Thomas Campion and the Web of Patronage

by

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ABSTRACT

The political being, Dr. Thomas Campion, composer of court masques, was created and destroyed within the system of government by patronage that defined the politics of Jacobean England, his fate determined by the logic of events this system dictated. Campion entered the patronage web with the help of musician friends (John Dowland, Philip Rosseter, Giovanni Coprario, *et al*). Reflecting the concerns of his patronage group (the alliance of Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, and Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton — including Sir Thomas Monson; Sir William Monson; Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk; Francis Clifford, Earl of Cumberland; Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset; *et al*), Campion's works (***Lord Hay's Masque***, ***The Caversham Entertainment***, ***The Somerset Masque***, the Brougham Castle entertainment, and ***De Puluerea Coniuratione***, *etc.*) are a form of social history, and a literacy in social/political topicality is necessary to appreciate meanings particular to the speech community they were intended for.

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In addition, many thanks are offered to Susan Harris, Charge of Printed Book Photography/Permissions, at the Bodleian Library, and to Rachel Lynch, Editor, Scolar Press, for permission to create facsimiles from ***The Somerset Masque***. Likewise, great thanks are also due to David Weston, Acting Head of Special Collections, and Nicola Russell, Senior Library Assistant, Special Collections Dept, University of Glasgow Library, and (again) to Rachel Lynch for similar permission regarding George Wither's ***A Collection of Emblems 1635.*** Gratitude is also expressed to J. Ravenscroft, Press and Public Relations Office at the British Museum, to David Way, Publishing Manager at the British Library, and (yet again) to Rachel Lynch for their assistance in obtaining permission to create a facsimile of Campion's "Shall I come sweet Love to thee."

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Special gratitude is reserved, however, for my wife and family, without whose support and understanding this undertaking would not have been possible.

EPIGRAPH:

And he that will live at court must make his dependency upon some great person, in whose ship he must embark his life and fortune ; and how unfortunate such men are oftentimes themselves, and how unthankful to their followers, we want not precedents.

He that settles his service upon one of them shall fall into the disfavour of another ; for a Court is like an army, ever in war, striving by stratagems to circumvent and kick up one another's heels. You are not ignorant of this comparison by what you know of me, whose case will serve you for a perspective glass, wherein to behold your danger afar off, the better to prevent it.

Sir William Monson, *circa* 1624 (1: 109-110)

Figure 1: after emblem 37, George Wither, *A Collection of Emblems, Ancient and Moderne . . .*, London, 1635, book 1, p. 37; Glasgow University Library, Department of Special Collections, Stirling-Maxwell Collection, SM1903. Also published in Gabriel Rollenhagen, *Nucleus Emblematum Selectissimorum*, Cologne, 1611.[1]

a1

THE DESCRIPTION

of a Maske:

Presented in the

Banqueting roome at *Whitehall*, on Saint Stephens night last, At the Mariage of the Right Honourable the Earle of *Somerset*: And the right noble the Lady *FRANCES Howard*.

Written by *Thomas Campion*.

Whereunto is annexed diuers choyse *Ayres* that may be sung with a single voyce to the Lute or Base-Viall.

LONDON
Printed by *E. A.* for *Laurence Lisle*, dwelling in Paules Church-yard, at the signe of the *Tygers* head.
1614.

Figure 2: title page, *The Somerset Masque* or *Squires' Masque* (a1[r]), after Bodleian Library, Oxford, Mal 221(6).[2]

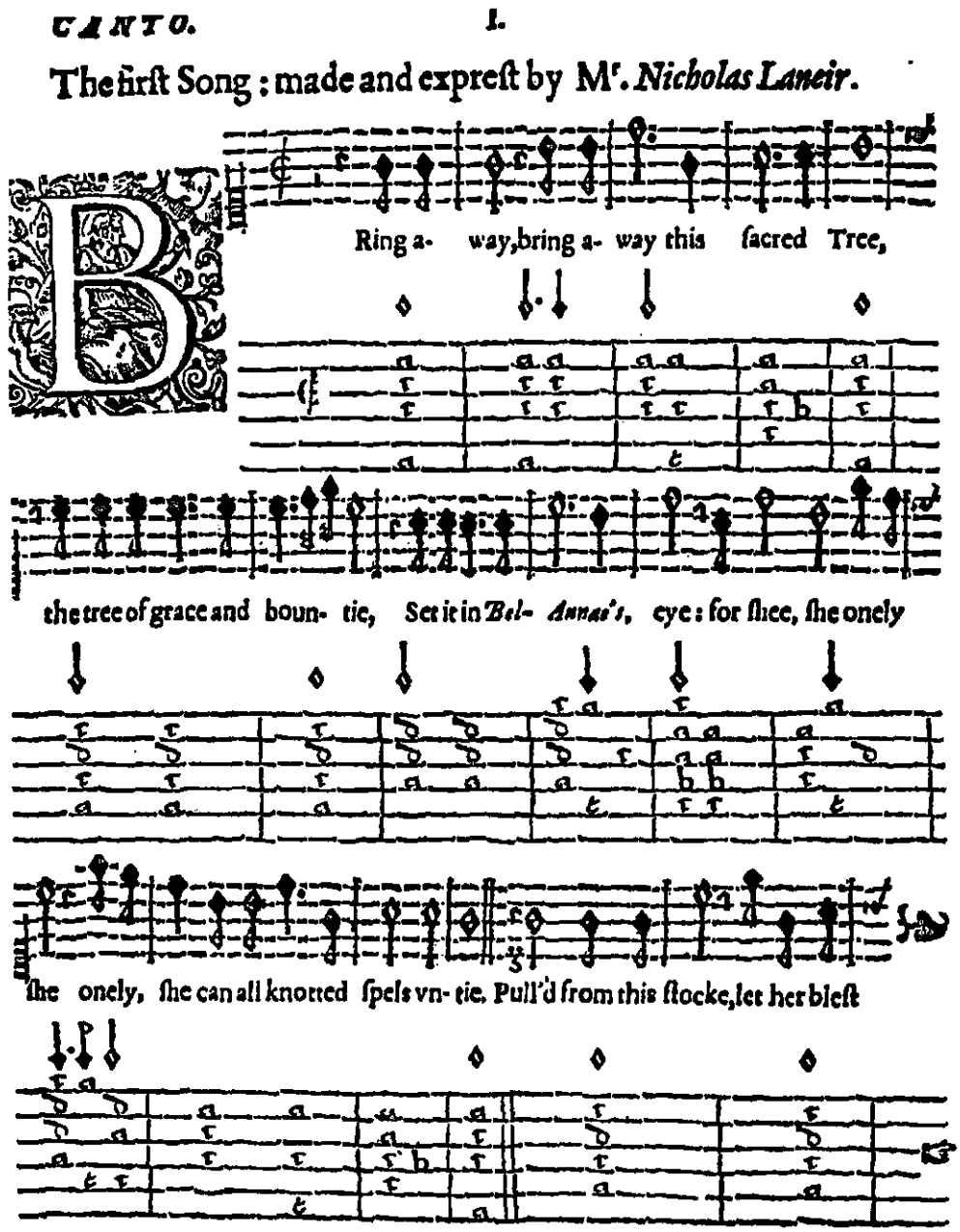

Figure 3: "Bring away this sacred tree," *The Somerset Masque* or *Squires' Masque* (c1v), after Bodleian Library, Oxford, Mal 221(6).

INTRODUCTION

Broadly, this thesis is about the relationships among power, patronage, and art. It is also a selective history of early Jacobean England, one which encompasses the life of the physician, poet and composer of music, Dr. Thomas Campion. What the thesis, with its wealth and complexity of detail, offers to Campion scholarship is a knowledge-framework, a reconstruction of the poet/composer's social/political environment, which sheds new light on a number of his works. It begins with an examination of the powerful aristocracy and gentry who patronized Campion. It then investigates the coterie of musicians who likely helped Campion obtain patronage, and finally it examines, in the context of patronage, the function and meaning of particular Campion texts — ***The Lord Hay's Masque***, ***The Caversham Entertainment***, ***The Somerset Masque*** (or ***Squires' Masque***), the entertainment at Brougham Castle (possibly a lost masque), and ***De Puluerea Coniuratione***. It also touches on Ben Jonson's ***Irish Masque***, which is largely a satire of Campion's work. The thesis describes a tyrannous logic of events that is peculiar within the web-like strands of systems of government by patronage — a logic which defines the political creation and destruction of Campion as a writer of court entertainments.

My methodology and theory are informed by Steven Justice, Kathryn Kerby-Fulton and Paul Strohm. Their work is a cautious, pragmatic response to the inroads that Renaissance-based New Historicist theory has made into the world of medievalists.[3] I am also indebted to Jerzy Limon's and David Lindley's separate contributions to Campion scholarship.

Of this group of scholars, it is Justice, in particular, who has been influential on my thinking. In closing his book, ***Writing and Rebellion***, he makes

two very practical arguments. One is that, while historical texts do serve "large and distorting ideological interests" and are thus "suspect," these texts, in a very practical sense, simply *are* the past for us "because they alone record it."[4] The other is that social/political events caused literary texts to happen; "*texts* happened in consequence, which assumes more generally that texts do *happen* — that they do not just *mean* or *exist*" (255).

I am guided by Justice's arguments and by the corollary that the comprehension of literary texts, at least a certain form of comprehension, requires the consideration of social history. In my adherence to this corollary, I am influenced by Linda Levy Peck's use of John Pocock's ideas: "If, as . . . Pocock has argued, texts are events, the contexts in which they exist change the meaning of their language" ("Mentality" 159).[5] In addition, I choose to generalize and expand the thrust of Arthur Marotti's argument regarding English sonnet sequences — that "it is not sufficient to consider their formal properties or their places either in the canon of particular authors or in the literary history of sonnet collections" (397) — to include other genres; with masques, as with sonnets, "one must also deal with the social, economic, and political realities . . . and with those cultural codes implicit in both the life and literature of the time" (Ibid.). Also of some importance to my approach is Malcolm Smuts, who asserts:

> Understanding the relationship of culture and politics at court requires an awareness of the internal disputes, over policy issues and larger philosophical convictions, that always divided James's servants from each other. Art, literature and theatrical entertainments often participated in an ongoing political contest. ("Cultural Diversity" 111)

Uncontroversially, I hold that the meanings, or certain meanings, of Campion's texts are tied by causality and function to their places in social/political history, as is the meaning of Ben Jonson's ***Irish Masque.***

There are, of course, other factors which contribute to the meanings of Campion's texts as well; as Jerzy Limon has stated, "practically all the printed texts of masques, their topicality notwithstanding, direct the implied reader to

other systems, without which the masque text cannot be decoded" ("Masque" 209).[6] Limon adds further that "without [a] knowledge of . . . ['the conventions of court theatre and its mechanistic and illusionistic stage'], a reader will be baffled — to say the least — by the extraordinary events that occur within the created worlds of the masque" (Ibid.). Limon is most certainly correct, but even so, Campion's ***Somerset Masque***, for example, still presents great hermeneutic difficulties, even for the experienced reader, should this reader choose to ignore "topicality."[7]

Reading is pattern recognition, the discrimination of signal and noise, and ***The Somerset Masque*** offers much noise and very little signal to the unwary reader. The masque is not dramatic. It violates conventions of story grammar, even the unusual conventions of the masque genre. It also lacks what the linguist John Oller has defined as *textual motivation*.[8] Much of its content appears vacuously decorative and non-meaningful, even with the consideration of Limon's "other systems." The reader possesses few, if any, *schemata*[9] that can be profitably applied to the text and unless pressed to continue reading by academic requirements, would likely abandon it *ex mediis rebus*, short as it is. Even highly knowledgeable readers such as Enid Welsford and Steven Orgel have been troubled by its apparent lack of coherence. Welsford argues that Campion's masques are generally "confused and poor" (192)[10] and that "the construction of this [***The Somerset Masque***] is worse than usual" (196). Orgel continues the abuse, adding that dramatic "integrity . . . [is what] all three of Campion's court productions lack" (***Jonsonian Masque*** 101-102).[11]

Following Lindley's lead, first established by his work on Campion's ***Lord Haye's Masque***, I suggest that to read ***The Somerset Masque*** into something approaching ***a*** coherent understanding, one is faced with the task of gaining literacy in "topicality" or contemporary social/political history.[12] Unlike Ben Jonson, who seemed to view his published masque texts as literary works divorced from the actual masque events and worthy of study for whatever they contained

within themselves,[13] Campion published exclusively in a journalistic mode, providing descriptions of social/political events — even to the point of reporting the failure of stage machinery as he did in the published ***Lord Haye's Masque.*** Moreover, Campion did not choose the titles ***The Somerset Masque*** or ***The Squires' Masque*** for the publication of his entertainment for the Carr-Howard wedding — these titles are merely the convenient impositions of later editors and critics — Campion's own choice, or that made in conjunction with his publisher and the printer, was the ungainly:

THE
DESCRIPTION
of a Maske :
Presented in the
Banqueting roome at *Whitehall*, on
Saint Stephens night last, At the Mariage of
the Right Honourable the Earle of
Somerset : And the right noble
the Lady *FRANCES*
Howard.

Written by *Thomas Campion.*

Whereunto is annexed diuers choyse *Ayres* that
may be sung with a single voyce to the
Lute or Base-Viall.
(See fig. 2, p. vii, herein.)

The medium here is part of the message, and it seems clear from what is presented that Campion is primarily claiming authorship of the description, which reports on music, dance, costume, and stage craft in addition to presenting his verse which is but a component of the whole. He does not claim authorship of the masque as an independent literary entity. Thus, in order to accept Campion

on his own terms, we must consider the people in and behind the masque. We must consider the event. We must be literate in topicality.

If we begin this acquisition of literacy with an inquiry into Thomas Campion himself, we find that the artifacts associated with him are not numerous, and thus Campion is and remains a shadowy figure. We have a few legal documents, a number of entries in various household accounts, and some records connecting him with Cambridge, Gray's Inn, and the University of Caen. We also have the praise of his friends and the scorn of his enemies. In addition, there are letters which make mention of his masques. And there is, of course, his canon of Latin and English texts.

It is possible, however, to spiral out from this core of material and gather artifacts associated with Campion's friends and patrons, and in turn with their friends and patrons, and assemble them all into a fragmented, patchwork exoskeleton of Campion's life, and thereby examine how his social environment resulted in his work and what that work itself meant in this context.

