mitigate English anxieties about his foreign birth, and even allowed him to be claimed by the English as 'one of our English blood'.[91] Many publications printed in England in 1603-1604 described James's genealogy. For example, Michael Drayton's panegyric *To the Maiestie of King James* included a genealogical chart and a verse account of James's ancestry, whilst Samuel Daniel's *Panegyrike Congratulatorie* argued that James was the long-delayed return on England's investment in the marriage of Princess Margaret to James IV of Scotland in 1504: 'The sacred blood lent to adorne the North, / And here return'd it with a greater gaine, / And greater glory than we sent it forth.[92] Scottish accession literature, especially coronation literature, had traditionally discussed the new monarch's ancestry, usually tracing their descent back to the mythical King Fergus.[93] Distinctively, the verses written and published by Scots in 1603 also charted and celebrated James's English ancestry. Ayton repeated the legal and dynastic arguments in favour of James's accession: he concluded, 'law and justice wishes, and our bloodline demands' ('leges et jura volunt, et sanguinis ordo / poscit') he succeed Elizabeth.[94] Still in France, he imagined James's English coronation using potent dynastic imagery: describing the moment when 'England's rose, blooming with its dual-coloured petals' ('cum Rosa pubescens foliis bicoloribus Anglo'), an allusion to the Tudor rose, would 'adorn the neck of the Caledonian Lion' ('Caledonii distinguet colla Leonis').[95]

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[90] *Proclamations*, p. 2; R. Malcolm Smuts, 'Banquo's Progeny: Hereditary Monarchy, the Stuart Lineage, and *Macbeth*', in James M. Dutcher and Anne Lake Prescott (eds), *Renaissance Historicisms: Essays in Honor of Arthur F. Kinney* (Newark, 2008), pp. 225-46; Emily Griffiths Jones, 'Hereditary Succession and Death in *The Wonderfull Year* and *The Revenger's Tragedy*', *SEL*, 56/2 (2016), pp. 327-49; McCabe, 'Panegyric'.

[91] Richard Mulcaster, *The translation of certaine Latin verses* (1603), sig. B1r. On these anxieties, see: Judith M. Richards, 'The English Accession of James VI: National Identity, Gender and the Personal Monarchy of England', *EHR*, 117/472 (2002), pp. 513-35; Susan Doran, 'Polemic and Prejudice: A Scottish King for an English Throne', in Doran and Kewes (eds), *Doubtful*, pp. 215-24.

[92] Michael Drayton, *To the Maiestie of King James* (1603), sig. A1v, A4v-B2r; Samuel Daniel, *A Panegyrike Congratvlatorie delivered to the kings most excellent maiestie at Bvrleigh Harrington in Rutlandshire* (1603), sig. B1r.

[93] Jane Rickard, 'Stuart Coronations in Seventeenth-Century Scotland: History, Appropriation, and the Shaping of Cultural Identity', in Kewes and McRae (eds), *Succession*, pp. 246-50.

[94] *Delitiae*, i, p. 44. My translation.

[95] Ibid, i, p. 44. My translation.

The requirement to emphasise James's lineal right to the English throne explains the peculiar representations of Elizabeth I in several poems written by Scots on James's accession. Ayton and Murray both wrote eulogies for Elizabeth. Murray's 'In rarissimum Elizabethae Anglae regnum' itemised her virtues and applauded her successful reign, whilst Ayton described her as a star.[96] Celebrating James's English predecessor legitimated him through association. However, English and Scottish writers represented the relationship between James and Elizabeth very differently. The fact that Elizabeth had never formally nominated James as her successor left his claim vulnerable to dispute. Therefore, reports that Elizabeth had consented to James being her successor through gesture on her deathbed, effectively making a nuncupative will, soon began to circulate.[97] English poets usually left the topic of nomination ambiguous. For example, Richard Mulcaster simply claimed that Elizabeth's 'lives last act' was 'to [have] left us such a king'.[98] By contrast, Scottish writers included imagined versions of the deceased queen in their poems, and had their fictional creations utter phrases nominating James as the next king of England. In Alexander Craig's 'Elizabeth, Late Qveene of England, Her Ghost' Elizabeth's ghost confirmed that she had 'sealed my Will' designating James as her heir.[99] In his neo-Latin accession panegyric, Robert Ayton employed *prosopopoeia* of a female figure of England, who was recognisably a version of Elizabeth. Speaking to her nobles immediately before her death, "England" pronounced that 'the government and matters of state cannot be better taken care of than if he who wields the Scottish sceptres in his hand also holds the English ones' ('melius non posse caveri / rebus et imperii rationibus, Anglica quam si / sceptra manu teneat, qui Scotica torque, eadem').[100] The poem concluded with "England" commanding the English nobility to 'all bow down to this one man' ('Ergo uni parete omnes').[101] The conceit of a female figure, a cipher for Elizabeth, identifying James as her successor had been used before in Scottish poetry promoting the Stewart claim to the English throne. Walter Quin had concluded his 1595 manuscript collection *Anagrammata* with a French dialogue in which the ailing "Lady Representing England" dispatched an instruction to the king of Scotland: 'I beg him to desire to take my sceptre'.[102] Because fictionalised versions of Elizabeth nominating James as her successor had featured in Scottish court verse for at least a decade, Scottish poets were much more willing to defend James's claim by using the voice

[96] Murray, *Naupactiados*, p. 41; *Delitiae*, i, p. 43.
[97] McCabe, 'Panegyric', pp. 25-7.
[98] Mulcaster, *Translation*, sig. B1v.
[99] Craig, *Poeticall Essayes*, sig. C4r.
[100] *Delitiae*, i, p. 44. My translation.
[101] Ibid, i, p. 44. My translation.
[102] Quin, *Works*, p. 62.

of Elizabeth I than their English counterparts, who would have considered ventriloquizing their former sovereign to be indecorous.

Recent studies of seventeenth-century English accession panegyrics have shown that they were never a simple genre of flattery or performances of loyalty.[103] Instead, in the poems with which they greeted new monarchs, English writers offered unsolicited counsel, communicated grievances, and urged reforms. The verses written by Scots at James's accession are animated by a similar dynamic of offering advice. The importance of the monarch taking counsel featured prominently in verses published by Scottish poets to mark James's accession. Some addressed the theme of counsel in order to advertise their own suitability to become royal servants and advisors, and no Scottish writer deployed the theme to this end more tenaciously than William Alexander. The works he printed in London in 1604 are preoccupied by the ideal and practice of royal counsel. The precepts Alexander offered in his *Monarchik Tragedies* were largely commonplaces from the *speculum princeps* tradition: rulers should be well-read, love virtue, promote justice, and seek counsel.[104] However, his works drew on themes that were especially prevalent in the Scottish advice-to-princes tradition, such as the monarch's obligations and the question of tyranny.[105] Alexander's closet dramas argued that it was vital for monarchs to rule with restraint by depicting the frustrations and sufferings experienced by marginalised subjects living under rulers who believed they possessed unlimited power, and who exercised their sovereignty by compromising their subjects' rights.[106] The concluding Chorus of *Darius* offered the sententious lesson, 'Ambition princes undermynes'.[107] Alexander's works also closely imitated James's published advice manual to Prince Henry, *Basilikon Doron*: the character Solon in *Croesus* quotes James verbatim.[108] Alexander's adherence to the traditions of Scottish advice-to-princes works, and his imitation of James's own strategies and words of advice suggest that he hoped to become a tutor to Prince Henry. Alexander prepared a manuscript presentation copy of *The Monarchick*

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[103] Martin Wiggins, *Drama and the Transfer of Power in Renaissance England* (Oxford, 2012); McCabe, 'Panegyric'; Andrew McRae, 'Welcoming the King: The Politics of Stuart Succession Panegyric', in Kewes and McRae (eds), *Succession*, pp. 186-204.
[104] Astrid Stilma, 'Sir William Alexander, King James and Neo-Stoic Advice to Princes in *The Monarchick Tragedies*', in Parkinson (ed.), *Tides of Change,* pp. 233-49.
[105] On the Scottish *speculum princeps* tradition, see Sally Mapstone, 'The Advice to Princes Tradition in Scottish Literature, 1450-1500' (D.Phil. thesis, University of Oxford, 1986).
[106] Daniel Cadman, *Sovereigns and Subjects in Early Modern Neo-Senecan Drama: Republicanism, Stoicism and Authority* (Farnham, 2016), pp. 93-148; Domenico Lovascio, '"All our lives upon ones lippes depend": Caesar as a Tyrant in William Alexander's *Julius Caesar*', *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England*, 29 (2016), pp. 68-102.
[107] Alexander, *Monarchik Tragedies*, sig. K1v.
[108] Stilma, 'Sir William Alexander', pp. 239-43.

Tragedies for Henry and also printed another work of advice, *A Paraenesis to the Prince,* dedicated to the prince, in 1604.[109] Unfortunately for Alexander, Henry's permanent tutors had already been appointed by July 1603, before Alexander's works, which so conspicuously advertised his suitability to educate a young prince of Scotland in a manner of which James would approve, had even been printed.[110]

However, not all Scottish writers discussed royal counsel in order to promote their own careers. In one interesting short poem, Alexander Craig urged James to heed the advice of Sir Robert Cecil. Craig cautioned James that he had acquired 'a Kingdome to thy selfe vnknowne', but fortunately, 'Thou has beside thee men of wit and woorth', and James should be especially glad that 'Cecil is thine own'.[111] Craig further recommended that Cecil, 'the faithfull man that once hath done thee good', should be rewarded, likely referencing Cecil's crucial role winning support for James's candidacy amongst the English Privy Council.[112] Craig's poem supplies rare evidence of Scottish perceptions of Cecil at the time of the Union of Crowns. During the 1590s, many at the Scottish court had viewed Cecil with some suspicion, due to his father's role in the execution of Mary Stewart and his rivalry with the earl of Essex, then the most significant supporter of James's claim to the English throne. In one manuscript poem, Walter Quin had implored readers 'do not believe in Cecil', portraying him as a greedy fox that incited others to faction and treason.[113] Craig's portrayal of Cecil as an invaluable and honourable advisor was strikingly different from Quin's depiction of him as a bestial, untrustworthy opponent of the Stewart claim. Clearly, Cecil's clandestine correspondence with the Scottish court during the final years of Elizabeth's life encouraged a re-evaluation of his character amongst the Scottish literati until James's view, stated in 1601, that Cecil, as 'king [at the English court] in effect', was worthy of respect, had become widely held.[114] Strikingly, the Scottish poet Craig reached the same conclusion that the English court preacher Richard Eedes pronounced from the court pulpit in summer 1603: as a new king in an unfamiliar realm, James would do well to heed the advice of native English counsellors.

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[109] Timothy Wilks, 'Poets, Patronage, and the Prince's Court', in Smuts (ed.), *Age of Shakespeare,* p. 170; William Alexander, *A Paraenesis to the Prince* (1604).
[110] Wilks, 'Poets', pp. 160-2.
[111] Craig, *Poeticall Essayes,* sig. B2r.
[112] Ibid, sig. B3r. Alexander Courtney, 'The Scottish King and the English Court: The Secret Correspondence of James VI, 1601-3', in Doran and Kewes (eds), *Doubtful,* pp. 137-42.
[113] Quin, *Works,* p. 61.
[114] James I, *Letters of King James VI & I,* ed. G.P.V. Akrigg (Berkeley, 1984), p. 165.

Unlike English poems about James's accession to the English throne, poems by Scots addressed the possible fate of Scotland following the Union of Crowns. It has recently been suggested that most Scots were enthusiastic about the prospect of a new political relationship with England, and did not begin to articulate reservations until debates about a formal union in the English parliament revealed the extent of English prejudices and presumptions of superiority.[115] Thereafter, Scottish politicians and writers increasingly expressed concerns that Scotland, like Siciliy or Naples in the Spanish empire, might be subordinated to England, becoming, in the words of one polemicist, John Russell, 'a poor despicable Addition or pendicle to England'.[116] However the verses by the Scottish courtier poets show that at least some Scots considered James's accession to the English throne, and his departure to England, to be a danger to Scottish governance, culture, and dignity, long before parliamentary debates commenced. Craig's *Poeticall Essayes* (1604) includes a series of poems on Scotland's fate, including 'Scotlands Teares' and 'Calidons Complaint', whilst the 1604 printing of William Alexander's *Monarchick Tragedies* contained a lament about James's departure.

In these poems, the Scottish courtier poets speculated that the loss of the king would destroy Scottish identity.[117] Craig even suggested that, without a resident monarch, Scotland's status as a kingdom would be threatened: 'What art thou *Scotland* then? No monarchie allace', 'Shall our estate allace from state be thus downthrowne?'[118] Such hyperbole is understandable because, whilst dynastic agglomerates were common throughout early modern Europe, it was unusual (albeit not completely unprecedented) for a monarch who inherited a new realm to leave their first kingdom to reside in it.[119] Therefore, Scots could not know what constitutional changes might soon follow. However, they had reason to fear that any changes could be radical, placing Scotland in a subsidiary position, given that James had expressed an ambition to 'with time, draw [Scotland] to the laudable custome[s] of England', and spoke unfavourably

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[115] Roger A. Mason, '1603: Multiple Monarchy and Scottish Identity', *History*, 105/366 (2020), pp. 402-21.
[116] *The Jacobean Union: Six Tracts of 1604*, ed. Bruce Galloway and Brian P. Levack (Edinburgh, 1985), p. 97; Keith M. Brown, 'Scottish Identity in the Seventeenth Century', in Brendan Bradshaw and Peter Roberts (eds), *British Consciousness and Identity: The Making of Britain, 1533-1707* (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 236-58; Roger A. Mason, 'Debating Britain in Seventeenth Century Scotland: Multiple Monarchy and Scottish Sovereignty', *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies*, 35 (2015), pp. 1-24.
[117] Several historians have argued that Scottish government was relatively unaffected by James's departure to England, with Scotland continuing to be well-governed thanks to delegation, via effective communication channels, to the Scottish Privy Council and greater and lesser nobility: Maurice Lee, *Government by Pen: Scotland Under James VI and I* (Urbana, 1980); Jenny Wormald, 'The Happier Marriage Partner?: The Impact of the Union of the Union of the Crowns on Scotland', in Burgess, Wymer, and Lawrence (eds), *Accession*, pp. 69-87; Alan R. MacDonald, 'Consultation, Counsel, and the "Early Stuart Period"' in Scotland', in Jacqueline Rose (ed.), *The Politics of Counsel in England and Scotland, 1286-1707* (Oxford, 2016), pp. 193-210.
[118] Craig, *Poeticall Essayes*, sig. C2r, C3r.
[119] For example, Henri of Navarre moved to Paris in 1594.

of Scottish institutions and the Scottish people before the English parliament and at the Hampton Court Conference.[120] The poets also speculated that, without the king's physical presence, Scotland's poetic output would diminish. William Alexander imagined the despondency that Scotland's poets would experience following the withdrawal of the inspiration and patronage that the royal court provided: 'This hath discourag'd my high-bended minde / And still in doale my drouping Muse arrayes'.[121] Their shared, although mistaken, assumption that physical proximity to the monarch and court was indispensable for Scottish poetry may explain why the Scottish courtier poets themselves left Scotland to seek employment at the English court.[122]

Of course, the Scottish courtier poets' verses did not supply especially searching analyses of the various administrative or cultural challenges that Scotland was likely to face under an absentee monarchy.[123] Instead, they offered vibrant laments about the loss of the king, the royal family, and the court. The poets depicted the Scottish populations' alleged 'overwhelming grief' ('luctus vertere graves'), at the loss of their *pater patriae*, whose departure meant 'the loss of the common good, the common assurance of their health' ('perdat commune bonum, commune salutis / praesidium'); 'they long for him with an unhinged passion' ('insano nec adhuc non deperit aestu').[124] In contrast to English accession panegyrics, which routinely discussed the poet or English population acquiring 'sight' of the monarch, many poems by Scots in 1603-4 contained descriptions of James and the Scottish royal family vanishing from view.[125] Scotland's fate without them was depicted as a 'gloomy' one, with imagery of the departure of a light source used frequently.[126] William Alexander described Scotland as 'depri'ud of light… Our Sunne shines in another part', whilst Alexander Craig argued that 'Since Sunne and Moone must goe, & that bright Harie starr, / Let Pluto now

[120] James, *Political Writings*, p. 29.
[121] Alexander, *Monarchicke Tragedies*, sig. L2v.
[122] Several critics have argued that the loss of the resident monarch did not harm Scottish literature, and may even have provoked a compensatory flourishing in its culture of neo-Latin literature: Murray Pittock, 'From Edinburgh to London: Scottish Court Writing and 1603', in Eveline Cruickshanks (ed.), *The Stuart Courts* (Stroud, 2000), pp. 22-5; Upton, 'National Internationalism', pp. 222-3; Roderick J. Lyall, 'London or the World?: The Paradoxes of Culture in (post-) Jacobean Scotland', in Burgess, Wymer, and Lawrence (eds), *Accession*, pp. 88-100.
[123] On these problems, see: Bruce Galloway, *The Union of England and Scotland, 1603-1608* (Edinburgh, 1986), pp. 38-53; Jenny Wormald, 'The Creation of Britain: Multiple Kingdoms or Core and Colonies?', *TRHS*, 2 (1992), pp. 175-94; Keith M. Brown, *Kingdom or Province?: Scotland and the Regal Union, 1603-1715* (Basingstoke, 1992), pp. 86-111; Mason, 'Debating Britain'.
[124] *Delitiae*, i, pp. 45, 50. My translations.
[125] McRae, 'Welcoming', p. 186.
[126] For example: *Delitiae*, i, pp. 46-7.

compare with vs in darknes if he dare'.[127] Scottish poets often likened the departure of the royal family and the court to abandonment by relatives. Alexander Craig apostrophised 'maymed Scotland thou made Orphane from delighte'.[128] Several poems personified the Scottish landscape as an abandoned lover. Craig even ventriloquized Queen Anna's 'sad Priuation' during the weeks in April 1603 before she followed James to London.[129] In Craig's poem, she mourned the absence of her husband, including his absence from her bed, a conceit that would have been indecorous in England. The *topos* of the Scottish landscape as an abandoned wife would be reprised in the vernacular and Latin literary works that were produced when James eventually returned to Scotland during a progress in 1617.[130]

The complaints about James's departure meant that Scottish poems marking James's accession to the English throne could be quite bitter, a tone absent from panegyrics by English writers. Sometimes anger was addressed towards the king himself. Several poems contained vocative pleading directed to James. Alexander Craig begged James to 'looke but once againe abacke'.[131] Typically, such addresses were intended to provoke guilt in James: 'Great King, can you leave your people in this way…do not forsake your nation.[132] Ayton criticised James for being tempted excessively by the 'fertile plains' ('laetantibus arvis') and 'spectacle' ('miracula pompae') and 'lavish…splendour' ('splendida luxu') that awaited him in England.[133] This allure, Ayton claimed, led to James departing Scotland callously before he had overseen the proper rituals of farewell that his concerned Scottish subjects needed: 'Their grief was declaiming more heavy burdens, but the swift hooves of your galloping horse had carried your ears away' ('Dictabat graviora dolor, sed iam ungula pernix / quadrupedante tuas saltu subduxerat aures').[134] However, more often, anger about James's departure from Scotland was directed at the English nation, who Scottish poets accused of illegitimately robbing the Scots of their king. Craig used Biblical and classical archetypes to portray the English as thieves: 'Since *Iacob* with his mothers helpe thy blessing steal from thee: / Now riuall *England* rag'.[135] Alternatively, he depicted England as a latter-day Helen of Troy: 'thou

[127] Alexander, *Monarchicke Tragedies*, sig. L2r; Craig, *Poeticall Essayes*, sig. C2r.
[128] Craig, *Poeticall Essayes*, sig. C1v.
[129] Ibid, sig. C1r.
[130] Robert Cummings, 'Drummond's *Forth Feasting*: A Panegyric for King James in Scotland', *The Seventeenth Century*, 2/1 (1987), pp. 1-18; John Kerrigan, *Archipelagic English: Literature, History, and Politics, 1603-1707* (Oxford, 2008), pp. 141-5.
[131] Craig, *Poeticall Essayes*, sig. C3r.
[132] Ibid, sig. C1v.
[133] *Delitiae*, i, pp. 47, 48. My translation.
[134] Ibid, i, pp. 46-8. My translation.
[135] Craig, *Poeticall Essayes*, sig. C1v.

art the adulterat brid[e]…no shame to lye by Paris syd'.[136] Much literature written in seventeenth-century Scotland personified England as a lusty woman, who had lured away first the Scottish king and then other young Scots, and encouraged moral depravity in them, 'ruin[ing] a good king', in contrast to the abandoned Scotland which nevertheless remained chaste and faithful to the Stewart monarchy.[137]

Scottish writers' printed poetry therefore vainly attempted to hold James to his public promises that he would return to Scotland regularly. James had written in *Basilikon Doron* that a ruler of a composite monarchy should visit each of his realms at least every three years, and he repeated his pledge to return to Scotland tri-annually 'salmon-like' as he departed Edinburgh on 5 April 1603.[138] Ayton portrayed the Scots who gathered to watch James's departure begging him to return before the next new moon. Nonetheless, by describing James as 'a visage perhaps never to be seen again' ('nunquam vultus fortasse videndos / linquere'), Ayton suggested that any hopes that James's visit to England would simply be a ceremonial one were deluded.[139] Craig agreed that such petitions were futile: 'thou weepe in vaine'.[140] Therefore, somewhat desperately, Ayton claimed Scottish discontent, their 'desire [that James] stand always before [their] eyes' ('cupid ante oculos ut semper oberret'), was a virtue, proving their love for their king.[141] He also invented a compensating explanation for James's departure, suggesting that the Scots had allowed James to go 'happily and freely' ('laeta atque libens'), secure in the knowledge that the English would cherish him.[142] Ayton's explanation that James's departure was a gift to England from the Scots inverted Samuel Daniel's interpretation of it as a return on England's dynastic investments in the early sixteenth century. From the Scottish perspective, there certainly were some positive indications that their gift was appreciated. The English government's dedicated efforts to apprehend those involved in the Main and Bye Plots was interpreted by the Scottish Privy Council as proof that the English already loved James as much as the Scots did, 'thirsting so eirnestlie to cum vnder the yok[e] of his obedience'.[143]

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[136] Ibid, sig. C2r.
[137] David Reid, 'Royalty and Self-Absorption in Drummond's Poetry', *SSL*, 22/1 (1987), pp. 115-31; Kerrigan, *Archipelagic*, pp. 152-7, 163-4.
[138] James, *Political Writings*, p. 42; David Calderwood, *The History of the Kirk of Scotland*, ed. Thomas Thomson (8 vols, Edinburgh, 1842-9), vi, p. 315. Ultimately, James returned to Scotland only once: in 1617.
[139] *Delitiae*, i, p. 46. My translation.
[140] Craig, *Poeticall Essayes*, sig. C1v.
[141] *Delitiae*, i, p. 49. My translation.
[142] Ibid, i, p. 50. My translation.
[143] Quoted in Wormald, 'Happier Marriage Partner?', p. 86.

By addressing Scotland's fate after 1603, the Scottish courtier poets offered a very different assessment of the Union of Crowns from their English contemporaries: as a cause for despair and complaint rather than celebration. However, although their reservations about the future of Scottish government and culture are significant and distinctive, the Scottish courtier poets' verses on James's accession are most distinguished from works by English authors by their treatment of the prospect of a union between England and Scotland. They presented very different interpretations of the nature and political and confessional significances of the Union of Crowns from English writers, and represented it with distinctive literary devices. Some Scottish poets repeated the arguments, terminology, and even iconography that James used to describe Union. Others, however, treated it in more radical and militant terms than the king would have preferred, making use of ideologies and literary tropes and conceits that had been used to imagine the Union of Crowns in Scottish political and imaginative writing during the late sixteenth century.

The Scottish courtier poets' repeated James's celebration that his accession to the English throne had, following centuries of enmity, ended division between England and Scotland, what he termed in his first speech to the English parliament 'peace within'.[144] Thomas Murray celebrated that the British Isles which 'used to be divided up by her own people, is now, under your reign, become one in the eyes of the whole world, and will be one for her peoples always' ('Quae fuit a toto divisa Britannia Mundo, Divisa & a populis quae fuit ante suis, / Te Duce, cum toto nunc una Britannia Mundo Fiet, erit populis semper & una suis').[145] William Alexander similarly praised James for uniting 'this divided Ile'.[146] Robert Ayton hailed James as both the agent and icon of this reconciliation: through his lineage he 'join[ed] together clans who live under different heavens' ('iunge etiam externas alio sub sidere gentes').[147] Like English poets, such as Samuel Daniel, who celebrated that James's accession had accomplished 'what heretofore could never yet be wrought / By all the swords of power', Scottish writers hymned the unprecedented, bloodless, nature of this achievement.[148] Ayton celebrated that the territorial expansion that other kings, such as Philip of Spain, 'attempt through slaughter and blood is given to you safe and sound with blessings from God and men' (dum tibi securo, punctis hominumque Deumque / defertur, quod caede alii, quod sanguine

[144] James, *Political Writings*, p. 134.
[145] Murray, *Naupactiados*¸ p. 38. My translation.
[146] Alexander, *Works*, i, p. 4.
[147] *Delitiae*, i, p. 40. My translation.
[148] Daniel, *Panegyrike*, sig. B1v.

quaerunt').[149] Similarly, Alexander Craig praised that 'What neither wits, nor wars, nor force afore could frame / Is now accomplisht by the death of thy Imperiall Dame'.[150]

Many verses on James's accession to the English throne by Scottish poets featured addresses to rivers, describing their confluences to represent the transition from Anglo-Scots division to amity. Ayton described 'A genuine trust… binds the peoples into one / And the Thames and the Forth are joined in amity' ('non simulata fides… gentes solidaret in unam, / et Tamesin Forthae sodio vinciret amore').[151] In his 'On the River Tweed', he addressed the 'Fair famous flood, which sometime did devyde, / But now conjoynes two Diadems in one'.[152] This imagery recalled Scottish verse from the 1590s which had anticipated James's accession to the English throne in fluvial terms, such as Andrew Melville's *natalia* for Prince Henry's baptism, which had irked some at the English court: 'those who were divided by the Tweed…the rule of Scoto-Britannic sovereignty now brings together'.[153] Rivers continued to be used to represent Anglo-Scots union on a range of occasions in England and Scotland, including in Samuel Daniel's *Tethy's Festival* masque, the *epithalamia* poetry for Princess Elizabeth's wedding in 1613, and in the poems that were performed before James on his return to Scotland in 1617.[154] Yet the device of union as a river had been inaugurated in the Scottish poetry (often neo-Latin) that first anticipated, then celebrated, James's accession.

However, although they celebrated the accomplishment, without bloodshed, of a long-wished-for Anglo-Scottish peace, the Scottish courtier poets nevertheless represented James's accession to the English throne as a military conquest of England by Scotland. As I discussed in Chapters One and Two, James had been portrayed in military guises both before and shortly after his accession to the English throne. However, the rhetoric of conquest that the Scottish courtier poets used was at odds with James's intentions.[155] Ayton addressed England: 'allow your hearts to be tamed by an unconquered king' ('rege sub invicto patiens ratione domari');

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[149] *Delitiae*, i, p. 43. My translation.
[150] Craig, *Poeticall Essayes*, sig. C1v.
[151] *Delitiae*, i, p. 43. My translation.
[152] Ayton, *Latin and English Poems*, p. 167.
[153] Andrew Melville, 'Principis Scoti-Britannorum Natalia', in *George Buchanan: The Political Poetry*, ed. Paul J. McGinnis and Arthur H. Williamson (Edinburgh, 1995), p. 278.
[154] Kerrigan, *Archipelagic English*, pp. 141-7; Christof Ginzel, *Poetry, Politics and Promises of Empire: Prophetic Rhetoric in the English and Neo-Latin Epithalamia on the Occasion of the Palatine Marriage in 1613* (Bonn, 2013); Roger P.H. Green, 'The King Returns: *The Muses' Welcome* (1618)', in Reid and McOmish (eds), *Neo-Latin Literature*, pp. 126-62.
[155] Astrid J. Stilma, '"As Warriouris in Ane Camp": The Image of King James VI as a Protestant Crusader', in McGinley and Royan (eds), *Apparelling of Truth*, pp. 241–51.

boasting that Scotland, unlike England, had not been conquered by the Roman Empire.[156] Craig, who also described the 'vnconquered olde and Scottish Crowne', likened his own experience of arriving in London for the first time to entering Troy after the Greeks' victory.[157] He habitually depicted James's accession as a military event (even if it had actually been secured by diplomatic channels), reminding James of his obligation to reward those that 'hath fought, and wun the field for thee' (such as Sir Robert Cecil).[158] Craig repeatedly described the poems in his *Poeticall Essayes* as latter-day equivalents of the gifts of horses that had been presented to victorious military commanders in classical antiquity, such as after the Battle of Cremon, the siege of Troy, or the victories of Pompey.[159] William Alexander also likened James's accession to a conquest: 'And never conqueror gain'd so great a thing / As those wise subiects gaining such a king'.[160] There were recent antecedents in Scottish literature for depicting James' accession in this way: in 1595, Walter Quin had anticipated that James would crush his rivals for the English throne 'under foote as [a] Conqueror'.[161] Whereas English writers often described James's accession as a providential *fait accompli,* the Scottish courtier poets struggled to depict events as anything other than a military conquest.

Their imagery would alarm many English readers. Partly this was because of the embarrassing insinuation that they had been defeated militarily. Although Ayton insisted the Union of Crowns was not 'an unmanly union' ('non…muliebre iugum'), his neo-Latin accession panegyric nonetheless effeminised the allegedly-conquered England repeatedly: 'England now voluntarily submits its neck to [James's] reins' ('Anglia, colla tuis ultro submittit habensis'), and 'in an unmanly yoke…she puts herself at your service' ('iugum muliebre… deposita fertitate tibi famulatur lerne').[162] However, the rhetoric of conquest was especially troubling because its use held implications for England's future political and legal status within the new dynastic agglomerate. If James's accession was interpreted as a conquest, then it was possible that English legal traditions could be abolished and assimilated into Scottish norms. In his *Trew Law of Free Monarchies,* James had argued that a conqueror possessed the right to change the constitution of his new realm, noting that William the Conqueror 'gaue the Lawe, and tooke none, changed the Laws, inuerted the order of gouernment'.[163] Concurrently in

[156] *Delitiae*, i, p. 49. My translation.
[157] Craig, *Poeticall Essayes*, sig. B1v, A4r-v.
[158] Ibid, sig. B2r.
[159] Ibid, sig. A2v, A4v.
[160] Alexander, *Monarchicke Tragedies*, sig. L2r.
[161] Quin, *Works*, p. 80.
[162] *Delitiae*, i, p. 49. My translation.
[163] James, *Political Writings*, p. 74.

Ireland, English representatives were themselves treating military victories as granting license to eradicate Brehon law and replace it with English common law.[164] As the Jesuit Robert Persons had provocatively warned English readers in the 1590s, 'coniunction' could lead to 'subordination'.[165] Samuel Daniel's drama *Philotas*, which depicted the failure of the defeated Persians to integrate successfully into imposed Macedonian society, dramatised many English courtiers' fears of the conflict and disorder that could follow if James attempted to rule England as a conqueror.[166] By depicting James's accession as a conquest, Scots poets did little to assuage English fears that radical constitutional changes were imminent.

Their interpretation of the Union of Crowns as a conquest explains another distinctive feature of the verses by Scottish poets: they used the term "Britain" far more freely than most of their English counterparts. Although some English writers, most notably the writers of court masques and writers in the circle of Prince Henry, embraced James's preferred term for his new dynastic agglomerate, many more were reluctant to use it.[167] In England, the term 'Britain' was a relatively novel and contentious term that suggested a range of potential threats to English identity.[168] Especially potent was the fear that adopting the name of Britain would allow the abolition of English common law, and English identity, fears that continental Catholic opponents of James's claim had stoked, and continued to stoke.[169] In the first decade of the seventeenth century, several English polemicists equated the adoption of the name "Britain" with a conquest (and dissolution) of England. In his 'Of the Union', Henry Spelman claimed that he would choose exile 'if the honourable name of England be buried in the resurrection of Albion or Britannia'.[170] Scottish poets were far happier to use the name Britain because it

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[164] H.S. Pawlisch, *Sir John Davies and the Conquest of Ireland: A Study in Legal Imperialism* (Cambridge, 1958).
[165] Quoted in Christopher Highley, *Catholics Writing the Nation in Early Modern Britain and Ireland* (Cambridge, 2008), p. 103.
[166] Daniel Cadman, '"Th'accession of these mighty States": Daniel's *Philotas* and the Union of Crowns', *Renaissance Studies*, 26/3 (2011), pp. 365-84.
[167] Martin Butler, *The Stuart Court Masque and Political Culture* (Cambridge, 2008), pp. 91-124; Wilks, 'Poets', pp. 170-1.
[168] Arthur H. Williamson, 'Patterns of British Identity: "Britain" and Its Rivals', in Glenn Burgess (ed.), *The New British History: Founding a Modern State, 1603-1715* (London, 1999), pp. 33-64; Alan MacColl, 'The Meaning of "Britain" in Medieval and Early Modern England', *JBS*, 45/2 (2006), pp. 248-69; Sarah Waurechen, 'Imagined Politics, Failed Dreams, and the Beginnings of an Unacknowledged Britain: English Responses to James VI and I's Vision of a Perfect Union', *JBS*, 52/1 (2013), pp. 575-96.
[169] Galloway, *Union*, pp. 20-2; Conrad Russell, '1603: The End of English National Sovereignty', in Burgess, Wymer, and Lawrence (eds), *Accession*, pp. 1-14; idem, 'Topsy and the king: the English common law, King James VI and I, and the Union of Crowns', in B. Sharp and M.C. Fissel (eds) *Law and Authority in Early Modern England: Essays Presented to Thomas Garden Barnes* (Newark, Del., 2007), pp. 64–76; Arthur H. Williamson, 'David Hume, Richard Verstegan, and the Battle for Britain', in Smuts (ed.), *Age of Shakespeare*, pp. 322-45.
[170] *Jacobean Union*, ed. Galloway and Levack, p. 166.

meant something familiar, and different, to them. It had been used in Scotland for much of the sixteenth century to imagine the aftermath of a Stewart succession to the English throne.[171] In his *natalia* poem written for James's baptism in 1567, Patrick Adamson had prophesised that James would eventually 'unite in one martial realm the defunct British kingdoms' ('defuncti Marte Britanni / addiscent uni tandem coalescere regno').[172] Robert Ayton tactfully depicted the dead Elizabeth as a star sparkling in the 'British skies' ('caelum Britannum'), thereby suggesting that "Britain" had come into existence at the moment of her death.[173] Alexander Craig always addressed James and Anna as king and queen of 'Britaine, Fraunce, and Ireland'.[174] His sonnet 'To his Maiestie of the Vnion of the two famous Realmes Scotland and England' described how James 'Keepes Britaine whole, least it should be ouerthrowne, / The God of heav'n effect what thou intends, / And bring thy proiects to their happie ends'.[175]

Craig's invocation of providence's aid acknowledged that the Union was vulnerable. He offered support for James's 'project' to establish a formal, incorporating Union between his realms. In another poem, Craig provocatively referred to England as 'south-Brita[i]n'.[176] Thomas Murray forthrightly declared that James 'shall abolish the names of former discord / No longer Scotsman nor Englishman: but both shall be called Britons' ('Et tolles prisci nomina dissidii / Non Scottus, non Anglus erit; sed uterque Britannus / …dictus erit').[177] This resembled, though using slightly more violent diction (such as the Latin imperative 'tolles' – abolish), Samuel Daniel's premature celebration that James's accession had inaugurated an end to distinction and created a full incorporating union: 'Now thou art all Great Britain and more: / No Scot, no English now, nor no debate'.[178] Craig and Murray also anticipated (though less systematically or polemically) David Hume of Godscroft's advocacy in his *De Unione Insulae Britannicae,* printed in London in 1605, of a complete union in which 'English and Scottish nationality…will be abolished' and replaced with a common identity (*Britanni*), including fines for referring to the previous names.[179] The Scottish courtier poets embraced public identities as British in print. They were often described as British, or more usually as Scoto-Britons, on the title pages of their works printed in London. Alexander Craig was called 'Scoto-Britain'

[171] Roger A. Mason, 'Scotland, Elizabethan England and the Idea of Britain', *TRHS,* 14 (2004), pp. 279-93.
[172] *Delitiae,* i, p. 14. My translation.
[173] Ibid, i, p. 45. My translation.
[174] Craig, *Poeticall Essayes*, sig. A2r, C1r, C3r.
[175] Ibid, sig. D1r.
[176] Craig, *Poetical Recreations*, sig. C1r.
[177] Murray, *Naupactiados*¸ p. 38. My translation.
[178] Daniel, *Panegyrike*, sig. A4r.
[179] David Hume, *The British Union: A Critical Edition and Translation of David Hume of Godscroft's De Unione Insulae Britannicae,* ed. Paul J. McGinnis and Arthur Williamson (Aldershot, 2002), pp. 116-17.

on the title-page of his first printed volume, *The Poeticall Essayes of Alexander Craige Scotobritane*. Therefore, although they did not propose radical-social political reforms comparable to Hume's, the use of "Britain" in the texts and paratexts of Craig and Murray's printed poetry still had the potential to alarm English readers by communicating a clear interpretation that 1603 was a triumphant and indisputably Scottish victory that had inaugurated the end of English (and Scottish) identity.[180]