Among other things, this shell of Campion's life demonstrates that, while the strands leading to Campion's work are many, the tangle of causality is motivated and given shape by patronage — or rather government by patronage — patronage used in the acquisition, maintenance and signifying of power. Within the web-like confines of this system of government, Campion rose and fell with his patrons, and his entertainments are primarily the consequences of their concerns.

Miscellaneous Textual Concerns:

It should be noted that I have attempted to be consistent in the listing of my references. This has, however, proved problematical in dealing with refer-

ences at second hand. Many older texts offer a bewildering variety of titles and abbreviations of titles for calendars of state papers and the like. Where I am certain that a single collection of papers is being referred to by different names in different sources, I have attempted in my documentation to use the most common contemporary name for that collection. Where there has been any doubt, however, I have simply recorded the name and abbreviation of the collection as it was documented in my source text.

I have used the paperback edition of Walter Davis's ***The Works of Thomas Campion: Complete Songs, Masques, and Treatises with a Selection of the Latin Verse*** as my primary source for Campion's work. This book has much to recommend it, not the least being that it is both available and affordable.[14] However, I do recognize that Percival Vivian's ***Works*** is often viewed as the superior Campion collection; it preserves some aspects of period typography and provides a complete collection of the (then-known) Latin poetry. In contrast, Davis preserves spelling but abandons typographic conventions, and he is highly selective in his inclusion of the Latin verse. What the Davis book does offer beyond that provided by Vivian, though, is translation from the Latin and selective inclusion of Campion's music. Both these features are greatly appreciated. In addition, Davis's annotations are generally more helpful than Vivian's. Nonetheless, Vivian and A. H. Bullen, before him, are recognized as the parents of Campion scholarship, and Vivian's unquestionably excellent text has been jointly consulted with the Davis book.

I rely also on the only edition to date of Campion's ***De Puluerea Coniuratione*** (On the Gunpowder Plot), that being the David Lindley/Robin Sowerby text, and much gratitude is expressed for their efforts in making this previously obscure work more generally available.

Additionally, I rely, for better or worse, on a number of traditional and quite possibly untrustworthy histories. Among them are Monson's ***Naval***

Tracts, Gardiner's ***History***, Nichols' ***Progresses***, ***The Dictionary of National Biography***, and several secondary texts which contain records of the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury.

The nautical metaphor which will be seen in the chapter titles herein is based on a passage from Vice Admiral Sir William Monson's ***Naval Tracts***. Monson's own political destruction is shadowed by Campion's fall from grace, and I have used his reminiscences as book ends for the thesis and as quotations elsewhere in the text, firstly because he is one of the few contemporary voices that speaks, albeit cautiously and indirectly, about a number of the events that ultimately inform Campion, and secondly because he was the brother of Sir Thomas Monson, Campion's friend and primary patron. There is, however, reason to doubt the veracity of Monson's testimony; it is at best selectively incomplete, for he lived and wrote in a time when it was dangerous to speak fully if at all, and, as much he presents claims to the contrary, he himself was not likely innocent of the political sludge in which he was very deeply immersed. As Michael Oppenheim, Monson's modern editor, observes, "it must be confessed that what is known of certain . . . events of his life is of a character to make us wish that we knew either more or less" ("Introd." vii-viii).

Also of some importance are the records of the Overbury murder trial, but as Lindley has argued most eloquently in his re-reading of the life of the much abused defendant Frances Howard, these documents, too, are suspect for a wide variety of reasons.[15] For my purposes, the most immediate concern here is the bias of the vindictive puritan historians who recorded the events of the Overbury murder considerably after the fact. My text is in many cases ultimately based upon their work, often at second hand. There is, of course, an unresolvable question of balance; these historians were undoubtedly informed by a questionable mixture of fact, faulty recollection, rumour, and just plain malice, but they

were also the first for whom it was safe to commit to print detailed accounts of a scandal that may have reached all the way to the crown itself. Still though, as Caroline Bingham notes:

> Overbury died, and there was much evidence that efforts had been made to poison him . . . . But as the King's prisoner, Overbury had also received well-intentioned medical treatment when he fell ill in the Tower. He had an "issue" (a small wound kept open for therapeutic bleedings) which, having become gangrened, may have caused his death. Scandal, however, has an impetus and a power of its own. ("Poison" 33)

Some concerns over the issue of textual authority are ultimately unresolvable, and I cautiously present only a possible history which offers, in the context of early Jacobean society and politics, some insights into Dr. Thomas Campion and his work.

Introduction Footnotes:

1. With permission from both Glasgow University Library, Department of Special Collections, and Scolar Press, the facsimiles, figures 1, 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8 were created from George Wither, ***A Collection of Emblems 1635***, London, 1635, English Emblem Books 12, ed. John Horden, Menston: Scolar, 1968, which in turn was copied from the 1635 text (Stirling-Maxwell Collection, SM1903) held by Glasgow University Library, Department of Special Collections. With a very small margin of error, the facsimiles are here reproduced to scale. However, the translation of the Scolar text to a digital medium has unavoidably produced some minor thickening of lines and some loss of detail. According to John Horden (who draws on Arthur M. Hind, ***Engraving in England***, II, 1955, p. 245, and Thieme-Becker, XXVI, p. 281 — no further bibliographical details given), "the 200 emblematic plates of ***A Collection of Emblems*** are the work of one or more members of the van de Passe family, the distinguished Netherlandish engravers;" Horden also notes Rollenhagen's 1611 publication of the plates. ("Note" np.).

2. With permission from both the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and Scolar Press, the facsimiles, figures 2 and 3, were created from Thomas Campion, ***The Description of a Maske: Presented in the Banqueting Room at Whitehall . . .***, London, 1614, Menston: Scolar, 1973, which in turn was copied primarily from the 1614 text (shelfmark Mal 221(6)) held by the Bodleian Library. With a very small margin of error, the facsimiles here are reproduced to scale. However, the translation of the Scolar text to a digital medium has unavoidably produced some minor thickening of the types, ornaments and music staves.

3. I'm not certain, however, that they would agree either with my assessment and labelling or with being lumped together as some kind of *school*.

4. Justice is speaking specifically of the records which document the Peasant's Rebellion of 1381, and he does not slavishly or unquestioningly accept those texts. He states: "I have insisted (uncontroversially) that all written records of the rebellion serve large and distorting ideological interests; that the chronicles and the judicial records emerged from the very institutions that the insurgents set out to capture and revise, and (in their different ways, and by different mechanisms) narrate a version of the rising that is as suspect in its least detail as in its grandest *récit*. And yet I repeatedly treat those details as usable testimony about the words and actions of the rebels. I would not be surprised to hear myself enjoined that I cannot serve two masters, cannot have it both ways. [¶] I would reply that *we* cannot have it — for 'it' here is historical knowledge — in any fewer than two ways. The chronicles and the indictments simply *are* the rebellion for us, because they alone record it" (255). I have taken Justice's argument out of its immediate context in order to employ it in its larger and more general sense.

5. Peck is presumably referring to: "Political thought is studied by scholars, who practice various disciplines: critics, philosophers, theorists, historians, and so on. It is about historians that I want to write here, being one myself, but I need to say something about their relations with scholars practicing other disciplines. I will be discussing these matters within the framework provided by the notions of text and event, though most of my emphasis falls on the suggestion that text and event for the historian are nearly the same thing: that is text is an event as well as a framework within which other events occur" (Pocock 22).

6. Limon explains: "These systems include ancient Greek and Roman mythology (and Renaissance mythographies); contemporary emblem books such as Ripa's ***Iconologia***; scripture; Hermetic philosophy; Stuart ideology, as expressed, for instance, in King James's own writings; ritualistic courtly behaviour, another signifying system of signs always manifested during the

masque spectacle; and last but not least the conventions of court theatre and its mechanistic and illusionistic stage" ("Masque" 209).

7. It should be noted here that regarding masques there is another school of thought which departs from the directions established by D.J. Gordon and Steven Orgel, the Jonsonian view of the genre, which this thesis tends to follow. Richard Luckett provides a good example of the pragmatic cynicism of this alternate school: "The Stuart court masque ran its course in less than forty years; it was only dubiously successful in its short-term aims, and, in its long term objectives, came spectacularly to grief. The entertainments themselves, intended to delight, were often marred by unseemly behaviour, mechanical failures and, on the part of at least some of the audience, stark incomprehension; the long-term objectives — the political education of the court and the establishment of a fundamental harmony of monarch and people — failed utterly. The expense of time and treasure was, if not a contributory cause of civil war, at least a social irritant, and though the image of harmony failed to persuade his people, it may well have helped delude the monarch and those about him" (18). Of the grand-master of the genre, Luckett states: "Jonson entered on to the green cloth which was spread for the revels on the floor of the Masquing Room like a croquet player who has decided to reinvent the rules. [¶] The awkward truth, for the Jonsonian conception of masque, was that, historically and in practice, its soul was the dance" (Ibid.). There is perhaps some sarcasm in Luckett's observation that "while those [scholars] involved [in the Gordon/Warburg/Saxl school] would probably reject Bacon's description of masques as 'toys', within the academic playroom some of them deconstruct with the neatness of Lego" (Ibid.).

8. A kind of *natural* movement and momentum within the expected parameters of discourse. Related to this concept are the textuality hypothesis, the expectancy hypothesis, and the episode hypothesis. "The textuality hypothesis suggests that the elements of experience themselves are dynamically interrelated and must of necessity be represented in a temporalized logic (sequentialized) in order for us to make sense of them. Further, this hypothesis claims that the highly temporalized event-structures of experience are propostionally complex. Simply put, the textuality hypothesis says *that the event-structures of experience are textual in nature*" (Oller 8). The expectancy hypothesis "says that *the activation of correct expectancies will enhance the processing of textual structures*. This hypothesis logically applies to both to event-structures in experience and to the sequences of verbal elements that constitute discourse" (Ibid. 10). "The episode hypothesis says that *text (i.e., discourse in any form) will be easier to produce, understand, and recall to the extent that it is motivated and structured episodically*" (Ibid. 12).

9. I have borrowed a term from cognitive psychology / psycho-linguistic (reading) theory / discourse analysis — *schemata, schemes, scripts, macro-structures, genre-schemes, discourse structures*, or *rhetorical structures* (all roughly parallel terminology depending upon context) are learned or acquired mental paradigms, language structures, and cognitively indexed knowledge frameworks which one uses to navigate and interpret experience. "A text or discourse in which a suitable underlying scheme or macro-structure is used is said to be 'coherent'" (Richards, "scheme"). This coherence, however is dependent upon the recipient's possession (or recognition) of the macro-structure, possession itself further dependent upon the recipient's competence within a particular speech community. Or as Teun A. van Dijk has explained, "the rules of macro-interpretation belong to the semantic competence of language users and . . . are conventional, allowing members of a speech community to convey meanings at several levels of interpretation" (7). Dijk also adds that theories of macro-structures "clearly pass the boundaries of the domain of [text and syntax] grammars or linguistic theory in general, extending to a more inclusive study of discourse in psychology, the social sciences and poetics" (130).

10. Here, though, she is speaking specifically of ***The Lord Hay's Masque.***

11. Such readings of Campion's works are not atypical. David M. Bergeron finds similar faults with ***The Caversham Entertainment***: "While in some respects this brief pageant resembles many of the Elizabethan progress entertainments, it is less fully developed and rather devoid of dramatic theme" (98).

12. Lindley challenges Welsford and Orgel's pronouncements. He places ***Lord Haye's Masque***, for example, in the context of the ambivalent attitudes of Campion's (likely) patrons towards/for/against King James's agenda for the unification of England and Scotland, and concludes: "***The Lord Hay's Masque*** is neither clumsily constructed nor feebly obsequious. Campion shows, in this his first exercise in the genre, a highly polished capacity to integrate all the requirements of the masque into a work which looks squarely at the issues it debates, and, through myth turns the attention of the spectators back upon the realities with which it deals. Marie Axton wished to 'stress the flat contradiction of iconographic propaganda by the hard facts of the continuing debate.' It is precisely Campion's success that he manages to bridge that gap, so preserving the integrity of his work" (***Thomas Campion*** 190). (Lindley quotes "Axton, ***The Queen's Two Bodies***, p. 136," presumably, ***The Queen's two Bodies: Drama and the Elizabethan Succession***, London: Royal Historical Society, 1977, although this edition is not indicated.) See also Lindley, "Campion's Lord Haye's Masque and Anglo-Scottish Union," and "Who Paid for Campion's '*Lord Haye's Masque*'?" Stephen Kogan is another Campion defender who takes exception to Orgel, stating: "The concept of balance applies not only to the structure of the Jacobean masque but also to the poet's relationship with the genre, which is marked by a broad sense of compromise between the public celebration of divine right and the weight of each author's private sensibility. ***Lord Hay's Masque*** is a particularly fine example of the Jacobean sense of measure between individuality and the common language of the form, for Campion filters the conventions of the masque through his special interest in the musical aspects of the genre and touches upon his professional life in music, poetry, and medicine" (70; 70-71). A. Leigh DeNeef's study of Campion's ***The Lords Masque*** has also challenged Welsford and Orgel's opinions, although some concessions to Orgel's concerns about dramatic issues are made. DeNeef concludes, however, that drama is not what the masque is about: "Not merely a wedding entertainment, ***The Lords Maske*** is a serious statement on the nature of poetry and a clear indication that the Orpheus myth, in at least some Renaissance literature, can be seen as 'poetry thinking about itself'" (103; DeNeef cites Elizabeth Sewell, ***The Orphic Voice***, New Haven: Yale UP, 1960, 60.).

13. See, for example, Jonson's introduction to ***The Masque of Blackness***, in which he explains his motivation to publish, stating that "little had beene done to the studie of *magnificence* in these [his masques]" (***Ben Jonson*** 7: 169). It should be noted, though, that Jonson also published in a journalistic mode, but that his later tendency was to divorce his texts from the occasions they celebrated.

14. At the time of composition of this thesis, details about the Davis text were available from the publisher's homepage on the Internet at http://web.wwnorton.com/aut_ttl/at12370.htm.

15. See "Introduction," ***The Trials of Frances Howard***, 1-12.

CHAPTER 1

THOSE IN WHOSE SHIP HE MUST EMBARK HIS LIFE AND FORTUNE: CONTEXT AND CAUSALITY

There is a logic of events peculiar to systems of government by patronage, and this logic can be seen clearly in the intertwined personal and literary histories of Thomas Campion, imbedded as they were in the social/political context of early Jacobean England. Sometime in the years after 1605, when Campion had returned to London from France, where he had taken his medical degree at the university of Caen,[1] opportunity, inclination, and necessity began to lead him back into the dangerous and profitable genre of court entertainments.[2] As Walter Davis has stated, ***Lord Hay's Masque*** (1607), Campion's first work for the Jacobean court

> moved Campion himself from cultivating music to exploring significance, and it also moved him from private practice into the public eye. To compose masques was to enter the political arena; it meant he had to risk offending, to subject himself to the possible censure of king or chamberlain, and to experience rivalry with other composers like [Samuel] Daniel who had attacked him in print or [Ben] Jonson who was to parody one of his masques. (***Thomas Campion*** 16)[3]

Masques had great signifying power and were staged for political purposes; hence, patrons placed sizable restraints on an author's artistic freedom. Work in this genre forced the writer to proclaim allegiance by allegorically endorsing the faction's political platform, and thus, in addition to the other hazards that Davis mentions, there was also the risk of attracting the general enmity of other

political camps. Unlike Ben Jonson, the master of slippery ironies, Campion possessed only a limited skill in the manipulation of "functional ambiguity"[4] and, therefore, had greater difficulty negotiating a distance from the positions of his patrons. He did, however, have the protection that clientage afforded, his preferment ultimately flowing from the two great early-Jacobean magnates, Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury and Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton, but once the political dynasty which had been established by their families began to falter and die, the inexorable compulsion of the patronage system itself dictated Campion's own decline and fall.

Sir William Monson, whom Campion would have known personally, understood this logic of patronage well. He was the younger brother of Sir Thomas Monson, who had been Campion's friend and chief patron, and they had all been clients in the network of patronage formed by the Salisbury-Northampton alliance — an affiliation that was, for all intents and purposes, the administrative government of England in the early years of James I's reign.[5] Reflecting on his own fall from favour (and also perhaps on the falls of his brother and others, such as Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset), Sir William offered his son the following advice on court patronage:

> Frame your course of life to the country and not to the Court ; and yet make not yourself such a stranger to great persons, as in assemblies they should ask others who you are. I confess the greatest and suddenest rising is by the Court ; yet the Court is like a hopeful and forward spring that is taken with a sharp and cold frost, which nips and blasts a whole orchard except two or three trees ; for after that proportion commonly courtiers are preferred. And he that will live at Court must make his dependency upon some great person, in whose ship he must embark his life and fortune ; and how unfortunate such men are oftentimes themselves, and how unthankful to their followers, we want not precedents. [¶] He that settles his service upon one of them shall fall into the disfavour of another ; for a Court is like an army, ever in war, striving by strata-

> gems to circumvent and kick up one another's heels. You are not ignorant of this comparison by what you know of me, whose case will serve you for a perspective-glass, wherein to behold your danger afar off, the better to prevent it. Yet reverence lords because they are noble, and one more than another because he is more notable in virtue. (1: 109-110)[6]

In Sir William's case, he, his brother, and Campion along with them, had all been caught in a vortex created by a political vacuum. With the deaths of Salisbury (1612) and Northampton (1614), there was no one of similar strength, intellect, and royal preferment in their group who could retain the power that they had held under (and over) the king, and thus the network of patronage and influence that they had built up over the years began to unravel. In 1613-15, revelations that Salisbury, Northampton, the Countess of Suffolk, and Sir William Monson had been in receipt of Spanish pensions damaged the network.[7] Its complete collapse, however, began with the exposure in 1615 of Sir Thomas Overbury's murder and finished perhaps in 1618 when the Earl of Suffolk's "grave irregularities were discovered at the treasury" (Goodwin, "Howard, Lord Thomas").

The precipitous fall of the Monsons and Campion from court favour in the wake of the Overbury murder trials was only the outcome of one small gambit, one of many, in the larger political struggles at court. Without Cecil and Northampton's protection, the Monsons, who were both suspected of papacy, were targets ready for the attack. Campion, perhaps not even holding the status of a pawn in the larger game, took the fall along with his patrons. Additionally Campion, with his numerous successes in 1613, had become a threat to Ben Jonson, and Jonson savagely ridiculed Campion's ***The Somerset Masque*** with ***The Irish Masque***. And of the two entertainments, Jonson's seems to have achieved far greater acclaim.[8] If Sir Thomas Monson, once a favourite of the king, had become a political pariah, carrying the treble stigma of rumoured papacy, sus-

pected complicity in the Overbury murder, and the guilt by association of Sir William's involvement with Spain, the presence at court of a ridiculed Thomas Campion, who was Monson's man and was perhaps also a Catholic himself or of a Catholic background, would be an embarrassment to all those, including the king, who wished to forget the troubles of the Spanish pensions and the Overbury murder. Even without the catalyst of the Overbury affair, some loss of preferment for the Monsons would have been inescapable — eventually a different gambit would have been played over them, and the result would have been similar. In the end, Campion was too closely and perhaps too loyally allied to his patrons and had not made solid connections within other patronage networks. His attempt at Brougham Castle in 1617 to regain court favour was not to be successful,[9] and he died three years later in relative poverty, leaving his small estate of £22 to his longtime friend, the lutenist, composer, and theater manager, Philip Rosseter.

To understand how Campion's allegiance to his patrons affected him, it is helpful to examine some of the links between the Jacobean patronage system and its precedents in the medieval world. England had once been quite loosely governed, and allegiances to particular magnates were anything but solid. Simon Walker discusses government during the time of John of Gaunt and observes: "Increasingly, it seems that the crucial ability for a king of later medieval England was to command the loyalty, not only of his magnates, but also of the tight-knit and self-regarding county commonwealths that went to make up the political nation" (2).[10] Patronage dispersed through the magnates down to the level of the gentry was one means of gaining some measure of control, but it is not certain how effective this was (Ibid. 3-4). There were great regional variations in power structures, but as Walker argues, a lack of control by either king or magnates at the county level seems to have been common. Simon Payling,

who examines the greater gentry of Nottinghamshire in the period after 1400, generally concurs with Walker's assessment and claims that the situation had not changed much from Gaunt's time. He notes that there were areas where magnate affinities had great influence but argues that these were exceptional: "Much more typical must have been the situation that prevailed in Lancastrian Nottinghamshire where a wealthy, independent gentry establishment was the principal factor in shire politics: it was through them that baronial influence had to be exercised if it was to be exercised at all" (108). Corruption and self-interest, encouraged by local independence, plagued attempts at tightening up authority, "for even the staunchest Lancastrian official might turn against his master, if his own vested interests came under threat" (Walker 235-36). The *turning* could be accomplished with relative ease. It seems that it was quite common even for contractually indentured retainers to cultivate loose networks of multiple allegiances, perhaps as a kind of safety net should they have a falling out with their lords or should their lords' fortunes suffer a change for the worse. Survival depended upon this flexibility of resources.

The Tudor monarchs greatly limited the power that medieval barons had once held and tightened up their control of the nation, and they accomplished this in part by employing patronage in a far more effective manner than any of their royal predecessors ever had. Linda Levy Peck comments: "Lacking coercive institutions such as a standing army or a paid local bureaucracy by which to impose their will, the Tudors had successfully made the court the centre of power, offering honour, privilege and office in exchange for service and obedience" (***Northampton*** 24).[11] By the time of James I, however, considerable stress had been placed on the patronage system; James had relied on innumerable appointments to solidify his kingship, and remedy was needed. As Peck relates,

> instability, caused by the increasingly frantic scramble for reward by individual patrons and clients, was undermining the Crown's control . . . . The king and his ministers sought in various ways to organise patronage for the Crown's benefit; James centralized patronage in one official's hands; Salisbury crafted a plan which laid out in detail how patronage was to be distributed; Northampton emphasized merit in government appointments and carefully constructed his own patronage network designed both to exploit the possibilities at court for influence and profit, and to provide servants for the king. (Ibid.)

Much had changed from medieval times; with the centralization of power, both local autonomy and magnate power had been compromised. However, vestiges of the earlier pattern of government still remained. As it had been for medieval magnates, "power and status in Tudor-Stuart England [still] required standing both at court and in the countryside" (Ibid. 23), and the necessity of having strings of clients that reached out from the court into the rural areas meant that patrons still depended on their clients both as a basis and as a display of power. Peck observes:

> At the Jacobean court it was necessary to be seen to exercise power. In a society which emphasized formal display, the successful patron required a swarm of followers whose pestering presence testified to his august standing. (Ibid. 24)

The conspicuous maintenance of artists, musicians, and poets was also an expression which signified power. Patrons needed clients, and the interdependent relationship which existed gave shrewd clients a modicum of strength; they could, if they had attachments in other networks, transfer their principal loyalties either for greater gain or better security.[12] Peck notes that "suitors changed allegiances with alacrity when their patron lost influence" (Ibid. 25). Walker's general conclusion about medieval patronage relationships — "for all their wealth and influence, the magnates of later medieval England maintained only a limited control over their men, for . . . the gentry possessed other resources, other pa-

trons, other refuge" (261) — could, with some modification of degree, still apply to patron-client relationships of the early-Jacobean period, especially those below the level of the gentry and nobility. However, with the centralization of power, the closer a client came to its core and the more prominent he became, the more difficult it was to make the jump from one political camp to another. As previously stated, Campion's fall from grace occurred in part because he did not possess *resources, patrons,* or *refuge* outside the loosely affiliated larger Salisbury-Northampton group. He was too close to its core. By Campion's time power had become quite centralized, thus restricting the mobility of political allegiances at levels near the top of patronage networks.

Among the extended Salisbury-Northampton group were all those who gave Campion preferment or to whom Campion appealed for patronage — excluding, of course, those members of the royal family whom he approached. There were: Sir Thomas Monson, to whom ***A Booke of Ayres*** (1601) and ***The Third and Fourth Booke of Ayres*** (1617?) were dedicated; Sir Thomas Sackville, Lord Buckhurst and Lord High Treasurer, to whom ***Observations in the Art of English Poesie*** (1602) was dedicated; Theophilus Howard, to whom Campion applied for patronage in the publication of ***The Lord Hay's Masque*** (1607); Sir Francis Clifford, Earl of Cumberland, and Sir Henry Clifford, his son, to whom ***Two Bookes of Ayres*** (1613?) was dedicated and who hosted and paid for the entertainment at Brougham Castle (1617); and Sir William Knollys, and his wife, Elizabeth Howard, who hosted and likely paid for ***The Caversham Entertainment*** (1613). In addition, there is, as Lindley notes, "a fair amount of circumstantial evidence to suggest that . . . Thomas Cecil, Earl of Exeter, his brother Robert, Earl of Salisbury, and Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk" were among those who financed ***The Lord Hay's Masque*** ("Who Paid" 144). Both the Howard and the Cecil families also appear to have been involved in ***The Lords***

Masque (1613), presented in celebration of Princess Elizabeth's wedding, and the Howards were most certainly active participants in and behind both ***The Caversham Entertainment*** presented for the amusement of Queen Anne and ***The Somerset Masque*** (1613) performed on the evening of Frances Howard's wedding to Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset. Campion's patrons were the context and cause of his existence as a court artist, and once he entered their service, his life and his work became inseparable from their motivations. To fully appreciate how this is so, their own existence in the corporate entity formed by the Salisbury-Northampton group and its associates must first be understood. The expression of their concerns through or with the medium of Campion's entertainments, especially ***The Somerset Masque***, will be discussed in later chapters.

The affiliation of the Salisbury-Northampton group with its allies was held together by many bonds, not all of which were common between members: there were ties of family and marriage; involvement in the politics of succession and union; associations with the Admiralty (and/or privateering); joint capital ventures; shared Catholicism; receipts of Spanish pensions; animosity against Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex; land or office holdings in Lincolnshire or East Anglia; and connections with the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury.[13]

The Howard family, most powerfully represented in Campion's time by Northampton, had their traditional land and power base in Norfolk. The "patriarch of the entire . . . family," had been Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey, 2nd Duke of Norfolk (1443-1524) (Robinson 22), and from his marriage to his first wife, Elizabeth Tilney, was born Thomas Howard, later Earl of Surrey and 3rd Duke of Norfolk (1443-1554). The younger son of the family, Sir Edward Howard (1447?-1513), became Lord High Admiral, establishing what was to be a tradition of Howard family involvement in the Admiralty, an involvement that with a number of interruptions was to span one hundred and six years (and that

in its waning years would inform Campion's ***Somerset Masque***).[14] When Sir Edward died fighting the French, his office passed to Thomas, the older brother.

In 1547, Thomas, now the 3rd Duke, and his son, Henry Howard (1517-1547), were arrested on charges of Catholicism and treason. Thomas was imprisoned. Henry, however, was beheaded, and his male children, Thomas Howard (1536-1572), later 4th Duke of Norfolk, and Henry Howard (1540-1614), later Earl of Northampton, were taken away from their mother to receive a Protestant education. When Thomas, the 3rd Duke, was released from prison by Mary I (Mary Tudor) in 1553, he had his grandchildren returned to Catholic schooling. Henry, along with Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, later became involved in the clandestine negotiations over the English throne with James VI of Scotland, and he was given great preferment when James took the English crown in 1603.

Henry's brother, Thomas, 4th Duke of Norfolk, was executed in 1572 because of his plan to wed Mary Queen of Scots. At his death, he left several children. By his first wife, he had fathered Philip Howard, later Earl of Arundel, a prominent Catholic recusant. From the relationship with his second wife had been born: William Howard, the noted Catholic recusant and antiquarian scholar; Margaret Howard, a Catholic, later married to Robert Sackville, Lord Buckhurst and 2nd Earl of Dorset, son of Thomas Sackville, Lord Buckhurst, 1st Earl of Dorset, and Lord High Treasurer; and Thomas Howard (1561-1626), later 1st Baron Howard de Walden, a high ranking naval officer, and Earl of Suffolk.

This Thomas Howard became deeply involved in the machinations of his two kinsmen, Northampton and Nottingham, who were in league with Robert Cecil; he thus sided with them against Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Salisbury, and they helped his advancement (Stone 268-75). Eventually, under James I, he became Lord Chamberlain and, after the deaths of Cecil and Northampton, Lord

High Treasurer. It is certain that Thomas, like many in his family, was suspected of holding Spanish/Catholic sympathies; in about 1605, he wrote to Sir Ralph Winwood protesting such suspicion and asking for help to throw off the *burthen* of public opinion: "I have heard it hath been informed *closely* to the *States*, that *we* Howards *should be principal Means about his Majesty to draw him from them to encline to the Spanish.*"[15] Despite Howard's protest, a statement accepted by an earlier generation of scholars as evidence of his loyalty to both the crown and the Protestant cause,[16] there is, as Lawrence Stone notes, "recently discovered evidence [which] proves that he became even more dependent than Salisbury himself upon the charity of King Philip of Spain" (277, 276-78). It seems to have been his second wife, Catherine Knevet (Knyvet), who led him into this dependency.