In their poems celebrating the beginning of James's English reign, most of the future Scottish courtier poets also addressed another conquest: the imminent conquest of Catholic Europe by a now-united Protestant England and Scotland. Especially during the late 1580s and early 1590s, many in the Kirk had supported James's candidacy to the English throne, arguing that the combined resources of the English and Scottish crowns would enable him to lead a league of European Protestant states in a glorious, apocalyptic war against continental Catholicism, and halt the overreaching, tyrannical ambitions of Spain.[181] James's prophesised future role as the military scourge of popery and Habsburg imperialism had featured in literature produced at the Scottish court, including scriptural exegeses, poetry, and royal proclamations. Many of the accession poems by Scottish poets were animated by this distinctive Scottish Protestant eschatological interpretation of the Union of Crowns. They claimed that the joining of England with Scotland under one crown was a providentially-guided act, intended to herald military glory. William Alexander hailed 'Albions warlike coast' and the potential of 'Those now made one, whilst such a head they have, / What world of worlds were able to resist?'.[182] Thomas Murray's 'Ad Regem, Prognostikon' prophesised that, as kings of England and Scotland, James and then Prince Henry would 'conquer all kingdoms by force of arms' ('subiges armis omnia regna') and achieve 'glory through the death of the Roman wolf' ('Gloria Romano sed pereunte Lupo').[183] 'What region on earth will not yield to your arms, as noble Britannia unites its twin powers?' ('Quae region in terris vestris non cesserit armis / quum geminas iungat generosa Britannia vires?') asked Robert Ayton in his

[180] On Hume's radical political and social vision, see Arthur H. Williamson, 'Radical Britain: David Hume of Godscroft and the Challenge to the Jacobean British Vision', in Burgess, Wymer, and Lawrence (eds), *Accession,* pp. 48-68.
[181] Williamson, *Scottish National Consciousness*; Arthur H. Williamson, 'Scotland, Antichrist and the Invention of Great Britain', in John Dwyer, Roger A. Mason, and Alexander Murdoch (eds), *New Perspectives on the Politics and Culture of Early Modern Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1982), pp. 34-58; McGinnis and Williamson, 'Politics, Prophecy, Poetry: The Melvillian Moment, 1589-1596, and Its Aftermath', *SHR,* 87/227 (2010), pp. 1-18; Williamson, 'Empire and Anti-Empire: Andrew Melville and British Political Ideology, 1589-1605', in Mason and Reid (eds), *Andrew Melville,* pp. 75-100.
[182] Drummond, *Works,* p. 150.
[183] Murray, *Naupactiados,* sig. E4r. My translation.

neo-Latin panegyric, significantly published in France and therefore telling a European readership that, following the Union of Crowns, Britain was now a potent, militant godly nation.[184] Ayton vividly claimed there would be 'endless victories under [James's] leadership' ('te ductore perennes agitant lauros'), including that British troops would soon 'hang their plumed helmets as booty upon a tree, near the Herculean outposts of the Spanish foe' ('Anglia captivas suspendat in arbore cristas, / Herculeas iuxta metas hostilis Iberi') and 'plant the roses of the Saxons in the Spanish world' ('Saxonidumque rosas Hispano insevimus orbi').[185] Ayton claimed further legitimacy for this imagined military future by suggesting that Elizabeth had supported the Stewart succession because she knew James would oversee the ultimate defeat of Spain: 'may he holds our empire's reigns, and administer my ultimate commands'. ('hic flectat habenas / imperii, nutuque suo suprema gubernet').[186]

Given the long-held fear in England that the death of Elizabeth I would prompt the eruption of civil war or a foreign invasion, most English writers chose to celebrate an unexpected peace rather than invoke images of war.[187] Nevertheless, not all accession panegyrics by English writers were pacific.[188] Joseph Hall's *The Kings Prophecie* imagined James undertaking a Protestant war: 'the warlike troupes himself shal lead'.[189] However Hall expected that any such war would be reactive and defensive: '(If any hostile might dares him withstand) / Shall break those bars; and boldly shall excite / Our sleeping Lyon'.[190] The Scottish courtier poets expected a more active intervention on the continent than this. Indeed, William Alexander's dedicatory poem 'To his Sacred Majestie', printed in the 1604 version of *Monarchik Tragedies,* even imagined James undertaking a crusade against the Turk.[191] However the Scottish courtier poets actually took differing views on the fate of Europe following a Stewart-led victory. Some, such as Robert Ayton, imagined that Britain would become the dominant political power on the continent: 'may the Britons…yoke the whole

[184] *Delitiae*, i, p. 44. My translation.
[185] Ibid, i, pp. 44, 47. My translation.
[186] Ibid, i, p. 44. My translation.
[187] R. Malcolm Smuts, 'The Making of Rex Pacificus: James VI and I and the Problem of Peace in an Age of Religious War', in Daniel Fischlin and Mark Fortier (eds), *Royal Subjects: Essays on the Writings of James VI and I* (Detroit, 2002), pp. 371-87.
[188] On English agitation for continental intervention, see David J.B. Trim, 'Calvinist Internationalism and the Shaping of Jacobean Foreign Policy', in Timothy Wilks (ed.), *Prince Henry Reviv'd: Image and Exemplarity in Early Modern England* (London, 2007), pp. 239-58; James C. White, 'Militant Protestants: British Identity in the Jacobean Period, 1603-1625', *History*, 94/134 (2009), pp. 154-75.
[189] Joseph Hall, *The Kings Prophecie or Weeping Joy* (1603), sig. B6v.
[190] Ibid, sig. C2v.
[191] Alexander, *Monarchick Tragedies*, sig. A3v-A4r.

world under their laws and legions' (et Britanni / subiiciant totum lege et legionibus orbem').[192] Others, most notably Thomas Murray, imagined that victory over continental popery and Spain, would see the end of all empires rather than inaugurating a British one.[193]

In the poems they wrote or published to address James's accession to the English throne, Scottish writers who sought a place at the English court offered very different interpretations of the significance of James's accession and the Union of Crowns from their English contemporaries whose accession panegyrics or union treatises are more familiar to scholars. Whereas English writers celebrated and justified James's accession through tropes of amity between nations, providence, and hereditary right, the Scottish courtier poets wrote about it in forthright terms of conquest and crusade. Strikingly, their understanding of the meaning of James's accession did not always agree with the king's own views about ruling England and Scotland. The verses explored above show there was potential for Scottish courtiers to disagree strongly with James over important issues: above all concerning the place of Scotland within the new dynastic agglomerate, and about military engagement with Catholic Europe. Many of the Scottish poets who found posts at James's English court will have found his foreign policy as king of England – pursuing 'peace abroad with all foreign neighbours' – to utterly contradict the expectations of his English kingship that had been cultivated in Scotland for decades and which they had themselves celebrated in their poetry.[194] Their employment in a range of roles at the English court after 1603 meant that interpretations and iconographies of James's accession, which had been developed amongst Anglophile Scottish Protestants in the Scottish Kirk and at the Scottish court in the 1580s and 1590s, found a home in the English court. However, numerous other Scottish political ideas and literary devices were also introduced to, and circulated at, the English court through the occasional writings that the Scottish courtier poets produced whilst serving there.

The Scottish Courtier Poets and English Court Culture

The Scottish courtier poets engaged with and contributed to the English court's culture in various ways between 1603 and 1612, most of which have previously been overlooked. They produced literary material for court tournaments, musical performances, and even for the

[192] *Delitiae*, i, p. 49. My translation.
[193] Reid-Baxter, 'Scotland will be'; Williamson, 'Empire and Anti-Empire'.
[194] James, *Political Writings*, pp. 134-5.

court's physical decoration. They wrote amatory verses, as well as praise poems for more senior courtiers. The latter performed crucial functions within court politics, helping to secure good relations between courtiers at the newly-established court. They also wrote verse responses to several significant literary publications and political events, most notably the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot. During this decade, the literary style of several of the Scottish courtier poets was modified, influenced by engagement with English verse, in particular the poetry of Sir Philip Sidney. Nonetheless, the works they produced at the English court, mainly under their own initiatives, often retained the Scottish Protestant ideological commitments and literary themes and forms that I noted characterised the poems they wrote in 1603-4 to mark the Union of Crowns. Therefore, there was an important and influential, but previously unacknowledged, Scottish literary subculture at the English court after 1603.

Most importantly, the Scottish courtier poets appear to have formed a literary network at the English court which has not, to my knowledge, been noticed before. The personal and literary connections between the Scottish courtier poets predated 1603. Some were connected by kinship. For example, Thomas Murray was married to William Fowler's niece, Jane Drummond. Others shared educational backgrounds. For example, Robert Ayton, Alexander Craig, and William Fowler had all attended St Leonard's College at the University of St Andrews; Ayton and Craig were contemporaries there, overlapping from 1584-6. It has been speculated that seven devotional poems by William Alexander, Ayton, and Craig preserved together in a manuscript indicate that the three collaborated together whilst students.[195] After James's accession to the English throne, the Scottish courtier poets supported each other's literary endeavours conspicuously. Robert Ayton contributed commendatory poems to William Alexander's *Monarchick Tragedies* (1604), Alexander Craig's *Poeticall Essayes* (1604), and Craig's *Amorose Songes* (1606).[196] This practice of producing commendatory sonnets for the printed editions of other courtiers' poetry had been a dynamic of court poetry at James's court in Scotland.[197] Craig and Thomas Murray also wrote elegies for Alexander Dickson, the Scottish controversialist who James had employed since 1598 to write on a

[195] NLS, MS Advocates 19.3.6, fo. 55; Mary Jane Wittstock Scott, 'Robert Ayton: Scottish Metaphysical', *Scottish Literary Journal*, 2/1 (1975), pp. 5-7.
[196] Alexander, *Monarchick Tragedies* (1604), sig. A2r; Craig, *Poeticall Essayes*, sig. F3r; Craig, *Amorose Songes* (1606), sig. L4r.
[197] Van Heijnsbergen, 'Coteries'.

number of topics (most notably in defence of his claim to the English throne), and who appears to have briefly relocated to England before his death in 1604.[198]

The most sustained evidence of a literary friendship between the Scottish poets at the English court is the series of verses that Robert Ayton and Alexander Craig wrote to one another, and which were printed in Craig's *Poetical Recreations* (1609). Craig addressed Ayton (two years his senior) as his poetic mentor ('I am thy echo'), as an inspirational sun, and urged him to write more often so that Craig could imitate him or produce replies: 'Sing *Aethon* sing, and I shall echo thee'.[199] Robert Ayton would also become close with Thomas Murray, and wrote apologetic and sympathetic verses when Murray was removed as Prince Charles's secretary in 1621 for failing to prevent the prince being presented with a tract against the Spanish match.[200] Indeed, Ayton appears to have been the primary figure that connected Scottish courtier poets at the English court. He proved immensely sociable, forming important connections with a succession of James's court favourites in England: Sir James Hay, Sir Robert Carr, and George Villiers.

These connections should not be misinterpreted as a sign that a literary "circle" of Scottish courtiers existed at the English court. With the minor exception of Ayton and Craig's poems to one another, there is no clear evidence that Scottish courtiers collaborated on literary compositions. Nevertheless, the associations between the Scottish courtier poets proved to be a notably successful instrument for advancement at the early Jacobean English court. In Scotland, as Anna's secretary and Master of Requests, William Fowler had served as a court patron or intermediary for several aspiring writers.[201] He appears to have exercised a similar influence in England. Fowler may have helped Samuel Daniel to enter Anna's household as a Groom of her Privy Chamber by 1607.[202] When Fowler died in 1612, many petitioned to succeed him as Anna's secretary, including John Donne.[203] However, the post was awarded to Fowler's fellow Scottish courtier poet, Robert Ayton. Similarly, William Alexander enjoyed some entrée to Prince Henry's household because his nephew, Walter Alexander, served as one of Henry's gentleman ushers and controlled access. However, Alexander's appointment as a

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[198] Murray, *Naupactiados*, p. 42; Craig, *Poetical Recreations*, sig. B3r. Craig claimed that Dickson 'dyed at Winchester in England'. On Dickson's writings on the succession question, see Doran, 'James VI', pp. 34-7.
[199] Craig, *Poetical Recreations*, sig. B4r-v.
[200] Ayton, *Latin and English Poems*, pp. 163, 348. On the events that led to Murray's dismissal, see Peter E. McCullough, *Sermons at Court: Politics and Religion in Elizabethan and Jacobean Preaching* (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 202-5.
[201] Verweij, *Literary Culture*, pp. 87-91.
[202] Petrina, *Machiavelli*, pp. 80, 85.
[203] Edmund Gosse, *The Life and Letters of John Donne, Dean of St Paul's* (2 vols, London, 1899), i, p. 155.

member of the prince's Privy Chamber seems to be due to the sponsorship of his fellow Scot and poet, Sir David Murray, the sole gentleman of the prince's bedchamber, who admired Alexander's poetry.[204] Even though they had not previously served together at the Scottish court, it is clear that the Scottish courtier poets worked to secure court appointments for each other and promoted one another's literary works. These connections operated despite the obvious obstacle that the Scottish courtier poets were employed in different sub-departments of the court: Robert Ayton in James's Privy Chamber, William Fowler, Thomas Murray and William Alexander in Anna's household (Murray and Alexander then served in Prince Henry's household when it was established in 1610), and Alexander Craig itinerantly accompanying George Home. Friendships between the Scottish poets at the English court transcended the court's physical and institutional boundaries.

The Scottish courtier poets made several ephemeral contributions to court culture, often indulging their personal literary interests in the process. William Fowler had a life-long interested in emblems, *imprese*, and devices (and even claimed to have written a now-lost treatise on the forms: 'art off impreses').[205] His enthusiasm was so great that, after the majority of the Scottish court had departed Edinburgh in early April 1603, Fowler snuck into Mary Stewart's former bedchamber to note its decorative emblems.[206] In Scotland, Fowler had only occasionally designed *imprese* for the nobility himself.[207] The annual Accession Day tournaments in England gave him a terrific opportunity to apply his interest in emblems much more frequently. Fowler was commissioned by the earl of Pembroke to produce draft *imprese* for the earl's appearance at the 1606 Accession Day tournament.[208] A Scottish courtier therefore contributed to Pembroke's reputation for tiltyard pageantry.[209] The survival amongst the Hawthornden papers of several devices that are dated 20 August 1608 suggests that Fowler may also have been commissioned to produce *imprese* on other occasions.[210] Fowler also used his interest in emblems to produce physical decorations for the court. A mural installed at Anna's residence, Denmark House by 1613 featured a green palm tree with a crown and a Latin anagram: 'Anna Britannorum Regina: In Anna Regnantium arbor'.[211] The anagram was based

[204] Wilks, 'Poets', p. 168.
[205] NLS, MS Hawthornden 2063, fo. 107r.
[206] Michael Bath, 'Ben Jonson, William Fowler and the Pinkie Ceiling', *Architectural Heritage*, 18/1 (2007), pp. 73-86; idem, 'Embroidered Emblems: Mary Stuart's Bed of State', *Emblematica*, 15 (2007), pp. 1-15.
[207] NLS, MS Hawthornden 2063, fo. 23r-v; MS 2064, fo. 36r.
[208] NLS, MS Hawthornden 2063, fo. 167r.
[209] As discussed in Chapter Two.
[210] NLS, MS Hawthornden 2064, fos 31-4.
[211] Petrina, *Machiavelli*, p. 102.

on an English and Latin poem drafted by Fowler, which celebrated Anna's fertility: 'Freshe budding blooming trie / from anna faire which springs / Groue on blist birth, with leaues and fruit / from branche to branche in kings'.[212]

Meanwhile, several of Robert Ayton's epigrams were set to music, for example by John Dowland, to be performed at court.[213] Ayton was continuing a custom from the sixteenth-century Scottish court, where poets had contributed original lyrics for the court's everyday musical entertainments: for example, several of Alexander Montgomerie's poems had been set to music by Andro Blackhall.[214] The poems that Ayton had written in Scotland, such as his *Diophantus and Charidora*, had mostly been amatory pastoral complaints in Poulter's measure, derivative of the French Pléiade and the amatory verse produced by Scottish court poets in the 1580s. The experience of writing lyrics for the English court appears to have allowed Ayton to develop the "proto-cavalier style" which has earned him several modern admirers.[215]

The Scottish courtier poets also made a distinctive contribution to court culture through the praise poetry that they wrote for senior court figures. Most accounts of early modern courtly praise poetry have focused predominantly on verse addressed to the monarch; although Ben Jonson's epigrams to various courtiers have been examined.[216] The poems that early modern courtiers wrote in praise of one another have yet to receive substantial study. The Scottish courtier poets produced a range of short poems celebrating several Jacobean courtiers. For example, William Fowler, Robert Ayton and Alexander Craig all wrote poetry in praise of the Scottish-born Sir James Hay. Fowler composed a short epigram addressed to Hay.[217] Ayton and Craig's poems to Hay were written whilst they were still seeking appointment to the English court. Craig sent Hay a fictionalised flyting, and a poem wishing Hay good fortune on his embassy to France in March 1604.[218] Ayton produced a Latin *strena*, or New Year's poem, for Hay in 1605, and had it printed in London shortly afterwards, accompanied by an English prefatory poem.[219] It was prudent for aspiring courtiers to dedicate praise poetry to Hay during the earliest years of James's English reign. Having first encountered James in

[212] NLS, MS Hawthornden 2063, fo. 98r.
[213] Shire, *Song, Dance and Poetry*, pp. 230-4.
[214] John Purser, *Scotland's Music: A History of the Traditional and Classical Music of Scotland from Early Times to the Present Day* (Edinburgh, 1992), pp. 113-15.
[215] Shire, *Song, Dance and Poetry*, pp. 215-54; Scott, 'Robert Ayton', pp. 5-16. See also, David Reid, 'A Note on Sir William Alexander and Edmund Waller', *Scottish Literary Review*, 5/1 (2013), pp. 1-12.
[216] McCabe, *'Ungainefull Arte'*; Robert C. Evans, *Ben Jonson and the Poetics of Patronage* (Lewisburg, 1989).
[217] NLS, MS Hawthornden 2064, fo. 64v.
[218] Craig, *Poeticall Essayes*, sig. D3r-D4r; Craig, *Poetical Recreations*, sig. B2r.
[219] Robert Ayton, *Basia* (1605).

summer 1602, Hay enjoyed an extraordinarily rapid ascent. He became a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber in May 1603, and a Gentleman of the Bedchamber in October, before being naturalised as an English subject, knighted, and created Lord Hay in 1604.[220] His marriage to the English heiress Honoria Denny in January 1607 was celebrated with a masque written by Thomas Campion in Whitehall's Great Hall.[221] Hay appears to have been well-liked by English courtiers (even the notoriously anti-Scottish Anthony Weldon wrote about him positively).[222] Francis Bacon hoped to cultivate, or 'reconc.' [know] Hay during 1603.[223] Craig prophesised that Hay's French embassy would further enhance his domestic renown (although as it occurred contemporaneously with the beginnings of peace negotiations between England and Spain, from which France stood to lose, most other commentators anticipated that Hay's embassy would not be a success).[224] In his *strena,* Ayton, who, like Hay had spent time in France, celebrated Hay's charm and influence: 'you can enter the secret heart of kings through your magnetic virtue, and through your power are able to bend their great affections' ('tu potis es Regum tacitas adlanibere fibras, / virtutis magnete tuae, philtroque potenti / indolis ingenuae augustos inflectere sensus'), as well as Hay's valuable physical access to the king during his most intimate moments: at night, 'you recline on a nearby couch, and on the sacred bed' ('contiguis recubans stratis, sanctoque cubili').[225] Ayton suggested that Hay, who had so successfully negotiated his way into the safe harbour of the English court might use his position to now help those, like Ayton, who were still 'flailing in the ocean' ('partim fluitantes cernis').[226] The conceit of Ayton's *strena,* borrowed from Catullus V and XIII, was that he was so destitute he could only repay Hay's patronage with a kiss on the hand, which was nonetheless a means 'to deliver justified praises' ('iustas addicere laudes').[227] However, Ayton amplified Catullus's conceit by inventing a kissing competition for the Philesia at the Branchiadon, with the poem shifting homoerotically between imagining kissing Hay's hands and the 'entwining embrace of our tongues' ('amplexu linguarum alterna').[228] Ayton would

[220] Roy E. Schreiber, *The First Carlisle: Sir James Hay, first Earl of Carlisle, as Courtier, Diplomat, and Entrepreneur, 1580-1636* (Philadelphia, 1984), pp. 6-11.
[221] Lori Anne Ferrell, 'The Sacred, the Profane and the Union: Politics of Sermon and Masque at the Court Wedding of Lord and Lady Hay', in Cogswell, Cust and Lake (eds), *Politics*, pp. 45-64.
[222] Anthony Weldon, *The Court and Character of King James* (1651), p. 17.
[223] James Spedding, *The Works of Francis Bacon* (14 vols, London, 1861-74), iv, p. 42.
[224] Schreiber, *The First Carlisle*, p. 8.
[225] *Delitiae*, i, pp. 54-5. My translation.
[226] Ibid, i, p. 54-5. My translation.
[227] Ibid, i, p. 59. My translation.
[228] Ibid, i, p. 59. My translation.

remain Hays' 'devoted follower' ('devotum clientem') for two decades, often supplying him with court news.[229]

The most substantial surviving body of praise poetry written by a Scottish courtier poet at the English court after 1603 are the poems and literary gifts that William Fowler prepared for the king's cousin, Lady Arbella Stuart. Elizabeth I had always considered Arbella a threat, and kept her far from court at Hardwick Hall. James's multiple surviving children greatly reduced Arbella's status as a potential dynastic rival (although the conspirators in the Main Plot had planned to replace James with Arbella). James's accession therefore marked an improvement in her fortunes. In autumn 1603, James invited Arbella to court, placing her in Queen Anna's household. Fowler, secretary of Anna's household, sent Arbella a welcoming praise poem 'Vppon my passing downe the Thames to London' at New Year 1604.[230] Fowler wrote several poems about Arbella, many of which attempted to absolve her of involvement in conspiracies, such as the Main Plot. He asserted that Arbella had no interest in marrying, which would allow her to pose a dynastic threat 'she will not heare of mar[r]iage', and denied that she held aspirations for the throne: 'whose chasteful hands disdained for sweye / both sceptres and crownes'.[231] He also sent Arbella several literary gifts, including the unusual present of a Slavic Book of Hours in March 1608.[232] During Christmas 1604-5, it appears that Fowler worked on an elaborate gift for Arbella: 'Ichnea, id et prorsa versa circulariaque symbola', the paratexts, title page, and contents page for which survive amongst the Hawthornden papers.[233] According to the contents page, 'Ichnea' was to be a collection of mottos and anagrams, 'direct verses and circular symbols'. Although he never progressed beyond the drafting stage, Fowler had planned to present Arbella with a deeply personal gift, a book of emblems, one of the great interests of his life.

Biographers have often speculated that Fowler, who first met Arbella at Woodstock during the court's progress in September 1603, harboured futile romantic aspirations towards her.[234] Whilst this claim is titillating, it cannot withstand closer inspection of Fowler's poems to or about Arbella. For example, in 'To my lady Arbella, extempore', Fowler wrote to Arbella

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[229] Ibid, i, p. 59; Ayton, *Latin and English Poems*, pp. 355-60.
[230] NLS, MS Hawthornden 2063, fo. 58r
[231] LPL, MS 3203, fo. 260r.
[232] BL, MS Harley 5642; Patricia Bawcutt, '"My Bright Buke": Women and Their Books in Medieval and Renaissance Scotland', in Jocelyn Wogan-Browne (eds), *Medieval Women: Texts and Contexts in Late Medieval Britain: Essays for Felicity Riddy* (Turnhout, 2000), pp. 29-30.
[233] NLS, MS Hawthornden 2064, fos 1-4.
[234] S.M. Dunnigan, 'Fowler, William (1560/1561-1612), *ODNB*; Sarah Gristwood, *Arbella: England's Lost Queen* (London, 2003), pp. 300-1.

as 'your dru[n]kken slave', claiming that he had been unable to fully enjoy himself during a night of excessive drinking and dancing because he was 'depryvd of joy': Arbella's presence.[235] This sonnet may initially seem an indecorous example of *in vino veritas*. However, the good quality of Fowler's handwriting in the surviving manuscript witness contradicts its claim to have been written 'ex tempore…whils ink and drink ar both together'. Instead, Fowler was likely using drunkenness as a literary conceit; imitating James, who had previously described one of his own poems as having been written 'with pen and drink'.[236] Furthermore, simplistic assessments of Fowler's poems as expressions of unrequited love overlook their more interesting functions within court politics. Many of Fowler's poems in praise of Arbella were enclosed in letters sent by Fowler (in his capacity as Queen Anna's secretary) to Arbella's aunt and uncle, the earl and countess of Shrewsbury, who had been her guardians during the last decade of Elizabeth's reign. Fowler's superlative descriptions of Arbella in these poems as greater than all the swans on all of the rivers of Europe, the 'eght wonder off the world', 'the Tenth Muse', and 'the pheonix [sic] of her sex' therefore complimented the earl and countess by celebrating the virtues of the woman they had raised.[237] Fowler's poems praising Arbella to the Shrewsburys were a means to establish good relations between this important English aristocratic couple and the new Queen's household. For example, despite its title, Fowler's 'To the most vertuous and treulye honrable Ladye, Ladye Arbella Stewart', was described as an entertaining distraction for the countess to peruse, not Arbella.[238] Similarly although Fowler's 'Ichea' was a work of personal interest to him, it should be understood as originating within the dynamics of gift exchange at court. At Christmas 1603, the newly-arrived Arbella presented Queen Anna and Fowler with gifts.[239] The conventions of gift exchange obligated something be offered in return.[240] The surviving drafts of 'Ichea' contain various dates from Yuletide 1604-5, suggesting it was likely a delayed (and possibly never delivered) response to Arbella's gift to Anna at Christmas 1603.[241] It must be conceded that some curiosities in Fowler's poems about Arbella do remain. In one sonnet (rather foolhardily considering that Arbella had been the focus of the Main Plot) Fowler expressed hope that Arbella would wield political influence: 'whose hands I hope shall statlye

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[235] NLS, MS Hawthornden 2063, fo. 247r.
[236] James I, *New Poems by James I of England, from a hitherto unpublished manuscript (Add. 24195) in the British Museum*, ed. Allan F. Westcott (New York, 1966), p. 44.
[237] LPL, MS 3203, fo. 58r; MS 3201, fos 121r, 163r.
[238] LPL, MS 3021, fo. 120r.
[239] *The Letters of Lady Arbella Stuart*, ed. Sara Jayne Steen (Oxford, 1994), pp. 191-2.
[240] On the customs of gift exchange at the early Stuart court, see Felicity Heal, *The Power of Gifts: Gift Exchange in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 2014), pp. 121-48.
[241] NLS, MS Hawthornden 2064, fos 1v, 2v.

scepeters sway'.[242] However, overall, Fowler's literary gifts to and poems in praise of Arbella performed political, not romantic, functions. They helped to secure good relations within the new queen's household and between the new royal family and Arbella's former guardians. They are rare evidence of how literature, and in particular the unique literary interests of Scottish courtiers, was used to help secure amity at the nascent Jacobean English court.

The Scottish courtier poets also responded creatively to fashions in English literary culture. For example, Alexander Craig's 'A description of pardond [sic], yet still vnrepenting proditor Plexirtus', as its title suggests, was a verse paraphrase of the story of Plexirtus and Leonatus in Book Two of Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia*.[243] Craig's poem is an overlooked witness in the reception history of *Arcadia*, showing that Sidney retained admirers and imitators amongst the Scottish courtier poets at the English court after 1603.[244] Of course, their interest in Sidney's works was not due simply to the appealing literary features of his verse, such as his prosody, characters, or imagery. It was because their political and religious views aligned with his. Sidney had been one of the "forward Protestants" at the English court who urged Elizabeth to provide stronger military support to continental co-religionists.[245] This agenda had led Sidney to develop connections with figures at the Scottish court, most noticeably George Buchanan and Archibald Douglas, eighth earl of Angus, who envisioned that a Stewart succession to the English throne would unleash a British military force against continental popery.[246] Before and after his death, Sidney's poetry had been widely read at the Scottish court, where he was often treated as an icon of the interconnected hopes for Anglo-Scots Union and for a British crusade against the forces of the papacy and Spain, not least because James had published an elegy for Sidney that praised him in such terms.[247] As James's foreign policy shifted in a more pacific direction after becoming King of England, he had gradually grown less publicly enamoured of Sidney's verse. However, the Protestant Scottish courtiers at James's English court did not. Craig's engagement with Sidney further

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[242] NLS, MS Hawthornden 2063, fo. 68r.
[243] Craig, *Poetical Recreations*, sig. C2r.
[244] It is not mentioned in H.R. Woudhuysen, *Sir Philip Sidney and the Circulation of Manuscripts, 1558-1640* (Oxford, 1996); or Gavin Alexander, *Writing After Sidney: The Literary Response to Sir Philip Sidney, 1586-1640* (Oxford, 2006).
[245] Alan Stewart, *Philip Sidney: A Double Life* (London, 2000).
[246] James E. Phillips, 'George Buchanan and the Sidney Circle', *HLQ*, 12/1 (1948), pp. 23-55; Williamson, *Scottish National Consciousness*, pp. 192, 207-14; Arthur Williamson, 'George Buchanan and the Patriot Cause', in Caroline Erskine and Roger A. Mason (eds), *George Buchanan: Political Thought in Early Modern Britain and Europe* (Farnham, 2012), pp. 87-110.
[247] Spiller, 'The Scottish Court and the Scottish Sonnet', pp. 104-7; Jane Rickard, *Authorship and Authority: The Writings of James VI and I* (Manchester, 2007), pp. 41-4, 58-9.

demonstrates their continued investment in hopes for an Anglo-Scottish Protestant crusade, which I have shown already animated the poems they wrote at James's accession to the English throne. It also demonstrates their continued fidelity to a tradition of Anglo-Scottish Protestant fellowship, in which Sidney's poetry played a prominent role, which dated back to the early Elizabethan period.

To present day tastes, Craig's poem – a versified summary of a sub-plot – may seem tedious. It should not be forgotten, therefore, that the dominant literary activities at the Scottish court had been translation and paraphrase, especially of contemporary European vernacular literature. However Craig exhibited his interest in Sidney in ways beyond practising this form of literary composition characteristic of Scottish court culture. His 1606 printed verse collection *Amorose Songes* was modelled closely on Sidney's *Astrophil and Stella*: like Sidney's sonnet sequence, Craig's contained one-hundred-and-eight poems.[248] Throughout the collection, Craig regularly cited *Astrophil and Stella* and *Arcadia* as parallels or authorities.[249] He began one sonnet to his beloved Pandora, 'In Arcadie sometime (as Sydne say's)', before précising the love story of Demargoras and Parthenia from Book One of *Arcadia*.[250] In another, Craig even identified himself as Sidney's insatiable womanising character Pamphilus: 'I am a Pamphilus, and can not settle my object'.[251] Sidney was also well-regarded by Sir William Alexander, who described *Arcadia* as 'the most excellent work [that]…hath been written in any Language', and would go on to produce a continuation of the *New Arcadia*, which was first published in Dublin in 1621 before being incorporated into seventeenth-century English re-printings of *Arcadia*.[252]

Although Sidney is the only English author whose influence over the Scottish courtier poets can be observed through such direct allusions, it is clear that the experience of being in England influenced their poetry. Craig's *Amorose Songes* is strikingly different from the sonnet sequences that had been produced by Scottish courtiers before 1603, such as William Fowler's *The Tarantula of Love,* or William Alexander's *Aurora*, which were largely derivative

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[248] R.D.S. Jack, 'The Poetry of Alexander Craig: A Study in Imitation and Originality', *Forum for Modern Language Studies*, 5/4 (1969), p. 381.
[249] Josephine A. Roberts, '"Contraries by Conttraries": The Artistry of Alexander Craig's Sonnets', *SSL*, 21/1, p. 124.
[250] Craig, *Amorose Songes,* sig. C8r.
[251] Ibid, sig. B3v.
[252] Alexander, *Works*, ii, p. 390; A.G.D. Wiles, 'Sir William Alexander's Continuation of the Revised Version of Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia*', *SSL*, 3/4 (1966), pp. 221-9. For a discussion of Sidney's abiding influence on Alexander's works in the 1620s, see David Parkinson, '*Arcadia*, Emulation and Regret in Sir William Alexander's *Encouragement to Colonies*', in McGinley and Royan (eds), *Apparelling of Truth,* pp. 252-63.

of Petrarch (and, in Fowler's case, a close translation).[253] Craig's sonnet sequence featured many Petrarchan conceits and conventions, including addressing the beloved Erantina as 'sweete louely Laura'.[254] Nonetheless, Craig attempted to move beyond the Petrarchan conceits that had so dominated sixteenth-century Scottish amatory verse. One poem expressed frustration at the inability of most amatory language to represent the often-painful experience of love: 'I have compared my Mistres many time / To Angels, Sun, Moone, Stars & thinges above' but, having discovered her infidelities, denounced them: 'I think my Rimes and Poyems all profane'.[255] Craig advertised his dissatisfaction with prevailing models of amatory verse by including eight beloveds or mistresses in *Amorose Songes*. This allowed him to explore different aspects of the beloved, as his mood and experiences altered. The experience of being in England allowed Craig to appreciate that the Petrarchan mode of love poetry, which had been so dominant in late-sixteenth-century Scotland, was but one amongst many.

However, the most significant change to the literary style of the Scottish courtier poets after they arrived in England was Anglicisation. Robert Ayton's orthography and grammar became increasingly Anglicised.[256] When his nephew, Sir John Ayton, attempted to compile his poems in the 1630s, he felt he could distinguish between the 'Old Scotts peeces' and those that had been written after 1603.[257] William Alexander's *Monarchic Tragedies* were further Anglicised with every subsequent edition.[258] James infamously chastised Alexander for departing from a Scottish style and writing 'harshe verses after the Inglische fashion', claiming he showed 'ingratitude' towards and 'hurt' the Muses with his English-style 'hard hammered words' and 'harsh hard trotting'.[259] James had been particularly proud of the alliteration in Scottish prosody, which he viewed as superior to English. Of course it was pragmatic for Scottish writers, especially whilst seeking patrons at the English court, to Anglicise their work, as it allowed their writing to appeal to a large English commercial readership. Alexander justified his 'mixt[ure] of the English and Scottish Dialects' in his writings, requesting 'the gentle and Judicious Englishe reader' to permit him to 'retaine some badge of mine own

[253] R.D.S. Jack, *The Italian Influence on Scottish Literature* (Edinburgh, 1972); Sarah Dunnigan, *Eros and Poetry at the Courts of Mary Queen of Scots and James VI* (Basingstoke, 2002), pp. 149-64.
[254] Craig, *Amorose Songes*, sig. B8v.
[255] Ibid, sig. E7r.
[256] Matthew P. Mcdiarmid, 'Scots Versions of Poems by Sir Robert Aytoun and Sir William Alexander', *N&Q*, 202 (1957), pp. 32-5; Scott, 'Robert Ayton', p. 8.
[257] BL, MS Additional 10308, fo. 6r.
[258] Alexander, *Works*, i, pp. cxciv-cc.
[259] James, *Poems*, ii, p. 114.

countrie', especially if Scottish terms were 'propre, and significant'.[260] Alternatively, Scottish readers should accept that, in some cases, 'the English phrase' was to be preferred for 'the elegance and perfection thereof' over Scots. Furthermore, Alexander argued that his 'mixture of Dialects' had the benefit of 'invit[ing]' his Scottish and English readers 'to a straiter Union and conjunction as well in language, as in other respects'. To this end, James had actually been arranging for his own works to be printed in Anglicised versions since the 1580s and, in his poetics, recommended that Scottish poets should hew closer to English models.[261] In 1604, when lending a Scottish book to Sir Robert Cecil, James told his Secretary of State that the Scots 'language is ex[t]reamlie bad… it is nou good britaine language'.[262] However this 'mixture of dialects' was more than a canny strategy to secure readers in England and to promote Anglo-Scottish cultural union. There had been a drift towards Anglicisation in Scottish printing throughout the later sixteenth century. Especially after the Reformation and the adoption of English Bible by the Kirk, English vocabulary had become far more prevalent in printed Scots; it is estimated that two-thirds of Scottish books printed in the 1590s contained English word forms.[263] Of course, this did not mean that all Scottish courtier poets found writing in English easy. Alexander Craig complained that he felt torn by the demand to write in a mixture of Scots and English: 'the one as innated, I can not forget; the other as a stranger, I can not upon the sodaine acquire'.[264] Craig especially expressed concern that his style would be derided by English courtiers: he implored his verse, 'By any means approach not Court I pray / …some shall scorne, some carpe, some cast away'.[265] His poetry often retained a characteristically Scottish alliterativeness.