With Knevet, Thomas had a great number of children, including: Theophilus Howard (1584-1626), Lord Walden, later a Vice-Admiral and 2nd Earl of Suffolk; Elizabeth Howard, an open Catholic in later life after the death of her first husband Sir William Knollys; Henry Howard, a major beneficiary in Northampton's will; Catherine Howard, later married to Robert Cecil's son, William Cecil, 2nd Earl of Salisbury; and Frances Howard, later married firstly to Robert Devereux, 3rd Earl of Essex, and secondly to Robert Carr, Viscount Rochester and Earl of Somerset. There is also evidence that both Catherine and Frances were suspected of Catholicism by many of their contemporaries.[17]

Their mother Catherine Knevet was the great granddaughter of Sir Thomas Knevet, a naval officer (d. 1512), who had been brother-in-law and friend to Sir Edward Howard, Lord High Admiral (d. 1513). It is thought that Sir Edward died fighting to avenge the death of Sir Thomas who, like Edward after him, was killed in action against the French. Catherine's uncle, Thomas Knyvet (d. 1622), later Lord Knyvet of Escrick, was the Justice of the Peace for Westminster, and it was he who searched the cellars of the parliament building

and discovered the Gun Powder plot. It was also to him that Guido Faukes made his confession.[18] He was almost certainly an agent of Salisbury and Northampton, since it now seems likely that the two carefully timed and orchestrated the official discovery of the plot for maximum political effect.[19] Of Catherine Knevet, Stone adds that, if near-contemporary gossip and lampooning is correct, she was also one of Robert Cecil's mistresses (51-52).

Of the Howard marriages into the Devereux and Cecil families, the Venetian ambassador of the period observed:

> The marriage of a daughter of the Chamberlain [Suffolk] to the Earl of Essex is to be celebrated on New Year's Day; and his Majesty intends to be present. Six months later another daughter of the Chamberlain is to marry a son of Lord Salisbury. The object is to reconcile the young Earl of Essex to Lord Salisbury, who was the sole and governing cause of the late Earl's execution.[20]

The animosity between Cecil and Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex, had run deep, and additionally, as Lindley comments, "the old 'Essexians' . . . remained an identifiable grouping, . . . [in] rivalry with the Howards . . . [and] the King was keen to try to ameliorate this friction" (***Trials*** 15). D. J. Gordon, discussing ***Hymenæi***, the masque that Jonson wrote for the occasion of the Howard-Essex wedding, speaks of the importance of the Howard-(Cecil)-Devereux marriage: "It was calculated to tie together the political and family interests of great powers, to effect a new grouping of great houses, to give added force and added security to manoevres in which it would be hard to disentangle the claims of the state from the claims of the family" (157).

The above list of Howards forms only one line of descent from the patriarch, Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey and 2nd Duke of Norfolk. The other line, from his second wife Agnes Tilney (possibly a cousin of his first wife, Elizabeth Tilney) included William Howard (1510-1573), 1st Lord Effington and, in 1553,

Lord High Admiral. William had a long and active political career: he had been an ambassador to both Scotland and France; he was also an associate of William Cecil; and under Elizabeth I, he rose to the positions of Lord High Chamberlain and Lord of the Privy Seal. He had two sons by his second marriage. The first was Charles Howard (1536-1624), later Earl of Nottingham and Lord High Admiral.[21]

Charles was the hero of the Armada victory, and he had been a fierce rival of the Earl of Essex. He was ostensibly a strong Protestant, yet when his dead cousin's Catholic grandson, Henry Howard, later Northampton, was in flight from Elizabeth's wrath, he gave him refuge for a period of years (1587-1591?). It is also thought that Charles, along with Salisbury and Northampton, was in secret communication with James in Scotland and was a supporter of his claim the throne, and he is credited with having received Elizabeth's deathbed nomination of James as her successor. As R. W. Kenny relates, whether because of family ties or because of factional platform, Nottingham held definite Spanish/ Catholic sympathies, so much so that most nineteenth century scholars, probably inaccurately, painted him as a crypto-Catholic (461-64). It also seems now that he accepted a Spanish pension along with Cecil, Knevet, and Monson (Ibid. 463).[22] Charles's younger brother, Sir William Howard of Lingfield, Effington's second son, eventually married his own son, Francis, to one of Sir William Monson's daughters. Additionally, Monson's son, William, was employed in Nottingham's household; another son, John, may have found service there as well or found welcome as a guest.[23]

Many of Robert Cecil's (1563?-1612) connections with the Howard family have already been noted. To this list Stone adds Cecil's extensive involvement with Charles and Thomas Howard in the financing of privateering expeditions (6-12). Even without his relationship to the Howards, though, Cecil held im-

mense power and, in his prime, was probably the most influential person in England after the king, for he had inherited the "small army of spies and informers" that his father, William Cecil (1520-1598), Lord Burghley, had established after Elizabeth's excommunication.[24] There was also a relationship between Salisbury and Sir William Knollys, Sir William having helped Cecil clear his name when Essex, during his trial, accused Cecil of supporting the Spanish Infanta's claim to the throne. In addition Cecil seems to have been associated in some way with almost everyone who was concerned about the issue of succession. He appears to have been involved with, or at least informed about, attempts made by Thomas Sackville, Baron Buckhurst and 1st Earl of Dorset, to arrange a marriage for Elizabeth with the Duke of Anjou in 1568. Together with Sackville, Cecil also made investments in both mineral prospecting and a monopoly patent on starch manufacturing (Stone 6). Sackville's son, as already noted, married into the Howard family. Sackville was also one of the recipients of the Spanish pensions, and he and Cecil, together with Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton, and Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham, were members of a Privy Council commission struck to negotiate peace with Spain in 1604,[25] and as Peck observes: "In a pattern that was to become familiar in the Council and in Parliament, Cecil and Howard led the negotiations" (105) — as they did the country, one might add.

Cecil also established ties with the Clifford family, marrying his daughter Frances to Henry Clifford, later 5th Earl of Cumberland. Henry's uncle, George Clifford, 3rd Earl of Cumberland, had been one of Elizabeth's favourites and was a naval associate of Charles Howard. He had also been another of the 2nd Earl of Essex's many rivals, and he appears to have had a friendship of some intimacy with both Cecil and his older brother, Sir Thomas, 2nd Lord Burghley. There is a letter to Cecil, dated March 14, 1603, in which Clifford states, "I miss exceedingly,

my Lord, your brother, at York," and asks for Cecil's "directions and help" about some difficulties too dangerous to be trusted to print. The letter also contains an implicit plea for Cecil's favour on behalf of his younger brother Francis (Henry Clifford's father, and later 4th Earl of Cumberland): "I cannot tell where to settle my brother and his wife who of purpose I brought out of Yorkshire to dwell there that I might have a resting place with them."[26] Stone also documents a joint investment made by Cecil and George Clifford in a smelting monopoly patent (6). Additionally, there was also an (albeit distant) connection between the Howards and Cliffords; both were intermarried with the Dacre family. George Clifford had also, at one time, been Sir William Monson's immediate superior and patron in the navy, although they had experienced a serious rift in their friendship by the time of Campion's involvement with Sir Thomas Monson.[27]

The origins of the Monson family connection with the Salisbury-Northampton alliance are not certain, but most likely the association stemmed from the politics of succession. Robert Monson, the uncle of Thomas and William, had been a judge in Lincolnshire and had served as a Member of Parliament, where in the autumn of 1566, together with Sir Robert Bell, "he offended the queen by the persistence with which he pressed for a direct answer to a petition of both houses praying her to marry and nominate her successor in the event of her death" (Rigg, "Monson, Robert"). With this political stance, it seems likely he would have been a subordinate colleague of Salisbury, Buckhurst, and Nottingham, and as Oppenheim suggests "some of Robert Monson's friends and contemporaries may have helped [young William] with their influence," assisting his rapid advance in the navy ("Introd." x).

At the age of twenty (1589), Monson had command of a ship under George Clifford, and by age twenty seven, he held command under Essex and Nottingham at Cadiz and was knighted there by Essex. From 1599 to 1601, he

was in the Downs and the Narrow Seas, commanding various ships under Thomas Howard, later Earl of Suffolk, and in 1601 he sat as a Member of Parliament for a riding controlled by Suffolk's wife, Catherine Knevet. In 1602, he held command again, this time as Sir Richard Leveson's Vice Admiral, Leveson who was the son-in-law of Nottingham, the Lord High Admiral. With Sir Richard, Monson captured the carrack St. Valentine, an extremely rich prize, and this endeavour brought him to the attention of Elizabeth, who received him in "a conference with . . . Nottingham, Buckhurst, and Cecyll" (Oppenhiem, "Introd." xvii-xix).

It is likely that about this time he became a spy for Salisbury and Northampton, for in the following years we find him reporting regularly to them,[28] and later in 1602/1603, he was involved in some political intrigue provoked by the anxiety surrounding Elizabeth's impending death and the plans for James's succession.[29] It has also been alleged that "Monson had himself been in communication with James" (Ibid. xix).[30] After James's succession to the throne, Monson, with Cecil's assistance, found even greater preferment. He relates:

> The first of July, 1604, the then Lord Cecyll signified to me his Majesty's pleasure that I should take charge of his Highness's ships serving on the Narrow Seas ; and willed me to make such provision for transporting the Constable of Castille, who was then expected to conclude a peace, as should stand with the honour and reputation of his Majesty. After humble thanks to his Majesty, and no less to his Lordship, for doing me so high a favour, without either suit or seeking of mine, I was bold to tell him that by my employment I was to enter into a labyrinth ; for though the navigation was but short, yet it was both difficult and dangerous. For I was to sail between Scylla and Charybdis ; the one I might call Holland, the other Spain ; and seeking to avoid the displeasure of the one I might fall into the enmity of the other. (3: 24)

In Monson's words, here written some twenty years after the fact, there is undoubtedly a large degree of intentional irony, for Monson had been taken pris-

oner by Spain in 1591 and held for two years before his release.[31] Hence, he, like Odysseus, had escaped *Charybdis*, but he, however, ultimately did not elude *Scylla*, the Protestant faction manned by the likes of Coke, Ellesmere, Archbishop Abbot, Pembroke, Southampton, and Winwood, who were more sympathetic to Dutch interests. Monson likely became their target, because it had been discovered that at about the time of his appointment to the position of Admiral, he had accepted a Spanish pension, probably following the lead of Sackville, Cecil, Catherine Knevet, and Charles Howard. In Cecil's defence, Augustus Jessop argues: "With regards to his receiving money from Spain it was part of that vile system [the Elizabethan secret service] which his father had established, and into which he was perhaps forced, of employing every means that came to hand for obtaining information of the doings of the Catholics" ("Cecil, Robert"). Monson's acceptance may have served similar purposes and may have been a condition of his employment under Cecil and Northampton. Northampton himself had already been receiving Spanish money since 1582. L. Hicks explores another aspect of the pensions, arguing that the money paid by the Spanish crown was "to secure toleration" of English Catholics and that the matter was kept secret by both parties for fear of mutual political embarrassment — the issue may have been as touchy in Spain as it was in England (202).[32] Whatever the reasons for the pensions, Monson's classical metaphors were as apt for the internal politics of England as they were for those of the international arena; the *labyrinth* into which Cecil and Northampton led him, having him sail between *Scylla* and *Charybdis*, was eventually to destroy him politically, along with his brother and his brother's friend and client, Thomas Campion.

As Admiral of the Narrow Seas, Monson came into closer contact with Northampton, who was Warden of the Cinque Ports. He also assumed the responsibility for ferrying foreign diplomatic personnel and "princely visitors" to

and from the continent (Laughton, "Monson, Sir William") — it was a perfect occupation for a spy. He was also given the duties of keeping the peace in the Channel (a task which included protecting Spanish ships from Dutch predation), monitoring maritime traffic, and preventing the passage of *persona non grata*. He was also suspected of secretly transporting priests and Spanish sympathizers;[33] however, if he actually did so, it was not likely without the knowledge and consent of Cecil and Northampton. Thus, it is probably in keeping with his work for these two that another spy observed him in the company of both Robert Catesby, the leader of the Gun Powder Plot, and a certain Dr. Taylor, an agent of the ambassador of the Spanish Archduke of the Netherlands. The unnamed spy reports on the meeting which was held only ten days before the official exposure of the plot:

> On the Thursday sennight before the 5th of November there met at dinner at the Mitre in Bread Street the Lord Mordant, Sir Jocelyn Percy, Sir William Monson, Sir Mark Ive, Mr. Robert Catesby, Dr. Taylor belonging to the Archduke's ambassador, Mr. Pickering, esquire of Northamptonshire, Mr. Hakluyt, and Spero Pettingar; and there among the discourses this Taylor said that all princes' ambassadors were but honorable spies. Dinner being ended, the Lord Mordant, Sir Jocelyn Percy, and Catesby with Pickering passed away together, and coming up the hill, Sir William Monson and Taylor took a blind way in by a church, they two alone.[34]

Sir Jocelyn was brother to Campion's friend, William Percy, whom Campion had probably known since his days at Gray's Inn. Another brother of Sir Jocelyn's was Henry Percy, 9th Earl of Northumberland, a Catholic peer who was imprisoned for fifteen years because of his probably innocent friendship with a distant kinsman, Thomas Percy, another of the Gun Powder conspirators.[35] Monson himself was never called to account for his dealings on the fringes of the Gun Powder Plot, quite probably because they were sanctioned by his superiors.

In the episode of the Spanish pensions, there is even a suggestion of James's complicity, for Monson remained in his position as Admiral until 1616, even though Sir John Digby, ambassador to Spain, had informed James about the matter in 1613. Digby wrote:

> I must humbly crave your Majesty's permission to utter some few words by way of apology, for that I well understand how ill it befitteth a gentleman or an honest man to put jealousies into the head of princes against their ministers, upon circumstances that have not strong probabilities ; but when the present danger or inconvenience will not fittingly admit of the delay which is requisite for the sifting and clearing of those suspicions which are not without cause conceived, I then suppose that the prejudice of particular men is rather to be adventured than Your Majesty's service or safety in the least manner hazarded. And this is now the case : for I see a person employed in your Majesty's service in a place of so great consequence and trust, and that in times of danger, if he should be disloyal unto your Majesty, might have so great power to do hurt, being indeed one of the guards of your kingdom, as may well excuse my giving your Majesty a caveat to have him carefully looked unto, although my suspicions are not yet come to certain and direct proof. The party is Sir William Monson, Admiral of the Narrow Seas, whom by diverse circumstances and collections I gather to be a pensioner to the King of Spain, as I fear (before it be long) I shall plainly make it appear unto your Majesty.[36]

By 1614, Monson's protectors, Salisbury and Northampton were both dead, and still no action was taken against him. James himself was perhaps afraid of being compromised by association with the scandal. He may have tacitly consented to the pensions which were likely offered at the conclusion of the peace treaty of 1604. He had, after all, sought peace with Spain and had later entertained the idea of Spanish marriages for the princes, Henry and Charles. There was also a potential embarrassment in Queen Anne who was friendly with and accepted gifts from Spain's ambassadors and who may have flirted privately with Catholicism, even in Scotland where she had been befriended by Henrietta Stuart, Countess of Huntley, an apparent supporter of the Jesuits.[37]

Monson was thrown in the Tower in January of 1616, allegedly under suspicion of involvement in the Overbury murder; however, there was no evidence against him, whatsoever. Chief Justice Coke was simply on a fishing trip, casting his nets widely in the hope of catching papist fish. If Sir Thomas, a choice papist target, was implicated in the murder, Sir William might be hauled in too. Among Coke's rambling and vague innuendoes of extensive and elaborate plots involving papacy, powder, poison, and witchcraft, there was made some extremely pointed suggestion that "Lady Suffolk [Catherine Knevet] . . . [had] financed the plot [the murder of Overbury], to which Sir William Monson had contributed £100" (White 133). Oppenheim reports, however, that once Coke began to stray farther afield,

> James was anxious to suppress the business of the Spanish pensions and drew Coke off that scent, and necessarily from other matters. The baulked Chief Justice could not refrain from a growl : 'What Sir William Monson is your Majesty knoweth and a good many rejoice he is where he is.'[38] So far from leaving the prisoner to the tender mercies of the 'bloodhounds of the Crown,' James did him the honour of taking his case in hand himself, and in April, Francis Bacon wrote to Coke that the King required all Monson's examinations to be sent to him. This must have been done, his liberation being already decided upon, as a precaution that nothing relating to the pensions should become known, and on 17th July Monson was set free, but not, we may be sure, because James was convinced of his innocence. ("Introd." xxxv)

Writing six or seven years after his release, Monson states that he suffered financial ruin — no doubt as a consequence of his losses of employment in the navy and preferment at court. Beyond this suffering, however, "there is no trace in the records of the slightest punishment being inflicted upon him" (Ibid.) — excepting the seven months he spent in the Tower. His banishment from court was perhaps all the protection and punishment James could afford to give him.

Sir Thomas Monson's career roughly paralleled that of his brother William, and as with William, and it is likely that his uncle's friends aided his advancement, as well. Thomas was knighted in 1588, and in 1603-1604 he sat as one of Northampton's client MP's from Lincolnshire. Once established as clients in the same patronage network, the two brothers would likely have looked after each other's interests as far as possible since they appear to have been on good terms. So it is not surprising that, when James, in the company of Suffolk, Northampton and others, was entertained at Oxford in 1605 by the university's chancellor, Thomas Sackville, Lord Buckhurst and Earl of Dorset, Thomas Monson was there and was created an M.A., as was Suffolk's son, Theophilus Howard — Suffolk, Northampton, Buckhurst, and Theophilus Howard, all known associates of William Monson. Thomas was appointed James's Master Falconer probably at about this time, and he became a minor royal favourite. Anthony Weldon explains James's favour, stating that Monson was "such a faulconer as no prince in Christendom ever had, for what flights other princes had he would excell them for his master."[39] Hicks notes that in 1605 Monson, along with the Earl of Southampton and others, was also awarded, by James, the right to collect "fines due from particular recusants" (202-203, 221 n. 107);[40] this award may bring the veracity of Monson's alleged papacy into serious question, but it may also be indicative only of a complete lack of principles on his part. Also about this time, Monson was made Chancellor to Queen Anne, and with his appointment as Keeper of the Armory at Greenwich, he was once again in Northampton's backyard. Both the Queen and Northampton had residences there, and Northampton held the office of Keeper in reversion of the Tower at Greenwich, an office assumed later in 1611 by his nephew Theophilus Howard. In 1611 Monson became Master of the Armory in the Tower (of London), and in June of that year was honoured with a Baronetcy. The office of Keeper of Naval

and Other Warlike Instruments in the Tower he received in 1612. It was a position in character with his brother's duties.

Monson's ties to the Howard faction become even more apparent about this time. Acting for Northampton and Suffolk, he became an agent in the political destruction and murder of Sir Thomas Overbury.[41] Overbury had been the brains behind Robert Carr, James's principle young favourite at court, but Overbury had fallen out with him over his involvement with Frances Howard, wife of Robert Devereux, 3rd Earl of Essex, once he realized that the relationship was not just an idle affair. Overbury became a major impediment to the divorce proceedings between Howard and Devereux which were based on claims that Frances was a virgin, her marriage with Essex having never been consummated because of his (alleged) impotence. Northampton and Suffolk, realizing the power to be gained by a family alliance with the king's favourite, one who had formerly been somewhat hostile, quickly contrived to have Sir Thomas placed in the Tower under close arrest where he could not possibly interfere with Frances' case, and Frances, with or without the direct knowledge of her father and her great-uncle, planned to have him killed.

Monson seems to have assisted in the removal of Sir William Wade, the lieutenant of the Tower who would have had the responsibility for guarding Overbury. Sir Jervis Elwes, Wade's replacement, had been a Lincolnshire man like Monson and was quite likely known to him, although as John Chamberlain reports, he was not well known about London. Chamberlain also indicates that Elwes was of a pliable disposition — a characteristic which was likely a factor in his being chosen for the office. Chamberlain describes him:

> One Gervais Ellowayse of Lincolnshire somwhat an unknowne man is put into the place by the favor of the Lord Chamberlain [Suffolk] or his Lady [Catherine Knevet]: the gentleman is of too mild and gentle a disposition for such an office. He is my old frend

> and acquaintance in Fraunce, and lately renewed here in towne, where he hath not lived past a yeare nor followed the court many a day.[42]

From the evidence presented by Elwes at his trial, it seems that Monson had involved Campion in the taking of graft, a practice often associated with appointments such as Elwes'. Monson had

> told him [Elwes] that Wade was to be removed, and that if he succeeded Sir William Wade, he was to bleed, that is, give 2000li . . . And ten days after Wade was removed, he (Elwes) came into the place, and payd 1400li of the money at his unkle alderman Helvash his house to Doctor Campian.[43]

Elwes's statement is confirmed by the record of Campion's own deposition, "The exa*min*ation of Thom*a*s Campion docter of phisicke taken this 26 of Oct. 1615:"

> He [Campion] confesseth that he receiued of alderman Helwys for the vse of Sr Thom*a*s Mounson fourten hundred pounds wch Sr gervis Elwis left or provided for him there, and this event was about midsommer after Sr gervis became lievetenant of the tower, and that pt of that 1400li was in gold, and pt in white money and the gold Sr Thom*a*s Mounson took wth him and the white money being in Bagge, Darwyn Sr Thom*a*s Mounson's man caused to be carried to Sr Thom*a*s Mouns. as he taketh it, And for what consideration it was payd this exa*min*ate saith he knoweth not.[44]

Beatrice White provides Monson's story and traces the money:

> According to Monson: 'My Lord of Northampton, upon the displacing of Wade, moved the King for Sir G. Elwes, and . . . he directed Sir G. Elwes to go to the Lords of Shrewsbury and Pembroke to my Lord of Somerset . . . to speak for him to the King.'[45] It appears [from Campion's deposition] that Elwes borrowed the money from his alderman uncle and that it was divided among the conspirators. These included Monson and the Suffolks.[46] (56)

It is also known that Monson suggested to Elwes that Richard Weston, a conspirator with Frances Howard and one of the primary agents of Overbury's death, be employed as the underkeeper who would attend Overbury in the

Tower and that Simon Merston (Merson, Marson, Marston), a member of the King's Musick who had been one of Monson's household musicians and who still served him on occasion, was one of the couriers who brought poisoned food to Overbury (White 57; Vivian xlv; Ward 7, 107, 112).[47] The not-always-reliable William McElwee also suggests that Monson was the social connection between many of the main conspirators, including Frances Howard's agent, Mrs. Turner: "Lady Essex, had probably employed her [Turner] in the first place as a dress-maker, though they may also have met on a semi-social footing at the notoriously wild musical parties given by Sir Thomas Monson . . . at which Mrs. Turner was responsible for the catering and supervised the dancing, while a friend of hers, Simon Merston [the same Merston as above], managed the music" (49).[48] Monson may have also assisted Frances Howard in her divorce proceedings against Essex; it was later rumoured that the heavily draped young woman who was examined and pronounced *virgo intacta* was not Frances Howard but rather one of Monson's younger daughters (White 42).

In the end James could not afford to stop the questioning of Sir Thomas, as he had that of his brother William, for Sir Thomas was too directly associated with the main conspirators. James apparently communicated with Monson and reviewed the highly circumstantial evidence against him, expressing his opinion to Coke that there was no cause for a trial. He did, however, allow Coke to proceed. Monson remained calm, though. He appealed to Suffolk for help, but the earl understandably tried to divorce himself from both Monson and the proceedings, and Coke himself surprisingly thwarted all efforts to have Suffolk drawn into the inquiry. Faced with a poised and intractable suspect, Coke let his *poison, powder,* and *papacy* theories run rabid in his attempts to bully Monson into confession, and this may have led to Coke's own downfall, for he overstepped the bounds of decorum and greatly embarrassed James. He denounced Monson

as a papist, associating him by implication with Father Henry Garnet, confessor to many of the Gun Powder conspirators, and he suggested that Monson would share Garnet's fate. Among Coke's many other wild insinuations were suggestions that there had been a papist poisoning of Prince Henry, that Monson had knowledge of it, and that James himself had, through Northampton, tacitly authorized the death of Overbury. Ultimately, Coke was given a back seat to Sir Francis Bacon in the inquiry proceedings, and Monson was remanded to the Tower where he was held for about a year without any charges being laid. Emily Tennyson Smith even goes so far as to argue that Coke "probably hurried him back to the Tower for fear of a favourable verdict" ("Monson, Sir Thomas").

McElwee claims that "Campion was . . . [also] imprisoned for his very trivial and innocent share in the business" (177). There is, however, no corroborative evidence of this claim in any other writing encountered, and McElwee does not provided documentation of his sources. If Campion was incarcerated at all, it can not have been for long, for, as Vivian points out, "on January 24, 1616, a warrant, signed by 'J. Ellesmere, canc.', 'Lenox', and 'Edw. Coke', was issued to the then Lieutenant of the Tower, Sir George More, 'to allow Dr. Montford and Dr. Campian, physicians, to have access to Sir Thomas Munson, Knt., a prisoner in the Tower, to confer with the said Sir Thomas on matters relating to his health in the presence of the said Lieutenant'" (xlv).[49]

In February of 1616, Monson was released on his own recognizance, ostensibly still under arrest, and in 1617 the king proclaimed him to be innocent and granted him a full pardon. The granting of a pardon where no charges were laid and where no convictions were made is not as strange as it seems; the king's pardon prevented ***any*** charges regarding the Overbury murder from ***ever*** being brought against Monson, even if new evidence should arise. The banishment

from court and the pardon were again all the protection and punishment James could afford to offer, possibly a reward for loyal silence.

Campion, perhaps emboldened by a climate of optimism surrounding the event of his friend's pardon, dedicated his last collection of airs to Monson and, with the help of the Cliffords, approached James directly at Brougham Castle, presenting him with his Latin text on the Gun Powder Plot, hoping for some restoration of favour.[50] He was not likely well received, however, for not even Monson was welcome at court, and it was only in 1620 that James allowed Sir Thomas to approach, consenting for him to kiss his hand. By this time Campion was dead, and Suffolk was dishonoured. Neither of the Monson brothers ever fully regained the favour they had once held.[51] It shall be argued that in the end, Campion, the court artist, was primarily a political tool used by his patrons to further their own ends, and with the disgrace among them, his utility to anyone at court was spent. Unlike his musician friends whose talents helped them cross religious and political boundaries with relative impunity, Campion was neither a performance singer or musician. He was primarily a composer of song, and the political weight of his masque texts, along with his, quite likely very real, friendship with Sir Thomas Monson, dragged him down in the storm over the Spanish pensions and the Overbury Murder.

Chapter 1 Footnotes:

1. "Campion graduated as M.D. of the University of Caen on 10 Feb. 1605" (Shapiro 495).

2. It is reasonably certain that Campion had a hand in the composition of the masque, ***Proteus and the Adamantine Rock***, which had formed part of the ***Gesta Grayorum***, the court revels performed by Gray's Inn for Elizabeth I's entertainment in 1594. The masque was revolutionary for its place and time and may have had an influence in the later development of the genre in the Jacobean era. Enid Welsford relates: "The masque of ***Proteus and the Adamantine Rock*** brings us to a turning point in the history of the masque. It is the first piece that we know of which gives the norm of the masque as composed by Ben Jonson and his fellow poets" (163). Campion, however, seems not to have had any opportunity to work in the genre again until 1607. — I use the word *necessity* to describe Campion's motivation towards court entertainments because, as Walter Davis observes, by this time, Campion's inheritance, "the 260 pounds he had received in 1588[,] had most certainly run out" (***Thomas Campion*** 13). He was no longer a gentleman of leisure.

3. Campion's ***Somerset Masque*** (1613) was satirized by Jonson's ***Irish Masque***. Both masques were performed for the wedding of Frances Howard to Robert Carr. The relationship between the ***Somerset Masque*** and the ***Irish Masque*** will be discussed later in this paper.

4. The allusion here is to Annabel Patterson's "theory of *functional ambiguity*, in which the indeterminacy inveterate to language was fully and knowingly exploited by authors and readers alike" in an effort to escape censorship (Patterson 18).

5. For an excellent account of early Jacobean government, see Linda Levy Peck, ***Northampton: Patronage and Policy at the Court of James I.*** My understanding of Jacobean government is greatly indebted to this book.