Although they did not receive official literary commissions from the king, the Scottish courtier poets, like many English writers, produced imaginative responses to James's publications as king of England.[266] For example, at some point before 1609, Alexander Craig wrote a short poem 'Against the Sellers of Tobacco'. This poem was clearly intended as an endorsement of the first new work that James printed as king of England (albeit anonymously): his 1604 *A Counterblaste to Tobacco*. Craig's poem differed from the king's tract by attacking tobacco vendors rather than its smokers and importers. Nevertheless, the presence in the poem

[260] *Memorials of the earl of Stirling and of the house of Alexander*, ed. Charles Rogers (2 vols, Edinburgh, 1877), i, p. 48.
[261] Rickard, *Authorship and Authority,* pp. 61-4, 100.
[262] *Letters*, ed. Akrigg, p. 258.
[263] M.A. Bald, 'The Anglicisation of Scottish Printing', *SHR*, 23 (1925), pp. 107-15.
[264] Craig, *Amorose Songes*, sig. A6r.
[265] Craig, *Poeticall Essayes*, sig. A1v.
[266] On responses to James's writings by several canonical English authors, see Rickard, *Writing the Monarch.*

of several allusions shared with *A Counterblaste* indicates that Craig was unquestionably responding directly to James's work. In the poem's concluding couplet, Craig imagined the just reward awaiting tobacco vendors: 'As thou deseru'st Turinus-like I doome thee, / By selling smoak thou liv'st, let smoak consume thee'.[267] In *A Counterblaste,* James had suggested that the fate of the third-century imperial favourite Vetronius Turinus, who was executed by smoke suffocation ('iustly choked with smoke'), was an apt, ironic punishment for tobacco-smokers, and approvingly quoted Aurelius Lampridius's moralising aphorism about Turinus's execution in his *Historia Augustae*: 'fumo pereat, qui fumum vendidit' ('they who sell smoke perish by smoke'), which, as we have seen, Craig repeated.[268] Although a print controversy about smoking had been raging in England since the mid-1590s, the example of Turinus was James's original contribution; it does not feature in any previous English polemic about tobacco-smoking known to me.[269] Following the publication of *A Counterblaste,* many writers attempted to gain James's favour and patronage by producing their own works on the theme of tobacco. Writing against tobacco was also a useful way to advertise one's loyalty: James, noticing that several 'knauish courtier[s]' involved to varying degrees in the Bye and Main Plots, namely Sir Walter Ralegh and Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland were also smokers, had equated tobacco-smoking with courtly treason.[270] Anti-tobacco diatribes featured in the debates and masques staged for James's visit to Oxford University during summer 1605.[271] In 1623-4, when he sought to be appointed Provost of Eton, Robert Ayton addressed a poem to James in which he argued that one of his virtues that recommended him for the post was that he did not smoke tobacco.[272] By including Turinus and translating an aphorism that the king had cited, Craig flattered the king's *inventio* in a manner resembling the praise of his literary conceits that had featured in Scottish courtiers' dedicatory sonnets to James's *Essayes.* However there may have been an additional, political reason for a Scottish courtier to respond to *A Counterblaste* by borrowing closely from it. As Sandra Bell has argued, *A Counterblaste* was published in order to reassure English readers still concerned by James's foreign birth that

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[267] Craig, *Poetical Recreations*, sig. B4v.
[268] James I, *A Counterblaste to Tobacco* (1604), sig. D1r. My translation. On Turinus's execution, see Greg Walker, *Writing Under Tyranny: English Literature and the Henrician Reformation* (Oxford, 2005), pp. 251-2.
[269] Penny McCarthy, '"It Was Not Tobacco, Stupified My Braine": The Tobacco Controversy of 1602', *The Modern Language Review*, 110/3 (2015), pp. 631-48.
[270] James, *Counterblaste*, sig. C4v; McCarthy, 'It Was Not Tobacco', pp. 641-2.
[271] Sandra J. Bell, '"Precious Stinke": James I's *A Counterblaste to Tobacco*', in Fischlin and Fortier (eds), *Royal Subjects*, p. 334.
[272] Delitiae, i, p. 71. Yet, in the last years of James's life, Robert Ayton translated a sonnet in praise of tobacco by Marc-Antoine Girard de Saint-Amant: William Roberts, 'Saint-Amant, Aytoun, and the Tobacco Sonnet', *The Modern Language Review*, 54/4 (1959), pp. 499-506.

he was committed to defending English civilisation against the barbarous and irreligious weed (and, by implication, other, larger threats).[273] The tract challenged persisting anxieties about the barbarity of the Scots by firmly depicting them on the side of civility. It was therefore in the interests of a Scottish courtier such as Craig to hew closely to the king, copying his examples and aphorisms to further disseminate the theme of Scottish civility.

The Scottish courtier poets also produced occasional verse about significant events at the court. For example, Alexander Craig wrote an *epithalamium* commemorating the 1603 marriage of Charles Howard, earl of Nottingham and Margaret Stewart, the king's cousin.[274] They also wrote about the most dramatic political events in James's early English reign: plots to assassinate the king. No verses about the Main and Bye Plot by any of the Scottish courtier poets have survived. However, Robert Ayton wrote an eight-line neo-Latin poem about the rumour that spread through London in March 1606 that James had been assassinated whilst hunting.[275] Although it animated that year's Accession Day celebrations, and was the subject of a proclamation and court gossips' letters, Ayton's poem is the only known verse response to the event. Ayton examined what had generated the rumour. Having dismissed it being a product of envious or malicious individuals, Ayton proffered the benign explanation that it was the understandable, but inappropriate, response of Londoners and courtiers when their beloved king was physically absent. Ayton's explanation that it was 'the dutiful and laudable mistake of the people who think that if what they love is absent then it has died' ('potius populi pius et laudabilis error, / qui, si absit quod amat, iam periisse putat') bore a striking similarity to the justification he had offered for the alleged outpouring of grief amongst Scots at James's departure in the accession panegyric he published three years earliers.[276] Ayton suggested that this evidence of 'the increasingly fearful city' should prompt James to act, better instructing his metropolitan and court subjects to accommodate themselves to his physical absences. Ayton's epideictic poem flattered James but, like some court sermons, also counselled that he needed to better explain his habits to his subjects.[277]

However, the event that provoked the most significant verse by the Scottish courtier poets was the Gunpowder Plot. This is surprising. The regime generally discouraged public

[273] Bell, '"Precious Stinke".
[274] Craig, *Poetical Recreations*, sig. B2r.
[275] James Shapiro, *1606: Shakespeare and the Year of Lear* (London, 2016), pp. 232-6. See also Chapter Two.
[276] *Delitiae*, i, p. 70. My translation. Compare the similar, 'et quod mente capit, cupit ante oculos ut semper oberrett' ('whatever he thinks in his mind, he desires it always be before his eyes'), ibid, i, p. 47. My translation.
[277] See the discussion of how sermons addressed James's absences from court on hunting trips in Chapter Three.

discussion of the Plot, hoping thereby to limit the circulation of confessionalised interpretations, which risked provoking violence or legal recriminations against England's Catholic population and could damage relations with continental Catholic powers.[278] Therefore, with the exception of a handful of manuscript poems presented by some writers hoping to win royal patronage, the court produced very few literary responses to the 'Powder Plot'.[279] However, Robert Ayton wrote an English sonnet 'On the Gunpowder Treason' and a longer Latin poem 'De Proditione Pulverea', which offered distinctive interpretations of the Plot, differing subtly from the interpretation promulgated by the Jacobean regime. In keeping with the regime's efforts to avoid potentially-destabilising confessionalised interpretations of the Plot, neither of Ayton's poems ascribed a religious motivation to the perpetrators. Instead, like official discourses, including proclamations, sermons, parliamentary speeches, and printed narrative accounts, Ayton focused on the Plot's sheer, unprecedented evil, describing it in secular terms as an 'unspeakable conspiracy of wickedness' ('infandas scelerum fraudes') committed by individuals guilty of 'pernicious treachery' ('perfidia fraudi').[280] Ayton's avoidance of the tropes of anti-popery is especially apparent when his poems are compared with literary responses to the Plot by Scottish authors who had remained in Scotland. In *In Serenissimi Regis Iacobi*, Michael Wallace, a professor of philosophy at Glasgow, depicted the Plot as the latest in a long series of conspiracies against James plotted by diabolic councils but thwarted by providence (including the Ruthven Raid, the shipwreck on his journey across the North Sea to marry Anna, the Gowrie Conspiracy, and the Bye and Main Plots). Wallace urged James not to show clemency, and 'extirpate from your kingdom the abominable race' of papists, allowing no distinction between Jesuits and more loyalist Catholics.[281]

Yet, although he avoided the anti-Catholic tropes that featured in poetry about the Plot produced outside of the court, Ayton nonetheless offered a distinctive Scottish Protestant confessional interpretation of the deliverance from the Plot.[282] His Latin poem described a

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[278] Lori Anne Ferrell, *Government by Polemic: James I, The King's Preachers, and the Rhetorics of Conformity, 1603-1625* (Stanford, Calif., 1998), pp. 67-75; A.W.R.E. Okines, 'Why Was There So Little Government Reaction to Gunpowder Plot?', *JEH*, 55/2 (2004), pp. 275-92.
[279] Anne James, *Poets, Players and Preachers: Remembering the Gunpowder Plot in Seventeenth-Century England* (Toronto, 2016), pp. 119-24.
[280] *Delitiae*, i, pp. 65-6. My translation.
[281] Michael Wallace, *In Serenissimi Regis Iacobi Britanniae Magnae…*(1606). Translation quoted from James, *Poets, Players and Preachers*, p. 122. For additional poems about the Plot by Scottish writers, see Jamie Reid-Baxter, 'Andrew Melville and the Gunpowder Plot, 1605-1609', in Mason and Reid (eds), *Andrew Melville,* pp. 155-76, 235-56.
[282] For further examples, see Richard F. Hardin, 'The Early Poetry of the Gunpowder Plot: Myth in the Making', *English Literary Renaissance*, 22/1 (1991), pp. 62-79.

triumvirate of classical deities (Apollo, Diana, and Mars) manipulating the weather to ensure the Plot was discovered. Mars's stated reason for intervening was that he 'was conscious of [Prince] Henry, to whose unconquerable arms he knew that control of the world was fated' ('Henricique memor, cuius victribus armis / Deberi Imperium mundi fatale sciebat'.[283] Meanwhile, Diana acted in order to protect 'Anna of the northern sky from death' ('Arctoam protenus Annam / caede'); Anna, who could have more children.[284] According to Ayton's Latin poem, the Gunpowder Plot had been providentially foiled in order to preserve Henry for his predestined role as military conqueror of Catholic Europe, and to allow opportunities for further Stuart heirs to be produced. Ayton's English sonnet presented the Plot's inception as proof of the military destiny of the Stuarts (although it assigned an opposing role to the character of Mars than in his Latin poem). In the English sonnet, Ayton described the Plot originating in Mars's jealousy of James's military prowess: fearing the rise of 'a Mars more mighty than himself below', and having previously failed to dispatch James with 'assassins' (almost certainly an allusion to either the Gowrie Conspiracy or the Main and Bye Plots), the god of war had sought to remove his rival by 'fire and brimstone'.[285] Ayton's poems on the Gunpowder Plot interpreted its initiation and discovery as proof that the entire Stuart royal family was destined to lead a military campaign in Europe imminently. Therefore, whilst he avoided the harsh tropes of anti-popery, Ayton's interpretation did not entirely accord with the regime's claim that James's miraculous delivery from an unprecedentedly audacious scheme indicated divine endorsement both of his succession and of his policies. Indeed, whereas James, and later the entire English nation, celebrated his deliverance on the day of the intended Plot (5 November), Ayton's poems celebrated the day of its discovery (4 November), constructing a conceit around Monday and the roles of Mars in the Plot.

Having written militant poems to mark James's accession, some other Scottish courtier poets had adapted their writings to reflect James's preferred peace policy. In a six-line poem addressed to Cecil, Alexander Craig, who had previously celebrated James as a classical military conqueror, imagined a devastating battle against Spain 'Encelad voms his fyre / King Philip bruks with much Iberian blood' and celebrated that it had been avoided by the pacific policy of the king and Cecil: 'But wise King Iames (O blest and happie case / Commands a Cecill of more price in peace'.[286] However, in his poetry on the Gunpowder Plot, Ayton

[283] *Delitiae*, i, p. 66. My translation.
[284] Ibid, i, p. 66. My translation.
[285] Ayton, *Latin and English Poems*, p. 57.
[286] Craig, *Poetical Recreations*, sig. B2r.

continued to promulgate the distinctive Scottish Protestant interpretation of the Union of Crowns as a harbinger of apocalyptic conquest. This perspective explains why he specifically described the Plot as a threat to 'Britannia'.[287]

Through their occasional poetry, in the vernacular and neo-Latin, Scottish courtier poets made many largely-overlooked contributions to the culture of the English court. However, Ayton's interpretation of the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot in a neo-Latin poem, which drew on an eschatological narrative with a late-sixteenth-century Scottish Protestant pedigree, demonstrates most clearly that their writings were distinctive from their English-born peers.

Life at the Jacobean Court: Scottish Courtiers' Perspectives

Scholars are very familiar with the complaints that were made about Scottish courtiers in English union tracts, parliamentary speeches, plays performed on the public stage, and popular verse libels.[288] They were routinely depicted as parasitic carpet-baggers, unscrupulously exploiting James's liberality with the resources of the English crown to enjoy lives of luxury. However, as several historians have demonstrated, James's largesse was mostly reserved for a very few individuals, mainly the Gentlemen of the Bedchamber.[289] The majority of the Scottish individuals at the English court did not receive any conspicuous windfall, and their poems suggest that they actually had a far less positive experience of the court. It is an oft-noted curiosity that some of the most vigorous literary complaints about early modern courts are found in poems written by courtiers.[290] In Scotland in the 1580s, Patrick Hume had cautioned that the court rarely fulfilled courtiers' aspirations, and most suitors would 'struik into Carybdis' sinking sand'.[291] In Elizabethan England, literary complaints about the court often provided a vehicle for writers to express their desire for royal patronage. However, several poems by Scottish courtiers seem to have expressed genuine dissatisfaction with various

[287] *Delitiae*, i, p. 65.
[288] C.H. Firth, 'The Ballad History of the Reign of James I', *TRHS*, 5 (1911), pp. 22-4; Linda Levy Peck, '"For a King Not to be Bountiful Were a Fault": Perspectives on Court Patronage in Early Stuart England', *JBS*, 25/1 (1986), pp. 31-61; Neil Cuddy, 'Anglo-Scottish Union and the Court of James I, 1603-1625', *TRHS*, 39 (1989), pp. 107-24; Sarah Katerina Waurechen, 'Talking Scot: English Perceptions of the Scots During the Regal Union' (Ph.D. thesis, Queen's University at Kingston, 2011), pp. 1-82.
[289] Cuddy, 'Anglo-Scottish Union'; Keith Brown, 'Scottish Aristocracy'.
[290] David Starkey, 'The Court: Castiglione's Ideal and Tudor Reality: Being a Discussion of Sir Thomas Wyatt's Satire Addressed to Sir Francis Bryan', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 45 (1982), pp. 232-9; Louis A. Montrose, 'Idols of the Queen: Policy, Gender, and the Picturing of Elizabeth I', *Representations*, 68 (1999), pp. 108-61.
[291] Patrick Hume, *Hymnes* (Edinburgh, 1599), sig. I2r.

aspects of life at the English court, including the exhaustion of court employment, and the unscrupulous behaviour of other courtiers.

Poems by Scottish courtiers often depicted the busy, stressful experience of their employment at court. Robert Ayton had written poems pleading for a court appointment, and complaining when that post was not swiftly granted. However, after being appointed to the Privy Chamber, he wrote further poems in which he expressed disenchantment with his new role. One of his vernacular sonnets described a courtier 'The other night from Court returning late / Tyr'd with attendance, out of love with state'.[292] In the poem, the exhausted, discontented courtier urges a lamp-lighting boy he encounters in the street to head in the opposite direction, away from the court. Ayton's sonnet shared the conceit of a night-time city perambulation in which the speaker urges interlocutors to avoid the royal court with John Donne's late Elizabethan *Satires I* and *IV*. However, unlike Donne's satires, Ayton's sonnet was based on his personal experiences as a court servant.

However, the most striking poetic depiction of the combination of stress and drudgery that court employment entailed was produced by William Fowler in his sonnet 'Upon a Horologue of the Clock', likely written at Losely Park in August 1603, during the court's summer progress, and sent to the earl and countess of Shrewsbury the following month.[293] Much anti-court literature complained that service at the court dehumanised courtiers into appetitive beasts.[294] However Fowler idiosyncratically claimed 'Court hath me now traunsfourm'd into a clock'. The sonnet's meter performed his experience of court service as hectic and demanding: its monosyllabic lines created a sense of endless monotony, but with occasional disyllabic trochees interrupting the tedium and creating sudden, unexpected moments of frantic energy. Tellingly, the only word repeated in the sonnet was 'restles[s]', emphasising the perpetual state of anxiety that could be induced by court service. Indeed, Fowler portrayed the court as an oppressive – and feminine – phenomenon that intruded into courtiers' thoughts like the incessant ticking of clockwork mechanisms: 'And in my braynes her restles wheeles doth place. / Wch makes my thoughts the tack ther[e] to knock'. Fowler's unusual conceit of the courtier degenerating into a clock to represent the courtier's experience

[292] Robert Ayton, *The Poems of Sir Robert Aytoun*, ed. Charles Rogers (London, 1871), p. 53.
[293] LPL, MS 3201, fo. 119r. Fowler's draft, with minor variation, is NLS, MS Hawthornden 2063, fo. 113r.
[294] Mary Partridge, 'Images of the Courtier in Elizabethan England' (Ph.D. thesis, University of Birmingham, 2008), pp. 205-32. For further discussion, see Chapter Six.

as difficult, mundane, and demanding drew on his own long career at the Edinburgh court rather than any tradition of anti-court literature.

Of all the Scottish courtier poets, disenchantment with the English court was most prominent as a theme in the poetry of Alexander Craig. By 1606, Craig had become secretary to George Home and was the recipient of a royal pension. Yet, despite having achieved what by most accounts would be considered a successful, indeed enviable, court career, he chose to leave court employment and returned to Scotland at some point between 1606 and 1608. His verse suggests that he had been deeply unhappy at the English court. Complaints about the English court and its courtiers are noticeably abundant in his 1609 collection, *The Poetical Recreations of Mr Alexander Craig*. Although the volume was printed in Edinburgh after Craig had departed the English court, it contains many short verses he had written there. In one poem, entitled 'His regrate for the lose of time at court', Craig, like Ayton and Fowler, complained about the monotony and triviality of court employment: 'I waste the night, and weare away the day / I sleepe, dress, feed, talke, sport and doe no more'.[295] He repeatedly described court service as a waste or loss of time.[296] Craig also criticised the access procedures at the English court. In one poem, written after he had returned to Scotland, he compared the freedom he enjoyed at his new home in Rosecraig favourably against the English court's heavily-regulated access protocols: 'no Portar bars my doore / By day, by night none keeps me but my kurre'.[297] Scholars are familiar with the myriad complaints made by members of the English political nation about their limited access to James. However, it is rarely appreciated that this grievance was shared by Scottish courtiers such as Craig. At his Scottish palaces, especially Holyrood House and Dunfermline, James had usually been physically-accessible to most visitors. The rigorous policing of access to James's Privy Chamber seemed as much an innovation to Scottish courtiers as it did to English ones.

Craig's poetry about the English court contains numerous unscrupulous courtier characters. He railed frequently against ingratitude and false friendship, repeatedly decrying those guilty of 'vnkindness'.[298] However, he returned most often to two archetypes of court vice: sycophants and parasites. In addition to invoking them in poems addressed to James and to John Ramsey, Viscount of Haddington, Craig wrote a short poem 'Against Sicophants and

[295] Craig, *Poetical Recreations*, sig. D1r.
[296] Ibid, sig. D1r, D2r.
[297] Ibid, sig. D2r.
[298] Ibid, sig. B1v, B3r.

Parasits', complaining about the corrupting influences exerted by those who 'Draw *Macedoes* magnific minde astray'.[299] He depicted the court as home to perpetual scheming, especially noticing a tendency amongst courtiers to plot to 'bring the absent to disgrace and shame'.[300] This led Craig to write a poem 'To His Majestie in [the] Name of his Noble Master' that pre-emptively defended his employer, George Home, against any defamatory attacks that might be made during one of Home's frequent visits to the Anglo-Scottish Border or Scotland.[301] Craig's poem, written in Home's voice, urged James to be wary of Home's envious rivals who might defame him during his absence, 'some claw backs are inclined / With all their force my Fortunes to disgrace', and reminded the king that Home was absent on his behalf: 'In my works the wondering world shall see / The truest hand, that ever held a helme'.[302] As Home had been a trusted intimate of the king since at least 1590, it is doubtful that Craig's intercession was especially necessary.[303] Nevertheless, the poem indicates the scale of Craig's opprobrium towards his fellow courtiers' political practices.

Craig's poems also featured the character of the unfaithful courtesan, to whom he gave noticeably English attributes. Several poems in his *Amorose Songes* are addressed to 'lasciuious Lais', who seduces 'rich, poore, great and small'.[304] Throughout the collection, Craig compared Lais unfavourably with Kara, a more rustic, and faithful, beloved. When discussing Kara's faithfulness, Craig adopted a Scottish orthography; for example recalling her pledging her fidelity 'sweetly quhespering'.[305] Overall, he associated chastity with Scotland and the Scottish language, against English courtly sexual licence.

Yet Craig was most aggrieved by the acquisitiveness and fiscal corruption practised by courtiers. In a poem listing the reasons why 'I scorne to liue at Court', Craig's first grievance was that, at court, 'The wicked heaps vp wealth'.[306] By contrast, he portrayed himself as unambitious, proclaiming he would 'not be curious more and more to crave'.[307] Of course, it

[299] Craig, *Poeticall Essayes*, sig. B2v; Craig, *Poetical Recreations*, sig. D4r, A4v.
[300] Craig, *Poetical Recreations*, sig. D4r.
[301] On Home's duties administering Scotland and the Borders after 1603, see: Julian Goodare, *State and Society in Early Modern Scotland* (Oxford, 1999), pp. 78-85; Jared R.M. Sizer, 'The Good of This Service Consists in Absolute Secrecy: The Earl of Dunbar, Scotland and the Border (1603-1611)', *Canadian Journal of History*, 36/2 (2001), pp. 229-58; Anna Groundwater, 'From Whitehall to Jedburgh: Patronage Networks and the Government of the Scottish Borders, 1603 to 1625', *HJ*, 53/4 (2010), pp. 871-93.
[302] Craig, *Poetical Recreations*, sig. D4r.
[303] Maurice Lee, Jr, 'Home, George, earl of Dunbar (d.1611)', *ODNB*.
[304] Craig, *Amorose Songes*, sig. B1r, E7r.
[305] Ibid, sig. E3r.
[306] Craig, *Poetical Recreations*, sig. D1v.
[307] Ibid, sig. D1v.

was easier to express disdain for the methods used by those who sought the 'Table's highest seat' when in possession of a generous royal pension as Craig was.[308] Craig wrote several short verse fables warning about the dangers that courtiers who sought to satiate their covetousness through illegitimate means risked. In these poems, Craig drew on conventional anti-court literature, but supplied his own idiosyncratic variants.[309] For example, his poem 'A Counsel to Courteours' modified the traditional conceit of fortune's wheel by instead describing the courtiers' always-precarious situation with the original simile of a sponge:

> The bibull Spoynge in tepid water set,
> Drinks till it fill each small and greedie pore,
> But if the Barber in his hand it get,
> He wrings all out, which it hath drunk a fore.[310]

Craig cautioned that courtiers, blinded by appetite, should beware becoming too arrogant, as the king retained ultimate jurisdiction over bounty at court: 'The King makes vp, the King againe makes downe'.[311] In a similarly-titled poem, 'The covetous covrtiers', Craig revised the ancient tale of a 'Greedie Mouse' that raided a wealthy man's pantry, only to be killed by an oyster it had unwisely 'teast[ed] [tasted]'.[312] In the second stanza, Craig explained that his poem was a warning that a similar reckoning awaited all those aspiring courtiers who 'crept in credit but by stealth'. Mice fables had been used as cautionary tales about the dangers of appetite and ambition in courtly or urban life dating back to Aesop's fable of the town mouse and the country mouse.[313] For example, the tale had been retold (as 'The Taill of the Uponlandis Mouse and the Burges Mous') by the late fifteenth-century Scottish poet, Robert Henryson.[314] However, although Henryson's version was available to Craig, Craig's poem seems most akin to the variant of the tale by Sir Thomas Wyatt: 'My mother's maid'.[315] As in Wyatt's version, the mouse in Craig's poem does not escape, but invites its own doom by entering the pantry uninvited, by a 'privat way / Steale' (whereas in Aesop's original and many other versions, the mouse is invited by a friend).[316] These similarities raise the intriguing

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[308] Ibid, sig. D1r.
[309] For a brief appreciation of Craig's innovations as a poet that focuses on his amatory verse, see Jack, 'Poetry of Alexander Craig'.
[310] Craig, *Poetical Recreations*, sig. B2v.
[311] Ibid, sig. B2v.
[312] Ibid, sig. B3v.
[313] On the tradition of this fable, see Susan Brigden, *Thomas Wyatt: The Heart's Forest* (London, 2012), pp. 268-9.
[314] Robert Henryson, *The Morall Fabillis of Esope the Phrygian* (Edinburgh, 1570), sig. A4v-B4v.
[315] Sir Thomas Wyatt, *The Complete Poems*, ed. Ronald A. Rehbolz (London, 1978), pp. 189-94.
[316] Craig, *Poetical Recreations*, sig. B2v.

possibility that, in addition to reading Sidney, some Scottish poets at the English court were also reading Wyatt. Scholars are abundantly familiar with allegations made by English figures that Scottish courtiers had perverted the patronage system of the English court: abusing their familiarity with James to plunder English wealth.[317] It is therefore refreshing to encounter a Scottish courtier condemning endemic, unscrupulous financial opportunism at the Jacobean court, and urging greater wariness and punishments by the king. Craig's poems offer an important reminder to scholars that both English and Scots employed at the court were concerned by how James distributed royal gifts.

The Scottish courtiers poets' poems about court service, and especially Craig's verses about the corruption of the court, epitomise how examining the poetry of Scottish courtiers can shatter crude stereotypes about the English court after 1603. In their poems, the English court after James's accession was depicted not as a site of royal magnificence but as a place of stressful employment from which Scottish courtiers felt profoundly, and increasingly, alienated.

A Scottish Literary Subculture

The Scottish courtier poets have been overlooked, both by scholars of the early Jacobean English court and of Scottish literature. When the modern canon of Scottish literature was being constructed in the early twentieth century, there was little place for those Scots who had emigrated to England and been influenced by English orthography, grammar, and style.[318] Their few defenders amongst Scottish literary critics have usually maintained that they "really" remained Scottish. In fact, like the English court itself after 1603, they were hybrids.

By overlooking the careers and works of Alexander, Ayton, Craig, Fowler, and Murray, scholars have hidden from themselves a unique aspect of early Jacobean court culture: its Anglo-Scottishness. In their verse, the Scottish courtier poets gave voice to sentiments not usually expressed in English courtiers' poetry, such as feeling overworked in court employment. By ignoring them, we have lost sight of the presence of a network of friendship and public dedication of verse by courtiers. We have overlooked enthusiastic and creative

[317] Cuddy, 'Anglo-Scottish Union'; Linda Levy Peck, *Court Patronage and Corruption in Early Stuart England* (Lonon, 1990).
[318] Roderick J. Lyall, '"A New Maid Channoun?": Redefining the Canonical in Medieval and Renaissance Scottish Literature', *SSL,* 26/1 (1991), pp. 15-7.

readers of Sidney and Wyatt. Their polyglot verse also provides a potent reminder that English was not the sole language of poetry at the early Jacobean English court, and is a particularly useful reminder that Latin poetry was a vibrant medium. The Scottish courtier poets contributed to friendship and patronage networks at the court, deploying their literary talents, and idiosyncratic interests, to help secure important political relationships at the early Jacobean court.

The poetry written by the Scottish courtiers at the English court disrupts several prevailing narratives about the early-seventeenth-century English court and British literature. Several Scottish literary critics and cultural historians have portrayed 1603 as a climacteric event in Scottish literary history, a moment of cultural and 'linguistic nemesis'.[319] Polemically, they have argued that the departure of the king and royal court for London robbed Scotland of a strong cultural centre and left the seventeenth century a relatively fallow period in Scottish literary history following the cosmopolitan participation in the Northern Renaissance of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[320] In such accounts, the Scottish writers who went to London are treated as ambitious sell-outs, who Anglicised their work, forsook a distinctive Scottish poetic style, and generally neglected the country of their birth in order to gain plum employment at the English court. There is some merit to this claim. In his neo-Latin accession panegyric, Ayton expressed his ambition to turn away from 'our rustic tune' ('agresti carmen'), and 'homely verse…about secret lovers' ('vernacula versu… suspiraret amores'), such as his own juvenile *Diaphantus and Charidora* written in Scots.[321] Ayton was naturalised as an English subject in 1615 and was buried in Westminster Abbey (a bust of his likeness can be seen on the way to Henry V's Chapel). However, by contrast, Thomas Murray, whose poems in *Naupactiados* are so emblematic of the advocacy of Anglo-Scottish Union amongst militant Protestants in late sixteenth century Scotland appears to have gradually lost connections to Scotland – when he died it was noted that 'Coms from the North, noe Verse, no Elegye…English men now weepe oer Scotchmens graues'.[322] William Alexander is often depicted as a traitor to Scotland. His role, after 1615, as Master of Requests for Scotland involved him limiting Scottish petitions to James, ensuring that most Scots would 'not trouble [the King] and discredite their country'.[323] The printing of his Anglicised versions of the

[319] Pittock, 'From Edinburgh to London', p. 20.
[320] M. Spiller, 'Poetry after the Union', in R.D.S. Jack (ed.), *The History of Scottish Literature: Origins to 1660* (Edinburgh, 1987), pp. 141-62.
[321] *Delitiae*, i, pp. 48-9. My translation.
[322] BL, MS Harley 3910, fo. 141r.
[323] *Earl of Stirling's Letters*, i, p. 3.

Psalms in Scotland in the 1630s provoked prayer book riots. For these reasons, his death was marked in Scotland with scornful mock-epitaphs.[324] However, in a series of articles, Keith M. Brown and Allan Kennedy, have demonstrated that Scots who came to the English court in the early seventeenth century maintained economic links and communication with their Scottish estates.[325] This chapter has added to their work by showing how, in their imaginative writings, the Scots who served at James's court also maintained links to a range of Scottish political and confessional ideologies and literary forms and techniques that had been used in Scotland to express them. I have demonstrated that the claim that the Scottish courtier poets' 'ambition' led to 'linguistic betrayal', 'cultural self-immolation', 'cut[ting themselves] off from vital social and linguistic roots' and 'neglect of Scotland' is a polemical oversimplification.[326]



FIGURE 5. Bust of Sir Robert Ayton in Henry V's Chapel, Westminster Abbey. London, Westminster Abbey Library. © Dean and Chapter of Westminster.

Instead, through these individuals' writings, Scottish literary tropes and political ideologies were expressed within English court culture. Helena Shire influentially dubbed

[324] James Doelman, 'The Reception of King James's Psalter', in Fischlin and Fortier (eds), *Royal Subjects*, pp. 454-76; Kerrigan, *Archipelagic English*, pp. 157-8.
[325] Brown, 'Scottish Aristocracy'; Keith M. Brown, 'The Origins of a British Aristocracy: Integration and Its Limitations Before the Treaty of Union', in Steven G. Ellis and Sarah Barber (eds), *Conquest and Union: Fashioning a British State, 1485-1725* (London, 1995), pp. 222-49; Keith M. Brown and Allan Kennedy, '"Their Maxim is Vestigia Nulla Restrorsum": Scottish Return Migration and Capital Repatriation from England, 1603-c.1760', *Journal of Social History*, 52/1 (2018), pp. 1-25.
[326] Pittock, 'From Edinburgh to London', p. 20; Gary F. Waller, 'Sir William Alexander and Renaissance Court Culture', *Aevum*, 51/5 (1977), pp. 507, 509.

Robert Ayton 'the last Castalian'.[327] Given that Ayton had not been a courtier poet at the Scottish court, this epithet is slightly inaccurate. However, through Ayton and his peers, aspects of sixteenth-century Scottish literary and court culture were brought to the English court. When producing lyrics, *imprese,* or gifts for court occasions, or when writing about major political events at the English court, Ayton, Alexander, Craig, Fowler, and Murray always drew on Scottish ideologies and Scottish literary forms and devices that could express them.[328] Most notably, they portrayed the Union of Crowns ambivalently: as an opportunity for European Protestant Christendom, but entailing a range of costs for Scotland. These works had an enthusiastic readership in Scotland. Several of Craig's poems written at the English court were printed in Edinburgh, but several of his poems, and Ayton's also circulated in Scotland, especially in later Jacobean and Caroline manuscripts.[329] William Alexander's *Monarchic Tragedies* were enthusiastically read by Scots, including by William Drummond, who praised him as the best Petrarchist of his age (alongside Sidney). Indeed, far from being villains in the story of seventeenth-century Scottish literature, representing corrupting Anglicisation, some of the verse that the Scottish courtier poets wrote at the English court, especially Robert Ayton's neo-Latin verses, would be printed on the continent in the 1620s and 1630s to demonstrate the vibrancy of Scottish literary culture.[330] In 1618 William Lithgow addressed William Alexander, William Drummond and Robert Ayton as Scottish poets, not considering them as un-Scottish because of their absence.[331]

Furthermore, far from being an unquestioning "king's party", the Scottish poets who gained entry to the court came with intellectual and literary resources that primed them to be critical of, even disappointed in, James's rule as king of England. They differed with the king over several key issues, above all his foreign policy and the place of Scotland in the new dynastic agglomerate. Surprisingly, given the recurrence of English claims that Scottish courtiers abused James's largesse, the Scottish courtier poets also complained about the operation of royal bounty. Craig's chastisement of his fellow courtiers' greed resembles the acerbic, xenophobic complaints of English MPs and writers of treatises against a formal Anglo-

[327] Shire, *Song, Dance and Poetry*, p. 215.
[328] I have largely focused on their overtly political writings. For the abiding influence of Scottish models on amatory verse by the Scottish courtier poets, see Shire, *Song, Dance, and Poetry,* pp. 215-54; Morna Roberston Fleming, 'The Impact of the Union of the Crowns on Scottish Lyric Poetry, 1584-1619' (Ph.D. thesis, University of Glasgow, 1997), pp. 149-231.
[329] Verweij, *Literary Culture,* pp. 186, 218-21, 251; Gullans, 'New Poems of Ayton', p. 163.
[330] Angus Vine, 'Spectacles from Scotland: Camden, Johnston and the *Urbes Britanniae*', in Houghton and Manuwald (eds), *Neo-Latin Poetry,* pp. 173-89.
[331] Kerrigan, *Archipelagic English*, p. 152,

Scottish Union. The Scottish courtier poets drew on their Scottish literary heritage, and its ideological underpinnings (most notably on the distinctive Scottish Protestant vision that the Union of Crowns was a providentially-sanctioned act that would inaugurate a military confrontation with continental Catholicism) to both celebrate and critique the English court, sometimes in a manner quite different from their English counterparts. Overall, ambivalence animated their writings about life at the English court.

However, unlike the canonical, English-born writers, such as Jonson, John Donne, and William Shakespeare, who have usually dominated accounts of the literary culture of James's English court, the Scottish courtier poets were regular courtiers, daily employed in service at the court. Their writings provide novel and unexpected perspectives on the court, evidence of its prosaic, functional reality, and of the significance, and persistence, of distinctively Scottish interpretations there.[332] Their works present unfamiliar interpretations of James's accession, of the literary culture of the early Jacobean court, and of courtiers' experiences after 1603. James's English court was not an English court with an English court culture, but a court where Scottish political and literary commitments continued to abide and, when time allowed and opportunity pressed, be aired.

[332] Arthur F. Marotti, *Manuscript, Print and the English Renaissance Lyric* (Ithaca, 1995), p. 8.

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Fulke Greville and the Early Jacobean Court



FIGURE 6. Portrait of Fulke Greville from Edmund Lodge, *Portraits of Illustrious Personages of Great Britain, engr. from pictures, with memoirs by E. Lodge* (12 vols, 1823-34), v, Plate 4.

Fulke Greville (1554-1628) is a much more familiar figure to most scholars than the Scottish courtier poets. Traditionally, Greville attracted academic attention primarily because of his role establishing the literary legacy of his friend Sir Philip Sidney: editing and printing Sidney's *Arcadia* in 1590, and writing a manuscript biography, *A Dedication to Sir Philip Sidney*, from which much of Sidney's modern mythography is derived.[1] However, since the mid-twentieth century, Greville has been rehabilitated as an original and significant writer and thinker in his own right.[2] Numerous studies have revealed his complex engagement with Reformation thought (particularly his struggles with Calvinist doctrines), and his sophisticated exploration of such major political problems as the origins of political authority, the legitimacy of

[1] Joel Davis, 'Multiple *Arcadias* and the Literary Quarrel between Fulke Greville and the Countess of Pembroke', *SiP*, 101/4 (2004), pp. 401-30; Gavin Alexander, *Writing After Sidney: The Literary Response to Sir Philip Sidney, 1586-1640* (Oxford, 2006), pp. 220-82; G.A. Wilkes, '"Left… to Play the Ill Poet in My Own Part": The Literary Relationship of Sidney and Fulke Greville', *The Review of English Studies*, 57/230 (2006), pp. 291-309.

[2] On Greville's changing critical fortunes, see Russ Leo, Katrin Röder, and Freya Sierhuis, 'Introduction: The Resources of Obscurity: Reappraising the Work of Fulke Greville', in Russ Leo, Katrin Röder and Freya Sierhuis (eds), *Fulke Greville and the Culture of the English Renaissance* (Oxford, 2018), pp. 1-28.

resistance against tyranny, and the viability of stoicism as a mode of political conduct.[3] This chapter studies Greville for different ends. It analyses his career and writings to produce a reassessment of the English court in the aftermath of James's accession. Greville's brief tenure as a Jacobean courtier provides an illustrative case study of how rapidly the court's power dynamics changed. The literary works he produced between 1604 and 1612 (including *A Dedication*, *A Treatise of Monarchy*, and revised versions of his closet dramas *Alaham* and *Mustapha*) demonstrate which changes at the court most struck (and concerned) a former Elizabethan courtier.[4] Scholars have previously identified in Greville's early Jacobean writings (especially in the rose-tinted nostalgia for Elizabeth's reign in *A Dedication*) discontentment with James's foreign and fiscal policies.[5] However, their scrutiny of the changes at court has been largely overlooked.

Greville may seem out of place in a thesis dedicated to the literary works of early Jacobean courtiers. After all, for most of the first decade of James's English reign, he was not a courtier. Greville resigned his post as Treasurer of the Navy in spring 1604 and, thereafter, until his appointment as Chancellor of the Exchequer and a Privy Councillor in October 1614, he rarely attended court. Furthermore, there is no definitive evidence that his early Jacobean literary works were read at the court.[6] Nonetheless, Greville had been a courtier granted entrée to the Privy Chamber during the last years of Elizabeth's reign and at least the first year of James's. Additionally, his Jacobean writings, drawing on his experiences as courtier, contain

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[3] G.F. Waller, 'Fulke Greville's Struggle with Calvinism', *Studia Neophilologica*, 44/2 (1972), pp. 295-314; Adriana McCrea, *Constant Minds: Political Virtue and the Lipsian Paradigm in England, 1584-1650* (Toronto, 1997), pp. 102-37; Brian Cummings, *The Literary Culture of the Reformation: Grammar and Grace* (Oxford, 2002), pp. 297-308; David Norbrook, *Poetry and Politics in the English Renaissance*, revised edition (Oxford, 2002), pp. 140-54; Jonathan Dollimore, *Radical Tragedy: Religion, Ideology and Power in the Drama of Shakespeare and His Contemporaries*, third edition (Basingstoke, 2010), pp. 120-33; Freya Sierhuis, 'The Idol of the Heart: Liberty, Tyranny and Idolatry in the Work of Fulke Greville', *The Modern Language Review*, 106/3 (2011), pp. 625-46; Daniel Cadman, *Sovereigns and Subjects in Early Modern Neo-Senecan Drama: Republicanism, Stoicism and Authority* (Farnham, 2016), pp. 69-92; Katrin Röder, 'Ottoman Kingship and Resistance Against Tyranny in Fulke Greville's *Mustapha*', in Leo, Röder and Sierhuis (eds), *Fulke Greville*, pp. 245-59.