6. It should be noted that Monson's son, young William, was not a political *ingénue* at the time. He was a handsome young man of some considerable experience. He had been a page in the household of Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham, Nottingham's wife was or was about to become his mistress (he eventually married her after Nottingham's death), and Suffolk had already advanced him as bait for James's homoerotic appetites in an unsuccessful effort to break the monopoly that Buckingham held on the king's affections after the fall of Robert Carr. Of Monson's advice Oppenheim wryly states, "There are warnings against courtiers and court life, it is true, but rather on account of the worldly dangers to be feared than because the life itself was ignoble" (xlii).

7. For an account of the discovery see Oppenheim xx-xxvi, and Gardiner, ***History*** 2: 83-86. See also ch. 1, p. 18, and ch. 1 n. 36, herein. There will also be further discussion of the pensions herein.

8. For Jonson himself, there was, perhaps, no great honour or distinction in that a repeat performance of ***The Irish Masque*** was called for only a few days after its initial presentation. John Chamberlain, writing to Carleton on January 5, 1614, relates that "the loftie maskers were so well liked at court the last weeke that they were appointed to performe yt [***The Irish Masque***] again on Monday" (***State Papers Domestic Series, Jacobean I*** lxxvi: 2, ***Letters of John Chamberlain*** 1: 498). While such demands were indicative of popularity with the king and court, Jonson was no stranger this kind of adulation, and with his healthy ego he may have taken such appreciation for granted. It was, though, a form of praise that Campion never received for any of his efforts. *The Irish Masque* did not go without criticism, however. Chamberlain goes on to question Jonson's lack of political sensitivity: Yet "theyre devise (which was mimicall of the Irish)

was not pleasing to many, who thincke yt no time (as the case stands) to exasparat that nation by making yt ridiculous" (Ibid.). A discussion of Campion's work in 1613 will follow in later chapters.

9. It will be argued that Campion was the principal author of the entertainment at Brougham Castle which was held for King James in 1617 and that there, in an effort to regain favour, he presented James with the ms. of ***De Puluerea Coniuratione***, his vitriolic, anti-Catholic, Latin verse-treatise on the Gun Powder plot — his most extensive single work.

10. Walker paraphrases C. Given-Wilson, ***The Royal Household and the King's Affinity: Service, Politics and Finance in England, 1360-1413***, New Haven, 1986, 264-7.

11. Peck credits Wallace MacCaffrey, "Place and Patronage in Elizabethan Politics," in ***Elizabethan Government and Society***, ed. S. T. Bindoff, J. Hurstfield, and C. H. Williams, London, 1961, 95-126, and J. E. Neale, "The Elizabethan Political Scene," in ***Essays in Elizabethan History***, London, 1958, 59-84, as the basis of "much of [her] discussion of Tudor-Stuart patronage system" (223 n. 4).

12. Sir William Monson provides a good case in point. In the Navy he first came to prominence under George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland, but later attached himself to Clifford's rival, Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, as Devereux's fortunes began to rise. He survived the fall of Essex by allying himself with: Thomas Howard, Lord Walden, later 1st Earl of Suffolk; Howard's grandfather's cousin, Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham and Lord High Admiral; and Sir Richard Leveson, Nottingham's son-in-law. See Oppenheim viii-xx. Another case that could be held up as an example is that of Sir Ralph Winwood.

13. In an effort to avoid an excess of footnotes and parenthetical citations, I have aimed for a minimum of direct quotations in the following discussion of the relationships between Campion's patrons. The Howard family history, in particular, is quite complex. I have synthesized and condensed information from a number of sources: Archbold, "Howard, Lord William, First Baron Howard of Effington," ***DNB***; Archer, "Clifford, Henry de, Second Earl of Cumberland" and "Clifford, Margaret, Countess of Cumberland," ***DNB***; Blakiston, "Sackville, Robert, Second Earl of Dorset," ***DNB***; Creighton, "Howard, Philip, First Earl of Arundel of the Howard Family," "Howard, Thomas I, Earl of Surrey and Second Duke of Norfolk," "Howard, Thomas II, Earl of Surrey and Second Duke of Norfolk," "Howard, Thomas III, Fourth Duke of Norfolk," and "Howard, Lord William," ***DNB***; Doyle, ***Official Baronage***; Firth, "Clifford, Henry," ***DNB***; Gardiner, ***History***; Goodwin, "Howard, Theophilus, Second Earl of Suffolk and Second Baron Howard de Walden," "Howard, Lord Thomas, First Earl of Suffolk and First Baron Howard de Walden," and "Monson, Sir William, Viscount Monson of Castlemaine," ***DNB***; Hamilton, "Bell, Sir Robert," ***DNB***; Jessop, "Cecil, Robert, First Earl of Salisbury" and "Cecil, William, Lord Burghley," ***DNB***; Laughton, "Clifford, George, Third Earl of Cumberland," "Howard, Charles, Baron Howard of Effingham, Earl of Nottingham," "Howard, Sir Edward," and "Monson, Sir William," ***DNB***; Lee, "Howard, Henry, Earl of Surrey," "Howard, Henry, Earl of Northampton," "Knollys, William, Earl of Banbury," and "Sackville, Thomas, First Earl of Dorset," ***DNB***; Oppenheim, "Introduction," ***Naval Tracts***; Robinson, ***Dukes of Norfolk***; Smith, "Monson, Sir Thomas," ***DNB***; and C. G. Williams, ***George, Third Earl of Cumberland.***

14. For a list of Lords Admiral from 1485 to 1628, see Rodger 1.

15. Correspondence from the Lord Suffolk to Mr Winwood, nd. (1605?), in Winwood's ***Memorials of State*** 2: 175.

16. For example — It is a matter of little "surprise that Suffolk, the old sea captain who had fought at the side of Raleigh and Essex, refused to contaminate his fingers with Spanish gold"

(Gardiner, ***History*** 1: 122). "He honorably, in 1604, refused a Spanish pension" (Goodwin, "Howard, Lord Thomas, First Earl of Suffolk"). *Et cetera.*

17. David Lindley reports that "Cecil in 1610 had written to his son, telling him that his wife and Frances, her sister, had taken communion at Hatfield that Easter 'which has stopped the mouthes of many malicious persons that speak their pleasure of their long forbearance'" (***Trials*** 165) — Lindley quotes ***Reports of the Historical Manuscript Commission, Salisbury*** MSS, XXI: 215.

18. See Archbold, "Knyvet, Thomas, Lord Knyvet of Escrick," and Laughton, "Knyvet, Sir Thomas."

19. See Haynes, ***The Gun Powder Plot*** and ***Invisible Power.***

20. ***Calendar of State Papers*** (Venetian) X: 308, qtd. in Lindley, ***Trials*** 16. All insertions are Lindley's.

21. N. A. M. Rodger explains Nottingham's position as Lord Admiral: The Lord Admiral "was in no modern sense a minister of the Crown; he was one of the great officers of state, whose positions and prestige derived from antiquity. His was an office of honour and profit; honour from commanding the Queen's forces in action, profit from the Court of the Admiralty. . . . . In all essentials the Lord Admiral remained a mediaeval officer of state, and Charles, Lord Howard of Effingham, later earl of Nottingham, who was Lord Admiral from 1585 to 1619, was in many ways the last of the mediaeval Admirals" (8-9). He adds, "Nottingham's essentially mediaeval view of his responsibilities . . . in James's reign . . . led to disaster" (9).

22. Here Kenny relies on Charles H. Carter, "Gondomar: Ambassador to James I," ***Historical Journal*** 7 (1964): 196.

23. Kenny observes: "Finally, the year before his death [1623], Nottingham wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury that he thought it his duty to inform against John Monson, 'a dangerous Papist ; neither Garnet, Constable nor Tobie Mathew is comparable to him'. Nottingham had turned him out of his house for 'tampering with a relative' ; Monson had openly asserted that the king was a 'Papist at heart', and he took delight in 'striving to pervert people'" (463). There are possibly two factors influencing Nottingham here. One is that John was a dangerous papist, as opposed to a safe loyal, and thus tolerable, papist of which there were many. The other is that John's brother, William, was having an affair with Nottingham's wife. See n. 6, above. For Chamberlain's account of the altercation with John Monson "at the Lord of Notingams table," see his letter of May 30, 1623, to Carleton (***State Papers Domestic Series, Jacobean I*** lxxvi: 2, ***Letters of John Chamberlain*** 2: 500)

24. Jessop, "Cecil, William;" Haynes, ***Invisible Power*** xiii, 16, 136-145.

25. In the National Portrait Gallery, in London, there is a painting, "The Somerset House Conference," which commemorates the commissioners and the treaty they negotiated; for a reproduction see the dust jacket of Peck, ***Northampton.***

26. Cecil MSS. $\mathbf{XI_I}$. 674, qtd. in C. G. Williams 251.

27. As shall be argued, it is unlikely that the relationship between the Cliffords and the Monsons had any bearing on Campion's clientage with Francis Clifford and his son. Sir William Monson and George Clifford were not so friendly after the mid 1590's. See also n. 12, above, and n. 31, below.

28. See various correspondence in Monson, ***Naval Tracts***, indexed 5: 350.

29. Monson relates: "At Christmas, . . . there was a consultation by the Lords of Her Majesty's Council, to prepare two fleets, the one for the spring, the other to second the first in the June following, Sir Richard Leveson to command the former, and myself the latter, in some action against Spain. But though this was a pretence to satisfy the world yet the Lords had another intent in it. For at that time they knew, the Queen being sick, there was much danger of her death because of her years, which made them the more willing to hasten this fleet to sea, to have it in a readiness to defend the kingdom if the Queen's death should happen. [¶] And though Sir Richard Leveson, nominated General of this fleet, was not beloved by the Lords, fearing his ambition, yet they continued him in his place and command. And whereas I was appointed to second him in a later fleet, yet the Lords by importunity persuaded me to accompany him as Vice-Admiral in this voyage, they having a greater trust and confidence in me than in him. And therefore I was ordered to command the Merhonour, a better ship than that Sir Richard served in. All this was done out of policy ; and few of the Lords, but such as were intimate friends to the King knew of it. For their intention was, if the Queen died and King James had found any opposition, that my Lord Thomas Howard, afterwards Earl of Suffolk, should take charge of this fleet and come aboard me, and I go into Sir Richard's ship, and Sir Richard's authority to cease" (5: 189). Many, including Oppenheim, have questioned Monson's account; as previously noted, Leveson was Nottingham's son-in-law and there is now no evidence of what his "ambition" might have been — beyond this, however, all other doubt seems to be based only simple incredulity fed by class bias. Monson was, after all, only a younger son of a minor family from the minor gentry; how could he possibly be given authority, even secret authority, over Leveson his social superior? There is, however, some evidence of a factional split between Nottingham, whose candidates for preferment in the Navy were Leveson and Sir Richard Mansell, a distant relative, and Salisbury and Northampton who seem to have favoured Monson (Oppenheim xx-xxi). This can not have been a serious split, however, for Monson's son William became a page in Nottingham's household (See n. 6, above.). Ultimately, it is Monson's social position that would have made him a most useful political tool; he was reputed to have been popular with the ordinary sailors, and they would follow him, but, with his class background, he could never become a serious threat to his masters. Given the nature of Monson's following career, his story, as he presents it here, is not entirely implausible.

30. As Oppenheim notes, though, this story is derived from a history, ***Life***, in ms. written by the 6th Lord Monson, and while the story is "not unlikely, [it does lack] authoritative evidence" (xix). In 1902 the ms. was in the possession of the then current Lord Monson.

31. Oppenheim argues that Monson's release from his Spanish/Portuguese imprisonment, a release apparently "without ransom or any condition," has never been explained, and he conjectures that both Monson's (suspected) Catholicism and his (alleged) Spanish sympathies stem from this period (xii). Williamson notes, however, that George Clifford's threats against Spanish prisoners may have eventually affected Monson's release as part of a prisoner exchange; he points to "the Lady Anne Narrative," a lengthy ms. prepared for Lord Clifford's daughter, in which it is related that because of a calm, Clifford had been unable to come to Monson's aid when he was under attack and that "suche was his [Clifford's] love and care of his people that he wrott immediately to the Archduke Alberto (then viceroy of Portugal) that he should well entreate the prisoners otherwise that suche that as fell into his hands (whereof he presumed of good store) should receave the same measure and usage for feare whereof the Spaniards within a few dayes after newe clothed the common sorte of them and soe released them, deteyning onelie Capt. Monson with sixe others of the better sorte all which (Monson excepted) within a shorte tyme after were like wise sett at libertie and he kepte as a pledge until dewe performance of a promise made for the discharge of some Spanishe prisoners in England, whereof one Dom Aries de Silva was principal" (qtd. without page reference in Williamson 53).

It must be stated, however, that Williamson is not entirely convinced of Monson's innocence in the question of his release. In 1920, "the Lady Anne Narrative" was in the private collection of Henry James, 1st Baron Hothfield.

32. Hicks draws on "Letters of Garnet, 14 and 21 November 1604, Simancas, Est. Leg. 842, f.165" (221 n. 105). He relates further: "The gifts of money and pensions certainly appear to have been paid. In February 1605 Philip II even approved Tassis's request for an increase in the amount suggested in the case of the five of those concerned, [Charles Howard] the Earl of Nottingham, [Thomas Sackville] the Earl of Dorset, [Robert Cecil] Viscount Cranbourne and [Katherine Knevet] the Countess of Suffolk, but warned him that the pensions were to be paid to the parties by Tassis himself, and not through the Countess of Suffolk who would only keep half of the money, as she was so avaricious" (202) — here Hicks alludes to "Philip III to Tassis, 3 February 1605, Simancas, Est. Leg. 2571, f.118" (221 n. 106).

33. See Oppenheim xxv, xxxiv. Oppenheim also notes a rumour from about 1615 "that [Monson] had planned to deliver up the navy to the Spaniards" (xxv). In his discussion of Monson's motivations for accepting the Spanish pension, Oppenheim bristles naively with proper Victorian outrage at the idea of treason, and he completely ignores the pragmatic utility of double agents (he was of course blissfully ignorant of Sidney Reilly and the services he would soon start to provide for the Crown, the navy, industrial groups, and international arms merchants). In the end, neither Monson, Salisbury, nor Northampton seem to have done anything directly treasonous. Peck defends Northampton, in particular, as a (corrupt by modern standards but still) reasonably conscientious and loyal civil servant (***Northampton***). In a country governed by patronage, the taking of bribes was universally rampant and not socially unacceptable; the taking of a Spanish bribe was only awkward because of the religious tensions of the time. However, it is interesting to note that from 1594 to 1605 there was a William Monson, possibly a kinsman, enrolled in St. Gregory's College, an English language seminary in Seville. "He received a *viaticum* ['a grant from the Spanish crown of fifty escudos to a priest leaving Valladolid or Seville to cover his expenses while traveling secretly to work in England'] in December 1605" (Henson 168, 164). It is also interesting that one of the sources that document this William Monson's presence in Seville is a letter of October 5, 1600, from a certain H. Vyvyan to Robert Cecil in which he reports on a local magistrates examination of another St. Gregory's student who had returned home because of ill health — the letter can be found in ***Historical Manuscripts Commission: The Salisbury MSS.. at Hatfield House*** . . . 10: 340-42, and is noted in Henson (165).