[4] As Greville continued to revise his writings until his death, it is notoriously challenging to date any of his works precisely: G.A. Wilkes, 'The Sequence of the Writings of Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke', *SiP*, 56/3 (1959), pp. 489-503; Ronald Rebholz, *The Life of Fulke Greville, First Lord Brooke* (Oxford, 1971), pp. 325-40. I follow the datings proposed by Wilkes and Rebholz.

[5] Rebholz, *Life*, pp. 200-15; John Watkins, *Representing Elizabeth in Stuart England: Literature, History, Sovereignty* (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 81-7; Peter C. Herman, '"Bastard Children of Tyranny": The Ancient Constitution and Fulke Greville's *A Dedication to Sir Philip Sidney*', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 55/3 (2002), pp. 969-1004; Lisa Richardson, 'Elizabeth in Arcadia: Fulke Greville and John Hayward's Construction of Elizabeth, 1610-12', in Susan Doran and Thomas S. Freeman (eds), *The Myth of Elizabeth* (Basingstoke, 2003), pp. 99-119.

[6] In 1611, John Davies of Hereford printed a sonnet praising Greville as the author of the closet drama *Mustapha* 'as it is written not printed', suggesting that an acknowledged manuscript version of *Mustapha* could have circulated: John Davies, *The Scourge of Folly* (1611), p. 195.

piercing and vibrant analyses of the transformation of court politics and culture. For these reasons, he merits examination here.

The standard scholarly biographies of Greville, by Ronald Rebholz and Joan Rees, which are now nearly fifty years old, require some updating.[7] I cannot undertake such an enterprise here. However, in order to better explain Greville's depiction of the court in his Jacobean writings, the first two (shorter) sections of this chapter supply a revisionary account of his court career. The first section challenges the depiction of Greville as a peripheral Elizabethan courtier, showing that, by the final years of Elizabeth's reign, he had achieved an influential position as one of the queen's most trusted intimates and an important patronage broker at court. This made his fall in 1604 even greater than is usually acknowledged. The second section re-examines Greville's experiences at court during the first year of James's reign, arguing that the conventional explanation for his fall (a campaign of vengeance by Robert Cecil for Greville's erstwhile association with the earl of Essex) is unsatisfactory. Instead, Greville's difficulties at, and eventual departure from, the court were due to the machinations of old allies of the earl of Essex (who now considered him an enemy), and his unwise decision to challenge the patronage powers of the ascendant Howards. These re-evaluations of Greville's experiences as an Elizabethan and Jacobean courtier inform the third (and longest) section of the chapter: a study of the depiction of the court, courtiers, and court culture in Greville's early Jacobean writings. Whereas critics have often treated these works separately, my analysis will study them together (as Greville, who hoped to produce a collected edition of his works, intended). I argue that Greville produced a detailed analysis (for which he likely anticipated, once it was complete, a court readership) of the flaws he perceived at the early Jacobean court: criticising the lack of nobility and honour amongst James's courtiers, and the king's practices of delegation and counsel

Fulke Greville, Late Elizabethan Courtier: A Reassessment

Although Greville's tomb in St Mary's Church, Warwick commemorates him as 'servant to Queene Elizabeth', his Elizabethan court career has usually been characterised as a mediocre one. In 1641, Robert Naunton damned Greville with faint praise as a passive survivor: 'he had

[7] Rebholz, *Life*; Joan Rees, *Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke, 1554-1628: A Critical Biography* (London, 1971). More recent archival findings about Greville's life are described in: Matthew Steggle, 'Fulke Greville: Life and Works', *SJ*, 19/1-2 (2001), pp. 1-9; Pauline Sands, *Transcripts of the Papers of Fulke Greville* (Studley, 2016).

the longest lease, and the smoothest time without rub of any of [Elizabeth's] Favorits'.[8] Greville was first formally confirmed as a member of the court community when the queen accepted New Year's gifts from him in 1576.[9] In the following years, Elizabeth employed Greville on several diplomatic assignments.[10] The most significant of these was an embassy in 1577 to congratulate the newly-crowned Holy Roman Emperor Rudolf II, during which Elizabeth entrusted Greville (and not Sidney, with whom he was travelling) with the solemn ceremonial task of retrieving the Garter insignia of Rudolf's predecessor, Emperor Maximilian II.[11] Greville was listed as a gentleman of the Privy Chamber in Elizabeth's funeral procession.[12] However, he never received more than the most minor of court offices during her reign: becoming Master of the Game in 1597, and Treasurer of the Navy in 1598.[13] Greville held multiple offices on the Council of Wales (Clerk of the Signet, Clerk of the Council, and Secretary to the Council), which supplied the majority of his income, but these were not royal gifts. Instead, they were secured through the support of the Sidneys and the earl of Leicester, whose patronage also likely led to Greville's election to the House of Commons.[14] Greville repeatedly expressed his desire for a more substantial court position. His poem *Caelica LXXXIII* (likely composed in the 1580s) claimed that 'reward and hope to me' are 'unpossible', and concluded with a ciphered plea for patronage: 'For Greiv-Ill, paine, forlorne estate / Doe best decipher me'.[15] During the late 1590s he complained that, having 'commanded my own genius, and left all courses in the world that advanceth other men, only for [Elizabeth's] sake', he had received 'no other tenure but multiplicity of respects'.[16] Yet, despite lacking a formal, remunerated court post, Greville was a more significant figure at the Elizabethan court than has been recognised previously.

By the end of Elizabeth's reign, Greville had attained a position that justified Naunton's description of him as a 'favorit'. In 1598 he was named on a register of fifty-seven 'principall

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[8] Robert Naunton, *Fragmenta Regalia* (1641), p. 32.
[9] Jane A. Lawson, *The Elizabethan New Year's Gift Exchanges, 1559-1603* (Oxford, 2013), p. 193. On the significance of the queen accepting a New Year's Gift, see Felicity Heal, *The Power of Gifts: Gift Exchange in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 2014), pp. 92-102.
[10] Rebholz, *Life*, pp. 29, 39, 41.
[11] James M. Osborne, *Young Philip Sidney, 1572-1577* (New Haven, 1972), p. 462; Roger Kuin, 'Sir Philip Sidney's Letter to Charles L'Ecluse in 1577', *N&Q*, 44/4 (1997), pp. 469-70. On the embassy, see Alan Stewart, *Philip Sidney: A Double Life* (London, 2000), pp. 165-93.
[12] TNA, LC 2/4 (4), fo. 47.
[13] *CSPD Elizabeth*, iv, p. 444; Rebholz, *Life*, p. 114.
[14] Rebholz, *Life*, pp. 20-1; Simon Adams, 'The Dudley Clientele and the House of Commons, 1559-86', in idem, *Leicester and the Court: Essays on Elizabethan Politics* (Manchester, 2002), p. 209.
[15] Fulke Greville, *The Complete Poems and Plays of Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke (1554-1628) in Two Volumes*, ed. G.A. Wilkes (2 vols, Lewiston, NY, 2008), i, p. 183.
[16] CP 67, fo. 50r; *HMC Earl Cowper*, i, p. 27.

gentlemen of value and service that have been and are usually in the court'.[17] In November of that year, John Stanhope informed Robert Cecil that 'this courte hath not had any one this daye, mr. Grevell is absent', suggesting that it was the norm for Greville to keep Elizabeth company when the court was quiet.[18] It appears that Greville served as one of the supernumerary Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber. These male courtiers performed the practical tasks that were considered unsuitable for the Ladies of the Privy Chamber, especially carrying messages across London.[19] Greville, for instance, was dispatched to convey royal decisions on appointments, as well as military orders.[20] He also appears to have spared Elizabeth embarrassment by prompting her memory about visitors who were paying their respects.[21] Elizabeth rewarded these intimate services. In 1598, Greville headed the lists of gentlemen who gave and received New Year's gifts from the queen.[22] From that year onwards he received twenty-five ounces of plate from the queen (rather than the thirteen usually given to gentlemen). Elizabeth came to cherish Greville's companionship. After he returned from a brief absence from court in summer 1602 (supervising the unloading of a captured West Indian ship), it was reported that the queen 'now will not let [Greville] go from her'.[23]

A precise narrative of how and why Greville's favour at court improved is impossible to trace. However, its beginnings can be glimpsed in May 1583 when, during the court's progress to Theobalds, Greville was lodged with Walter Ralegh, Arthur Gorges and Antony Cook; only Blanche a Parry and Christopher Hatton lodged closer to the queen.[24] Elizabeth clearly liked and trusted Greville; certainly, far more than Sidney, of whose ambitions and methods she was always wary.[25] It is difficult to escape the conclusion that Greville's occasional participation in Sidney, Leicester and Walsingham's forward Protestant schemes impeded his advancement.[26] The queen reacted furiously on the multiple occasions when Greville attempted to undertake military, expeditions, or espionage. He was 'forbidden her presence [for] many months' in 1578 after accompanying Francis Walsingham to the Low

[17] Penry Williams, 'Court and Polity under Elizabeth I', in John Guy (ed.), *The Tudor Monarchy* (London, 1997), p. 373.
[18] *Nichols's Progresses Elizabeth*, iv, p. 69.
[19] Pam Wright, 'A Change in Direction: The Ramifications of a Female Household, 1558-1603', in Starkey (ed.), *English Court*, pp. 155-6.
[20] *CSPD Elizabeth*, v, p. 62; Birch, *Memoirs*, i, p. 486.
[21] CP 185, fo. 40r.
[22] Lawson, *New Year's Gift,* pp. 453, 460.
[23] LPL, MS 3201, fo. 58r.
[24] *Nichols's Progresses Elizabeth*, iii, pp. 190-1.
[25] Katherine Duncan-Jones, *Sir Philip Sidney: Courtier Poet* (London, 1991), pp. 161-3.
[26] Rebholz, *Life*, pp. 17-31.

Countries, and received a similar punishment after travelling without permission to witness the Battle of Coutras in 1587.[27] It is surely not coincidental that signs of improved court favour for Greville first appeared after the deaths of Sidney and Walsingham ended the potential for them to waylay him into schemes the queen disliked.

Unlike other supernumerary Gentlemen of the Elizabethan Privy Chamber, such as Thomas Heneage, Greville did not advance to further senior court offices under Elizabeth (although there were rumours during the final months of her life that he might be appointed to the Privy Council).[28] However, as 'effective access to the monarch was becoming…restricted' during the 1590s, Greville's intimate relationship with Elizabeth made him a valuable associate for nominally more senior court figures.[29] As Francis Bacon wrote in his late Jacobean *Apophthegms*, Greville had 'had much and private access to Queen Elizabeth which he used honourably and did many men good'.[30] Those who asked Greville to speak to the queen on their behalf included Bacon himself (in his suit to be appointed Solicitor General), Robert Sidney, George Carew, the Lord Chamberlain, and John Whitgift, the Archbishop of Canterbury.[31] Greville regularly represented the interests of the earl and countess of Shrewsbury at court, and supplied them with court news 'even from the privy chamber door', including about the queen's health during the final months of her life.[32] Greville secured livings on the Isle of Wight for Samuel Daniel, William Camden's appointment as Clarenceux King of Arms, and was a patron of Joseph Hall.[33] In 1601 he promoted the appointments of John Overall as Dean of St Paul's and Lancelot Andrewes as Dean of Westminster.[34] Contemporaries noted that, if seeking to advance a suit at court, one was equally well served by approaching Fulke Greville as the Vice-Chamberlain, John Stanhope.[35]

Most significantly, Greville's access to Elizabeth was used by the earl of Essex. Scholars are familiar with Greville's association with Essex.[36] Greville often lodged at Essex

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[27] Fulke Greville, *The Prose Works of Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke,* ed. John Gouws (Oxford, 1986), p. 88;
[28] Collins, *Letters and Memorials*, ii, p. 262.
[29] Williams, 'Court and Polity', p. 364.
[30] Francis Bacon, *Apophthegms New and Old* (1625), p 247.
[31] BL, MS Additional 4112, fo. 45v; Rebholz, *Life*, p. 98; CP 185, fo. 40r; LPL, MS 2004, fo. 4r.
[32] LPL, MS 3201, fo. 58r. Greville's letters of court news to the Shrewsbury include: LPL, MS 702, fo. 60r; MS 3201, fo. 60r, MS 3203, fos 12, 46, 59, 75.
[33] Rebholz, *Life*, pp. 142-3; Richard A. McCabe, 'Fulke Greville and Joseph Hall', *N&Q*, 28/1 (1981), pp. 45-6; Kelly A. Quinn, 'Fulke Greville's Friendly Patronage', *SiP*, 103/4 (2006), pp. 417-35.
[34] For an explanation of Greville's patronage of Andrewes, see Cummings, *Literary Culture*, pp. 298, 302.
[35] Collins, *Letters and Memorials*, i, pp. 364-6.
[36] Rebholz, *Life*, pp. 94-9; Bradley J. Irish, 'Fulke Greville the Courtier: Courting the Ghosts of Sidney and Essex', in Leo, Röder and Sierhuis (eds), *Fulke Greville,* pp. 213-20.

House from September 1596, and supplied research services for the earl, including sponsoring his friend John Coke to travel on the continent and produce reports for Essex's intelligence network.[37] However, the significance of Greville's position at court to the earl's projects has been underappreciated. Greville petitioned the queen on behalf of several of Essex's clients, most notably Bacon.[38] The earl also asked Greville to be his voice at court during his expedition to the Azores Isles in 1597, ensuring that he remained (favourably) in Elizabeth's mind.[39] Essex also sought to make use of Greville's relationship with the queen in the printed works in which the earl promoted himself and his agenda. Greville consented for his initials to be used in the inscription of *A True Relation of the Action of Cadiz* (a printed pamphlet about Essex's Cadiz campaign in 1596), to be the dedicatee of *A Treatise Paraenetical* (a 1598 work promoting an Anglo-French attack on Spain), and, if questioned, to deny the earl's involvement in these texts' production and dissemination.[40] Clearly Essex hoped that Greville's involvement might provide some cover for the queen's likely anger at his publicity strategies.

Greville was a significant enough figure at the late Elizabethan court to be the subject of libels and gossip. He was one of seven court figures (alongside Lord Hunsdon, John Stanhope, William Knollys, Robert Cecil and Walter Ralegh) who were named, with their alleged vices denounced, in a mocking ballad that circulated in 1601.[41] In March 1603 the Jesuit "Anthony Rivers" reported a rumour that, as part of a scheme to claim the throne on Elizabeth's death, Arbella Stuart had married an eligible Englishman: Robert Cecil, Lord Mountjoy, or 'some forsooth Grivill'.[42] "Rivers" recorded that Greville was considered a plausible match for Arbella because he was 'one neare about the queene, and in good fauor with her'. There can be no better indication of Greville's widely-recognised significance at the late Elizabethan court than his inclusion in gossip about the succession.

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[37] Rebholz, *Life*, p. 96; Michael B. Young, *Service and Servility: The Life and Works of Sir John Coke* (Woodbridge, 1986), pp. 6-9; Paul E. J. Hammer, 'The Earl of Essex, Fulke Greville, and the Employment of Scholars', *SiP*, 91/2 (1994), pp. 167-80. It has been suggested that Greville's unfinished *consolatio, A Letter to an Honorable Lady* was intended to embarrass Essex's rival, the earl of Cumberland: Joel Davis, '"Presidents to Themselves": *A Letter to an Honorable Lady*, Merciful Commentary, and Ethical Discourse', *SJ*, 19/1-2 (2001), pp. 167-70.

[38] Rebholz, *Life*, pp. 24-5, 97-8.

[39] TNA, SP 12/264, fos 13v, 30r, 70r. On Essex's anxieties that his absences from court would be exploited by rivals, see Gajda, *Essex*, pp. 147-50.

[40] Paul E.J. Hammer, 'Myth-Making, Politics, Propaganda and the Capture of Cadiz', *HJ*, 40/3 (1997), pp. 631-4; Gajda, *Essex* pp. 80-1.

[41] TNA, SP 12/278, fo. 31r; BL, MS Harley 2127, fo. 34r.

[42] TNA, SP 12/287, fo. 74v. "Rivers's" identity remains the subject of debate: Patrick Martin and John Finnis, 'The Identity of "Anthony Rivers"', *British Catholic History*, 26/1 (2002), pp. 39-74. The rumour that Greville had supported Arbella's claim persisted into the next decade: *HMC. The Manuscripts of His Grace the Duke of Portland: Preserved at Welbeck Abbey* (10 vols, London, 1891-1931), ix, pp. 142-3.

Greville at the New Court, 1603-1604

As his privileged positon at court depended entirely on his strong personal relationship with Elizabeth I, Greville expected that her death would mean the end of his influence at court. In early July 1603 he wrote to the earl of Shrewsbury, congratulating him on the rumour that the countess was to be named to Queen Anna's bedchamber, whilst complaining that he was unlikely to receive comparable favour himelf: 'only my destyny is to wither in this excellent clyme'.[43] Greville indeed faced disruption as part of the reallocation of royal offices at the beginning of James's reign. By convention, all office-holders were dismissed from their posts on a monarch's death. During his journey south, seeking to maintain stability and create goodwill, James reappointed many individuals to their posts. Yet, instead of returning Greville to his offices on the Council of Wales, James decided to appoint David Foulis, a Scottish-born courtier. However, the terms of Greville's appointment in 1578 had specified, unusually, that his position as the Council's Secretary was a lifetime appointment, to be held even after Elizabeth's death.[44] In order to retain his lucrative post, Greville was obliged to seek the legal advice of Edward Coke, and to bribe Foulis with five-hundred pounds.[45] After this, he was confirmed as Secretary in late July.[46]

The attempt to replace Greville was a result of the schemes of former allies of the earl of Essex, who now viewed Greville as one of their enemies. During the king's journey south, numerous petitioners convinced James that abusive office-holding by prominent courtiers required immediate redress.[47] One petition identified Greville as one of four courtiers (alongside Thomas Egerton, Robert Cecil and Walter Ralegh) who were guilty of egregious pluralism: in Greville's case, holding 'the treasureership of the Navie, clerkship of yor highnesss counsell in the Welch Borders, and Secretaryship of the same counsell'.[48] Nicholas Tyacke has argued persuasively that this petition was produced by members of 'the puritan wing of the former Essex faction', such as Henry Bromley.[49] By 1603, Greville was *persona*

[43] LPL, MS 3203, fo. 93r.
[44] 'The office of Secretary for her, her heirs and successors': *HMC Earl Cowper*, i, p. 2.
[45] Rebholz, *Life*, pp. 156-9.
[46] TNA, SP 14/60, fo. 5r.
[47] Gabriel Heaton, '"The Poor Man's Petition" Anthony Atkinson and the Politics of Libel', *HLQ*, 69/1 (2006), pp. 105-20.
[48] TNA, SP 14/1, fo. 127r. This petition has previously been discussed by R.C. Munden, 'James I and the Growth of Mutual Distrust: King, Commons, and Reform, 1603-1604', in Kevin Sharpe (ed.), *Faction and Parliaments: Essays on Early Stuart History*, revised edition (London, 1985), pp. 44-52; Nicholas Tyacke, 'Puritan Politicians and King James VI and I, 1587-1604', in Cogswell, Cust and Lake (eds), *Politics*, pp. 38-41.
[49] Tyacke, 'Puritan Politicians', pp. 42, 39.

non grata amongst many erstwhile allies of the earl. Greville had largely severed ties with Essex after the earl's disgrace in September 1599, and did not use his influential intimacy with the queen to plead Essex's case.[50] Greville did not participate in the earl's rising, and was one of six courtiers who entered Essex House on 8 February 1601 to escort the earl's accomplices to the Tower.[51] Greville would later claim that after Essex's arrest he 'remained about the Queen, a kind of remora, staying the violent course of that fatal ship', whilst William Camden attributed the release of several conspirators to Greville's suggesting to Elizabeth that they were mere dupes.[52] However, verse libels produced by Essex's allies condemned Greville as a traitor to Essex's cause.[53] The other three pluralists identified in the petition were old rivals of Essex. That there was a scheme against perceived enemies of the earl, including Greville, is further suggested by the fact that Bromley, the petition's author, and Foulis, the man who sought Greville's position on the Council of Wales, were associates.[54]

Yet, with the exception of the challenge to his Welsh offices, for Greville, James's English reign began auspiciously, with the receipt of courtly honours and, even more surprisingly, confirmation that his privileged access to the monarch would continue in the new reign. On 24 July, the day before James's coronation (and the same day his role as Secretary was confirmed), Greville was knighted and inducted into the Order of the Bath.[55] During the same month, the court's access protocols were codified. It was announced that, as James felt 'greatly pressed, wth the extraordinary company that come into our Privy Chamber', automatic access to the Privy Chamber would henceforth be restricted to Privy Councillors and gentlemen of the Privy Chamber.[56] All other individuals seeking a royal audience were required to lodge a request with a sworn member of the Privy Chamber, and await the king's invitation. However, fourteen additional individuals were granted the right to enter the Privy Chamber without prior appointment.[57] The majority of these privileged individuals were English and Scottish nobles, such as the earls of Southampton, Pembroke, Murray and Home, who were already close to the king but who had not yet been appointed to positions on the Privy Council or in the Privy Chamber. Yet amongst these names was that of Fulke Greville.

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[50] Rebholz, *Life*, pp. 120-3.
[51] Birch, *Memoirs*, ii, p. 467.
[52] Greville, *Prose*, p. 94; William Camden, *Annales* (London, 1625), p. 801. On Greville's actions in the immediate aftermath of the rising, see Rebholz, *Life*, pp. 124-9.
[53] TNA, SP 12/278, fo. 31r.
[54] Tyacke, 'Puritan Politicians', p. 35.
[55] BL, MS Harley 293, fo. 209r.
[56] CP 103, fo. 41r.
[57] CP 196, fo. 92r; 213, fo. 107r.

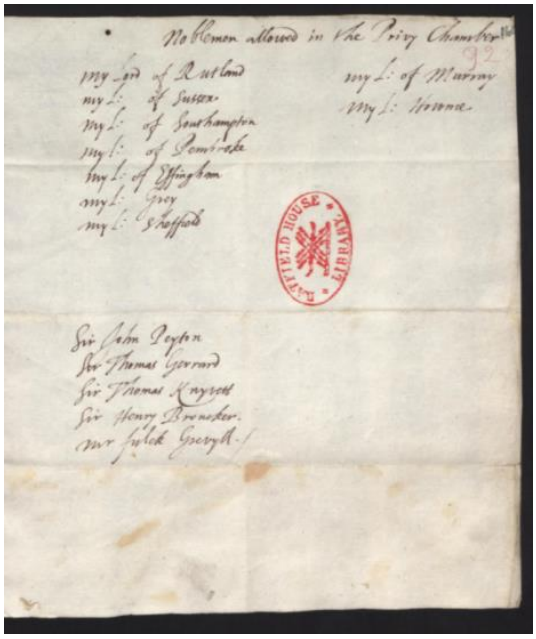


FIGURE 7. 'Noblemen allowed in the Privy Chamber', July 1603. CP 196, fo. 92r.

The decision (apparently made by Robert Cecil) to grant Greville extraordinary access to James's Privy Chamber demands explanation. Greville's similarities with the other knights who shared this privilege (Sir John Peyton, Sir Thomas Gerard, Sir Thomas Knyvett, and Sir Henry Brouncker) are therefore significant. All had anti-popish credentials. Like Greville, John Peyton writings often featured anti-Catholic (and especially anti-Jesuit) complaints.[58] These men's presence in the Privy Chamber might therefore dilute the influence of church papist nobles or petitioners on the new king. These gentlemen may indeed have tacitly influenced James's religious policy; it has been speculated that John Overall and Lancelot Andrewes were invited to attend the Hampton Court Conference on Greville's recommendation.[59] The group also included men who had stood conspicuously apart from the earl of Essex at the time of his rising. Brouncker and Gerard, like Greville, had been involved in securing London after Essex's rising.[60] Gerard's relationship with the earl mirrored Greville's: a formerly close associate (one of his knight marshals), Gerard denounced Essex as a traitor, and escorted him to the Tower. Brouncker and Peyton had both supplied intelligence to Robert Cecil (Brouncker from Ireland, and Peyton from the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth).[61] Although Greville was not one of Cecil's intelligencers, they had worked

[58] BL, MS Royal 18 B I, fos 84v-86v.
[59] Nicholas Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists: The Rise of English Arminianism, c.1590-1640* (Oxford, 1987), p. 22.
[60] CP 76, fos 85r-91v; TNA, SP 12/278, fos 135r, 147r; TNA, SP 12/281, fo. 127r.
[61] CP 59, fo. 92r; 139, fos 54r-58r; 180, fo. 62r; Sebastian Sobecki, '"A Man of Curious Enquiry": John Peyton's Grand Tour to Central Europe and Robert Cecil's Intelligence Network, 1596-1601', *Renaissance Studies*, 29/3 (2015), pp. 403-6.

together at the court since the mid-1590s, with Cecil helping to secure Greville's appointment as Treasurer of the Navy.[62] Greville clearly possessed enviable insight into Cecil's thinking. Rowland Whyte, observing in 1597 'how great Mr Griuell is with' Cecil, sought his advice on the best strategies for petitioning Cecil.[63] In February 1602, when Cecil was attempting to limit what Elizabeth learned from an intelligence report, he instructed his agent Thomas Windebank to 'shew it Mr Vice-Chamberlain and Foulk Greville, becawse they may see my cause', clearly anticipating that Greville would understand Cecil's aims, and assist him.[64] The men who were granted automatic access to the Privy Chamber were therefore individuals that Cecil trusted would exert a benign influence over James.

However, Greville did not enjoy his privileged position for long. By summer 1604 he had 'surrender[ed]' his post as Treasurer of the Navy, and returned to his native Warwickshire.[65] Shortly before departing the court, he complained that he no longer possessed 'the health nor the desyre to be a courtier'.[66] Greville's resignation and withdrawal from the court has usually been attributed to the machinations of Robert Cecil. To Ronald Rebholz this was Cecil's 'long delayed retribution against an Essex man'.[67] However, this explanation sets too much store by such statements as Ralph Winwood's bitter comment to Greville in 1606 that 'we are both but standers-by in the state, no actors at all in the great centre of business, while my Lord of Salisbury lives', or Robert Naunton's assumption that Greville would be 'frolic[king]' in January 1613 because of Cecil's ('our *malus Genius*['s]' recent death.[68] It is probable that Cecil had never entirely trusted Greville. In the aftermath of Essex's rising, Cecil suggested that Greville be sent to Rochester 'till [Essex's] head was off', so that he could not influence the queen to grant clemency.[69] Yet, if Cecil had truly intended to destroy Greville, he could have defamed him in his pre-accession correspondence with James, as he did Walter Ralegh and Baron Cobham.[70] Instead, Cecil signed off Greville's retention of his Welsh offices, approved his knighthood, and granted him access to the Privy Chamber.[71]

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[62] Rebholz, *Life*, pp. 110-8.
[63] Collins, *Letters and Memorials*, ii, p. 68.
[64] TNA, SP12/283a, fo. 69r.
[65] *CSPD James*, i, p. 98.
[66] LPL, MS 3203, fo. 406r.
[67] Rebholz, *Life*, p. 156.
[68] BL, MS Sloane 3106, fo. 2r; *HMC Earl Cowper*, i, p. 77.
[69] Greville, *Prose*, p. 94.
[70] Alexander Courtney, 'The Scottish King and the English Court: The Secret Correspondence of James VI, 1601-3', in Doran and Kewes (eds), *Doubtful*, pp. 143-4.
[71] On Cecil's role approving the 1603 Knights of the Bath: CP 100, fos. 2-3, 5, 26, 28.

Greville's departed the court, not due to Cecil's machinations, but because his activities as Treasurer of the Navy threatened the interest of the Howards, newly-ascendant at court. Greville, who had long been interested in curbing financial abuses in the navy, spent the second half of 1603 preparing a set of reform proposals.[72] In October, he presented his recommendations to Thomas Howard, now earl of Suffolk and Lord Chamberlain, to bring to the Privy Council.[73] Chief amongst Greville's suggestions was a restriction of the ability of the Lord Admiral, Charles Howard, earl of Nottingham, to appoint individuals to the Naval Office.[74] For years, Nottingham had been selling naval offices for large sums, with his appointees then exploiting their posts unscrupulously to recover their investment.[75] Curbing Nottingham's appointment powers could therefore reduce the overall cost of the English navy. However, challenging Nottingham's patronage pool was not a prudent act in late 1603. Nottingham had rapidly become one of the most prominent figures at court: participating in the commissions for peace with Spain, and marrying James's cousin, Margaret Stewart.[76] Although Greville had been forewarned that his proposals risked creating powerful enemies, he clearly hoped that a demonstration of his diligence, integrity, and commitment to financial expedience would endear him to the new regime.[77] Furthermore, he expected to receive support from Suffolk and Cecil.[78] However, upon receiving Greville's proposals, Suffolk, Nottingham's first-cousin-twice-removed, admitted that he took 'a little exception to the restraint of the Admiral's power in disposing under-offices', concerns which Cecil echoed.[79] Unwilling to alienate the king's new kinsman (and in Suffolk's case his own family), Cecil and Suffolk did not take Greville's suggestions forward.[80] Neither did William and Philip Herbert, Philip Sidney's nephews (and amongst James's earliest favourites) risk antagonising the king by promoting their uncle's friend's position on a minor administrative matter. The perception that Greville had betrayed Essex also likely precluded support from those of the earl's former allies who were enjoying royal favour. Nor do any of the gentlemen with whom Greville shared

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[72] On Greville's work in the Navy Treasury, see Rebholz, *Life*, pp. 159-69.
[73] *HMC Earl Cowper*, i, p. 45.
[74] For a summary of Greville's proposals, see Rebholz, *Life*, pp. 167-9.
[75] Young, *Servility and Service*, pp. 20-1.
[76] Robert W. Kenny, *Elizabeth's Admiral: The Political Career of Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham, 1536-1624* (Baltimore, 1970), pp. 272-5.
[77] *HMC Earl Cowper*, i p. 27.
[78] Ibid, i, p. 45.
[79] Ibid, i, p. 45.
[80] In early 1604, Cecil was also at variance with the king over parliamentary opposition to an incorporating union between England and Scotland: Neil Cuddy, 'The Conflicting Loyalties of a "Vulger Counselor": The Third Earl of Southampton, 1597-1624', in John Morrill, Paul Slack, and Daniel Woolf (eds), *Public Duty and Private Conscience in Seventeenth-Century England: Essays Presented to G.E. Aylmer* (Oxford, 1993), pp. 126-130.

entrée to the Privy Chamber appear to have interceded on his behalf.[81] Following six months of inaction, Greville felt obliged to resign as Treasurer of the Navy. His replacement, Sir Robert Mansell, was a distant relative of the Howard family, who did not attempt to restrict Nottingham's patronage.[82]

Despite encountering some short-term pecuniary difficulties due to the cost of closing his office, Greville's was not an especially impoverishing fall, nor was he ostracised from the court.[83] He received a generous severance pay (totalling nearly £7,000) and was absolved of all the debts he had had incurred in his duties as Treasurer.[84] Furthermore, in July 1604, he was granted Warwick Castle, to be held by him and his heirs in perpetuity.[85] In November 1606, on the death of his long-lived father, Greville inherited a large portfolio of thirty-two estates, which doubled his annual income to nearly £5,500.[86] He also maintained his contacts at court. Greville returned to London several times a year, especially when parliament was sitting, although he no longer served as an MP. During these visits he sought audiences with Cecil, and met with the earl of Suffolk in the Privy Chamber.[87] He visited Cecil's country house, Theobalds, several times.[88] Greville also maintained connections with the Herbert brothers.[89] Greville therefore justifiably boasted in *A Dedication* that he did not want for possible living court patrons: 'who knows not that there are some noble friends of mine'.[90] When not in London, he was kept informed of court affairs by John Coke, his former secretary and deputy at the Navy Treasury.[91] Maintaining these links proved profitable. Cecil secured a lectureship at Gresham College for one of Greville's clients in summer 1604.[92] Greville's petition for a patent to award him four pence per affidavit given before the Council of the Marches of Wales was granted immediately, as was an application to purchase the farm of

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[81] Sir John Peyton had, by this point, fallen from favour: Sebastian Sobecki, 'Peyton, Sir John (1579-1635)', *ODNB*. Greville may have remained angry at Sir Thomas Knyvett. In *A Dedication*, he complained about Knyvett's unprecedented advancement to the House of Lords by being summoned by writ in 1607: Greville, *Prose*, p. 104.
[82] Mansell's tenure proved to be a period of great corruption: Linda Levy Peck, *Court Patronage and Corruption in Early Stuart England* (London, 1990), pp. 113-23.
[83] Rebholz, *Life*, pp. 178-80.
[84] *CSPD James*, i, pp. 110, 192; CP 107, fo. 126r.
[85] *CSPD James*, i, p. 128; *HMC Earl Cowper*, iii, p. 150.
[86] Rebholz, *Life*, pp. 188-9.
[87] CP 104, fo. 33r; CP 125, fo. 95r.
[88] CP 110, fos 168r-169v; TNA, SP 14/28, fo. 63r.
[89] Gerit Quaely, '"Your Affectionate Servante Till Deathe": The Political Alliance of the Herbert Brothers and Fulke Greville', *SJ*, 35/1 (2017), pp. 77-93.
[90] Greville, *Prose*, p. 3.
[91] Young, *Service and Servility*, pp. 22-7.
[92] CP 106, fo. 6r.

customs on imported French and Rhenish wines.[93] Nonetheless, Greville had lost a privileged position in the court's political and cultural life. Within eighteen months of Elizabeth's death, his position had transformed from routinely spending time at the queen's elbow (accompanied by whispers that he might soon become a Privy Councillor), to unemployment in Warwickshire. Neither the scale of his loss, nor the court dynamics that precipitated it, have been adequately acknowledged in previous work on Greville. Yet they informed the depictions of the court in the literary works he produced between 1604 and 1612.

Greville's Early Jacobean Writings: Criticisms and Counsel

Greville understood the appeal of the virtuous but exasperated man simply withdrawing from the political fray. During the decade after 1604 he spent a great deal of his time and money renovating Warwick Castle (employing the architect Robert Smithson to redesign the garden and chapels and install a new gallery), and lavishly decorating and furnishing its interior.[94] In his *A Treatise of Monarchy* Greville wrote sympathetically about circumstances in which 'grave and great men of estate, / In such despaired tymes, retire away, / And yield the sterne of government to fate'.[95] However, ultimately, the life of *otium* was not for him. In July 1604, almost immediately after surrendering his office, he asked to be remembered to the royal family by the earl of Shrewsbury: 'When you talk idly with the King or Queen, yf your Lordship be pleased to move so dark and Idle a person, it wilbe very great honor to me'.[96] On several occasions, he invited senior courtiers, including Cecil and the earls of Suffolk and Northampton, to visit him at Wedgnock, one of his newly-inherited estates.[97] In one letter to Cecil he revealingly commented: 'advancement was never better welcome to any ambitious courtier than' Cecil's visit would be.[98] Greville's determination to maintain his court connections and, ultimately, regain a role at court, may have been amplified by the death of his father. Fulke Greville Senior had been much admired in Warwickshire, and was celebrated across the country after overseeing the apprehension and first interrogations of the Gunpowder

[93] Rebholz, *Life*, p. 188.
[94] Ibid, pp. 188-5; Adam Busiakiewicz, '"We scarcely call these things our own": Sir Fulke Greville's Curious Collection', *SJ*, 35/1-2 (2017), pp. 47-76.
[95] Greville, *Complete*, ii, p. 102.
[96] LPL, MS 3203, fo. 406r.
[97] CP 191, fos 11r, 14r.
[98] CP 112, fo. 14r.

conspirators who fled to the Midlands.[99] At Greville Senior's funeral, Greville was instructed to 'imitate his father', whose acclaim only emphasised by comparison Greville's lack of political station or achievements to date.[100] With only minor official tasks forthcoming, Greville tried to contribute to the *vita activa* by writing.[101]

Between 1604 and 1614, Greville attempted (and abandoned) several literary projects. It appears that he considered contributing a tract to the "Union Controversy", the polemical debates that raged in manuscript and print concerning the form a political union of England and Scotland should take, and planned to address the issue in a manner that he believed would receive a favourable royal reception.[102] This abandoned project has not been noted before. In September 1605 Greville wrote to John Coke: 'I pray you think of this Union now in question. I would confer my own opinion with yours touching the two greatest points of difficulty, Laws, [and the] Church'.[103] That Greville did not wish only to discuss the pre-eminent political question of the day, but intended to produce his own written treatment of it is suggested by his request that Coke send his thoughts 'not by way of discourse, but by heads and short arguments pro et contra'. This typical humanist form for arranging argument materials would have made it easier for Greville to incorporate Coke's ideas into a written work.[104] Greville probably hoped that producing a union treatise could earn James's favour, and urged Coke to consider topics that he knew had previously been rewarded by the king. He suggested to Coke that 'the uniting of Lithuania and Poland would give you light'. As the only precedent for a successful parliamentary union of two previously-independent territories following a personal union, the union of Poland and Lithuania in 1569 was frequently referenced in Union tracts.[105] Greville's

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[99] For the many effusive praises made in Warwickshire on Fulke Greville Senior's death, see Richard Cust, 'Reading for Magistracy: The Mental World of John Newdigate', in John F. McDiarmid (ed.), *The Monarchical Republic of Early Modern England: Essays in Response to Patrick Collinson* (Aldershot, 2007), pp. 181-2, 190; Alan Haynes, *The Gunpowder Plot*, updated edition (Stroud, 2016), pp. 103-4. An account of Greville Senior's actions was included in the second printing of the official account of the Gunpowder Plot, *The King's Book*: Mark Nicholls, 'Discovering Gunpowder Plot: *The King's Book* and the Dissemination of News', *British Catholic History*, 28/3 (2007), p. 412.

[100] Cust, 'Reading', p. 182.

[101] Cecil used Greville as an intermediary to send Francis Vere instructions for his embassy to the Netherlands in 1606: CP 116, fo. 77r.

[102] Bruce Galloway, *The Union of England and Scotland, 1603-1608* (Edinburgh, 1986), pp. 30-53; *The Jacobean Union: Six Tracts of 1604,* ed. Bruce Galloway and Brian P. Levack (Edinburgh, 1985).

[103] *HMC Earl Cowper*, i, p. 57.

[104] On Greville's training in such forms, see Vernon F. Snow, 'Francis Bacon's Advice to Fulke Greville on Research Techniques', *HLQ*, 23/1 (1959), pp. 369-78; Hammer, 'Employment'.

[105] *Jacobean Union,* pp. 39, 46, 57, 60, 65, 140, 189, 200, 218-24, 244; Jenny Wormald, 'The Union of 1603', in Roger Mason (ed.), *Scots and Britons: Scottish Political Thought and the Union of 1603* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 31-2; Allan Macinnes, 'The Hidden Commonwealth: Poland-Lithuania and Scottish Political Discourse in the Seventeenth Century', in Karin Friedrich and Barbara M. Pendzich (eds), *Citizenship and Identity in a Multinational Commonwealth: Poland-Lithuania in Context* (Brill, 2009), pp. 238-9.

interest in the example, however, was likely inspired by his knowledge that Sir John Peyton, with whom he had shared automatic entrée to the Privy Chamber, had secured James's favour after presenting him with a beautiful annotated manuscript: 'A Relation of the State of Polonia and the United Provinces of that Crowne, anno 1598'.[106] Amongst the most heavily annotated sections of the manuscript were three pages addressing the union of Poland and Lithuania.[107] Greville therefore knew that analysing the Polish-Lithuanian union was a proven successful route to James's favour. However, he does not appear to have progressed beyond soliciting ideas from Coke.

In addition, Greville claimed that he had considered writing a history of England since 1485, before revising this ambition to a history of Elizabeth's reign.[108] However, Robert Cecil, who was notoriously jealous of the State Papers, denied Greville access to them, and cautioned him that any such work would be subject to extensive censorship to ensure that it could not 'be construed to the prejudice of' the Jacobean regime.[109] Greville therefore abandoned this project too, as any outcome 'would have proved a story of other men's writing with my name only put to it'.[110]

After these failed projects, Greville decided to prepare a collected manuscript edition of his literary works (excluding his lyric poetry). It would include revised versions of his closet dramas, *Alaham* and *Mustapha*, which he had first written in the 1590s. He also planned to include several verse treatises, although by 1612 he had only written one: *A Treatise of Monarchy*. When he departed the court in 1604, Greville had been working for some time (possibly since 1599) on a closet drama, the long choruses of which he repurposed into *Monarchy*.[111] The collection would be dedicated to the memory of Philip Sidney, and prefaced by a long biography, *A Dedication to Sir Philip Sidney*.[112]

Scholars have identified several substantial criticisms of the Jacobean regime in these works, especially *A Dedication.* Most significantly, Greville criticised the policy of peace with

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[106] Sebastian Sobecki, 'John Peyton's *A Relation of the State of Polonia* and the Accession of King James I, 1598-1603', *EHR*, 129/540 (2014), pp. 1079-1097.
[107] BL, MS Royal 18 B I, fos 22v-23v.
[108] Greville, *Prose*, p. 130.
[109] Ibid, pp. 131-2. Cecil's habit of treating the State Papers as 'his own cabinet' is discussed in Linda Levy Peck, *Northampton: Patronage and Policy at the Court of James I* (London, 1982), p. 86. Greville ultimately circumvented Cecil's prohibition by translating passages from William Camden's (who was granted access to the Papers) *Annales*: Greville, *Prose*, pp. xiii-xix.
[110] Greville, *Prose*, p. 132.
[111] Ibid, pp. 90-1.
[112] Ibid, pp. xxi-xxiv.

Spain. The narrative of *A Dedication* charted how an initially-cautious Elizabeth was eventually persuaded by a small number of individuals (including Sidney) to appreciate the ambitions of Spain, that it pursued them 'craftily' through 'practice, confederacy, faction, money, war', and that strategic military engagements were necessary to prevent it attaining unassailable hegemony on the continent ('defend herself…by invading').[113] Yet, Greville complained, this hard-earned appreciation of Spain's nefariousness had been forgotten rapidly; present governors had 'neglected [Elizabeth's] wisdom so suddenly by exchanging that active, victorious, enriching and balancing course of her defensive wars, for an idle, I fear deceiving, shadow of peace'.[114] In *A Treatise of Monarchy* he likened the peace with Spain to a mere interlude in a deadly snowstorm: 'Lye not France, Poland, Italie, and Spaigne, / Still as the snow doth, when it threatens more'.[115] Greville's Jacobean works also condemned James's extra-parliamentary schemes to raise revenue.[116] He claimed (stretching the truth) that Elizabeth had been 'averse' to the use of 'impositions, proclamations, or mandates (without parliaments)', and celebrated that she had not 'by any curious search after evidence [sought] to enlarge her prerogatives royal', implicitly criticising James.[117] Most radically, in *A Treatise of Monarchy*, Greville (by his own account) 'cast scandal upon the sacred Foundations of Monarchy'.[118] In the verse treatise, Greville argued that monarchy had been created, out of necessity, by social contract in a post-lapsarian world: 'in which confused state of declination… / [the people decided] they raise a sovereign must'.[119] He then claimed that the iconography, ceremonial, and myths of monarchy (especially sacral monarchy) were facades, created to maintain popular obedience.[120] Greville's argument that monarchy was an artificial institution, and its trappings pragmatic impostures, was at variance with James's repeated assertions in his writings and speeches of the divinely-ordained status of monarchy.[121]

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[113] Ibid, pp. 26, 124.
[114] Ibid, p. 127.
[115] Greville, *Complete*, ii, p. 110.
[116] Rebholz, *Life*, pp. 205-10; Herman, '"Bastard Children".
[117] Greville, *Prose*, pp. 115, 103.
[118] Ibid, p. 91.
[119] Greville, *Collected*, ii, p. 102.
[120] Hugh N. MacLean, 'Fulke Greville: Kingship and Sovereignty', *HLQ*, 16/3 (1953), pp. 237-71; Deborah Shuger, *Habits of Thought in the English Renaissance: Religion, Politics, and the Dominant Culture* (Berkeley, 1990), pp. 210-17; Norbrook, *Poetry and Politics*; Jean-Christophe Mayer, '"Bothe Kinge, and People Seem'd Conjoyn'd in One" – Fulke Greville and the Question of Political Power', *Cahiers Élisabéthains,* 60/1 (2001), pp. 48-51; Sierhuis, 'Idols', pp. 643-5; Ethan John Guagliardo, '"These Ancient Forming Powers": Fulke Greville's Dialectic of Idolatry', in Leo, Röder, and Sierhuis (eds), *Fulke Greville*, pp. 228-30.
[121] William R. Drennan, ''Pleasing vices': Machiavelli and Greville on Princely Conduct', *N&Q*, 47/4 (2000), pp. 468-9.

Whereas these critiques of Jacobean policy and royal rhetoric have been noted, Greville's literary treatment of the Jacobean court has been under-examined.[122] This is understandable. In *A Treatise of Monarchy*, although he scrutinised several institutions (church, law, nobility, and commerce) that supported monarchy, Greville did not once mention the court. Nonetheless, all of the texts that he envisioned would comprise his collected works engaged with the personnel and practices of the court following James's accession.

Indeed, Greville's closet drama, *Alaham* is set at a court in the aftermath of a royal succession (albeit an illegitimate one). In the drama, the titular Alaham, an ambitious younger son of the Sultan of Ormus, murders his father and siblings in order to claim the throne. The final two acts describe a climate of fear at court, with escalating scheming and violence. Alaham's wife Hala in turn plots to murder him and their child, in order to secure the succession for her favourite illegitimate child, whilst a popular revolt against Alaham's regime emerges. When it was first written (most likely in the mid-to-late 1590s), Greville's Senecan melodrama expressed one much feared outcome after Elizabeth's death: that self-interested courtiers would divert the succession, thereby unleashing escalating feuds that would eventually consume the entire polity.[123] Yet Greville planned to include this representation of a chaotic, amoral post-succession court in his collected works. It is possible that, like Ben Jonson's *Sejanus*, it was not intended as a condemnation of the Jacobean court. Instead, it could be read as a work of panegyric, celebrating that the nightmarish situation unleashed in the closet drama by unscrupulous courtiers scheming to divert the succession from primogeniture, had not become reality.[124]

Nonetheless, Greville's Jacobean writings contain a range of complaints about the court. Negative representations of court politics and culture were not a new feature of

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[122] Additional studies of Greville's critiques of James's rhetoric and iconography include: Elizabeth A. Spiller, 'The Counsel of Fulke Greville: Transforming the Jacobean "Nourish Father" through Sidney's "Nursing Father"', *SiP*, 97/4 (2000), pp. 433-53; Russ Leo, '"Natures freedome", the Art of Sovereignty and *Mustapha*'s Tragic Insolubility: Fulke Greville and Jean Bodin Among the Ottomans', in Leo, Röder, and Sierhuis (eds), *Fulke Greville*, pp. 74-98; Brian Cummings, 'Monarchy and Patriarchy in Fulke Greville's *Mustapha*', in Vassiliki Markidou and Afroditi-Maria Panaghis (eds), *Precarious Identities: Studies in the Work of Fulke Greville and Robert Southwell* (London, 2019), pp. 112-35.

[123] Rebholz, *Life*, pp. 133-4. On *Alaham's* indebtedness to Seneca's *Medea*, see Matthew Hansen, 'Gender, Power and Play: Fulke Greville's *Mustapha* and *Alaham*', *SJ*, 19/1-2 (2001), pp. 125-41. *Alaham's* affinity with academic drama at Cambridge in the 1580s has recently been noted, which could suggest an earlier first composition: Sarah Knight, '"Not with the Ancient, nor yet with the Modern": Greville, Education, and Tragedy', in Leo, Röder, and Sierhuis (eds), *Fulke Greville*, p. 204.

[124] For this interpretation of *Sejanus*: Peter Lake, 'From *Leicester his Commonwealth* to *Sejanus his Fall*: Ben Jonson and the Politics of Roman (Catholic) Virtue' in Ethan H. Shagan (ed.), *Catholics and the 'Protestant' Nation: Religious Politics and Identity in Early Modern England* (Manchester, 2005), pp. 128-61.

Greville's works. His Elizabethan lyrics contain archetypal anti-court complaints, such as concerning 'Faction that euer dwells / in Court where wit excels'.[125] Furthermore, in these poems, he had expressed a sceptical attitude towards many of the tropes of Elizabethan court poetry: he considered the style in which most courtier-poets addressed the queen to be insincere, infantalising of courtiers' talents, and a perverse use of the language of grace that should more properly be used to address God.[126] In his own praise poetry about Elizabeth, Greville eschewed the Petrarchan flattery of Ralegh or Sir Arthur Gorges, simply adopting the rhetoric of virginity 'Under a throne I saw a virgin sit', or of dynasty 'The red and white rose quarter'd in her face'; in contrast to the trend to address her as a beloved whose disdain strengthened bonds of affection, Greville bluntly concluded 'absence is pain'.[127] Greville's association with Essex also exposed him to the earl and his circle's interest in Tacitean "politic" history, which portrayed royal courts as corrupt sites of ambition and intrigue.[128] Many of Greville's late Elizabethan works, especially his closet dramas, addressed themes popular within Essex's circle: the emergence of "weak tyrants", the monopoly and abuse of power by unworthy, flattering counsellors, manoeuvres to secure the next succession, and the legitimacy of resistance.[129] The depictions of the court in Greville's early Jacobean writings are obviously indebted to this tradition, such as the pithy summary of the *ars politica* in *Treatise of Monarchy* as 'real ill and seeming good', or the scheming counsellor Beglerbie's pronouncement in *Mustapha* 'That Courts…have no great hearts innocent'.[130] Additionally, *A Dedication*'s mixture of recent political history and the biography of a virtuous man was indebted to Tacitus's *Agricola*.[131] Nevertheless, Greville's early Jacobean writings moved beyond archetypes of anti-court writing. He responded to several innovations at the Jacobean court, which he had observed during his year there, during occasional visits, and been informed of by his correspondents. Greville diagnosed that the early Jacobean court suffered from a troubling confluence of base, embezzling, un-magnanimous, and flattering courtiers and a king with

[125] Greville, *Complete*, i, p. 121.
[126] Norbrook, *Poetry and Politics*, pp. 141-5; Tom MacFaul, 'The Childish Love of Philip Sidney and Fulke Greville', *SJ*, 24/2 (2006), pp. 37-65; Freya Sierhuis, 'Centaurs of the Mind: Imagination and Fiction-Making in the Works of Fulke Greville', in Leo, Röder, and Sierhuis (eds), *Fulke Greville*, pp. 101-2, 113-18; Joel B. Davis, 'Parody and the Perversion of Grace at the Crux of *Caelica*', in ibid, pp. 121-37.
[127] Greville, *Complete*, i, pp. 181, 145.
[128] Hammer, 'Employment'; Alexandra Gajda, 'The Earl of Essex and Politic History', in Annaliese Connolly and Lisa Hopkins (eds), *Essex: The Cultural Impact of an Elizabethan Courtier* (Manchester, 2013), pp. 237-62.
[129] Rebholz, *Life*, pp. 132-5; Gajda, *Essex*, pp. 162-4.
[130] Greville, *Complete*, ii, p. 238.
[131] Greville, *Prose*, pp. xvii-xviii. Greville remained interested in Tacitean political analysis for the rest of his life: Bradley J. Irish, 'The Literary Afterlife of the Essex Circle: Fulke Greville, Tacitus, and BL Additional MS 18368', *Modern Philology*, 112/1 (2014), pp. 271-85. Infamously, Greville invited Isaac Dorislaus to lecture on Tacitus's view of monarchy at Cambridge University in 1627: Rebholz, *Life*, pp. 293-302.

several bad habits (including mismanaging household finances, diminishing his authority through the sales of honour, delegating his duties, and sententiousness and intellectual vanity). He expressed these criticisms of the court in various ways, including through making alterations to his closet dramas, through implied contrasts with Elizabethan characters (especially in *A Dedication*), and through his exegeses of Sidney's *Arcadia*.

Greville, like many of his contemporaries, was concerned by James's largesse.[132] He opened chapter sixteen of *A Dedication* by praising Elizabeth's effective management of her household finances. He noted that she maintained 'tables for servants, suitors, and for honour's sake in her own house', but did not allow 'the honour of her household' to be carried out.[133] This implicitly criticised James, who allowed royal hospitality to be abused, permitting courtiers to take their daily allowance of food (known as bouge to court) to their private residences. This laxity provoked complaints in parliament, and necessitated new household ordinances.[134] Greville (who one critic has recently dubbed 'the poet laureate of taxation') was always concerned to limit expenditure.[135] As he argued in the House of Commons in 1593, he feared that excessive taxation could eventually provoke a popular rising.[136] Understandably, in *A Dedication*, he also addressed financial irresponsibility at the Jacobean Navy Treasury, partly attributing it to his own departure. He professed to being shocked at a lack of disciplined record-keeping or auditing practices in the contemporary office, whereas he had been 'well acquainted with the use of it in my youth'.[137] Elizabeth, he noted, had made her 'High Admirals…resign their patents' when expenses 'gr[e]w too exorbitant'; although Greville left the comparison unstated, this action was precisely what James and his courtiers had failed to implement on his recommendation.

However, to Greville, the most troubling aspect of James's largesse was his cavalier use of honours. Greville praised Elizabeth for having 'made merit precious, honour dainty, and her grants passing rare… to set an edge upon the industry of man'.[138] Despite this, as himself one of the nearly-one-thousand knights that James created in the first months of his

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[132] On the theme in early Jacobean literature, see Curtis Perry, *The Making of Jacobean Culture: James I and the Renegotiation of Elizabethan Literary Practice* (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 115-52.
[133] Greville, *Prose*, p. 110.
[134] Society of Antiquaries of London, *A Collection of Ordinances and Regulations for the Government of the Royal Household* (1790), p. 305; *CSPV*, x, p. 447.
[135] Andrew Hadfield, 'The Political World of Fulke Greville', in Leo, Röder, and Sierhuis (eds), *Fulke Greville*, pp. 274-5.
[136] Rebholz, *Life*, pp. 91-3.
[137] Greville, *Prose*, p. 120.
[138] Greville, *Prose*, p. 112.

English reign, Greville's grievance was not against James's liberal award of knighthoods to a large number of individuals, including the relatively socially base (the 'thirty-pound knights' that Jonson, Marston, and Dekker notoriously mocked in *Eastward Ho!*). Instead, Greville was troubled by the early Jacobean "sale of honours": James's licensing of courtiers to sell knighthoods in exchange for gratuities.[139] He praised Elizabeth for having kept honours 'sparingly reserved within the circuit of her throne as inherent and tender prerogatives not fit to be left at random in the power of ambitious favourites or low-looking counsellors'.[140] Astonishingly (overlooking Essex's controversial mass-knighting of soldiers in Ireland in 1599), Greville claimed that Essex had not 'like the French favourites of that time [sought to] serve his own humours or necessities by selling seats of justice, nobility or orders of honours till they became *colliers pour toute bête*…[but] reserved that absolute power of creation sacred in his sovereign'.[141] At the Jacobean court, Greville believed, honour had become a marketable commodity, with a consequent decline in the quality of knighthood, and of royal authority. In his early Jacobean works he repeatedly described the transformation of 'the court into a farm', or 'a farm manured by drawing up, not the sweat, but even the brows of humble subjects'.[142] Greville had himself experienced the farm-like nature of the Jacobean court, having had to pay five-hundred pounds to retain the secretaryship of the council of Wales.

Related to the devaluation of honours at the Jacobean court, one of Greville's most persistent grievances in his writings concerned the lack of nobility amongst James's courtiers. Greville, whose maternal grandfather had been the earl of Westmorland, subscribed to the view (recently dubbed 'social racism') that political order could best be guaranteed through the pre-eminence of the traditional nobility, who would stand 'brave half-pace between a throne and a people'.[143] The nobility should check the excesses of a prince, preventing tyranny (as Greville wrote in one of his Jacobean lyric poems, *Caelica XCI*: 'Nobility, power's golden fetter is'), whilst their authority in the localities could prevent suffering amongst or sedition by the populace.[144] Greville opened the section 'Of Nobilitie' in *A Treatise of Monarchy* with a long description of the stars in order to demonstrate that differences of degree were part of the

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[139] Lawrence Stone, *The Crisis of the Aristocracy, 1558-1642* (Oxford, 1965), pp. 75-97
[140] Greville, *Prose*, p. 112.
[141] Ibid, p. 96. Paul E.J. Hammer, '"Base Rogues" and "Gentlemen of Quality": The Earl of Essex's Irish Knights and Royal Displeasure in 1599', in Brendan Kane and Valerie McGowan-Doyle (eds), *Elizabeth I and Ireland* (Cambridge, 2014), pp. 184-208.
[142] Greville, *Complete*, i, p. 277; Greville, *Prose*, p. 117.
[143] Greville, *Prose*, p. 113; Brendan Kane and R. Malcolm Smuts, 'The Politics of Race in England, Scotland, and Ireland', in Smuts (ed.), *Age of Shakespeare*, pp. 346-63.
[144] Greville, *Complete*, i, p. 191.

natural order.[145] Greville believed so sincerely in the importance of noble pre-eminence that in one of the most famous (albeit likely invented) anecdotes in *A Dedication*, he chastised Sidney for not always displaying sufficient respect for hierarchy.[146] Greville described Elizabeth scolding Sidney for his impudent words to the earl of Oxford on a tennis court, and claimed that Sidney should have remembered 'the difference in degree between earls and gentlemen' because 'the gentleman's neglect of the nobility taught the peasant to insult both'.[147] However, instead of an ideal court staffed by virtuous aristocrats, Greville described the early Jacobean court as a place of 'New names unknown, old names gone'.[148] In his correspondence, he contemptuously described contemporary courtiers as 'creatures' and 'children of favour and chance'.[149] It should be noted, however, that these complaints contain no discernible evidence of prejudice directed against Scottish courtiers.

Of course, James awarded significant positions at court to the traditional English nobility. The Howard family, amongst the most significant recipients of courtly offices and honours, could hardly be accused of being *parvenu*. As he conceded in *A Dedication*, some courtiers possessed a 'pedigree of fleshly kindred'.[150] Nonetheless, the prominence of such figures at the Jacobean court prompted Greville to modify (albeit not entirely coherently) his 'socially racist' beliefs concerning the natural suitability of the nobility for government. In *Caelica XCII*, he compared the nobility to a sorcerer's wand, suggesting that both had acquired unearned reverence through custom alone.[151] The place of nobility was one of the 'secret mysteries of state', disguising the fact that many nobles were simply not suited to government: 'For be they fools, or speak they without wit, / We hold them wise, we fools bewonder it…For place a coronet on whom you will / You straight see all great in his, but his ill'.' In particular, Greville expressed concern that figures in the Jacobean regime were not sufficiently pious and did not leave 'success to His will that governs the blind prosperities and unprosperities of chance'.[152] This was surely a critique of the prominence of church papists, and even avant-garde conformists, at the court. Despite maintaining cordial relations with several such men,

[145] Ibid, ii, p. 103.
[146] On the tennis court episode, see Blair Worden, *The Sound of Virtue: Philip Sidney's "Arcadia" and Elizabethan Politics* (New Haven, 1996), pp. 355-69.
[147] Greville, *Prose*, p. 100.
[148] Greville, *Complete*, i, p. 183.
[149] CP 189, fo. 5r; Greville, *Prose*, p. 7.
[150] Greville, *Prose*, p. 6.
[151] Greville, *Complete*, i, p. 202.
[152] Greville, *Prose*, p. 18.

particularly Suffolk and Cecil, in his writings a disenchanted Greville nonetheless suggested that their nobility did not guarantee that they were good servants of the king.

Greville believed that James's base courtiers damaged the commonwealth by jealously suppressing the advancement of virtuous men, who they considered rivals. He reminisced about the 1570s and 1580s when (he claimed) the court had contained figures such as Elizabeth, Leicester, and Walsingham, who were capable of recognising virtue and merit. He began chapter two of *A Dedication* (a survey of the various figures who had noted Sidney's talent) by noting that he was 'enforced' to look to the 'dead' to find evidence of such magnanimity because 'among those which now live' there was only evidence of 'markets of selfness'.[153] He concluded his rollcall of Sidney's sponsors by imploring a return of the capacity to reward talent: 'I would…we might once again see that ingenuity among men, which, by liberal bearing witness to the merits of others, shows they have some true worth of their own, and are not merely lovers of themselves without rivals'.[154] It seems likely that in exploring this theme Greville drew on his own experience of his unappreciated industrious attempts to encourage reform at the Navy Treasury, which had led to his replacement by the time-serving, embezzling Mansell.

To Greville, the lack of honourable or noble figures at the Jacobean court was made more dangerous by several of James's habits, which had already become evident by the time Greville left court in summer 1604. Of these, Greville found James's tendency to delegate political decisions most troubling. Greville's Jacobean writings feature several monarchs who pursue insubstantial private pleasures instead of performing their public duties, resembling James's frequent hunting trips, during which he permitted the Privy Council to make a wide range of decisions on his behalf. After usurping the throne of Ormus, Alaham becomes a luxuriating king, focused on his own comfort, which provides both grievances and opportunities for his court enemies. At the beginning of *Mustapha*, Soliman has withdrawn from some of his duties, particularly the one most vital for the Ottoman Sultan: military leadership.[155] In *A Treatise of Monarchy*, Greville diagnosed a king's 'self-love' as the greatest threat to a polity.[156] Furthermore, in *A Dedication*, he claimed that chief amongst the political

[153] Ibid, p. 13.
[154] Ibid, p. 19.
[155] On Greville's (surprisingly sympathetic) engagement with the Ottoman world, see Jonathan Burton, *Traffic and Turning: Islam and English Drama, 1579-1624* (Newark, 2005), pp. 160-95; Katrin Röder, 'Intercultural 'Traffique' in Fulke Greville's *Mustapha*', *Literature Compass*, 11/8 (2014), pp. 560-72.
[156] Greville, *Complete*, ii, p. 123.

principles that could be gleaned from Sidney's *Arcadia* was the lesson that: 'When sovereign princes, to play with their own visions, will put off public action…they bury themselves and their estates in a cloud of contempt'.[157] Greville repeatedly claimed that royal absences provided opportunities for dangerous innovations of state. In *Caelica CI*, he complained that 'states grow old, when princes turn away / From honour, to take pleasure for their ends', spending time with 'a few dark friends'.[158] He interpreted Basilius's surrendering of power to Euarchus in *Arcadia* as demonstrating that 'these dark webs of effeminate princes be dangerous forerunners of innovation'.[159] The pervasiveness of this theme in all of the writings that Greville planned to include in his collected works indicates that he was deeply troubled by the king's apparent disengagement from business. He pointedly praised Elizabeth for having 'never chose[n] or cherished [a] favourite, howsoever worthy, to monopolise over all the spirits and business of her kingdom'.[160] As the significant qualifier 'howsoever worthy' indicates, Greville considered royal absences and delegation to be dangerous even when the monarch's intimates were virtuous. At the Jacobean court, which Greville did not belief was staffed by worthies, such practices simply invited disaster.

Greville's concern about the dangerous combination of the base quality of Jacobean courtiers with the habits and attributes of the king informed the alterations he made to *Mustapha* during the first decade of the seventeenth century. *Mustapha* tells the story of the Ottoman Sultan Suleiman II being persuaded to murder his son and heir-apparent (the titular Mustapha) by several advisors, including his courtesan Rossa, who schemes to have her own son Zanger succeed to the throne. When first written in the 1590s, the closet drama addressed several significant issues in Elizabethan court politics, including counsel and royal successions.[161] However, in the Jacobean version of *Mustapha*, which has been described as 'virtually a rewriting', Greville made significant alterations to the characterisation of Soliman and his advisers, giving them attributes of James and his courtiers respectively.[162] Most significantly, Greville's revisions made Soliman prone to *sententiae*-laden pronouncements about his royal authority, in a manner resembling James's speeches to parliament.[163] During

[157] Greville, *Prose*, p. 8.
[158] Greville, *Complete*, i, p. 212.
[159] Greville, *Prose*, p. 9
[160] Ibid, p. 108.
[161] Rebholz, *Life*, pp. 132-5; Gajda, *Essex*, pp. 162-4.
[162] Rees, *Fulke Greville*, p. 159.
[163] Soliman's use of *sententiae* is especially obvious in the 1633 printed edition of Greville's works, which featured marginal quotation marks: Fulke Greville, *Certaine learned and elegant workes of the Right Honorable Fulke Lord Brooke* (1633).

the hundred and fifty-five lines of the first scene alone, Soliman utters fifteen aphorisms about politics. Greville, however, undermined this mode of royal pronouncement. Soliman's sententious statements about the attributes of sovereignty are often delivered in hypermetric lines, making them sound less authoritative, for example: 'Rewards may make knees bow; and self-love humble; / But love is onely that which Princes couet'.[164]

Furthermore, the revised version of *Mustapha* demonstrates that a king known for relishing sententiousness, and being proud of his intellectual abilities, is vulnerable to manipulation by unscrupulous advisers. The revised version of Rossa pursues her ends by playing on these James-like attributes of Soliman.[165] She plants seeds of doubt about Mustapha's loyalty in Soliman's mind, and assures him of the legitimacy and wisdom of executing his son, by speaking in *sententiae*: 'Kings loose their Crownes, that ought doe love or fear'.[166] Soliman proves receptive to evil counsel to behave tyrannically when it is delivered to him in the form of maxims. Rossa and another adviser, Beglerbie, encourage Soliman's suspicions of Mustapha by flattering his elevated sense of his own intelligence. Rossa assures Soliman that his wisdom will easily resolve the problem of Mustapha's loyalty, whilst Beglerbie disavows his qualification to speak on the rarefied subject of the loyalty of princes, which can only be judged by wise monarchs: aphoristically concluding that 'Vertues of common men / Are not the same which shine in kings above'.[167] The striking revisions to the character of *Mustapha*'s monarch and its courtiers' strategies of flattery suggest that James's pride in his own wisdom and propensity towards aphorisms troubled Greville. He shared with Francis Bacon a concern that familiarity with James's intellectual vanity and love of maxims could lead to unscrupulous advisers 'sing[ing] him a Song of Placebo' rather than offering true counsel.[168]

Greville's Jacobean writings featured several models of virtue, whose attributes countered the range of deficiencies he described in the court's personnel and culture. These included several ideal royal counsellors, for example Mahomet in *Alaham* who, unlike Rossa or Beglerbie, 'with honor faine would change the tide / Of times corrupt; here stopping

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[164] Greville, *Complete,* ii, p. 243. For a broader discussion of Greville's use of hypermetric lines, see Brian Cummings, 'Philosophical Poetry: Fulke Greville and the Feminine Ending', in Leo, Röder, and Sierhuis (eds), *Fulke Greville,* pp. 29-46.
[165] Rossa's wicked counsel is discussed in Perry, *Making,* pp. 106-11.
[166] Greville, *Collected*, ii, p. 240.
[167] Ibid, ii, p. 258.
[168] Francis Bacon, *The Essayes, or Counsels, Civill and Morall,* ed. Michael Kiernan (Oxford, 2000), p. 68. For interesting comments on the global tendency to prefer monarchs who were reticent to speak over loquacious ones, see Jeroen Duindam, *Dynasty: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford, 2019), p. 40.

violence, / There countermining craft, and pleading right'.[169] *A Dedication* features numerous examples of 'stirring spirits' of the Elizabethan age: including several icons of Protestant honour such as Essex 'this gallant young Earl'.[170] Such models also included William of Orange, whose vividly-described modest costume recalled the plain dress of Euarchus in *Arcadia*, the simple black attire in which Christian IV had impressed English observers during his state visit in 1606, as well as James's recommendations in *Basilikon Doron* that a king should not wear clothes 'artificially trimmed and decked, like a Courtizane…or a vain young Courtier' but 'proper, cleanely, comely and honest' garments.[171] William was particularly praised for being able to recognise men of talent, in contrast to contemporary courtiers (and even Elizabeth); having sent the queen a letter recommending that she employ Sidney, 'one of the ripest and greatest counsellors of state'.[172]

However, the ideal courtier, the 'true model of worth', in Greville's early Jacobean writings was, of course, Sidney himself.[173] Greville's Sidney has been described as a rare fusion of 'aristocratic magnanimity and Protestant integrity, heroic-action and literary intelligence'.[174] However, he also functioned as a solution to the range of degenerate courtiers and magistrates featured in Greville's early Jacobean works. Early in *A Dedication*, Greville urged: 'let princes vouchsafe to consider of what importance it is to the honour of themselves and their states to have one man of such eminence…as nourisher of virtue in their courts or service'.[175] Unlike many other court figures in Greville's writings, Sidney unquestionably possessed nobility: combining high birth with talent, which Greville memorably discussed through the metaphor of horse-breeding.[176] Furthermore, Greville depicted Sidney as unimpeachably pious: 'Above all, he made the religion he professed the firm basis of his life'.[177] Greville structured *A Dedication* as a compendium of *chrieiai*, retellings of virtues deeds and sayings to be imitated, and repeatedly indicated the exemplary function of episodes

[169] Greville, *Collected*, i, p. 290.
[170] Greville, *Prose*, pp. 47, 95; Nick Myers, 'Fulke Greville, Philip Sidney, and Representations of Knightly Protestantism', in Gilles Teulié (ed.), *Religious Writings and War* (Montpellier, 2006), pp. 55-74.
[171] H[enry] R[oberts], *The most royall and honourable entertainement, of the most famous and renowmed king, Christiern [sic] the fourth, King of Denmark*…(1606), sig. D1r; James, *Political Writings*, p. 52. Michael Gadaleto, '"Prince and No-Prince": William of Orange and the Politics of Friendship in Greville's *Dedication to Sir Philip Sidney*', *SJ*, 35/1 (2017), pp. 95-118.
[172] Greville, *Prose*, p. 18.
[173] Ibid, p. 20.
[174] Norbrook, *Poetry and Politics*, p. 140.
[175] Greville, *Prose*, p. 21.
[176] Ibid, pp. 4-5.
[177] Ibid, p. 22.

from Sidney's life: 'this honourable act I relate to give the world one modern example' of virtuous deeds.[178]

Sidney's function in Greville's early Jacobean writings – a model whose characteristics, if imitated, would remedy the deficiencies of the contemporary court – is most apparent in one of the best known anecdotes in *A Dedication*: the account in chapter six of Sidney's *A Letter written…to Queen Elizabeth, touching her marriage with Monsieur*, in which Sidney explained his opposition to Elizabeth's possible marriage to the Duke of Anjou. Greville acknowledged that, although it might seem 'an error – and a dangerous one – for Sir Philip, being neither magistrate nor counsellor, to oppose himself against his sovereign's pleasure', his actions were honourable due to his motivations and, especially, the manner in which he offered counsel.[179] Sidney's 'worth, truth, favour, and sincerity of heart', and the fact that he addressed his concerns directly to the queen 'to whom the appeal was proper', and not via public media, ensured that his comments were appreciated, and 'protected this gentleman…from the displeasure of his sovereign'.[180] Sidney's discreet but bold act of *parrhesia* was the virtuous antithesis to the flattery practised by Rossa and Beglerbie in Greville's revised *Mustapha*. A reader of all of Greville's early Jacobean works in the collected form that he intended but did not complete would have appreciated that the declined courts they read about in *Alaham*, *Mustapha*, and *A Treatise of Monarchy* could have been averted by the widespread adoption of the Sidneian style of court conduct described in the prefatory *A Dedication*.

Greville's intended readership for his diagnosis of the flaws of the Jacobean court is not clear. He did not print his early Jacobean writings during his lifetime and, by his own testimony, his Elizabethan poems and closet dramas had a very limited manuscript circulation, restricted to a 'few eyes'.[181] There were various reasons for Greville's hesitancy to publish his works.[182] The downfall of the earl of Essex had demonstrated that it was possible for an individual's private papers to be read unsympathetically and used against them, with 'the

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[178] Ibid, p. 79.
[179] Ibid, p. 37.
[180] Ibid, pp. 37, 41. On more public discussions of the Anjou marriage plan, see Natalie Mears, 'Counsel, Public Debate, and Queenship: John Stubb's *The Discoverie of a Gaping Gulf*, 1597', *HJ*, 44/3 (2001), pp. 629-50; Peter Lake, 'The Politics of "Popularity" and the Public Sphere: The "Monarchical Republic" of Elizabeth I Defends Itself', in Peter Lake and Steven Pincus (eds), *The Politics of the Public Sphere in Early Modern England* (Manchester, 2007), pp. 70-77.
[181] Ibid, p. 93.
[182] Cynthia Bowers, '"What is the Meaning of this Work?": Fulke Greville and the Limitations of Authority', *SJ*, 19/1-2 (2001), pp. 85-96.

construction of every line in the worst sense against the writer'.[183] This fear motivated one of the most famous instances of self-censorship in English literary history: Greville's claim that he had burned a late Elizabethan closet drama about Antony and Cleopatra, fearing that it could be interpreted as a comment on 'the Earl of Essex then falling' and might be 'construed…to a personating of vices in the present governors'.[184] Greville's fear of malicious, politically-motivated misreading of his writings was amplified by his conviction that in the post-lapsarian world the written word was an imperfect medium, with misinterpretation unavoidable: as he put it in *Caelica XCVI*, 'lines may deceive'.[185] Greville was certainly justified in his caution. Despite his best efforts, some of his Elizabethan poems had circulated (largely unacknowledged), and an unauthorised version of *Mustapha* was printed in 1609, having been censored by the Master of the Revels.[186] In *A Dedication*, Greville even suggested that he anticipated a posthumous readership: claiming that 'no flesh breathing' would read his works, which would 'sle[ep] out my own time' to 'at their own peril rise upon the stage when I am not'.[187]

Nonetheless, there are several indications that Greville envisioned that his early Jacobean works would, upon their completion, be read at the contemporary court. Although he did not share Sidney's conception of the poet as *vates*, harbouring some doubts about the ability of literature to inspire virtue in readers, Greville held a fundamentally utilitarian view of literature.[188] As he wrote of Sidney, 'his end was not writing, even while he wrote': literature should not produce 'vanishing pleasure alone', but have some political impact.[189] Greville's dissection of the artificial origins, and impostures, of monarchy did not lead to apathy. Instead, his view of monarchy as the least dysfunctional system of government possible given man's fallen state, and therefore prone to corruption, necessitated strenuous intervention to slow any

[183] Greville, *Prose*, p. 94.
[184] Ibid, p. 93.
[185] Greville, *Collected*, i, p. 226; June Dwyer, 'Fulke Greville's Aesthetic: Another Perspective', *SiP*, 78/3 (1981), pp. 255-74; Gary F. Waller, *English Poetry of the Sixteenth Century*, second edition (London, 1993), pp. 94-6.
[186] Kirsten Gibson, 'John Dowland and the Elizabethan Courtier Poets', *Early Music*, 41/2 (2013), pp. 239-53; May, *Courtier Poets*, pp. 91, 101, 141. [Fulke Greville], *The Tragedy of Mustapha* (1609); Janet Clare, '*Art Made Tongue-Tied by Authority': Elizabethan and Jacobean Dramatic Censorship,* second edition (Manchester, 1999), pp 176-8.
[187] Greville, *Prose,* pp. 130, 132; Gavin Alexander, 'Writing and the Hermeneutic of Posthumous Publication: Greville's Afterlives', in Leo, Röder, and Sierhuis (eds), *Fulke Greville,* pp. 279-93.
[188] On Greville's developing (and increasingly pessimistic) views of the efficacy of poetry, see Rees, *Fulke Greville*, pp. 199-206; Bower, 'What is the Meaning'; Cummings, *Literary Culture*, pp. 270-7.
[189] Greville, *Prose*, p. 12.

declination.[190] He described his closet dramas as works that contributed political guidance by 'trac[ing] out the highways of ambitious governors…to show…that the more audacity, advantage and good success such sovereignties have, the more they hasten to their own desolation and ruin'.[191]

Several scholars have suspected that Greville's Jacobean works were ultimately intended for Prince Henry, or members of his circle.[192] *A Dedication's* advocacy of warfare against Spain certainly harmonised with the prince and his circle's advocacy of more active continental warfare. Furthermore, Greville's accounts of the dangers posed by Catholic powers, and especially his claim that Elizabeth's marriage with Anjou would have 'metamorphosed our moderate form of monarchy into a precipitate absoluteness', complemented Henry's efforts to frustrate James's plans to marry him to a Catholic princess.[193] However, Greville explicitly claimed that his works were not intended as *speculum princeps*: denying he was a 'Phormios' [an instructor of Hannibal] who 'lost themselves in teaching kings and princes how to govern their people'.[194] Nevertheless, as several scholars have indicated, Greville's works contain pedagogical structures, which would have made them suitable for a prince's education.[195] They include numerous classical examples, and maxims about statecraft and the duties of rulers and magistrates, indebted to the *Mirror for Magistrates* tradition.[196] The contradictory choruses of the closet dramas, and the recurrent feminine endings throughout Greville's works encouraged engaged, sceptical reading practices.[197] Furthermore, in *A Dedication*, Greville reported that he had encountered difficulties whilst revising *A Treatise of Monarchy,* especially struggling to find the right tones for instruction: oscillating between excessive seriousness with 'forced in' classical examples, and 'hypocriticall…Ironia', neither

[190] Dollimore, *Radical Tragedy,* pp. 122-3; Matthew Woodcock, '"The World Is Made For Use": Theme and Form in Fulke Greville's Verse Treatises', *SJ,* 19/1-2 (2001), pp. 143-59.
[191] Greville, *Prose,* p. 133.
[192] Blair Worden, 'Friend to Philip Sidney', *London Review of Books,* 8/2 (1986), p. 21; Elaine Ho, 'Author and Reader in Renaissance Texts: Fulke Greville, Sidney, and Prince Henry', *Connotations,* 5/1 (1995), pp. 34-48.
[193] Greville, *Prose*, p. 32; Roy Strong, 'England and Italy: The Marriage of Henry, Prince of Wales', in Pamela Tudor-Craig and Richard Lawrence Ollard (eds), *For Veronica Wedgwood These: Studies in Seventeenth-Century History* (London, 1986), pp. 59-88.
[194] Greville, *Prose,* p. 91.
[195] Sarah Knight, 'Enriching the Judgement: Fulke Greville and Didactic Drama', *Parergon,* 33/3 (2016), pp. 144-60
[196] Hadfield, 'Political World', pp. 262-4.
[197] Brett Roscoe, 'On Reading Renaissance Closet Drama: A Reconsideration of the Chorus in Fulke Greville's *Alaham* and *Mustapha*', *SiP,* 110/4 (2013), pp. 762-88; Cummings, 'Philosophical Poetry'; Kathryn Murphy, 'Fulke Greville's Figures of Repetition', *Essays in Criticism,* 65/3 (2015), pp. 250-73. On the dialogic nature of closet drama, see Daniel Cadman, 'Closet Drama: Fulke Greville's *Mustapha*', in Daniel Cadman, Andrew Duxfield and Lisa Hopkins (eds), *The Genres of Renaissance Tragedy* (Manchester, 2019), pp. 51-67.

of which he found completely satisfactory.[198] Finally, that the work was intended for the early Jacobean court is suggested by the fact that, when he wrote a list of his works in 1619, Greville did not include *A Dedication*.[199] Greville claimed in the conclusion to *A Treatise of Monarchy* that a monarch's 'best help indeed is happy choice / Of underministers in every kinde'. Clearly, he hoped that his collected works might advertise his suitability to become one such 'underminister'.