34. British Museum MS Addl. 6178, f. 62, qtd. in Leslie Hotson, ***I, William Shakespeare*** . . . 190. See also Haynes, ***The Gunpowder Plot*** 73-74.

35. See: Archbold, "Percy, Henry Algernon, Fifth Earl of Northampton" and "Percy, Henry Algernon, Sixth Earl of Northampton;" Davis, ***Thomas Campion*** 4; Lee, "Percy, Henry, Eighth Earl of Northumberland," "Percy, Henry, Ninth Earl of Northumberland," "Percy, Thomas, Seventh Earl of Northumberland," "Percy, Thomas," and "Percy, William;" and Tait, "Percy, Henry, Fourth Earl of Northumberland."

36. Correspondence between Digby and James, September 9, 1613, ***State Papers, Spanish Correspondence***, qtd. and deciphered by Gardiner in ***History*** 2: 359-360. There seems to exist no particular cause to suspect Digby of malicious treachery in the matter of the pensions. If Gardiner is correct in his judgment of him, Digby was a very moderate Protestant who sought good relations with Spain in the interests of peace ("Digby, Sir John").

37. See Ethel Carleton Williams, ***Anne*** 45, 59, 93-94, 96-97, 107, 109-110.

38. ***State Papers Domestic Series, Jacobean I***, February 8, 1615-16 ; Coke to the King, qtd. in Oppenheim xxxv.

39. Weldon, ***Secret History of James I*** 412 sq., qtd in Smith, "Monson, Sir Thomas."

40. Hicks argues that James may have reneged on a pension deal that was supposed to have granted Catholics relief: "Yet the Catholics obtained no relief from the fines of recusancy, as had been pledged by the councilors [Northampton, Cecil, Sackville, and Nottingham]. Vested interests were, in fact, closely concerned in the matter ; for by 1605 King James, then in want of money, had adopted the practice of rewarding his somewhat rapacious Scottish and English friends by assigning to them the fines due from particular recusants" (202-203). Hicks also notes a contemporary complaint by the Jesuit, J. Gerard, about this practice (J. Gerard, S.J., ***Narrative of Gunpowder Plot***, ed. J. Morris, S.J. 1872, 34-35) and offers "***Dom. Ca. James I*** 1603-1610" 184, as evidence of Monson's involvement (221 n. 107).

41. The complexities of the Overbury affair cannot be fully be dealt with here. At best, all I can hope to provided is a superficial outline composed of details gleaned from my readings. The story has been told and retold many times. I have chosen to be informed primarily by: Lindley, ***The Trials of Frances Howard***; Oppenheim, "Introduction," ***Naval Tracts***; Smith, "Monson, Sir Thomas;" and White, ***A Cast of Ravens***. Lindley focuses on Frances Howard, giving her a more sympathetic and more *correct* reading than she has received before. He is also interested in theories of epistemology and *historical truth*. White provides a relatively cautious Old Historicist read on the affair as a whole. Both books are recommended, Lindley's in particular. A racy tabloid-press-style interpretation (with a frustrating lack of documentation) is given by William McElwee, ***The Murder of Sir Thomas Overbury***. Other books encountered are not worthy of mention.

42. London, May 13, 1613, John Chamberlain to Sir Dudley Carleton, ***State Papers Domestic Series, Jacobean I*** lxxii: 129, ***Letters of John Chamberlain*** 1: 452.

43. British Museum Add. MS 15476, 'Nic. Oldisworth's book touching Sir Thomas Overbury,' qtd. in Vivian xliii.

44. ***State Papers Domestic Series, Jacobean I*** 82, qtd. in Vivian xliv-xlv. Using italics I have expanded those contractions which for typographical reasons I could not reproduce. Vivian, in his frontispiece, also provides a photographic reproduction of these minutes of Campion's examination.

45. Amos, ***State Trials*** 89, qtd. in White, ***A Cast of Ravens***.

46. White refers to British Museum Add. MS 28640, f. 153.

47. John M. Ward observes that Merston "may have been the young [Robert] Dowland's teacher" in Monson's house (7). He adds that he "is known to have been in Sir Thomas's service from the statement made on 5 October 1615, at the time he was examined in connection with the Overbury murder, 'that he served S^{r} Thomas Mounson about the space of Nine yeares, and about Six yeares past he [Sir Thomas] *p*referd this ex*amina*nte to the kinges service, but yet he sometimes followeth S^{r} Thomas still" (Public Records Office, SP 14/82 qtd. in Ward 7 n. 7 — all italics and insertions are Ward's).

48. If McElwee is correct about the *notoriously wild musical parties*, it is likely that Campion would have attended them and that his airs would have been performed, most likely by others, however. There is reasonable evidence to suggest that he himself was not a particularly accomplished lutenist (McGrady, "Campion and the Lute").

49. Vivian quotes ***Reports of the Historical Manuscript Commission*** VII: 671.

50. Argument for this case shall be presented later.

51. William Monson later found occasional employment with the Navy after the death of James. As for Thomas Monson and Thomas Howard (Suffolk), Chamberlain writes to Carleton on July 27, 1620, "Sir Thomas Mounson kist the Kings hand not long before his going hence and was in a fayre way (howsoever yt is crost) to be restored to his former place as master of the hawkes. The Lord of Suffolke likewise kist his hand the day before he went, and had more then halfe an howres talke with him all alone" (***State Papers Domestic Series, Jacobean I*** cxvi: 48, ***Letters of John Chamberlain*** 2: 313).

CHAPTER 2

EMBARKATION: MUSIC PATRONAGE AND THE SHIP OF STATE

Except that music was somehow involved, little is known for certain how Campion, an orphaned middle-class child raised by two step-parents,[1] came to enter the elite world of Salisbury and Northampton. What is known, however, is that he attended both Cambridge and the Inns of Court and that somehow, while still quite young, he managed to become familiar on some level with many of the literary figures of the day — his group of acquaintances possibly including William Percy, Thomas Nashe, Edward Michalborne (and his brothers), Barnabe Barnes, Charles Fitzgeffrey, Francis Davidson, Fulke Greville, Samuel Daniel, George Chapman, Sir John Davies (both of them), Edmund Spenser, William Covell, Francis Meres, Abraham Fraunce, William Vaughan, William Camden, *et al* (Vivian xxvii-xxxv, xlviii-xlix; Davis, ***Thomas Campion*** 3-13). J. W. Binns discusses contemporary praise for Campion, focusing on his Latin verse:

> The poet William Vaughan writes in a poem in his ***Poematum Libellus*** (London, 1598) that the Muses have taken up residence in England, and, praising among other poets, both Latin and English, Gager, More, Camden, Spenser, Daniel, Breton, and Drayton, he says of Campion:
>
> Hic cui cognomen tribuit Campana, volutas
> O Thoma recitis metra ligata modis. (2)[2]

Binns also notes that Francis Meres praises Campion as one of an international group of neo-Latin poets "who merit comparison with the classical Roman poets"

and that Fitzgeffrey ranks him with both Thomas More and Ovid (2-3). An often quoted passage from Vivian relates further:

> In Camden's ***Remaines of a Greater Worke concerning Britaine,*** published in 1605, occurs a mention of Campion among the most celebrated men of the day, which argues that he had already attained considerable reputation and popularity. The passage runs: 'These may suffice for some Poeticall descriptions of our auncient Poets : if I would come to our time, what a world could I present to you out of Sir *Philipp Sidney, Ed. Spencer, Samuel Daniel, Hugh Holland, Ben. Ionson, Th. Campion, Mich. Drayton, George Chapman, Iohn Marston, William Shakespeare,* and other most pregnant witts of these our times, whom succeeding ages may iustly admire.' To be ranked among these giants was high praise, the more so when we consider how small a portion of his English poetry had by this time appeared. (xxxviii)[3]

Possibly informed by Vivian, Christopher Wilson argues "that Campion was primarily a poet, and recognized as such by his contemporaries" (70).

Wilson's assertion must be questioned, however, for apart from his Latin work, which forms somewhat more than a third of his canon, Campion himself published no verse that was not either directly or implicitly associated with music,[4] and moreover, of all the English lute song writers he was the most prolific. According to David Greer there are surviving 119 songs to Campion's credit, Robert Jones and John Dowland following with 105 and 88 respectively, after which the count drops to 30 for William Corkine.[5] Lindley notes also that William Drummond "was interested in music" and that three of Campion's works from ***A Booke of Ayres*** were collected in one of his commonplace books ("Campion and Rosseter" 416). Additionally, as Orgel comments, Campion was the "most prolific [writer of masques in the Jacobean period] after [Ben] Jonson."[6] Even more telling, though, is the fact that not one of Campion's main patrons was known as protector of literature; all were avid supporters of music.[7] It, therefore, seems reasonable to assume that his contemporaries, particularly those

who supported him, must have viewed him primarily as a composer of song and musical entertainments, an assumption not mutually exclusive with evidence that he was also viewed as an accomplished poet. Indeed John Davies of Hereford, while referring to Doctor Campion as "*the most iuditious and excellent* Lyrick-Poet," praises both his "*Lines* and *Notes*," thus shaping Campion in an Apollonian manner — Apollo the musician, poet, and physician:

> Vpon my selfe I should *iust* vengance take
> Should I omitt thy mention in my *Rimes*,
> Whose *Lines* and *Notes* do lullaby (awake)
> In Heau'ns of pleasure, these vnpleasant *Times*.
> Neuer did Lyricks more then happie *straines*,
> (Straind out of *Arte* by *nature*, so with ease,)
> So purely hitt the *moods* and various *Vaines*
> Of musick and her Hearers as do These.
> So thou canst cure the *Body* and the *minde*,
> (Rare *Doctor*,) with thy twofold soundest *Arte* ;
> *Hipocrates* hath taught thee the one kinde,
> *Apollo* and the *Muse* the other Part:
> *And both so well that thou with both doth please*
> *The* Minde, *with* pleasure ; *and the* Corps, *with ease*.[8]

It is indisputable that Campion was recognized and patronized as a composer, yet he seems not to have been thought of as a performance musician, and it is generally accepted that he had no formal musical education or training. Wilson observes that there is only the slenderest contemporary evidence that he was ever employed on any occasion as a lutenist.[9] There is none that he ever worked as a singer.

While Campion was definitely musically talented and while he eventually came to possess a fairly advanced understanding of musical theory, both of itself and of its relationship to prosody, there is in fact much of a circumstantial nature to suggest that he was not likely a virtuoso lutenist (if he actually played at all). Richard McGrady hypothesizes that Campion's friend Philip Rosseter may have

helped him with the arrangements for his songs in ***A Booke of Ayres*** (1601) since they are stylistically similar to Rosseter's own works in the same volume and also present the lutenist with greater technical challenge than any of Campion's later compositions.[10] Wilson suggests further that Campion's theoretical knowledge was gained, at least in part, from his friend Giovanni Coprario (John Cooper) (73). Like many modern pop song writers composing for and with the guitar (in hand), Campion may have been initially a talented *fingers-first* composer for the lute — a renaissance *Paul McCartney* or *Elvis Costello* (Deklan MacManus) with an education in classical literature.

It is almost certain that Campion's interest in music developed either at Cambridge or later at Gray's Inn, or both. David C. Price demonstrates that in Elizabethan and Jacobean England there was an explosion of interest in music at court, that this was mirrored in the houses of the wealthy, and that from these two sources the interest permeated society — running through the universities, the Inns of Court, and out into the houses of the rural gentry (ch. 1).[11] It was extremely fashionable to have some form of musical facility, and by 1594 when Campion was living in London, he may have already acquired a certain proficiency, for it is generally supposed that he contributed the songs "Of Neptunes Empyre" and "Shadowes before the shining sunne" to the Gray's Inn masque ***Proteus and the Adamantine Rock*** (1594).[12]

Campion's closest known friends were musicians. He (likely) knew (and was known to) Rosseter, Dowland (John and Robert), Alfonso Ferabosco (the younger), Coprario, Nicholas Lanier (ii), Innocent Lanier, George Mason, Thomas Giles, Thomas Lupo (the younger), William Byrd, John Bull, Thomas Morley, John Wilbye, John Westcott, Edward Johnson, Robert Johnson, Simon Merston, Thomas Ravenscroft *et al.* We have direct evidence of relationships with Rosseter, John Dowland, Ferabosco, Coprario, Lanier, Giles, Lupo, Robert

Johnson, and Ravenscroft — among these he was probably closest to Rosseter, Dowland, Ferabosco, Coprario, and perhaps the much younger Nicholas Lanier — and of this smaller group to Rosseter and Coprario.

Campion's place of residence may have led to his meeting Dowland and Rosseter. He is known to have lived and died in London in the "parishe of St Dunstons in the West,"[13] and as Diana Poulton notes, Dowland's family occupied a "house in Fetter Lane" (***John Dowland*** 64). She adds further:

> The Parish of St. Dunstan-in-the-West, in which the lower part of Fetter Lane lies, appears to have been popular among musicians. Both Campion and Rosseter lived in the district. (Ibid. 69 n. †)

Rosseter first resided in "Fleet Street," where Campion lived, and then moved later to Fetter Lane.[14] Poulton also observed that Francis Cutting and Robert Johnson may have also resided in the parish (***John Dowland*** 69 n. †).[15] Whether Campion lived in the district during his time at Gray's Inn is not known, but it is not inconceivable that he did. Davis confesses:

> It is a tempting speculation to suppose that Dowland and Rosseter as his [Campion's] friends and neighbors might have advised or overseen or at least provided models for his musical compositions. . . . His method of structuring a song by setting rhyming lines to analogous melodies was first employed by Dowland and was used throughout Rosseter's songs — and by the singer Robert Jones, too, who may have known Campion. (***Thomas Campion*** 12)

Soon after, Davis argues:

> It is hard to overestimate the importance of these musicians [Dowland and Rosseter] in Campion's life, for they made him a poet. It was music that changed him from a coterie poet in Latin, who would never be remembered today, to a lyric English poet whose songs would later attract poets as diverse as A. C. Swinburne, Ezra Pound, W. H. Auden, and Robert Creely. It is ***A Booke of Ayres*** and the four song books that followed it that established him as one of the finest lyric poets in English. (Ibid.)