Greville's aspiration for a readership at court also provides a new explanation for his choice to dedicate his works to Sidney and write a detailed biography of his friend. These decisions have often been explained as a straightforward act of devotion, even a Protestant act of mourning.[200] Greville himself claimed that he had dedicated his work to Sidney in order to avoid the court politics usually involved in literary dedications: he sought 'comfortable ease or employment in the safe memory of dead men [rather] than disquiet in a doubtful conversation amongst the living'.[201] This overlooks the popularity of Sidney, and his works, at the Jacobean court, and Greville's shrewd awareness of the potential opportunities this presented. Sidney continued to be a widely-read and imitated author at the court including, as I showed in Chapter Four, by Scottish courtiers. Sidney's abiding popularity meant that a collected manuscript works that began with a hagiography of Sidney and critical appraisal of *Arcadia* could expect to find an engaged readership at the early Jacobean court. Ever since Sidney's death in 1586, Greville admitted that he had capitalised on their association: for example, seeking to use his relationship with Sidney 'the name of whose friendship carried me above my own worth' to secure an introduction to Archibald Douglas, earl of Angus and Morton in 1587.[202] Greville's Jacobean literary works, which he described as 'monuments of true affection between us', were the epitome of Greville's canny use of his relationship with his much-esteemed friend.[203] Throughout, he emphasised his privileged relationship with Sidney: 'I that had the honor as of being bred with him from his youth' and 'by his own choice (of all England) to be his loving, and beloved Achates'.[204] He also featured many instances of reported speech from Sidney, 'many times told me', and alleged insights into Sidney's 'intent and scope' in producing his

[198] Greville, *Prose*, p. 92.
[199] BL, MS Additional 54567, fo. 3r.
[200] Alison Findlay, '"Freedom Among the Dead": Greville's *Dedication to Sir Philip Sidney*', in Markidou and Panaghis (eds), *Precarious Identities*, pp. 41-56.
[201] Greville, *Prose*, p. 3.
[202] *HMC Salisbury*, iii, pp. 189, 131.
[203] Greville, *Prose*, p. 86.
[204] Ibid, p. 40.

literary works.[205] Greville exaggerated numerous aspects of his relationship with Sidney to make their connection seem even stronger.[206] Most overtly, in Greville's invented deathbed speech for Sidney, he had Sidney utter the request for posterity to 'cherish my friends'.[207] Greville clearly hoped that, as dedicatee and subject, Sidney would posthumously serve as a patron, winning a reading for his works, and their wide-ranging scrutiny of the changed court, at the court itself.[208]

Conclusion

Greville returned to a court post before he was able to complete and circulate his collected works.[209] The texts of his early Jacobean literary works appear to have remained at Warwick Castle, where he periodically revised them until his death. Critics have frequently characterised these writings as disillusioned, noting the prevalence in them (especially in the lyric poems) of images of darkness and senescence, terms such as 'desolation, 'desperation', and 'declination', and Calvinist preoccupations with iniquity.[210] However, as my analysis has shown, Greville's works during this period also deserve to be recognised as amongst the richest produced in response to the English court in transition.

Greville's experiences – an individual who had enjoyed an unofficial but influential position at the Elizabethan court, which he lost due to the rapid alterations in the power dynamics of the court at the Jacobean succession, before retiring to a position of financial security whilst maintaining cordial relations with several courtiers – enabled him to produce works that subjected the court, courtiers, and the new king to earnest scrutiny. However, as

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[205] Ibid, pp. 85, 10; Elaine Y.L. Ho, 'The Rhetoric of the 'I'-witness in Fulke Greville's "The Life of Sir Philip Sidney"', *Literature and History*, 2/1 (1991), pp. 17-26.

[206] On the questionable veracity of *A Dedication* in general, see John Gouws 'Fact and Anecdote in Fulke Greville's account of Sidney's last days', in J.A. van Dorsen, Dominic Baker-Smith, and Arthur Kinney (eds), *Sir Philip Sidney: 1586 and the Creation of a Legend* (Leiden, 1986), pp. 62-82.

[207] Greville, *Prose*, p. 83.

[208] Alan Bray has discussed Greville's circulation of a letter, describing his plans for a joint funeral monument with Sidney, as a similar ploy to 'claim the posthumous countenance of [Sidney's] memory': Alan Bray, *The Friend* (Chicago, 2002), p. 58.

[209] Upon his return to court position, he hardly practised the ideals he preached in his early Jacobean writings, instead engineering realpolitik alliances with first the pro-Spanish Howards and then the Duke of Buckingham: F.J. Levy, 'Fulke Greville: The Courtier as Philosophic Poet', *Modern Language Quarterly*, 33/4 (1972), pp. 442-4.

[210] Rebholz, *Life*, pp. 214-32; Rees, *Fulke Greville,* pp. 113-8, 182-98; Richard Waswo, *The Fatal Mirror: Themes and Techniques in the Poetry of Fulke Greville* (Charlottesville, 1972), pp. 3-4; Waller, 'Greville's Struggle'; Cummings, *Literary Culture*, p. 305; Dollimore, *Radical Tragedy*, pp. 106, 122; Adrian Streete, 'Privation, Deprivation, and Unprivation in Fulke Greville's *Caelica*', in Ross, Röder, and Sierhuis (eds), *Fulke Greville,* pp. 173-192.

the next chapter will demonstrate, strident criticisms of changes at the court, including concerning aspects addressed by Greville, such as a decline in courtly honour, circulated in manuscript at the court itself. However, the critical depictions of the court in these texts lacked the reverence that Greville's complaints largely maintained; and their circulation had far more destabilising implications for the court's reputation.

6

Verse Libels at the Early Jacobean Court

Sources and Features

This final chapter investigates a non-canonical, but nonetheless significant, form within the court's literary culture: manuscript verse libels about the court and courtiers. Short, anonymous, surreptitiously-circulated defamatory poems may seem a far cry from the, tournament pageantry, sermons, and poetry discussed in previous chapters. Yet, like these others forms of court literature, the verse libels courtiers composed and circulated were animated by concerns about how the court had changed after James's accession. However, verse libels, allowed criticisms to be expressed most severely. Below, I examine how the court was portrayed in verse libels written or read by courtiers; in particular, identifying the complaints about the court that first emerged or became prominent during the first decade of James's English reign. Where possible, I relate the composition or circulation of individual verse libels to particular court debates and rivalries, in order to demonstrate the form's multiple, sometimes competing, uses by courtiers attempting to negotiate a changed court.

This chapter adopts a different focus of location from much previous scholarship on verse libels. Numerous interdisciplinary studies have used verse libels to demonstrate the breadth and intensity of popular engagement with "high politics" in early Stuart Britain.[1] However, the scholarly interest in how early seventeenth-century news culture transmitted libellous representations of court affairs to the localities has meant that the question of how Jacobean courtiers themselves engaged with verse libels about the court has largely been overlooked.[2] Yet verse libels held appeal for early modern courtiers. The importance of personal reputation meant that verse libels, which anonymously and memorably spread accusations of corruption and vice, could allow courtiers to damage rivals' standings and promote their own causes. For example, associates of Robert Devereux, earl of Essex, wrote

[1] Much of this scholarship is reviewed in Alastair Bellany, 'Railing Rhymes Revisited: Libels, Scandals, and Early Stuart Politics', *History Compass*, 5/4 (2007), pp. 1136-79.
[2] Honourable exceptions that relate individual libels to early Jacobean court politics include Alastair Bellany, 'A Poem on the Archbishops' Hearse: Puritanism, Libel, and Sedition after the Hampton Court Conference', *JBS*, 34/2 (1995), pp. 137-64; Gabriel Heaton, '"The Poor Man's Petition": Anthony Atkinson and the Politics of Libel', *HLQ*, 69/1 (2006), pp. 105-20.

many of the most creative libellous poems about the late Elizabethan court; condemning the court's political dynamics in beast fables, emblems, and riddles, and attacking the earl's rivals through puns, heraldic jokes, and animal imagery.[3] During the reign of Charles II, the court's so-called 'wits' and 'rakes', most famously John Wilmot, earl of Rochester, published scandalous verses that lambasted the alleged libertinism and vices of the court and the king.[4] This chapter demonstrates that Jacobean courtiers also used verse libels to comment on and intervene in court politics.

However, it is challenging to link extant verse libels to the early Jacobean court. Examples of verse libels often only survive today because they were copied into commonplace books and verse miscellanies later in the seventeenth century.[5] Unfortunately, these transcriptions rarely indicate whether a libel had been written or read at the early Jacobean court. Courtly provenance can only be proposed confidently for a small number of verse libels, which were enclosed or mentioned in newsletters by courtiers and court gossips, recorded in contemporary miscellanies, or when later copies contain verifiable information about circulation at court. Overall, nearly two dozen verse libels can be linked to the early Jacobean court.

Nevertheless, most of the verse libels that can be related to the court are anonymous, and most of their readers are unknown. Although libels were occasionally displayed audaciously, such as by being pinned to doors, **s**cholars believe that they usually circulated at the court through 'scribal coterie publication', in which a manuscript copy of a text was passed between 'a close circle of readers on the understanding it [was] not allowed to go beyond the circle'.[6] Poems circulated in this discreet manner have rarely left any record of readership or authorship, as was intended. Although there were many contemporary justifications of libelling as an instrument of the public good – libels could alert the monarch to the machinations of wicked counsellors or intelligencers, or deter courtiers, who feared being

[3] For sample texts with commentary, see 'Early Stuart Libels: An Edition of Poetry from Manuscript Sources', ed. Alastair Bellany and Andrew McRae, Early Modern Literary Studies, Text Series I (2005) <http://www.earlystuartlibels.net/htdocs/index.html> (accessed 20 November 2020), Section A; *Verse Libel in Renaissance England and Scotland*, ed. Steven W. May and Alan Bryson (Oxford, 2016), pp. 121-45.
[4] Marianne Thormählen, *Rochester: The Poems in Context* (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 285-308; Matthew Jenkinson, *Culture and Politics at the Court of Charles II, 1660-1685* (Woodbridge, 2010), pp. 134-66.
[5] Arthur F. Marotti, *Manuscript, Print, and the English Renaissance Lyric* (Ithaca, 1995), pp. 92-112; Andrew McRae, *Literature, Satire and the Early Stuart State* (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 40-3; Adam Smyth, '"Read in one age and understood I'th'next": Recycling Satire in the Mid-Seventeenth Century', *HLQ*, 69/1 (2006), pp. 67-82; Joshua Eckhardt, *Manuscript Verse Collectors and the Politics of Anti-Courtly Love Poetry* (Oxford, 2009).
[6] Harold Love, *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford, 1993), p. 43.

publically shamed in libels, from vice and corruption – the clandestine publication of verse libels was nonetheless prudent.[7] There remained a degree of wariness about circulating a literary form that launched scurrilous attacks and that had been associated with seditious puritanism.[8] More importantly, those found to have written or circulated verse libels, including courtiers, risked prosecution for seditious libel, which carried sentences of pillorying or even mutilation. Furthermore, the legal proscriptions against libelling were enhanced early in James's reign. After the minor courtier Lewis Pickering was convicted of seditious libel in May 1605, following the affixing of a verse libel to Archbishop John Whitgift's hearse the previous March, the crime of *scandalum magnatum* was redefined expansively.[9] Attorney-General Sir Edward Coke argued that the anonymous publication of a defamatory poem about a court figure was also a treasonous act 'by implication againste o[u]r Kinge': accusing a senior figure of corruption entailed suggesting that James lacked wisdom, morality or authority, as he must be either permissive or ignorant of his servant's corruption.[10] Additionally, the case confirmed that mere possession of a libel constituted sedition. It could only be proven that Pickering had shared the libel, not that he was its 'author', but he was found guilty of its 'Contryuinge & publishinge' nonetheless.[11] Pickering's trial therefore established several legal precedents which further encouraged anonymity and discretion by those courtiers writing or circulating verse libels.

Nevertheless, libels were read and written by a range of courtiers: from minor office-holders to such major courtiers as the earls of Pembroke and Northampton. Notably, they were also read and collected by courtiers from across the religious spectrum, from puritans to Catholics. Strikingly however, given the vibrancy of cultures of satire and libelling in sixteenth-century Scotland, the known authors or readers of verse libels at the early Jacobean court do not include any Scottish courtiers.[12] Additionally, although the king was aware of

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[7] David Colclough, 'Verse Libels and the Epideictic Tradition in Early Stuart England', *HLQ*, 69/1 (2006), pp. 15-30; R. Malcolm Smuts, 'Jonson's *Poetaster* and the Politics of Defamation', *English Literary Renaissance*, 49/2 (2019), pp. 224-247.

[8] Alastair Bellany, 'The Embarrassment of Libels: Perceptions and Representations of Verse Libelling in Early Stuart England', in Peter Lake and Steven Pincus (eds), *The Politics of the Public Sphere in Early Modern England* (Manchester, 2007), pp. 144-67; Patrick Collinson, 'Ecclesiastical Vitriol: Religious Satire in the 1590s and the Invention of Puritanism', in Guy (ed.), *Reign of Elizabeth*, pp. 150-70.

[9] Bellany, 'Poem'; David Ibbetson, 'Edward Coke, Roman Law, and the Law of Libel', in Lorna Hutson (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of English Law and Literature, 1500-1700* (Oxford, 2017), pp. 487-506.

[10] *Les reportes del cases in Camera stellata, 1593 to 1609: From the Original MS. of John Hawarde,* ed. William Paley Basildon (London, 1894), p. 223.

[11] Ibid, pp. 227, 229.

[12] Tricia A. McElroy and Nicole Meier, 'Satire', in Nicola Royan (ed.), *The International Companion to Scottish Literature 1400-1650* (Glasgow, 2018), pp. 200-16. Many can be sampled in *Satirical Poems of the Time of Reformation*, ed. James Cranstoun (2 vols, Edinburgh, 1891-3); *Verse Libel*, ed. May and Bryson, pp. 218-78.

verse libels about the court, it cannot be confirmed that he read any of the examples discussed in this chapter.[13]

Even within the small sample of surviving verse libels from the early Jacobean court, a few formal developments are conspicuous when compared with libellous poems at the Elizabethan court. The libels largely adhered to the formal conventions of the genre which had developed by the end of Elizabeth's reign.[14] Most verse libels from the early Jacobean court are short epigrams or ballads (between two and sixteen lines in length), written in tetrameter with semi-anapaestic rhythms. This brevity and metre enhanced the libels' defamatory potential, by aiding memorisation, and making discreet scribal circulation, public posting, or even setting to tunes more feasible. The only truly noteworthy formal development in the verse libels at the early Jacobean court is the increased prevalence of mock-epitaphs, which had occasionally circulated in sixteenth-century England and Scotland, but became much more abundant during the first decade of James's English reign.[15] John Donne condemned posthumous libels as violating the epideictic, reforming spirit of the genre: Donne claimed libelling the dead, who could not amend their behaviour, could 'have no honest pretence'.[16] However, as contemporary legal authorities such as Coke recognised, a mock-epitaph's attacks on a deceased courtier also allowed wider criticisms of the court to be aired.

Similarly, verse libels continued to draw on the negative images of courts and courtiers that had featured in various genres, including medieval complaint literature, Catholic "secret histories" of the Elizabethan court, hostile depictions of the late Valois court, Tacitus's increasingly-read account of imperial Rome, satires written at the Inns of Court and universities, and the contemporary public stage.[17] These regularly portrayed courts as corrupting sites of infighting and iniquity, and courtiers as ambitious, appetitive, and proud

[13] TNA, SP 14/216, fo. 18r; CP 125, fo. 97r.
[14] McRae, *Literature*, pp. 23-50*;* Alan Bryson, 'Elizabethan Verse Libel', in Smuts (ed.), *Age of Shakespeare,* pp. 477-92.
[15] McRae, *Literature*, p. 46; Bryson, 'Elizabethan Verse Libel', p. 489. For a wider discussion of mock-epitaphs, see James Doelman, *The Epigram in England, 1590-1640* (Manchester, 2016), pp. 318-44.
[16] *The Life and Letters of John Donne*, ed. Edmund Gosse (2 vols, London, 1899), i, p. 89.
[17] Sydney Anglo, 'The Courtier: The Renaissance and Changing Ideals', in A.G. Dickens (ed.), *The Courts of Europe: Politics, Patronage and Royalty, 1400-1800* (London, 1977), pp. 33-54; Albert H. Tricomi, *Anti-Court Drama in England, 1603-42* (Charlottesville, 1989); Linda Ley Peck, *Court Patronage and Corruption in Early Stuart England* (London, 1990); R. Malcolm Smuts, 'Court Centred Politics and the Uses of Roman Historians, c.1590-1630', in Kevin Sharpe and Peter Lake (eds), *Culture and Politics in Early Stuart England* (Basingstoke, 1994), pp. 21-44; Mary Partridge, 'Images of the Courtier in Elizabethan England' (Ph.D. thesis, University of Birmingham, 2008), pp. 130-248; Peter Lake, *Bad Queen Bess?: Libels, Secret Histories, and the Politics of Publicity in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth I* (Oxford, 2016); R. Malcolm Smuts, 'Varieties of Tacitism', *HLQ*, 83/3 (2020), pp. 441-65.

incessant schemers, who practised venality, embezzlement, dissimulation, and even murder to achieve their self-interested ends, to the endangerment of the commonwealth. These traditional stereotypes were sometimes combined imaginatively in verse libels at the court. One mock-epitaph, written on the death of Thomas Sackville, the earl of Dorset, in 1608, imagined that Dorset, a poet and Lord Treasurer, would have been able to talk and bribe his way even out of an encounter with Death: 'Thou wouldst haue spar'd his life & tane a Bribe'. The libel, which mixed the archetypal courtier's vices of dissimulation and financial corruption, was widely copied, including by Sir Francis Fane, the future earl of Westmorland, and Sir Robert Cotton.[18] However, in addition to these stereotypes, verse libels at the Jacobean court introduced several new anti-court complaints that had not featured in verse libels at the Elizabethan court.

Yet, it should first be noted that many major aspects of the court under James do not feature in extant verse libels, although it is impossible to judge whether their absence is due to lack of interest, prudence, or the non-survival of examples. Neither the king nor queen was the subject, even tangentially, of any surviving early Jacobean verse libel with courtly provenance. Although denunciations of evil counsellors are abundant, the figure of the favourite, which has so often been treated as a preoccupation of Jacobean literature, is not evident in verse libels at the court.[19] Whilst several early Jacobean libels complained about the sale and inflation of honours, none can be demonstrated to have originated or circulated at the court. Most surprisingly, whereas the presence, activities, and influence of Scottish courtiers was a recurring subject of complaint in many of the other forms of court literature analysed in this thesis, Scottish courtiers are the subject of only a handful of surviving verse libels from the early Jacobean court.

Neither does any surviving verse libel directly address the substantial early Jacobean changes to the court's formal structure and access protocols. Instead, verse libels which commented on changes in court personnel at the beginning of James's reign largely discussed the declined fortunes of one particular courtier: Sir Walter Ralegh. Ralegh, who had always been a controversial figure and the subject of unpleasant representations, had been one of the most conspicuous losers at the court after James's accession, even before his arraignment for

[18] BL, MS Additional 34218, fo. 6r; BL, MS Cotton Appendix L, fo. 169r.
[19] Robert P. Shephard, 'Royal Favourites in the Political Discourse of Tudor and Stuart England' (Ph.D. thesis, Claremont Graduate School, 1985); Blair Worden, 'Favourites on the English Stage', in J.H. Elliott and L.W.B. Brockliss (eds), *The World of the Favourite* (New Haven, 1999), pp. 159-83; Curtis Perry, *Literature and Favouritism in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2006).

treason in the Main Plot.[20] One libel celebrated Ralegh's misfortunes, including his replacement by Sir Thomas Erskine as the Captain of the Guard, and the loss of his monopoly over wine-licenses as part of James's abolition of Elizabethan patents: 'Captain shipp newly sped / Dried is the Hogsheads he[a]d'.[21] This libel survives, adjacent to two other verse libels about Ralegh, in a single miscellany, believed to have been compiled between 1603 and July 1604.[22] The compiler's identity is unknown, but other poems within the miscellany indicate that they were someone who was permitted access to Erskine's literary papers.[23] This suggests that poems mocking Ralegh's misfortunes circulated amongst, and presumably entertained, the associates of the man who had inherited his court post.

Yet many Jacobean court personnel, policies, and scandals did inspire topics to be addressed in verse libels at the court for the first time. Amongst the new themes, especially noticeable are claims that insufficient respect for the English nobility and traditional dignities were displayed at the court, an increased frequency of allegations that courtiers practised illicit sex, and concerns that the Jacobean court was troublingly sympathetic towards Catholicism. Of course, many of these allegations were long-standing commonplaces in critical literature about the court. The first decade of James's English rule is significant because it is the first period during which these themes were written down and circulated by courtiers themselves. This chapter will consider each of these themes in turn, demonstrating how courtiers deployed them in verse libels to advance various agendas, including defamation, petitions for court appointment, and complaints about religious policy. A case study of the verse libels and counter-libels that circulated at court following the death of Robert Cecil in 1612, demonstrates most clearly the multiple, often competing, uses of verse libels by courtiers. Overall, I aim to enhance our appreciation of verse libels as an important literary genre at the early Jacobean court, and one which reveals courtiers' different responses to the Jacobean succession.

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[20] Mark Nicholls and Penry Williams, *Sir Walter Raleigh in Life and Legend* (London, 2011), pp. 181-4, 191-5; Susan Doran, 'Elizabeth I and Her Favourites: The Case of Sir Walter Ralegh', in Donald Stump, Linda Schenk, and Carole Levin (eds), *Elizabeth I and the 'Sovereign Arts': Essays in Literature, History, and Culture* (Tucson, 2011), pp. 157-74.

[21] BL, MS Additional 22601, fo. 63r.

[22] Maria Reardon, 'The Manuscript Miscellany in Early Stuart England: A Study of British Library Manuscript Additional 22601 and Related Texts' (2 vols, Ph.D. thesis, Queen Mary, University of London, 2007).

[23] Curtis Perry, 'Royal Authorship and Problems of Manuscript Attribution in the Poems of King James VI and I', *N&Q*, 46/2 (1999), pp. 244-5.

Nobility and Honour

As we have seen, writing in Warwickshire, Fulke Greville repeatedly denounced the inferior quality of James's intimates and counsellors. However, the complaint that insufficient regard was displayed at court for the nobility and traditions of aristocratic honour was also amongst the most persistent metanarratives in verse libels at the early Jacobean court itself. This theme recurred despite the fact that James showed conspicuous support for the privileges of the English ancient nobility, and largely made good on his pronouncement in *Basilikon Doron* that a good king should 'delight to be serued with men of the noblest blood'.[24] James redressed decades-old complaints that the Elizabethan Privy Council lacked noble representation by appointing several nobles to it on his accession, honoured others with prominent household posts**,** included several English noblemen in his hunting parties, and was intensely interested in the Order of the Garter. However, the continued pre-eminence of Robert Cecil, the imprisonment of the earl of Northumberland, and perceptions that Scottish courtiers were intruding into the English honour system all stimulated complaints in verse libels about the pre-eminence at court of base-born malcontents, allegations of disregard for, and even conspiracy against, the nobility, and nostalgia for traditional aristocratic hospitality.

As the earl of Essex and his associates had frequently complained, including in verse libels circulated at court, that late Elizabethan court politics was a conspiracy amongst self-serving *arrivistes*, headed by the Cecils, to 'curbe the Peeres' through 'detraction' and 'Machiavellian skill', it is unsurprising that claims about an anti-aristocratic court conspiracy are especially prominent in the verse libels that commented on the disgrace or deaths of Essex's former court rivals.[25] For example, one mock-epitaph on Robert Cecil, reportedly written by 'Hessels', a servant of the earl of Arundel, depicted Cecil damaging the nobility in multiple ways.[26] Hessels claimed it was well known that the Cecils had, through conspiracy, 'Brought a new forme of government in the state' which excluded 'our peeres': 'they which had the countries dearest places, / Should be so cheated of their princes graces'.[27] Hessels believed the innovative *regnum Cecilianum* left the realm insecure because – alluding to Cecil's humble lineage – it was founded on 'rotten' timbers rather than more venerable pillars. However Hessels also feared that Cecil's actions threatened the nobility's longer term prospects.

[24] James, *Political Writings*, p. 37.
[25] Bodleian, MS Don. c. 54, fo. 20r. Janet Dickinson, *Court Politics and the Earl of Essex, 1589-1601* (London, 2011), pp. 65-98; Gajda, *Essex*, pp. 141-88.
[26] For the attribution, BL, MS Trumbull Miscellany V, fo. 10r.
[27] BL, MS Trumbull Miscellany V, fo. 11r.

Referencing the Cecil family's marriages into many noble dynasties, including the Brookes, Cliffords, Stanleys, Herberts, Manners, and, most significantly, the Howards, Hessels complained: 'O were thy blood not mixt / Among the noble'. Hessels' alarm was animated by concerns beyond a social prejudice that intermarriage with the relatively *parvenu* Cecils would cause degeneration in noble bloodlines. Hessels speculated that Cecil's schemes against Essex had 'invoke[d] revenge, dispaire, and endlesse shame, / On thee and thine'. He feared that Cecil's 'poisoned virulence' had bequeathed a congenital danger to his noble kin: the providential punishments for Cecil's sins against Essex would now be visited through his bloodlines against future generations of the English nobility. It is unlikely that Hessels' libel expressed the views of his master, Arundel. Although Arundel had attributed his loss of titles and office under Elizabeth to anti-aristocratic and anti-Catholic plotting, unlike his great-uncle the earl of Northampton, he displayed no noticeable contempt for newer dynasties.[28] Nor did he share Hessels' alarm at noble kinship with Cecil, who was godfather to Arundel's first-born son. This verse libel does, however, demonstrate the persistence of a late Elizabethan perception, even amongst the humblest at court, that there were multiple court-centred threats to the nobility and, therefore, the commonwealth.

Hessels' poem, as many late Elizabethan verse libels had, attributed the misfortunes of the ancient nobility to schemes by self-serving upstart courtiers. However, verse libels at the Jacobean court increasingly depicted the oppression of the nobility and the decay of traditional aristocratic values as a feature of court life for which the king was at least partly culpable. For example, one anonymous verse libel made this allegation by discussing the downfalls of two noblemen during the first years of the seventeenth century (the earl of Essex and Henry Percy, ninth earl of Northumberland). The only extant copy of the poem was transcribed by Margaret Bellasis, whose father, Thomas, occasionally attended the Jacobean court. It is believed that the Bellasis family were church papists.[29] The plights of Essex and Northumberland, both Protestants who had advocated forms of Catholic toleration, were likely to attract the sympathies of some Catholics. The libel may therefore indicate that concerns about anti-aristocratic prejudices at court were held especially acutely by some Jacobean Catholics, who

[28] R. Malcolm Smuts, 'Howard, Thomas, fourteenth earl of Arundel, fourth earl of Surrey, and first earl of Norfolk (1585-1646), *ODNB*; Linda Levy Peck, *Northampton: Patronage and Policy at the Court of James I* (London, 1982), pp. 156-60.
[29] Christine M. Newman, 'Bellasis family (per. c. 1500-1653)', *ODNB*.

had witnessed the destruction of two of their most prominent noble champions in quick succession.

> Essex did spend, Northumberland did spare,
> 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.[30]

The poem initially seems to participate in the seasoned debate concerning whether the nobility should practise traditional aristocratic largesse, like the 'spend[ing]' Essex, who had spoken publically and nostalgically about aristocratic hospitality, or preserve their revenue, as Northumberland does.[31] Both approaches were held to entail risk: excessive liberality invited allegations of seditiously courting popularity, whilst accumulating revenues encouraged fears of bastard feudalism. However, the poem consigns the debate to irrelevance by concluding that the fates of Essex and Northumberland demonstrated royal suspicions would inevitably descend on noblemen regardless. The poem therefore developed a claim long maintained by Essex and his associates that great subjects aroused their monarch's jealousy. During his lifetime, Essex had been depicted as a latter-day Agricola or the Scipios, overlooked and schemed against because of his achievements and virtues.[32] Yet whereas Essex's difficulties were always partly self-aggravated, Northumberland had indisputably suffered because of his noble status. He was suspected of involvement in treasonous plots on several occasions. For example, there were rumours that he had been privy to the planning of the Bye Plot.[33] However, the poem most likely criticised Northumberland's imprisonment in the Tower of London for misprision following the Gunpowder Plot. Northumberland was the victim of the regime's belief that a conspiracy as ambitious as the Gunpowder Plot required the involvement of a peer.[34] Northumberland's imprisonment, based largely on circumstantial and tangential evidence, exemplified that to be 'great men' at the early seventeenth-century court was to be suspected by the monarch and their advisors. Several early Jacobean poems, misreading

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[30] BL, MS Additional 10309, fo. 103v.
[31] Felicity Heal, 'The Idea of Hospitality in Early Modern England', *P&P*, 102 (1984), pp. 66-93. Essex had spoken about a lost past of noble housekeeping at the Court of Chivalry in 1597: Gajda, *Essex*, p. 177. Despite the poem's claims of his frugality, Northumberland actually spent a great deal of money on court life: Gordon R. Batho, 'The Finances of an Elizabethan Nobleman: Henry Percy, Ninth Earl of Northumberland (1564-1632), *The Economic History Review*, 9/3 (1957), pp. 447-9.
[32] Gajda, *Essex*, pp. 230-1; Paulina Kewes, 'Roman History, Essex, and Late Elizabethan Political Culture', in Smuts (ed.), *Age of Shakespeare*, pp. 256-7.
[33] Nicholls and Williams, *Raleigh*, pp. 194-5, 202.
[34] Mark Nicholls, 'The "Wizard Earl" in Star Chamber: The Trial of the Earl of Northumberland, June 1606', *HJ*, 30/1 (1987), p. 174-6

James's favour to Essex's son and co-conspirators, had boldly, and to James's anger, argued that Essex was not a traitor.[35] This poem, even more subversively, explained the recent downfalls of noblemen as a consequence of unfounded courtly and royal jealousy of nobility, which was now a pervasive, dangerous feature of court life.

Against alleged courtly suspicion of the nobility, verse libels celebrated aristocratic habits, especially the popularity of the earl of Essex. This praise underlies, complexly, a verse libel on Walter Ralegh's fall, written between July and December 1603 by Thomas Rogers, soon-to-be a secretary to Henry Howard, earl of Northampton.[36] This was one of several libellous poems on Ralegh collected by an unknown associate of Thomas Erskine, Ralegh's replacement as Captain of the Guard.[37] Like many other sermons and poems about Ralegh's fall, Rogers's verse libel presented Ralegh's fate as an exemplar from which all readers, but especially courtiers, should learn.[38] In addition to offering obvious warnings about the perils of treason and ungodliness, Ralegh's fall, Rogers suggested, demonstrated that it was a risk for courtiers to neglect popularity. Through his ostentatious display, and his collection of lucrative, but exploitative, patents and monopolies, Ralegh had cultivated 'not poore Mens love but feare'. Entirely dependent on the favour and longevity of 'Immortal Cinthia', Ralegh was vulnerable to a 'chaunge of state', and soon found himself someone 'whom both the Prince doth scorne & people hate'.[39] In contrast to Ralegh's 'scorne' for the common people (mentioned three times in the poem), Rogers recalled fondly the time when:

> Renowned Essex as he past the streets
> would vaile his Bonnett to an Oyster wife,
> And with a kind of humble congie [bow] greete
> the vulgar sorte.

This sort of affectation by aristocrats of a common touch had often been ridiculed in late Elizabethan printed satires.[40] However, in the aftermath of the Essex Rising, as the regime attempted to depict Essex as "the popular traytor", claiming his appeals to the public through

[35] Maureen King, 'The Essex Myth in Jacobean England', in Burgess, Wymer and Lawrence (eds), *Accession,* pp. 179-82.
[36] BL, MS Additional 22601, fos 64r-65v. Rogers's speculation that Ralegh could receive a pardon dates it to before 9 December 1603.
[37] Reardon, 'Manuscript Miscellany', i, pp. 196-201.
[38] One poem on Ralegh's fall was entitled 'His Caveat to Secure Courtiers', although there is no proof it circulated at court, Bodleian, MS Ashmole 36-37, fos 14r-16r.
[39] Nicholls and Williams, *Ralegh*, p. 203.
[40] [Everard Guipin], *Skialetheia* (1598), sig. C3v ridiculed 'Great Foelix passing through the street / Vayleth his cap to each one he doth meet'.

ceremony, print, and hospitality were elements of treasonous designs on the throne, aristocratic cultivation of popular support had been treated as a truly seditious activity.[41] Rogers's celebration of Essex's common touch was therefore a striking departure from contemporary depictions of aristocratic popularity. However, many courtiers appreciated that appeals to the multitude, although dubiously legitimate, were becoming an inescapable component of court politics, and pondered how best to practise popularity.[42] For example, Robert Cecil was advised by his father 'not to affect, or neglect popularity too much: Seek not to be Essex: shun to be Ralegh'.[43] Like the Cecils, Rogers appreciated that prudent courtiers should at least be mindful of their public reputation, if only as insurance against the uncertainties of fortune, royal favour, and posthumous infamy. Had Ralegh performed the 'gentle salutacions' to the public that Essex had, his position might have been less dismal. He would at least have avoided public 'disdaine' and the risk of posthumous ignominy. After all, as Rogers noted, Essex's public appeals ensured that, even after his disgrace, 'they will not cease yet to lament his death'. Unfortunately, it can only be speculated whether Rogers hoped that his master Northampton, infamously contemptuous of the common people, would meditate on this lesson.

Courtiers who wrote or read verse libels clearly perceived numerous worsening threats to the nobility, although many of these concerns had been raised during Elizabeth's reign. However, the most obvious of the challenges posed to English traditions of nobility and honour was indisputably a consequence of James's accession: the dignities granted to Scottish courtiers. One ballad, preserved in the State Papers – a rare example of a courtly verse libel that referenced Scottish courtiers – complained about Scottish intrusion into the English honour system.[44] It satirically described how the clothing of a generic Scotsman, nicknamed Jockie, had transformed after he arrived in England.[45] Having first worn old, unwashed, lice-infested clothing, Jockie acquired a 'scarlet red cloak' with golden lace, stockings with 'silken garters', and a feathered beaver hat. The refrain, 'twas England that made thee a gentleman' alleged bitterly that Jockie's sartorial transformation was undeserved and had been funded by English revenue. Furthermore, 'Jockie's' new clothing resembles the regalia of the Order of the Bath,

[41] Paul E.J. Hammer, 'The Smiling Crocodile: The Earl of Essex and Late Elizabethan "Popularity"', in Lake and Pincus (eds), *Politics of the Public Sphere*, pp. 95-115; Gajda, *Essex*, pp. 62-5, 200-15.
[42] Peter Lake, 'The Paradoxes of "Popularity" in Shakespeare's History Plays', in Chris Fitter (ed.), *Shakespeare and the Politics of Commoners: Digesting the New Social History* (Oxford, 2017), pp. 40-63.
[43] Quoted in Joel Hurstfield, *The Queen's Wards: Wardship and Marriage under Elizabeth I* (London, 1958), p. 257.
[44] TNA, SP 14/191, fo. 7r.
[45] This device was first noticed in C. H. Firth, 'The Ballad History of the Reign of James I', *TRHS*, 5 (1911), p. 23.

into which thirteen Scots had been invested by 1612. The ballad seems to parody the Order's investiture ritual, in which the initiate presented himself before the king in 'Hermites weedses' before adorning his 'Roabes of Crimson Taffata'.[46] Scottish courtiers, the ballad joked, really were as socially base as the ritual pretended. Jockie's initial garb included a 'blew bonnet', the traditional headwear of the Scottish Lowlands peasantry, and the ballad even suggested that he had previously been a ploughman or a beggar.[47] The ballad registered outrage, but also found several ways to massage English concerns about the awarding of honours to Scottish courtiers.

In verse libels that addressed a range of court events, practices, and personnel, courtiers circulated a critical interpretation of the Jacobean court as a place where nobles and their values were threatened. However, although this complaint developed distinctively Jacobean attributes, it had already been present to some degree in verse libels at the Elizabethan court. The increased references in verse libels at the Jacobean court to the sex lives of courtiers was, however, a new departure.

Illicit Sex at Court

There had been several notorious sex scandals at the Elizabethan court.[48] Yet, whilst reports of the scandalous sex lives of courtiers and of the queen had featured pervasively in popular gossip, satirical poetry at the Inns of Court, and Catholic polemic, they rarely featured in the verse libels that circulated at court.[49] This was due to powerful deterrents. Elizabeth usually punished illicit sexual activity amongst her courtiers harshly and publically, because their affairs, pregnancies and elopements could undermine her authority by suggesting that she was incapable of controlling her household, and could even encourage speculation about her own virginity.[50] She was therefore unlikely to forgive courtiers who circulated verses imputing unchaste behaviour at her court. The few extant verse libels from the Elizabethan court that

[46] TNA, SP 14/55, fo. 34v.
[47] Norman C. Milne and Gordon Nicolson, *Scottish Culture and Traditions: During the Late 17th and Early 18th Centuries* (Rothersthorpe, 2010), p. 47.
[48] Johanna Rickman, *Love, Lust and License in Early Modern England: Illicit Sex and the Nobility* (Aldershot, 2008), pp. 27-68.
[49] Louis Montrose, *The Subject of Elizabeth: Authority, Gender, and Representation* (Chicago, 2006), pp. 186-215; David Cressy, *Dangerous Talk: Scandalous, Seditious, and Treasonable Speech in Pre-Modern England* (Oxford, 2010), pp. 69-77; Carole Levin, *The Heart and Stomach of a King: Elizabeth I and the Politics of Sex and Power*, second edition (Philadelphia, 2013), pp. 66-90. Bawdy verse did circulate at the court, but verse libels accusing individual courtiers of lechery are exceptionally rare.
[50] Paul E.J. Hammer, 'Sex and the Virgin Queen: Aristocratic Concupiscence and the Court of Elizabeth I', *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 31/1 (2000), pp. 77-97.

addressed the topic of courtly concupiscence were produced following the Essex Rising, accusing some of the earl's rivals of lechery.[51] By contrast, the verse libels that circulated at the early Jacobean court increasingly portrayed courtiers as libidinous.

The earliest such verse libels about courtiers' sex lives were prompted by the first *bona fide* moral scandal at the Jacobean court: the controversial marriage of Charles Blount and Penelope Rich (the older sister of the second earl of Essex). Blount and Rich had conducted an adulterous relationship since the early 1590s.[52] Although their affair was publically known, arousing some disquiet, the couple had largely behaved with discretion.[53] However, they were emboldened by the improvements in their fortunes at court following James's accession. Blount, Lord Deputy of Ireland, was rewarded for concluding the Nine Years' War by being appointed to the Privy Council and created earl of Devonshire.[54] Rich, who had previously only been a visiting maid of honour at the Elizabethan court, was awarded a more permanent position in Queen Anna's household, and received the precedence of the Essex earldom.[55] The couple's enhanced positions encouraged Rich to confess to adultery before the London consistory court in November 1605, allowing her to divorce her first husband, Robert, Lord Rich. A month later, breaking a prohibition against remarriage for the guilty party in a divorce, Rich and Devonshire were married in a ceremony performed by Devonshire's chaplain, William Laud. The couple became pariahs at court, with the divorce and scandalous marriage widely discussed, especially because Devonshire wrote and circulated a treatise and a letter addressed to the king defending the couple's actions.[56] Their deaths soon afterwards (Blount's in April 1606 and Rich's in July 1607) therefore inspired widely-circulated verse libels.[57]

Although the libels dishonoured both Blount and Rich, their invective focused mostly on Rich. For example, one four-line mock-epitaph on Devonshire suggested that Rich had ensnared him with love magic in order to acquire his wealth. Punning on Rich's surname, it claimed: 'Of late did devonshire live in rich estate / Till rich with toyes did devonshire bewitch'.[58] This defamation of the still-living Rich in a mock-epitaph on Devonshire may

[51] TNA, SP 12/278, fo. 23r; BL, MS Additional 10309, fo. 142v.
[52] Rickman, *Love*, pp. 111-41.
[53] Sylvia Freedman, *Poor Penelope: Lady Penelope Rich, An Elizabethan Woman* (Abbostbrook, 1983), p. 179; Martin Ingram, *Carnal Knowledge: Regulating Sex in England, 1470-1600* (Cambridge, 2017), pp. 406-7.
[54] Christopher Maginn, 'Blount, Charles, eighth Baron Mountjoy and earl of Devonshire (1563-1606)', *ODNB.*
[55] Alison Wall, 'Rich [née Devereux], Penelope, Lady Rich', *ODNB.*
[56] BL, MS Additional 4149, fos 306r-319v; BL, MS Lansdowne 885, fos 86r-87r.
[57] Andrew McRae, 'Reading Libels: An Introduction', *HLQ*, 69/1 (2006), pp. 4-11; Smyth, '"Read in one age"', pp. 76-7.
[58] Leeds University Library, Brotherton Collection, MS Lt 25, fo. 9r.

simply have expressed the conventional association of female lust with sorcery. However, the allegation that Rich's relationship with Devonshire had been a scheme to acquire his property, executed through witchcraft, would certainly have suited Devonshire's relatives, who litigated against his will's provisions for the couple's five surviving illegitimate children. The variants between manuscript and printed versions of John Ford's elegy for Devonshire, *Fames Memoriall*, indicate how such libelling contributed to irreparably damaging Rich's reputation. In the manuscript copy presented to Rich, Ford described the couple's outcast status as an 'unjust disgrace', commended Rich for her endurance ('setting nought by vulgar rumors slaunderes'), and hyperbolically praised her as an exemplar of female virtue: 'thy perfections brook't no parity'.[59] However, the three stanzas in which these forthright defences of Rich's reputation were made were not included in the printed version of the poem.[60] Either Ford or his printer R. Bradock clearly believed that, whilst there was appetite for poetry celebrating Devonshire's military achievements, there was little purpose in publically refuting libels and defending Rich.

With no defences forthcoming from the court, still bawdier libels about Rich circulated after her death. One mocked her illegal remarriage and the couple's casual attitude towards ecclesiastical law by inviting readers to 'chuse' whether to address Rich by her first married name, 'the Lady Penelope Rich', or her second, 'the Countess of Devonshire'.[61] Rich was also depicted as sexually insatiable: 'One stone contents her, low what death can doe / That in her life was not content with two'.[62] The misogyny is utterly conventional, and it is possible that a pre-existing bawdy couplet was simply repurposed to libel Rich.[63] The use of such crude material against Rich was especially subversive because she was widely presumed at court to have been the inspiration for Stella in Sir Philip Sidney's *Astrophil and Stella*.[64] The libel's invective was heightened by depicting the inspiration for a seminal work of courtly love poetry as insatiably libidinous. The rhyme's circulation demonstrates an increasing boldness amongst Jacobean courtiers, in contrast to their Elizabethan predecessors, to circulate poems that accused female courtiers of illicit sexuality.

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[59] Bodleian, MS Malone 238 (10), fos 10v-11r.
[60] John Ford, *Fames memorial, or The Earle of Deuonshire deceased* (1606).
[61] NAL, MS Dyce 44, fo. 68v.
[62] FSL, MS V.a.345, p. 28.
[63] McRae, *Literature*, p. 46.
[64] Katherine Duncan-Jones, 'Sidney, Stella, and Lady Rich', in Jan van Dorsten, Dominic Baker Smith, and Arthur F. Kinney (eds), *Sir Philip Sidney: 1586 and the Creation of a Legend* (Leiden, 1986), pp. 170-92.

The assumption that male courtiers practised illicit sex also rapidly became a stereotype in verse libels at the early Jacobean court. A mock-epitaph on the earl of Dorset, the Lord Treasurer, who died in 1608, accused him of embezzling Treasury funds to purchase prostitutes: 'a Lord that Wenching thought no sinne / and bought his flesh by selling of our skinne'.[65] Although Dorset was certainly guilty of financial corruption, the allegation that he employed prostitutes seems unfounded, as all surviving evidence indicates that he enjoyed an unusually loving and faithful fifty-year marriage to Cicely Baker.[66] More notoriously, many of the posthumous verse libels about Robert Cecil featured allegations about his sex life.[67] Unfortunately, very few of these libels have any discernible courtly provenance. However, one, much anthologised in the seventeenth century, was reputedly written by the imprisoned Walter Ralegh.[68] Imagining Cecil in the act of seduction ('swetely sunge walsingham'), it even identified one of his rumoured mistresses: Audrey, Lady Walsingham, Queen Anna's mistress of the robes.[69] As yet, there is no evidence other than verse libels to suggest that a relationship ever existed between Cecil and Walsingham. These examples therefore indicate that, during the first decade of James's reign, the courtier's sexual sins become an established stereotype to which verse libellers defaulted upon the death of senior courtiers, regardless of the veracity of the charge to their target.

Nonetheless, despite the increased prevalence of depictions of the sexual sins of courtiers, certain topics were not addressed in verse libels at court. For example, the scandalous marriage, imprisonment, and attempted elopement of Arbella Stuart, the king's cousin, and William Seymour, Lord Beauchamp in 1610 inspired little poetry.[70] Neither did James's well-known and often resented intimate relationships with several male courtiers, including James Hay, Philip Herbert, and Robert Carr, which involved frequent public displays of physical

[65] NAL, MS Dyce 44, fo. 68v.
[66] Rivkah Zim, 'Sackville, Thomas, first Baron Buckhurst and first earl of Dorset (c. 1536-1608), *ODNB*.
[67] Pauline Croft, 'The Reputation of Robert Cecil: Libels, Political Opinion and Popular Awareness in the Early Seventeenth Century', *TRHS*, 1 (1991), pp. 58-62.
[68] Bodleian, MS Aubrey 6, fo. 78v. John Aubrey attributed it to Ralegh on the testimony of Sir Thomas Malet. Ralegh's authorship has been disputed: *The Poems of Sir Walter Ralegh*, ed. Agnes M. C. Latham (London, 1921), p. 146.
[69] UNL, MS PW v 2, p. 145.
[70] For example, Andrew Melville, also imprisoned in the Tower of London, wrote a Latin epigram comparing his and Beauchamp's unfair treatment, which circulated amongst Beauchamp's friends: Ernest R. Holloway III, *Andrew Melville and Humanism in Renaissance Scotland, 1545-1622* (Leiden, 2011), pp. 262-3.

affection, encourage the circulation at court of verse libels imputing homosexual behaviour between the king and his favourites.[71]

The increased circulation at court of verse libels accusing female and male courtiers of insatiable lust is challenging to explain. Courtiers may have felt greater license to circulate libellous verses on sexual topics due to the fact that James was known to enjoy bawdy humour. The accession of a male monarch, whose gender altered the political significance of court sex scandals, was likely also significant. As a married male monarch, revelations about courtiers' sexual indiscretions, provided they were not linked to other deviances, were usually less damaging to James's royal authority than they had been for Elizabeth.[72]

Nevertheless, depictions of illicit sex at the court could undermine the court's authority in several ways. Alleging that male courtiers such as Dorset and Cecil were unable to master their own sexual appetites also implied that they were incapable of governing rationally and virtuously.[73] More troublingly, the political metaphors of the *petit commonwealth* and the king as *pater patriae* meant that depictions of disorderly sexual activity within the king's household portended poorly for James's ability to manage the state. Furthermore, the circulation of images of rampant illicit sexuality at court also contradicted James's own iconography. Before his accession, James had been depicted as the head of a chaste, fecund royal family. This association continued after 1603. Ben Jonson's *A Panegyre,* written to commemorate the opening of parliament in 1604, compared James favourably against previous princes who 'gaue Licence to impetuous' and 'voluptuous lustes'.[74] James was also frequently likened to Emperor Augustus, whose *Leges Juliae* of 18-17BC had criminalised adultery and deterred concubinage.[75] By contrast, increasingly-read histories of first century Rome connected lust at court with descent into political disorder and the emergence of tyranny. Therefore, in addition

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[71] Catholic libels and popular playwrights occasionally imputed a pederastic character to James's patronage: *Corona Regia,* ed. and trans. Tyler Fyotek and Winfried Schleiner (Geneva, 2010), pp. 80-1; Curtis Perry, 'The Politics of Access and Representations of the Sodomite King in Early Modern England', *Renaissance Quarterly,* 53/4 (2000), pp. 1054-83.

[72] Robert P. Shephard, 'Sexual Rumours in English Politics: The Cases of Elizabeth I and James I', in Jacqueline Murray and Konrad Eisenbichler (eds), *Desire and Discipline: Sex and Sexuality in the Premodern West* (Toronto, 1996), pp. 101-22; Rickman, *Love,* pp. 69-110.

[73] Kevin Sharpe, 'Virtues, Passions and Politics in Early Modern England', in idem, *Reading Authority and Representing Rule in Early Modern England* (London, 2013), pp. 121-40.

[74] Ben Jonson, 'A Panegyre on the Happy Entrance of James…to His First High Session of Parliament', *CEWBJO*.

[75] Graham Parry, *The Golden Age Restor'd: The Culture of the Stuart Court, 1603-42* (Manchester, 1981), pp. 16-20; Jonathan Goldberg, *James I and the Politics of Literature: Jonson, Shakespeare, Donne, and Their Contemporaries* (Baltimore, 1983).

to arousing concerns about the socio-political order, the increased circulation of libels about courtiers' lechery also undermined the king's own image.

It is, however, noticeable that the courtiers who were accused of sexual immorality in verse libels at the court were also individuals who had attracted accusations of Catholicism or Catholic sympathies. Cecil and Dorset were known to have opposed stridently anti-Catholic policies, whilst Rich, who had sheltered the Jesuit John Gerard, may have finally converted by the end of her life.[76] Allegations of illicit sexuality may have been launched against these courtiers, and proven so potent, because they interacted with the most significant development in verse libelling at the early Jacobean court: increased accusations of popery.

The Court and Popery

Since the Reformation, external critics had routinely accused courtiers of a spectrum of religious unorthodoxies. However, in the verse libels that circulated at the late Elizabethan court it was most usual for courtiers to be accused of atheism. For example, in November 1595 Thomas Wright, a former Jesuit under house arrest but enjoying the earl of Essex's protection, entertained the earl's friends with several *imprese* that denounced the *regnum cecilianum* as a regime where 'Atheisme beare the sway'.[77] Most notoriously, many libels claimed Walter Ralegh was an atheist.[78] Since accusations of atheism, connoting disloyalty, unsociability, and dissimulation, held great defamatory power, verse libels slandering courtiers as atheists continued to be circulated at the early Jacobean court.[79] One verse libel collected, and possibly written, by an associate of Thomas Erskine before mid-1604, accused Ralegh of atheism in notably creative fashion: by misquoting his own poem, 'Water thy plaints with grace divine'.[80] In its original form, the poem dismissed mortalism: 'Rawe is the reason that doth lye within an Atheists head / Which saith the soul of man doth dye, when that the boddies dead'.[81] The libellous parody's minor alterations transformed the poem from an argument against atheism into an accusation that Ralegh was guilty of it: 'Rawe is the reason that doth lie, / with in thy

[76] Pauline Croft, 'The Religion of Robert Cecil', *HJ*, 34/4 (1991), pp. 773-96; Rivkah Zim, 'Religion and the Politic Counsellor: Thomas Sackville, 1536-1608', *EHR*, 122/498 (2007), pp. 892-917.
[77] LPL, MS 652, fo. 210r. Gajda, *Essex*, pp. 131-5.
[78] Nicholls and Williams, *Raleigh*, pp. 89-97.
[79] Leif Dixon, 'William Perkins, "Atheisme", and the Crises of England's Long Reformation', *JBS*, 50/4 (2011), pp. 790-812; Kenneth Sheppard, *Anti-Atheism in Early Modern England 1580-1720: The Atheist Answered and His Error Confuted* (Leiden, 2015), pp. 14-40.
[80] Reardon, 'Manuscript Miscellany', i, p. 200.
[81] *The Poems of Sir Walter Ralegh: A Historical Edition*, ed. Michael Rudick (Tempe, Arizona, 1999), p. 137.

treacherous head, / To say the soule of Man doth die / when that the Corpse is dead.'[82] However, the majority of the verse libels at the early Jacobean court that addressed courtiers' religion accused their targets of popery.

The extensive network of fears aroused by "popery" meant that accusations of Catholicism had long been a potent, although complex, defamatory tool.[83] It was increasingly used in verse libels against courtiers and the court from very early in James's reign. Whilst there had been a handful of crypto-Catholics at the Elizabethan court, the number and prominence of Catholic or church papist individuals at the court greatly increased after James's accession.[84] James appointed several suspected Catholics to important roles at the court and on the Privy Council, including Henry Howard, Thomas Howard, and Sir Thomas Lake, his personal secretary.[85] Additionally, many other prominent Jacobean courtiers were known to be sympathetic to the plights of loyalist Catholics, and were certainly anti-puritan. Many Jacobean policies could, in the eyes of hotter Protestants, appear troublingly accommodating towards Catholics: laxity in enforcing anti-recusancy statutes, a restrained reaction to the Gunpowder Plot, and the granting of the new dignity of baronetcies to twenty-six former recusants, including four relatives of Gunpowder plotters.[86] The court's religious culture could also arouse concerns, with puritans largely excluded from the Chapel Royal's preaching rota, and "avant-garde conformist" sermons becoming more frequent, especially on holidays. These changes prompted several courtiers to complain in verse libels about popish influences at court. They used this complaint as a means to achieve various ends; including reflecting on court appointments, and agitating for religious reforms.

One epigram, most likely written during summer 1603, and entitled 'In Curione' in one later seventeenth-century copy, denounced Henry Howard (soon-to-be earl of Northampton)

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[82] BL, MS Additional 22601, fo. 63v. During the 1590s, associates of the earl of Essex had similarly circulated at court variants of Ralegh's poems, especially 'The Lie', in which key words and phrases were altered to introduce scandalous ideas about Ralegh: *Verse Libel,* ed. May and Bryson, pp. 35-6.
[83] Peter Lake, 'Anti-Popery: The Structure of a Prejudice', in Richard Cust and Ann Hughes (eds), *Conflict in Early Stuart England: Studies in Religion and Politics, 1603-1642* (Harlow, 1989), pp. 72-106.
[84] W.J. Tighe, 'Five Elizabethan Courtiers, their Catholic connections, and their careers', *British Catholic History,* 33/2 (2016), pp. 211-27; Neil Younger, 'How Protestant was the Elizabethan Regime?', *EHR,* 113/564 (2018), pp. 1060-92.
[85] A.J. Loomie, *Spain and the Jacobean Catholics* (2 vols, London, 1973-78), i, pp. 2-6; Roger Lockyer, 'Lake, Sir Thomas (1561-1630)', *ODNB*
[86] A.W.R.E. Okines, 'Why Was There So Little Government Reaction to Gunpowder Plot?', *JEH,* 55/2 (2004), pp. 275-92; Michael Questier, 'Catholic Loyalism in Early Stuart England', *EHR,* 123/504 (2008), pp. 1132-65; Pauline Croft, 'The Catholic Gentry, the Earl of Salisbury and the Baronets of 1611', in Peter Lake and Michael Questier (eds), *Conformity and Orthodoxy in the English Church, c. 1560–1660* (Woodbridge 2000), pp. 262-81.

as a cynically dissimulating crypto-Catholic.[87] This accusation can be related to one courtier's frustrated ambitions early in the reign. Modern editors have attributed the verse libel to John Davies, who was confirmed as Solicitor General of Ireland by November 1603.[88] However, Davies's advancement was, briefly, more uncertain than his biographers have acknowledged.[89] Having already encountered James at Prince Henry's baptism, Davies and others expected he would soon receive advancement beyond the minor ceremonial court role of a servant-in-ordinary that he had held since 1594.[90] He was reported to have been 'sworne [James's] man' (most likely made a member of the Bedchamber) in April 1603, and wrote two panegyrics, one addressed to James, the other to Anna, to celebrate the royal entry progresses.[91] However, Davies was amongst the many who, having been promised court offices by James during the celebratory atmosphere of the entry progress, found they did not materialise once the king reached London. The attacks on Howard's religion are a consequence of Davies's concerns about his own prospects for court office during summer 1603.

By May 1603 Howard had begun attending services in the Chapel Royal, and been appointed to the Privy Council.[92] However, despite his attempts to bolster his Protestant credentials, including proving litigious against those who claimed that he remained a Catholic, it was widely suspected that Howard's conversion was simply a ruse to obtain the office he had sought, but been denied, for much of his long life.[93] 'In Curione' sarcastically celebrates that a septuagenarian who had been unconvinced by the arguments of a dozen named continental and British Protestant theologians had finally appreciated that Catholic doctrine was 'jugling fopperies', and was 'nowe perswaded to the Church to goe'.[94] The poem's final couplet unequivocally stated that Howard's public conversion had been an insincere act of expedience to obtain courtly office and dignities from the king, who 'hath power to saye, recant thine error / And thowe shalt be a privie counsellor'.

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[87] One copy, Bodleian, MS Malone 23, p. 1, dates the poem to 1603. My dating to the summer is based on Northampton's appointment to the Privy Council in May and Sir John Davies relocating to Ireland in November 1603.
[88] *The Poems of Sir John Davies*, ed. Robert Krueger and Ruby Nemser (Oxford, 1975), p. 402.
[89] Ibid, pp. xliii-xliv; Sean Kelsey, 'Davies, Sir John (bap. 1569, d. 1626), *ODNB*; Ben Coates, 'Davies, Sir John (1569-1626), <https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1604-1629/member/davies-sir-john-1569-1626> (accessed 20 Nov 2020).
[90] *The Works of Francis Bacon*, ed. James Spedding (7 vols, London, 1861-79), iii, p. 65.
[91] TNA, SP 14/1, fo. 43v. *Poems of Sir John Davies*, pp. 228-31.
[92] *CSPV*, x, p. 42.
[93] Peck, *Northampton*, pp. 166-7; Alastair Bellany, *The Politics of Court Scandal in Early Modern England: News Culture and the Overbury Affair, 1603-1660* (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 203-6.
[94] All Souls College Library, Oxford, MS 155, fo. 73v, a holograph copy of the poem sent by Davies to Sir Christopher Yelverton.

Libelling Howard as 'the great Archpapist' allowed Davies to commiserate his own lack of advancement, and suggest his skills had been overlooked. In his panegyric *The Kinges Welcome*, Davies had told James that all of his poetry demonstrated his capacity to see past 'faire outward formes' and bring 'the soule of man to view'.[95] Although the genuineness of Howard's conversion was widely suspected, 'In Curione' nonetheless exhibited Davies's ability, vital for a royal servant, to sceptically scrutinise individuals and detect dissimulation.[96] Davies dubbed Howard 'the learned curio', a label which, referring to both Northampton's exceptional learning and the Roman *curia*, carried multiple threatening connotations: overlaying traditional stereotypes about courtiers' dissimulation with more recent fears of Catholic casuistry. Yet the epigram also criticised James. Davies suggested that the king had been deceived about the sincerity of Howard's conversion because Howard had publically credited it to James's superlative skills in reasoning: 'For to his powerfull argumentes alone / [Howard] attributes his conversion'. Like Greville's revised *Mustapha*, Davies's epigram cautioned that James was clearly vulnerable to flattery of his intellectual abilities. Davies underscored that James's cherished self-image as a persuasive theologian posed risks by naming the duped king in his epigram, 'great *Basilius*', an unflattering allusion to the weak tyrant of Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia*.[97] The name also invoked *Basilikon Doron*, in which James had declared that a good king should not promote advisors who practise 'that filthie vice of Flatterie'.[98] Davies suggested that the king's pride in his theological and rhetorical prowess left him unable to abide by his own pronouncements, and in need of the counsel of more skilled detectors of dissimulation, such as Davies himself. In the poem, which he shared with his friends, including the lawyer Sir Christopher Yelverton, Davies used the threat of popish influence at court to bemoan some of the king's attributes, and his own seemingly overlooked status. His epigram demonstrates how inventive courtiers could deploy the theme of alarming crypto-popery at court to ruminate on their own positions.

However, early in the reign, a verse libel that accused the court of Catholic sympathies was circulated, in exceptionally spectacular fashion, as part of some courtiers' efforts to provoke a more ambitious outcome: religious reforms. In May 1605, Star Chamber found the puritan courtier Lewis Pickering guilty of seditious libel after a libellous poem was affixed to

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[95] *Poems of Sir John Davies*, pp. 228-9.
[96] Noah Millstone, 'Seeing Like a Statesman in Early Stuart England', *P&P*, 223/1 (2014), pp. 77-127.
[97] On Sidney's Basilius's weak tyranny, Blair Worden, *The Sound of Virtue: Philip Sidney's "Arcadia" and Elizabethan Politics* (New Haven, 1996), p. 213.
[98] James, *Political Writings*, p. 37.

the hearse of John Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury, during his public funeral on 27 March 1604.[99] The libel resembles the content and tone of the Presbyterian *Martin Marprelate Tracts* of the late 1580s, raising many of the standard puritan grievances about Whitgift's archbishopric through a carnivalesque accumulation of pithy but crude insults.[100] The libel especially denounced Whitgift as 'Reformers hinderer' and 'Ceremonyes Procter', who had inhibited further reformation and defended unbiblical Prayer Book ceremonies.[101] Like the *Marprelate Tracts*, which had called Whitgift 'the pope of Lambehith', the libel suggested that Whitgift's religion had been unacceptably popish, describing him as 'The prelates' pope', 'Jesuites hope', and 'Papistes' broker', at whose death 'Papists bee sad'.[102] However, the *Marprelate Tracts* had repeatedly suggested that there was a divide between ecclesiastical authorities and the court. "Martin" mischievously claimed his books were enthusiastically read at court, and even described himself as a courtier.[103] By contrast, Pickering's poem depicted courtiers conniving in Whitgift's popish church, looking to him for guidance ('the Courtyers oracle'), and placed 'Courtyers' amongst a cast of Vice characters who sang a 'lament' for the patron of quasi-Catholic religion.

The poem's more novel allegation that the court's religion was popish was a product of puritan disappointment in the first year of James's reign. Pickering had been one of the most prominent of the few advocates for puritan ideas at the court during 1603.[104] If the testimony of Thomas Bywater, a deprived puritan minister, is believed, Pickering recited a version of the poem to him in late 1603 or very early 1604.[105] A version of the poem may therefore initially have been composed as a puritan fantasy about Whitgift's death, the distress it would cause to those following his Catholic-seeming faith, including at the court, and the opportunities it would offer to initiate the reforms desired by puritans. These hopes were frustrated in January 1604 at the Hampton Court Conference, where James commanded ministers' conformity to

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[99] Bellany, 'A Poem'; Alastair Bellany, 'Libels in Actions: Ritual, Subversion and the English Literary Underground, 1603-1642', in Tim Harris (ed.), *The Politics of the Excluded, c.1500-1800* (Basingstoke, 2001), pp. 102-6.
[100] Leland Carlson, 'Archbishop Whitgift: His Supporters and Opponents', *Anglican and Episcopal History,* 56/3 (1987), pp. 285-301.
[101] These quotes were not recorded in Pickering's trial records, *Cases in Camera Stellata,* p. 223, but feature in the sole surviving complete copy of the poem, transcribed in a late Jacobean verse miscellany kept by Sir Peter Manwood: BL, MS Additional 38139, fo. 58r.
[102] *The Martin Marprelate Tracts: A Modernised and Annotated Edition,* ed. Joseph L. Black (Cambridge, 2008), p. 163; *Cases in Camera Stellata,* p. 223. The final quote appears only in BL, MS Additional 38139, fo. 58r.
[103] *Marprelate Tracts,* pp. 53-4, 85, 129, 132, 173.
[104] Bellany, 'Poem', pp. 142-3.
[105] *Cases in Camera Stellata,* p. 223.

Prayer Book ceremonies under threat of deprivation. However, after Whitgift's death in February, with the Conference's conclusions not yet formalised as the Canons of 1604, various religious communities hoped or feared that the Jacobean religious settlement remained open to modification. Printed elegies for Whitgift expressed concerns that, after his death, English religion was in a precarious position. One noted 'God helpe the Clergie…if many such should die'.[106] Pickering, or someone else who had encountered the verse libel, seized this opportunity, using the poem to interrupt Whitgift's funerary rites, circulate condemnation of his policies and the court that supported them, and attempt to, in the words of Coke at Pickering's trial, 'stirre the people to a desyre of reformacyon'.[107] Ultimately, the publication of the verse libel was counter-productive. Pickering's trial provided an opportunity for Privy Councillors to refute rumours of popery at the court and emphasise Whitgift's anti-popish credentials, such as by recalling that Whitgift had 'wanne [the earls] of Wor[ce]ster & Cumberlande from Poperie', and to discredit campaigners for further reformation as seditious, discourteous libellers.[108] Nonetheless, the accusation of Catholicism remained a potent weapon that could be used in attempts to damage courtiers' reputations and undermine their influence.

For example, in 1606, Joseph Batts, the vicar of the Church of St Mary Magdalene in Newark-on-Trent was summoned to court to explain how a six-line verse libel had been 'sett up over the Lo[rd] Burg[h]ley's pew'.[109] The libel claimed that William Cecil, third Lord Burghley and Robert Cecil's nephew, secretly practised the 'Romane right' and was therefore a traitor: 'no loyall love within his brest resides / unto his king'.[110] However, the libel also sought to arouse suspicions about the religion and loyalty of the wider Cecil family, particularly that of Robert Cecil. In its final couplet, the libel's target switched from a third person singular against Burghley to the third person plural: 'they proffer faire yet would supplant by treasons'. This reference to a group scheming to 'supplant' resurrected old rumours that the Cecils had supported rival succession claims to James's, most notably that of Infanta Isabella.[111] That the libeller hoped to encourage speculation about Robert Cecil's loyalties is indicated by the description of the Cecil family's 'foule cancred malice'. The adjective 'cankered' had long

[106] I. R., *An epitaph, on the death of the late most reuerend Father in God, Iohn* (1604), sig. A2r.
[107] *Cases in Camera Stellata*, p. 224.
[108] Ibid, p. 228; Bellany, 'Poem', pp. 144-5.
[109] BL, MS Egerton 2877, fo. 88v.
[110] Whilst this allegation may have been the libeller's invention, there were long-standing suspicions about Burghley's religion. In the mid-1580s, Catholic intelligence networks reported that he had 'become a Catholike': CP 164, fo. 3r.
[111] Alexandra Gajda, 'Essex and the 'Popish Plot'', in Doran and Kewes (eds), *Doubtful*, pp. 115-28.

been associated with Cecil.[112] These allegations were especially, and likely deliberately, disruptive as they were made only months after the discovery of the Gunpowder plot, which had caused a terrified James to become wary of English courtiers, and retreat to 'liv[ing] in the innermost rooms, with only Scotchmen about him'.[113] Although the libel evidently became a feature of London news networks (a copy was transcribed by Gilbert Frevile, a Durham puritan gentleman who frequently attended sermons in London), the court's inquiry appears to have prevented a larger scandal.

During the first decade of James's reign, complaints about Catholic influences at court increasingly became a feature of the verse libels that courtiers wrote and circulated for various purposes. Indeed, the prevalence of libels accusing the court of crypto-Catholicism was such that it even influenced courtiers' writings in other literary forms. For example, in 1608 Sir John Harington dedicated a compendium of biographies of Elizabethan bishops to Prince Henry. Harington claimed that he had written the work in order to refute a libellous poem that had circulated the previous year, which had suggested that James's Church still required further reformation: 'Henry the 8 pulld down Abbeys and Cells / But Henry the 9, shall pull down Bishops and Bells'.[114] As the only other reference to this libel is a letter by Harington, it was possibly, like other anecdotes in his writings, entirely his invention.[115] Nevertheless, Harington's dedication presupposed that the circulation of libels accusing the court of Catholicism, church popery, or at least of being unacceptably sympathetic towards Catholicism was a widespread phenomenon to which courtiers, and even royalty, attended. However, the impacts of verse libels within early Jacobean court culture, and their use in debates about court politics, can be seen best in the libels and counter-libels that circulated at the court in the aftermath of the death of Robert Cecil.

[112] One Elizabethan libel described him as 'Cankred Cecill': CUL, MS Additional 4138, fo. 49r. Even James called Cecil 'my little cankered beagle': CP 134, fo. 48r.
[113] *CSPV*, x, p. 293.
[114] BL, MS Royal 17 B. XXIII, fo. 191r.
[115] CP 193, fo. 148r; Clare McManus, 'When Is a Woman Not a Woman? Or, Jacobean Fantasies of Female Performance (1606-1611)', *Modern Philology*, 105/3 (2008), pp. 440-53.

The Death of Robert Cecil



FIGURE 8. Frontispiece to Richard Johnson, *A remembrance of the honors due to the life and death of Robert Earle of Salisburie* (1612).

Courtiers usually engaged with verse libels about the court in order to defame or to criticise. However, as we have seen, verse libels occasionally received defensive reactions from courtiers: including legal responses, or the discreet presentation of comforting elegies to libelled courtiers' relatives. The verse libels that were inspired by the death of Robert Cecil on 24 May 1612 are unique because, in addition to circulating at the court, they also provoked a range of literary answers by courtiers. Several courtiers attempted (ultimately counter-productively) to challenge and contain the negative images of the court that circulated following the death of the early Jacobean court's principal minister.[116] The libels and counter-libels produced in response to Cecil's death are the apotheosis of the early Jacobean court's culture of verse libels. Examining them illustrates just how potent the circulation of verse libels could be.

Cecil had long attracted insults based on his political pre-eminence, his conduct his comparatively low birth, and his stature and scoliosis.[117] Complaints about and caricatures of Cecil, especially unflattering animal imagery, had featured in poetry that denounced the alleged *regnum Cecilianum*, on the public stage, and in plays and masques performed at court.[118]

[116] On Cecil's significance and industriousness in the Jacobean regime, see Pauline Croft, 'Robert Cecil and the Early Jacobean Court', in Peck (ed.), *Mental World,* pp. 134-47; Alan Stewart, 'Government by Beagle: The Impersonal Rule of James VI and I', in Erica Fudge (ed.), *Renaissance Beasts: Of Animals, Humans and Other Wonderful Creatures* (Illinois, 2004), pp. 101-15; Pauline Croft, 'Robert Cecil and the Transition from Elizabeth to James I', in Smuts (ed.), *Age of Shakespeare,* pp. 53-61.
[117] Catherine Loomis, '"Little Man, Little Man": Early Modern Representations of Robert Cecil', *Explorations in Renaissance Culture*, 37/1 (2011), pp. 137-56.
[118] Tricomi, *Anti-Court Drama*, pp. 34-41; Croft, 'Reputation', pp. 55-7; Richard Dutton, *Ben Jonson, Volpone and the Gunpowder Plot* (Cambridge, 2008); James Knowles, *Politics and Political Culture in the Court Masque* (Basingstoke, 2015), pp. 21-52.

According to the earl of Worcester, Cecil was routinely insulted in gossip at the early Jacobean court as a 'par[r]ot-monger, a monkey monger, and twentie other names'.[119] His death generated verse libels of an unprecedented quantity and viciousness. Around two dozen libels from this outpour have survived, many of which were explored in a seminal article by Pauline Croft.[120] The libellers were uninhibitedly venomous, excoriating Cecil's political and personal life, his appearance, and collectively depicting him as a latter-day Herod, Judas, or Richard III, who had operated through 'abusive and ungodlie actions / His tricks, his plots, his nurceries of factions'.[121]

Croft has suggested that the posthumous verse libels about Cecil 'originate in the tavern world of pamphlets, epigrams and satire rather than among factious courtiers'.[122] However, although there is no evidence of courtly authorship, it is clear that some verse libels about Cecil were circulated with glee by courtiers who had disliked him. For example, the earl of Northampton forwarded copies of one 'prety Epitaphe' about Cecil to Robert Carr.[123] One libel referenced several courtiers' participation in libelling, describing Cecil 'Bitten and stung by Court and Cittie flies'.[124]

Although the verse libels about Robert Cecil amused some courtiers, especially within the broader Howard network, they clearly troubled others. In addition to defaming Cecil, the verse libels embarrassed several still-living courtiers, and generally condemned a corrupt court culture. Strikingly, the libels did this by combining many of the critical images that had become more prevalent at the court during the first decade of James's reign, including claims about anti-aristocratic conspiracy, illicit sexuality, and crypto-popery at court. For example, scandalous allegations about Cecil's sex life raised wider, interconnected, concerns about the morality and politics of the court. Many of the libels identified Cecil's alleged mistresses: Catherine Howard, countess of Suffolk (and mother-in-law to Cecil's son, William), and Audrey, Lady Walsingham.[125] Furthermore, several falsely reported that Cecil had died from

[119] CP 127, fo. 108v. The open use of animal nicknames may have been encouraged by James's habit of calling Cecil 'beagle', Loomis, 'Little Man', pp. 137-8, 144.
[120] Croft, 'Reputation'.
[121] BL, MS Trumbull Miscellany V, fo. 11r.
[122] Croft, 'Reputation', pp. 62-3.
[123] TNA, SP 14/70, fo. 21r. On Carr's dislike of Cecil, see Alastair Bellany, 'Carr [Kerr], Robert, earl of Somerset (1585/6?-1645)', *ODNB*. On tensions between Cecil and Northampton, see Peck, *Northampton*, pp. 26-30, 132-3.
[124] UNL, MS Pw V 37, p. 9
[125] Croft, 'Reputation', pp. 58-9.

syphilis contracted from his mistresses: 'He is now dead by your infection'.[126] Identifying married court ladies as Cecil's lovers, suggesting that they were the source of venereal disease, and describing them with sexist insults obviously dishonoured them. However, the libels could also embarrass their influential husbands (the earl of Suffolk and Sir Thomas Walsingham), not least by raising the possibility that they too could have syphilis. The allegation that these public men were cuckolds was especially serious: their failure to regulate their wives' sexual behaviour implied their unsuitability to manage public affairs, which in Lord Chamberlain Suffolk's case included overseeing the Chamber.[127] Libels also insinuated that sexual favours played a corrupt role in court patronage. One bawdily suggested that Suffolk was a wittol, tolerating his wife's adultery in order to improve his chances of inheriting one of Cecil's offices: 'Salisburye stood in Suffolke wote ye not whie / That Suffolke might now stand for Salisbury'.[128] The countess's rumoured crypto-Catholicism and known Hispanophilia added further taints of corruption to the charges.[129] Verse libels' allegations about Cecil's sex life could therefore present a very negative account of court networks, entwining venality, lechery, and popery.

Additionally, verse libels used this scurrilous accusation that the court was ruled by a clique who shared a diseased sexual network to imagine a radical realignment of power at court following Cecil's death.[130] One suggested that Cecil's reported death from syphilis was a belated punishment for his alleged machinations against the earl of Essex.[131] It went on to envisage venereal disease purging the court of a hegemonic corrupt group who had in common patronage connections, a history of anti-Essex conspiracy, and sexual partners. All those who had schemed to achieve or retain their positions would be undone by their own lust: 'And now these lecherous wretches all, / Which plotted worthy Essex fall, / May see this foule loathsome end'. After which, the king and country would return to a 'blessed' state.

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[126] Bodleian, MS Tanner 299, fo. 11v. On the syphilis allegations, see Croft, 'Reputation', pp. 58-61.
[127] Susan D. Amussen, 'Cuckold's Haven: Gender and Inversion in Popular Culture', in Smuts (ed.), *Age of Shakespeare*, pp. 528-42.
[128] NRO, MS IL 4296.
[129] Helen Payne, 'Howard [nee Knyvett; other married name Rich], Katherine, countess of Suffolk (b. in or after 1564, d. 1638)', *ODNB*.
[130] On the dynamics of power at court following Cecil's death, see Johann Sommerville, 'The Death of Robert Cecil: End of an Era', in Jeanne Shami, Dennis Flynn, and M. Thomas Hester (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of John Donne* (Oxford, 2011), pp. 495-505; Alastair Bellany, 'The Rise of the Howards at Court', in idem, pp. 537-53.
[131] Bodleian, MS Tanner 299, fo. 12r.

It is therefore unsurprising that several of Cecil's associates at court produced literary replies defending Cecil's reputation, and that of the court, from the deluge of libels. Cecil's chaplains preached public sermons on his virtues, whilst several prose accounts and a ballad were printed or circulated in manuscript, offering positive accounts of his life and character.[132] Some courtiers wrote more laudatory verses. Samuel Daniel penned a conventional elegy praising the exceptional 'greatnes, wisedome, pollicie of state' Cecil had exhibited as 'England's purse and England's pen', and musing that it was therefore the country's loss that Cecil had not lived as long as his father had.[133]

Unlike Daniel's poem, the epitaph written by William Herbert, third earl of Pembroke, and sent in a holograph copy to Cecil's family, explicitly addressed and refuted the circulating verse libels about Cecil.[134] Having been an active poet, and patron of poets, during the 1590s, Pembroke had largely (with the exception of tournament *imprese*) avoided literary composition after James's accession and his own appointment to court offices.[135] There are several possible explanations for Pembroke's brief return to writing poetry. Pembroke, who had assisted Cecil during his final illness, was noted as one of the few courtiers who sincerely mourned Cecil's death, and he may simply have wanted to defend his friend's reputation from the proliferating libels.[136] Having himself previously been the target of verse libels, Pembroke may also have been motivated by empathy.[137] However, it is also noteworthy that those courtiers known to have circulated libels about Cecil were also Pembroke's rivals: Carr's ascent had eclipsed Pembroke's initial position as one of James's favourite hunting companions, while the deathbed wish of the earl of Northampton was that Pembroke, who he called a 'Welsh juggler', not receive any of his offices.[138] Pembroke's poem defended Cecil's 'glorie' against the authors (and possibly the courtly circulators) of verse libels, celebrating how he 'Governed all with so clear hands'. Like several others who wrote in defence of Cecil, Pembroke depicted

[132] Croft, 'Reputation', pp. 63-7.
[133] BL, MS Additional 69883B, fo. 66r.
[134] CP 140, fo. 116r.
[135] Brian O'Farrell, *Shakespeare's Patron: William Herbert, Third Earl of Pembroke, 1580-1630: Politics, Patronage, and Power* (London, 2011).
[136] Ibid, pp. 55-7.
[137] In 1601, several verse libels had mocked the discovery of Pembroke's affair with the queen's maid of honour, Mary Fitton: TNA, SP 12/278, fo. 23r; BL, MS Additional 10309, fo. 142v. On their affair, Hammer, 'Sex', pp. 84, 94-6.
[138] O'Farrell, *Shakespeare's Patron*, p. 65.

the libellers' invective as the product of envy, and dismissed them as inconsequential: 'Who[se] snarles will be soone / Founde doggs barking at the moone'.[139]

Pembroke's poem, Daniel's, and other works defending Cecil's reputation, circulated widely, including at the court, the Inns of Court, and in the counties.[140] However, instead of closing down the defamation of Cecil and the court, courtiers' replies to the libels only produced an escalation of libelling and criticisms of the court. Courtiers' defences of Cecil provoked rejoinders which contained even more scurrilous examples of *scandalum magnatum*. Some libellers glibly replied that, when 'His friends' at court defended Cecil's reputation, 'they lye'.[141] More creative libellers impersonated Cecil's defenders, repeating their condemnation of 'the Vulgar' and 'base detractors' who had slandered Cecil, only to then launch their own even more outrageous allegations, usually concerning Cecil's religious and sexual habits.[142] One asserted that Cecil had performed many 'good deeds that never were seene', before revealing that these included sleeping with married women, widows, and virgins.[143] Another used the faux-defensive persona to launch the single surviving allegation that Cecil was 'touchd with sodomy'.[144] The same libel concluded by discussing Cecil's visits to Walsingham and Suffolk, traditional sites on the itinerary of English penitential pilgrimages, but also the names of his rumoured mistresses, wittily fusing allegations of popery and lechery:

> He oft was knowen with zeal devine
> To go a pilgrimag[e] to our ladies shrine
> At Walsingham and neare staid by the way
> Save nowe and then in Suffolk lay.

The libellous replies to courtiers' defences of Cecil also circulated widely, including at the court. Indeed, Northampton claimed that the libel he sent to Carr was a reply to a manuscript prose defence of Cecil written by Sir Walter Cope, a member of Cecil's secretariat.[145]

In addition to stimulating a sub-genre of parodic defensive epitaphs, attempts to refute the verse libels about Cecil also introduced into public circulation ideas and information

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[139] FSL, MS V.a.345, p. 107 (an elegy by Richard Corbett, then a student at Christ Church, Oxford); Richard Johnson, *A remembrance of the honors due to the life and death of Robert Earle of Salisbury* (1612), sig. A3v, B3v.

[140] Near-contemporary copies of Pembroke and Daniel's poems include: BL, MS Additional 69883B, fo. 66r; UNL, MS LM 24; Manchester, Chetham's Library, MS Mun. A.4.15, fo. 98r-v; NRO, MS IL 4296.

[141] NRO, MS IL 4304.

[142] UNL, MS Pw V 2, p. 147; BL, MS Harley 6947, fo. 211r.

[143] UNL, MS Pw V 2, p. 147

[144] BL, MS Harley 6947, fo. 211r.

[145] TNA, SP 14/70, fo. 21r.

damaging to the reputation of the court, and especially of the king**.** This consequence is especially evident in courtiers' efforts to debunk claims that Cecil had been responsible for unpopular financial policies. As he had enjoyed an unprecedented monopoly of important financial offices, and often taken a prominent role defending controversial Jacobean schemes, such as impositions and the Great Contract, the 1610 proposal that parliament vote James an annual grant, financial grievances were inevitably targeted at Cecil.[146] After Cecil's death, the earl of Northampton attributed many of the financial challenges encountered by the Privy Council to Cecil's mismanagement.[147] Mock-epitaphs denounced Cecil as 'Taxations raiser' and the 'Poore mens undoer', who had innovatively and controversially used the royal prerogative to raise revenue ('with trickes & with traps & with privye Seales').[148] The most literary expression of the tendency to blame Cecil for controversial early Jacobean financial policies was a mock-epitaph, possibly by Walter Ralegh, which depicted Cecil as the Spenserian shepherd character Hobbinol, 'Who once a yeere duely our fleeces did sheere'.[149]

Several courtiers attempted to counter these claims about Cecil's financial mismanagement and corruption. For example, Pembroke's epitaph celebrated Cecil's tenure as Master of the Court of Wards and Liveries. As the Court managed lucrative revenues, all Masters tended to be accused of corruption, and Cecil was no exception.[150] For example, the libel written by the earl of Arundel's servant Hessels complained that Cecil had been a 'Spoyler of orphanes leaft to his tuition'.[151] By contrast, Pembroke described Cecil's unacknowledged selfless and patriotic management of the office, suggesting that Cecil deserved praise rather than criticism: he 'gaue his Master all the Gaine / Of the Wards reseru'd the paine'.[152] Pembroke was likely referring to how, during the fraught parliamentary debates over crown finances, Cecil had repeatedly offered the abolition of the Court of Wards in exchange for

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[146] Croft, 'Cecil and the Transition', pp. 56-61, 64.
[147] Peck, *Northampton*, p. 87.
[148] Bodleian, MS Tanner 299, fos. 11v, 12v; NRO, MS IL 4304. For a fuller discussion of the financial grievances in posthumous verse libels on Cecil, see Croft, 'Reputation', pp. 49-52.
[149] UNL, MS Pw V 2, p. 145. On the attribution, see above footnote 66. The rustic Hobbinol may seem an awkward cipher for Cecil. However, it could have been deemed apt for Cecil because 'Hob' was both the familiar form of Robert and a short-elf-like creature, alluding to his stature. David R. Shore, 'Hobbinol', in A.C. Hamilton (ed.), *The Spenser Encyclopaedia* (Toronto, 1990), p. 372. The verse libel anticipates the increasing use from the mid-1610s of Spenserian pastoral to criticise national politics, including court corruption: Michelle O'Callaghan, *The 'Shepheards Nation': Jacobean Spenserians and Early Stuart Political Culture 1612-1625* (Oxford, 2000).
[150] Hurstfield, *Queen's Wards.* In a late Elizabethan verse libel, Cecil had been portrayed as a camel who 'Whole Wards he swallow could', BL, MS Additional 58215, fo. 46v. Early Jacobean petitions, such as 'The Poor Man's Petition' complained that wardships were controlled by 'a Crookback who would have all': BL, MS Additional 22601, fo. 10v.
[151] BL, MS Trumbull Miscellany V, fo. 11r.
[152] CP 140, fo. 116r.

parliament granting supply to the crown.[153] Although these proposals were rejected, Cecil had offered to sacrifice a sizeable portion of his personal income in order to achieve the king's financial security. Pembroke therefore rejected claims made by libellers that, in financial affairs, Cecil 'gave a trifle and sacrifizde us'.[154] However, although this action was to Cecil's credit, by introducing it into circulation, Pembroke suggested that James's finances rested on the self-sacrifice of his ministers, which the king was either unaware of or content to take for granted.

Other courtiers' defences of Cecil also suggested that he had been the target of complaints that more justly should have been made against James. Several courtiers claimed that Cecil had been a scapegoat for controversial revenue-raising schemes. In his manuscript *Apology for the Late Lord Treasurer*, addressed to the king, Cecil's secretary Walter Cope described the structural challenges that Cecil had inherited and laboured against at the Treasury, and admonished James that, by undertaking the unpopular measures necessary to redress them, Cecil had 'lost the love of your people only for your sake and your service'.[155] However, some of Cecil's associates suggested even more forthrightly that culpability for early Jacobean financial problems lay with James not Cecil by, in a bold act of publishing *arcana imperii*, circulating in manuscript a collection of Cecil's recent speeches and confidential memoranda to the king.[156] In contrast to the verse libels' claims that Cecil was 'The kings abuser… / Counsells curber', the documents demonstrated that Cecil had repeatedly offered the king bold counsel on financial matters.[157] Cecil had cautioned James that his household expenditure had become 'a devouring fire', that the increased taxation or extra-parliamentary measures necessary to finance it would create 'great distraction and scandal', and therefore counselled James, as Francis Bacon would later in the reign, to imitate the 'frugality' of Henry VII.[158] The documents also revealed that, in a frank act of *parrhesia*, Cecil had told James that the unpopularity of his largesse to Scottish courtiers had likely destroyed parliamentary support for the Union project.[159] Courtiers' circulation of Cecil's papers therefore published an archive

[153] Pauline Croft, 'Wardship in the Parliament of 1604', *Parliamentary History*, 2/1 (1983), pp. 39-48.
[154] UNL, MS Pw v 2, p. 145.
[155] John Gutch, *Collectanea Curiosa* (2 vols, Oxford, 1781), p. 123.
[156] 'A Collection of Several Speeches and Treatises of the Late Lord Treasurer Cecil, and of several observations of the Lords of the Council given to King James concerning his estates and revenues in years 1608, 1609 and 1610', ed. Pauline Croft, in Marjorie Chibnall (ed.), *Camden Miscellany, Vol. XXIX* (London, 1987), pp. 245-317.
[157] Bodleian, MS Tanner 299, fo. 11v.
[158] 'A Collection of Several Speeches', pp. 286, 275, 286. David M. Bergeron, 'Francis Bacon's *Henry VII*: Commentary on King James I', *Albion*, 24/1 (1992), pp. 17-26.
[159] 'A Collection of Several Speeches', p. 310.

of examples of James being informed of grave financial challenges, recommended solutions, and opting to ignore them. In their literary defences of the chief minister against verse libels, courtiers defamed the conduct, wisdom, and character of the monarch.[160]

In the months following Cecil's death, several courtiers, court gossips, and writers observed that verse libels had emerged as an inescapable feature of political culture. In a sermon preached before Princes Henry and Charles (the former ill) at St James's on 25 October 1612, Robert Wilkinson warned that on Prince Henry's death, 'Poets [would] then dare raile and rime with pen and tongue', defaming the prince.[161] In 1613, George Wither, reflecting that the circulation of libellous verses had irreversibly damaged Robert Cecil's reputation, predicted that, henceforth, prominent courtiers would inevitably be posthumously defamed in popular literary culture.[162] However, these contemporaries overlooked that courtiers were not merely the passive subjects of verse libels. There simultaneously operated at court a culture of counter-libel, producing literary replies to verse libels, which could even be used to offer highly critical counsel to the king. The verse libels and counter-libels about Robert Cecil demonstrate that by 1612 verse libels had become a dynamic element of court culture. Different groups circulated or refuted verse libels on given subjects, using the form to circulate their contesting views about power and culture at the court.

The Legacies of Verse Libels at Court

This chapter has suggested that verse libels were an important, although previously largely overlooked, feature of the early Jacobean court's literary culture. Several scholars have argued that, from around the 1610s, verse libels became an increasingly shaping component of English political culture.[163] However, my investigation has shown that verse libels had already been a vibrant feature of court life during the previous decade. They were written and circulated by

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[160] The celebration of strong royal authority in Shakespeare and Fletcher's *Henry VIII* may have been a reaction against these criticisms of the king: Peter Lake, *How Shakespeare Put Politics on the Stage: Power and Succession in the History Plays* (New Haven, 2016), p. 577.

[161] Robert Wilkinson, *A Paire of Sermons successiuely preacht to a paire of peerlesse and succeeding princes* (1614), p. 21.

[162] George Wither, *Abuses Stript, and Whipt. Or Satirical Essayes* (London, 1613), sig. I8. Wither saw this as a good thing, hoping that earl of Northampton and others 'that are tenne-times worse' than Cecil would suffer this fate.

[163] Alastair Bellany, '"Rayling Rhymes and Vaunting Verse": Libellous Politics in Early Stuart England', in Kevin Sharpe and Peter Lake (eds), *Culture and Politics in Early Stuart England* (Basingstoke, 1994), pp. 285-309; Thomas Cogswell, 'Underground Political Verse and the Transformation of Early Stuart Political Culture', *HLQ*, 60/3 (1999), pp. 303-26; McRae, *Literature*.

courtiers for multiple purposes. Most importantly, they were a literary form used by courtiers to express reservations about changes to the court following James's accession. The surviving examples of this clandestine, scurrilous genre offer insights into what many different courtiers found most irksome or troubling about the English court under James.

Unfortunately, the examples analysed in this chapter cannot be expected to be wholly representative of verse libelling at the early Jacobean court. It has been estimated that only 'one in six hundred copies' of manuscript verse libels have survived.[164] Amongst extant early Jacobean verse libels, those with a provable link to the court are very rare. The apparent prevalence of the themes and dynamics that I have observed may therefore be the result of accidents of survival. These surely explain the absence of, for example, Scottish courtiers as authors, readers, or subjects of verse libels.

Yet, despite these caveats, it is evident that several significant new tropes featured in verse libels at the court for the first in reaction to Jacobean changes. Previous studies of negative images of the Jacobean court have predominantly considered representations of the scandals and controversies that occurred later in James's reign, such as the Howard-Essex nullity, the trials for the murder of Thomas Overbury, the ascendancy of George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, and the Spanish Match.[165] My examination of the earliest verse libels at the Jacobean court suggests that many of the familiar tropes of later Jacobean anti-court literature, including allegations of illicit sex and crypto-popery at the court, had first circulated at the court in verse libels that critiqued the consequences of James's accession. The topos of base-born Scots illegitimately usurping English honours (at English expense) reached its apotheosis in libels about the ascendancy of Robert Carr, earl of Somerset. For example, one libel about his marriage in 1613 to Frances Howard, following the annulment of her marriage to the earl of Essex, described the base-born Somerset exchanging places and occupation Essex: 'Brave hardie Carr-man… / Take thow the Earle-dome, give the Earle the carte'.[166] The archetype of lustful courtiers, especially female courtiers, was similarly developed in literary representations of later Jacobean court scandals. The claim that Penelope Rich had satisfied her carnal appetites through sorcery also featured in a range of negative representations of Frances Howard (who had briefly been Rich's niece-in-law), about whom it was claimed her 'letchery

[164] *Verse Libel*, ed. May and Bryson, p. 32.
[165] Michael B. Young, *James VI and I and the History of Homosexuality* (Basingstoke, 2000); Bellany, *Politics*; McRae, *Literature*; Perry, *Literature and Favouritism*.
[166] NAL, MS Dyce 44, fo. 71v.

did consult with witcherye'.[167] The Jacobean court (and later the Caroline court) continued to face allegations that it was a den of treacherous crypto-popery.[168] One mock-epitaph written after the Duke of Buckingham's assassination in 1628 described him as 'the papists hope', echoing much earlier libels about John Whitgift and Robert Cecil.[169] The images of corrupt political alliances overlapping with diseased sexual networks at court luridly imagined in posthumous libels on Cecil anticipated the combination of a range of social, sexual, and religious transgressions in representations of the Overbury scandal.[170] These later Jacobean events were able to become such scandalous controversies because representations of them resonated with stereotypes about the court, which had first been given currency at court in verse libels that complained about the changes following James's accession.

Many scholars have argued that the dissemination of images of courtly corruption and sin fatally undermined public respect for the authority of the court and royalty during the early Stuart period.[171] The verse libels I have examined were not intended to offer radical critiques of the court or monarchy. Instead, courtiers wrote or circulated them in order to advance their various interests: from entertainment, to defamation, to influencing patronage and policy. However, verse libels at the court did contribute to the accumulation of a stockpile of potent negative images that could be used against the court, courtiers, and even the monarch. Verse libels exemplify how courtiers' literary responses to the changes introduced following James's accession, especially court appointments and religious policies, had a very long, significant, legacy.

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[167] Bodleian, MS Rawlinson Poet D. 1048, fo. 64r. David Lindley, *The Trials of Frances Howard: Fact and Fiction at the Court of King James* (London, 1993); Bellany, *Politics*, pp. 148-56, 162-6.
[168] Bellany, *Politics*, pp. 181-211; Caroline M. Hibbard, *Charles I and the Popish Plot* (Chapel Hill, 1983).
[169] BL, MS Sloane 826, fo. 183r.
[170] Bellany, *Politics*, pp. 136-211.
[171] Bellany, *Politics*; McRae, *Literature*; Kevin Sharpe, 'Sacralisation and Demystification: The Publicization of Monarchy in Early Modern England', in *idem.*, *Reading Authority*, pp. 105-20.

Conclusion

The representations of the court and courtiers in the verse libels that circulated at court could hardly be more different from how a future English court under James had been portrayed during the 1590s. Then, inviting English courtiers to imagine the English court after a possible Stewart succession, pageantry produced at the Scottish court had presented James as a chivalric, Protestant prince whose fertility would prevent uncertainty about the succession from destabilising court politics as it had under Elizabeth. Yet, from shortly after James's accession, courtiers wrote and circulated libellous poems that depicted the English court as a hive of interconnected vices, which had been inaugurated or exacerbated by the arrival of the new king. Some of the most powerful figures at court were accused of fiscal corruption, scheming against the nobility, illicit sexuality, and popery, whilst James was presented as oblivious to their sins, duped by courtiers who manipulated his vanity, or knowingly permitting them.

The Scottish court literature that was transmitted to the English court in the 1590s and the verse libels that circulated there after 1603 represent polar ends of the varied ways in which courtiers anticipated and responded to the accession of James I and its impacts on the English court. Hitherto, literary responses by courtiers to this epochal change have not been the subject of sustained scholarly examination. My thesis has shown that the changes of court personnel and protocol that followed James's accession, and their implications for patronage and counsel, were a pervasive theme in the literary culture of the early Jacobean English court.

By investigating courtiers' writings about the court in transition, this thesis has also deepened scholars' understanding of, and challenged long-held assumptions about, the English court and its culture during this seminal period. The image of court culture presented in this thesis is likely an unfamiliar one. To many scholars, "Jacobean court culture" is synonymous with the court masque, written for the court by a handful of individuals, most notably Samuel Daniel and Ben Jonson. By contrast, my thesis has illuminated a wide range of hitherto largely neglected texts, especially highlighting more quotidian aspects of the court's literary culture. It has shown the importance of chivalric ceremonial, pageantry, and entertainments at the court. It has demonstrated the existence of a potent, albeit clandestine, culture of manuscript verse libels. The works of many overlooked writers, including anonymous courtiers, have been

examined. Most significantly, I have demonstrated that, both before and after 1603, Scottish courtiers contributed to English court culture.

Indeed, this thesis has shown more clearly than ever before the Anglo-Scottish nature of the culture of the early Jacobean English court. Despite the emergence of "the new British history" and calls for "archipelagic" approaches to studying early modern texts, scholarship on the culture of the early seventeenth-century English court has overwhelmingly examined writings by English-born individuals (with the notable exception of the king himself).[1] Several literary critics have explored the Jacobean afterlives of Elizabethan literary tropes and forms in texts by English writers.[2] The court's sizeable Scottish population after 1603, however, have mainly been considered only as the subjects of complaints in parliamentary speeches, on the public stage, and in manuscript and printed polemics. This thesis has provided several additional examples of animosity against Scottish courtiers and their perceived influence that originated from the court itself, including spectators' accounts of court tournaments and in court sermons. However, more significantly, it has also shown that Scots made various substantial and distinctive contributions to the court's cultural life. Even before James's accession, some English courtiers, anticipating the range of scenarios that could follow Elizabeth's death, had read writings by Scottish courtiers; these transnational literary encounters form a previously understudied aspect of how the late Elizabethan succession question affected court politics and culture in England and Scotland. After 1603, Scottish courtiers actively participated in the English court's chivalric pageantry and ceremonial. Meanwhile, several Scots who held administrative posts wrote, circulated, and printed works of poetry. Through their writings, aspects of the literary culture of Scotland were brought to the English court. Scottish courtiers ensured that James's English court, like his Scottish court, had a vibrant culture of neo-Latin verse. Additionally, their writings meant that several distinctively Scottish literary tropes and political ideologies were present within the culture of the English court.

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[1] For a useful discussion of British approaches to the political history of the early seventeenth-century, see Pauline Croft, 'The Reign of James VI and I: The Birth of Britain', *History Compass*, 1/1 (2003), pp. 1-13. Seminal 'archipelagic' works of literary criticism include: Christopher Highley, *Catholics Writing the Nation in Early Modern Britain and Ireland* (Oxford, 2008); John Kerrigan, *Archipelagic English: Literature, History, and Politics, 1603-1707* (Oxford, 2008). For a critical overview of scholarship on James's writings, see Jane Rickard, 'The Writings of James VI and I and Early Modern Literary Culture', *Literature Compass*, 9/10 (2012), pp. 654-64.

[2] Curtis Perry, *The Making of Jacobean Culture: James I and the Renegotiation of Elizabethan Literary Practice* (Cambridge, 1997); Gabriel Heaton, *Writing and Reading Royal Entertainments: From George Gascoigne to Ben Jonson* (Oxford, 2010).

However, the culture of James's Scottish court was not transplanted wholesale to England in 1603; only parts of it were. For example, the Scottish court's Catholic literary culture did not come south following the Union of Crowns. The Scottish courtier poets at the English court after 1603 were heirs to a particular strand within Scottish political and religious thought, Protestant and Anglophile, which dated back to at least the "Rough Wooings" of the 1540s. This tradition, which had numbered John Napier and Andrew Melville amongst its proponents, had argued that a dynastic union between England and Scotland, followed by military intervention on the continent, would be the best means of defeating popery, the Spanish empire, and, ultimately, inaugurating the apocalypse. This tradition complemented the contemporary agendas of the "forward Protestants" at the English court under Elizabeth, most notably those around Sir Philip Sidney and the earl of Essex, who urged the queen to adopt a more aggressive policy of military support for beleaguered Protestants on the continent. James intended to display his common cause with these English courtiers through the militant, chivalric festivities at Prince Henry's baptism, and thereby secure their support in his campaign to succeed Elizabeth. As I have shown, this Protestant prophetic vision that, having become rulers of a united Britain, the Stewarts should wage a crusade against Spain and the papacy, then continued to feature in the writings of the Scottish courtier poets at the English court after 1603. It would also be advocated (much to James's chagrin) by the "patriots" at court following the beginning of the Thirty Years' War. Thus, in contrast to the Anglo-centric nature of much previous literary criticism, this thesis has made clear that the early Jacobean English court was a site of confluence between the two pre-existing court cultures of England and Scotland. More specifically, it has shown that it was a site of confluence between two pre-existing militant Protestant and pro-British strands within the court cultures of England and Scotland. This, of course, sometimes produced interesting tensions.

This thesis has also shown that early Jacobean court culture portrayed the court far more critically than has usually been appreciated. Some scholarship, especially on Prince Henry's household and recent work on court masques, has acknowledged that court texts sometimes promoted policies with which the king disagreed.[3] However, since the 1970s, court culture, especially during the first decade of James's English reign, has usually been portrayed as an

[3] Roy Strong, *Henry, Prince of Wales and England's Lost Renaissance* (London, 1986); Martin Butler, 'Courtly Negotiations', in David Bevington and Peter Holbrook (eds), *The Politics of the Stuart Court Masque* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 20-40; James Knowles, *Politics and Political Culture in the Court Masque* (Basingstoke, 2015).

instrument of royal authority, promoting the king's iconography and his policies.[4] This thesis has shown that court literature played an important role in smoothing James's accession. Appealing to common religious and chivalric values, writings by Scottish courtiers, chivalric pageantry, and sermons attempted to reconcile English courtiers to the arrival of a foreign king and his entourage. Nonetheless, when courtiers wrote about the significant changes at the English court that followed James's accession, they often expressed reservations, and sometimes forthright criticisms. They complained about reduced access to the king, the quality of his intimates and advisers, the lack of regard shown to the English nobility and their traditional values, and the king's personal qualities which it was believed left him vulnerable to bad counsel. Criticisms of changes at the court might be expected in writings by figures such as Sir Fulke Greville, who lost their influence at court after James's accession. It is more surprising to find that complaints were also made by James's chaplains-in-ordinary and even by Scottish courtiers.

As James's English reign continued, the royal court and courtiers were increasingly portrayed negatively in an array of media.[5] Several scholars have argued that representations of the court as a disordered site of misgovernment and scandal undermined its authority and called into question the legitimacy of the monarch and, as contrasts were increasingly drawn between "country" virtue and patriotism and courtly vice, monarchy itself.[6] However, it has not previously been recognised that substantial complaints about changes to court personnel and protocols were a feature of the court's literary culture from very early in James's English reign; sermons and verse libels that criticised James's appointments were written as early as summer 1603. Some courtiers expressed ideas about the potential limits of royal authority and the role of the nobility which had the potential to become combustive. Their criticisms are precursors to the more substantial divisions and unstable factionalism that occurred at the

[4] Stephen Orgel, *The Illusion of Power: Political Theatre in the English Renaissance* (Berkeley, 1975); Graham Parry, *The Golden Age Restor'd: The Culture of the Stuart Court, 1603-1642* (Manchester, 1981); Jonathan Goldberg, *James I and the Politics of Literature: Jonson, Shakespeare, Donne, and Their Contemporaries* (Baltimore, 1983).
[5] Alastair Bellany, *The Politics of Court Scandal in Early Modern England: News, Culture and the Overbury Affair, 1603-1660* (Cambridge, 2002); David Coast, *News and Rumour in Jacobean England: Information, Court Politics and Diplomacy, 1618-1625* (Manchester, 2014).
[6] Perez Zagorin, *The Court and the Country: The Beginning of the English Revolution* (London, 1969); R. Malcolm Smuts, *Court Culture and the Origins of a Royalist Tradition in Early Stuart England* (Philadelphia, 1987); Bellany, *Politics*; Kevin Sharpe, 'Sacralisation and Demystification: The Publicization of Monarchy in Early Modern England', in idem., *Reading Authority and Representing Rule in Early Modern England* (London, 2013), pp. 105-20.

English court during the second half of James's English reign.[7] However, generally, courtiers' complaints about the court were not especially subversive. Instead, the texts examined in this thesis were circulated in manuscript, performed, and sometimes printed, in order to encourage reflection and redress. Literary criticism on Jacobean court culture has often struggled to move beyond New Historicist paradigms of power and subversion, with critics often debating how far texts, especially masques and responses to the king's published writings, reinforced or interrogated royal authority. Courtiers' literary responses to the changes inaugurated by James's accession, however, demonstrate that far more complicated political dynamics shaped the court's literary culture. Courtiers responded to issues ranging from small gossip about personnel appointments at the court to major religious events on the continent.

The alternative view of court culture that has emerged vindicates my methodology, especially my decision to examine a wide range of literary texts related to a variety of individuals who performed many different roles in the different sub-departments of the court. Previous studies of early Jacobean court culture have often examined a narrow range of texts, especially works by James, Ben Jonson, and the court masque. It is striking that in her 2015 book, *Writing the Monarch in Jacobean England*, Jane Rickard examined essentially the same authors as Jonathan Goldberg did in his *James I and the Politics of Literature* in 1983. Both critics based their accounts of court culture on texts written by individuals who, mostly, were only employed by the court occasionally to produce texts for grand ceremonies and festivities.[8] Such texts would of course be of limited use in recovering how courtiers experienced the transition from Elizabeth to James. Eschewing well-known, much-studied texts in favour of unfamiliar writings and performances by courtiers has permitted a fuller account of court culture to emerge, according overdue prominence to more prosaic aspects of court culture, and to the perspectives, often critical, of more minor courtiers, both English and Scottish.

My thesis's reassessment of early Jacobean English court culture will be of use to future scholarship on the early Jacobean period by historians and literary critics. It has recovered texts that could enrich studies of the masque. Instead of being treated as emblematic of court culture, the court masque can be examined as one component, albeit a spectacular one, of a complicated, self-reflective, Anglo-Scottish court culture. Similarly, a range of Jacobean texts

[7] Kenneth Fincham, 'Hazards of the Jacobean Court', in Jeanne Shami Dennis Flynn, and M. Thomas Hester (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of John Donne* (Oxford, 2011), pp. 566-75; Michael Questier, *Dynastic Politics and the British Reformations, 1558-1630* (Oxford, 2019), pp. 334-95.
[8] Goldberg, *James I*; Jane Rickard, *Writing the Monarch in Jacobean England: Jonson, Donne, Shakespeare and the Works of King James* (Cambridge, 2015).

might be related fruitfully to the court's sermons, its tournament literature, libellous verse, and publications by Scottish courtiers. My findings will also be of use to the increasing number of political and religious historians who are studying the establishment of the Jacobean regime.[9] Building on recent interdisciplinary scholarship on the political and cultural effects of the late Elizabethan succession question, scholars are increasingly showing that James's accession was not a *fait accompli*.[10] This thesis offers detailed evidence that there was ample frustration and discontent with the Jacobean regime at the court. It has also refined several significant assumptions about court personnel, power, and patronage. Chapter Three challenged misconceptions about the pre-eminence of preaching in the Jacobean Chapel Royal. Chapter Five illustrated how rapidly the Howards attained pre-eminence in court politics, even over Sir Robert Cecil. This thesis has also revised stereotypes about the king's role in court culture. Although James's published writings inspired court literature, he has rarely been thought of as a monarch who actively participated in court culture.[11] He has usually been treated as a subject or a spectator, with much recent scholarship analysing the cultural patronage of other court figures, especially members of the royal family.[12] This thesis, especially its analysis of the role of Scottish court literature before 1603, of tournaments, and of preaching at the court, has shown that James was a more engaged and canny user of court culture than has been appreciated before.

Furthermore, I believe that my approach, analysing literary texts by courtiers from before and after a royal succession, will prove useful to scholars of other courts. Repudiating the dominance of Norbert Elias's universalising account of "court society" in late-twentieth-century historiography, much work on early modern courts since the millennium has emphasised the ways in which royal courts differed.[13] This has produced illuminating accounts of the variations in structures and practices at Europe's princely courts.[14] Nevertheless, despite their undeniable differences, all courts experienced the phenomenon of succession.

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[9] Alexander Courtney, 'Recent Accessions to Jacobean Historiography', *HJ*, 51/1 (2008), pp. 269-76.
[10] Peter Lake and Michael Questier, *All Hail to the Archpriest: Confessional Conflict, Toleration, and the Politics of Publicity in Post-Reformation England* (Oxford, 2019), pp. 252-75; Susan Doran, '1603: A Jagged Succession', *Historical Research*, 93/261 (2020), pp. 443-65.
[11] Goldberg, *James I*; James Doelman, '"A King of Thine Own Heart": The English Reception of King James VI and I's *Basilikon Doron*', *The Seventeenth Century*, 9/1 (1994), pp. 1-9; Rickard, *Writing*.
[12] J. Leeds Barroll, *Anna of Denmark, Queen of England: A Cultural Biography* (Philadelphia, 2001); Clare McManus, *Women on the Renaissance Stage: Anna of Denmark and Female Masquing in the Stuart Court (1590-1619)* (Cambridge, 2002).
[13] Hannah Smith, 'Court Studies and the Courts of Early Modern Europe', *HJ*, 49/4 (2006), pp. 1229-38.
[14] J.S.A. Adamson (ed.), *The Princely Courts of Europe: Ritual, Politics and Culture under the Ancien Régime* (London, 1999); Jeroen Duindam, *Vienna and Versailles: The Courts of Europe's Major Dynastic Rivals, 1550-1780* (Cambridge, 2003).

Additionally, the accession of new royal families, the creation of dynastic agglomerates, and the establishment of courts containing mixed populations were common occurrences across early modern Europe. Whilst scholars have previously turned to court rituals and ceremonial in order to understand how these complicated phenomena were experienced, my thesis has demonstrated that a wide range of insights, particularly concerning the experiences of courtiers, can be achieved by examining literary texts by courtiers.[15] I hope that examining courtiers' writings from before and after moments of succession will similarly deepen scholars' knowledge of the courts of Europe's dynastic agglomerates, including France, Spain, and Poland-Lithuania. Granted, few other early modern European courts underwent a closely comparable succession in which an unmarried queen ruled for half a century, leaving the identity of her successor unknown, before being succeeded by her kinsman, already established as a ruler of another (and traditionally rival) kingdom, who transferred his court to the new realm. Nevertheless, examining the literary cultures of other courts in transition would also provide comparative perspectives that could better illuminate whether the aspects of English court culture during the transition between Elizabeth and James that I have revealed were unique. Did courtiers at other European courts undertake literary exchanges in anticipation of possible successions and the creation of mixed courts? Did literary culture perform a role in harmonising tensions that arose during transfers of power and between courtiers of different nationalities? Did groups at other courts, in similar fashion to the Scottish courtiers at James's English courtier, maintain their native literary forms and ideologies? Was succession and its aftermath the subject of critical, or even scandalous, literary treatment at other European courts?

The transfer of power is an inescapable feature of political systems in the early modern, and indeed the modern, world. My thesis has shown that an interdisciplinary methodology can provide valuable insights into this process, and much else.

[15] Marc W.S. Jaffré, 'The Royal Court and Civil War at the Founding of the Bourbon Dynasty 1589-95', *French History*, 31/1 (2017), pp. 20-38.

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