Notwithstanding the fact that T. S. Eliot can also be added to the list of Campion's admirers, there is a small element of hyperbole in Davis's enthusiasm.[16] Still his point about the musicians is well taken. They quite probably helped him greatly.

It seems certain that Campion's musician friends were the means of his entry into the patronage system. All contemporary evidence points in this direction. Campion's patrons were primarily interested in music, and that his friends, most likely Dowland at first, would have helped him with introductions and recommendations is highly probable. Relationships between musicians were not as competitive as those between writers, for as Price points out, the network of patronage for music was not as "heavily-subscribed" as that for literature (186). Indeed, Campion himself may have helped Rosseter obtain Monson's patronage, as Rosseter himself may have helped him initially with music instruction and later with introductions to other musicians and patrons. Erik S. Ryding, pointing to *A Booke of Ayres*'s dedicatory note, observes:

> We read that Campion . . . [had] already received "particular favours" from Monson, and we may infer that Rosseter . . . [hoped] for like treatment. . . .[17] The dedicatory note leads one to believe that Rosseter included Campion's lyrics largely to attract Monson's attention. Campion himself seems to have been lukewarm about the project: his name does not appear on the title page, and Rosseter had to "entreat" him for permission to print his songs. ("Collaboration" 15)

While this sort of cooperation and the absence of oversubscription did not preclude rivalry, they would have acted to diminish it somewhat. There was also another factor working against unbridled competition; music is a performance art, and singers, musicians and composers habitually work together, and one gaining a commission beyond solo performance might seek employment for colleagues as well, with the hope that such favours would be reciprocated.

Campion's relationships with fellow musicians have been discussed and rediscussed a number of times for various purposes and with varying degrees of thoroughness — most notably though by Vivian, Davis, Wilson, and Lindley. Wilson provides the most comprehensive discussion, focusing both on stylistic relationships and (to a much lesser extent) on shared patronage (61-85). Lindley also searches through this area, delving deeper into patronage relationships, suggesting an interconnectedness, but without fully exploring it or fully examining its ramifications for Campion:

> It is presumably through Monson, himself a client of the Howard family, that Campion became for a brief period the chief provider of Howard masques. It is also possible that Monson had some part in introducing Campion to the other patron of his airs, the Earl of Cumberland, for Monson's brother had been a frequent colleague of the third Earl of Cumberland on his various naval expeditions. The Clifford family were in turn linked to the Cecils by marriage, as indeed was Thomas Howard. It seems quite possible that Campion was thus attached to a circle of noblemen linked by marriage and political interest, but also by a shared interest in music. An entry in the Cecil family accounts seems to suggest as much, recording 'money given in reward for the musicians' at a 1608 entertainment for King James. The three anonymous men were servants of Howard, Clifford, and Monson.[18]
>
> It was presumably in these households, and in the circle of Royal musicians (Rosseter was a court lutenist), that Campion made the acquaintance of those composers with whom he worked on his court masques (Coprario, client of the Cliffords, Lanier and Mason of the Cecils), and from them in turn that he was aware of the latest trends in musical fashion. (***Thomas Campion*** 66)

That Lindley is mistaken here about a number of details (as shall be seen presently) is very small criticism when weighed against astuteness of his overall insight. His thoughts are moving in exactly the right direction; however, he stops short of the documentation necessary both to lend concreteness to his sus-

picions and to comprehend the larger significance (for Campion) of the interconnectedness of musical and political patronage.

At this juncture we must return to a consideration of the Salisbury-Northampton alliance and its clients, for Robert Cecil is to be found at the centre of the web of patronage which encompassed Campion's direct patrons and closest musical friends. Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton, was undoubtedly involved as well, for he had a strong interest in music: at Cambridge, he had sought to learn the lute (Price 22); on one occasion, possibly in the late 1590's, he made an appeal to Michael Hicks, Cecil's secretary, to assist him in finding a lute tutor (Ward 115); in his youth, he had at least one professional musician in his entourage;[19] and he was a patron of William Byrd, the Catholic recusant.[20] However, far fewer details about the extent and nature of Howard's music patronage are available. His homosexuality, a political and financial asset to him in life (Peck, ***Northampton*** 3, 76), did not serve him as well in death; with no direct heir, his property and chattels were broken up and distributed widely — many records have been lost. With regard to Cecil, though, there is an embarrassment of riches.

According to Price "the Cecil papers reveal that . . . [Robert Cecil] was trying to build up a resident ensemble at Hatfield at exactly the same time as he was consolidating his success over the Essex faction at Court in the 1590s" (173). Cecil's involvement with music was in keeping with the general climate of music patronage in which there was a flow of musicians (often indentured) and various musical services along lines of political clientage, to and from the court out into the great country houses.

Musicians, like clients from all other areas of society, sought preferment for themselves, their families, and their friends, and they joined the flock of suitors swarming around the great, adding to the public testimonial of their patrons'

authority. They also performed a multitude of other services for their masters. They copied music, tutored their patrons and their patron's children, purchased and maintained instruments for the great houses and the court, and recruited and developed fresh talent. They were also lent, traded, sold, and expropriated like property and commodities (if indentured). Most importantly though, they performed for their patrons and their patrons' guests and, where song was involved, often (re)presented their masters and their masters' political ambitions to those higher up the patronage network.

Song, with both its subtly affective qualities and its haunting rhythmic and melodic *hooks*, functions as an involuntary system of mnemonics. It was and still is a very insidiously persuasive medium. And masques, with song incorporated into their multimedia synæsthetic bombardment (and with the social prestige of being a member of their highly exclusive audiences), were perhaps an even more potently efficacious medium of propaganda. Functioning as signifiers of class status, they caused bonding within the aristocracy, thus serving to create group identity. Albert H. Tricomi notes the popularly held sense of outrage at the conspicuous excesses of masques, luxuriances such as the costumes and jewelry worn by James and Anne (said to total £1,000,000 in value) at Campion's ***The Lords Masque***, and he argues that "the court's own disdain for the philistine values of the city further encouraged the development" of such behaviour (97). Those who participated in the belief systems that masques presented were, however, more easily subjected by the few at the top of the power structure. As Orgel explains,

> The masque presents the triumph of an aristocratic community; at its center is a belief in the hierarchy and a faith in the power of idealization. Philosophically, it is both Platonic and Machiavellian; Platonic because it presents images of the good to which the participants aspire and may ascend; Machiavellian because its ideal-

> izations are designed to justify the power they celebrate. (***Illusion*** 40)

Masques may also have asserted the political elite's self-regarding view of England's real or desired position within the European international community, thus again imposing another political belief system, a nationalistic one, upon those seeking to identify with the group. Indeed, Mary Agnes Sullivan argues that masques served as "instruments of international policy" — "whether arranged for the specific and avowed purpose of achieving some diplomatic advantage for England, or having a diplomatic significance forced upon it by continental representatives in the English Court" (81). Masques may also have had a political value which extended beyond the limited confines of the court. Copies of masques, either published or in transcribed ms. form, were sought after among the upper gentry and the aristocracy, not only by those who had attended the performances but also by those who had not. Campion himself relates in the preamble to ***The Caversham Entertainment*** that "*this late Entertainment hath beene much desired in writing, both of such as were present at the performance thereof, as also of many which are yet strangers both to the busines and place*" (***Works***, ed. Davis, 235)[21], and his statement here is not merely a topos of excuse for publishing. And although Campion's ***Somerset Masque*** appears to have been unpopular at court, Davis notes that "there were apparently two impressions of [it]" (Ibid. 502), this seeming to indicate a more general interest in the work.[22] Price offers evidence that there was indeed such demand, and more interestingly he suggests that the masques may have been reenacted or imitated in country households:

> By the beginning of the seventeenth century a considerable section of the aristocracy and upper gentry were concerned with imitating Court musical fashions, perhaps most of all in the mixed genre of the masque (if they could afford it). Thomas Howard, 2nd Earl of Arundel, had to write to his father-in-law, . . . Gilbert Talbot [the

> 7th Earl of Shrewsbury] . . ., in January 1608 in order to apologise for his wife's silence in response to her father's letters since she was 'practisinge of the masque which is now deferred until Sonday next.'[23] (17-18)

Price later adds:

> The 7th Earl's [Shrewsbury's] knowledge of masques . . . can be ascertained from the fragment of a masque he sent to William, 2nd Baron Compton, in 1600, also from the apology of Viscount Lisle in 1608 that he was unable to obtain the layout of a recent masque from Ben Jonson because Jonson was too busy with the Haddington marriage masque, and from a similar letter written by his son-in-law, Thomas Howard, 2nd. Earl of Arundel, whose wife was about to obtain the text of the 'Queen's Masque' in 1608.[24] Correspondence of this kind reveals that there was not only a considerable vogue among courtiers for the music and poetry of entertainments but that this enthusiasm was relayed to various country households and put to active use there as soon as was conveniently possible. (104)

If masques held this appeal, their propaganda value cannot have gone unrealized. Even in medieval times, the Lancastrian administration, politically less sophisticated than their Jacobean analogs, seem to have realized that "an argument can accomplish its purpose without necessarily being plausible[,] . . . a text can be powerful without being true[, and] . . . . a written account placed in the right kind of circulation can generate its own kind of historical truth" (Strohm 27). There is no reason to suspect that Jacobean propagandists were any less shrewd than those of the Lancastrian era, and it is highly unlikely that they would have been unaware of the signifying power of masques and masque texts or that they would have left them politically unexploited. Indeed, it most probable that the publication or mss. circulation of masque texts would have been encouraged by the writer's patrons and their superiors.

Music had definite political aspects, and Cecil exploited it both as a means of soliciting and displaying power.[25] Price relates an anecdote from 1602 in

which Cecil, having incurred Elizabeth's anger and disfavour and thus being unwelcome in her presence, jointly composed a song of apology and submission with Robert Hales, a royal singer and lutenist. Apparently when the song was ready, rumours about some music newly in Cecil's possession were launched as bait. The bait then being taken, Cecil was presumably summoned back with a demand for the music, giving him an opportunity to curry favour and thereby forestall the threat to his power that a loss of royal preferment represented. As William Browne, the Earl of Shrewsbury's agent at court, reports to his master,

> Itt was told her Ma..sty that Mr. Secretary [Cecil] had rare musicke and songes. She wold needs hear and so this ditty was soung which ye see first . . . I do boldly send these to your Lo: which I wold not do to any one els, for I hear they are very secret.[26]

That Cecil's career continued undiminished is an indication of the success of his musical politicking.

We have seen Cecil employing music from a calculated submissive posture, but music also reveals him in a different light. Displays of Cecil's own power can be seen in the traffic in musical instruments, musicians and singers passing through his household, this traffic providing a venue for social displays of dominance and submission. Price notes three exchanges where Cecil appears to have been involved in the expropriation of talented youths from his social subordinates, Lord Burgh of Gainsborough, Sir Richard Champernoune, and Sir Percival Harte,[27] and he states: "The Queen's First Secretary was in an ideal position to requisition musicians from other patrons, however important" (174). Fine musical instruments were not safe from Cecil either; Michael I. Wilson notes Cecil's *borrowing* of two house or chamber organs, one from Campion's friend Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke, the other from a Mr. Brownlow. It is recorded that Brownlow's organ was returned, but as Wilson relates,

> there is no record of the Grevill organ having been returned, so perhaps Sir Fulk was persuaded to part with it. Salisbury certainly enjoyed the sound of the organ. (21)[28]

The semi-public display of an assembly of the best musicians, singers, and instruments to audience, who were aware of how they were obtained (by money and intimidation), was no less a signification of power and social position than were: Cecil's (apparently well known) affairs with the wives of social subordinates (Stone 51-52); his extensive, costly, and highly visible construction projects at Hatfield (Ibid. ch. 2); and the public buzz of suitors who surrounded him at court.

Cecil's position was definitely recognized by musicians, even at second hand; in his ***New Citharen Lessons*** (1609), Thomas Robinson pays tribute to Cecil's authority from whence his own preferment stemmed. Robinson thanks his patron, "Master Edward Winne," who had presented him with a cittern, noting that Winne was "an attendant of the Right Honorable, Robert Earl of Salisbury."[29] M. Wilson also presents a transcription of a letter to Cecil from John Lanier, who is writing on his son Nicholas's behalf, and he draws attention to its subservient tone:

> Right honourable my very good Lord . . . Not long since I was a suitor to your honourable Lordship for my son Nicholas, to desire your honourable favour and goodwill for obtaining or gaining the reversion of old Piero Guye's room or place [as][30] one of his Majesty's musicians for the flute. I now again beseech your honourable Lordship in all humbleness that your Lordship would be pleased to grant him your Honour's good favour for the obtaining of the said Piero's place or room. And I make no doubt but that my son will in all humility be ready to do your Honour and yours all the faithful service he may . . .
>
> I myself have served . . . in the company of the flutes this 20 years and more for the said Piero by reason of his impotency, so that . . . it will be no prejudice to your Lordship's service for until his years which he is bound unto your Honour be expired I will, as

> I have already done, if it please God to permit me life and health, serve in the same place, so that your Lordship shall never be hindered of his service if the said place should fail . . . before he have finished his years with your Lordship, neither would I desire it.[31]
>
> I acknowledge that I am very bold to put your Lordship in remembrance of my humble suit for his preferment . . . hoping your Lordship — having regard to a father's natural desire of his son's advancement and having many other children to provide for and nothing to give them — will excuse my forwardness, especially being for a place of my own breeding, which was a thing never intended before your Lordship desired him of me. But seeing [that] my son is fallen foul of music and must needs now be a musician, I once again most humbly crave it of your honourable Lordship's hands, that your Lordship would be a preferer of my son to the reversion of the same place . . . of the foresaid Piero Guye . . . And thus . . . I most humbly take my leave; the second of July anno 1605,
>
> Your most devoted in all humbleness
>
> John Lanier[32]

Wilson comments:

> Today it is easy to criticize the servile tone of this letter, but easy also to forget that, until Beethoven asserted his independence in the early nineteenth century, musicians in general were subject to the whims and fancies of their masters. J.S. Bach was for a time imprisoned; Haydn was obliged to live on a remote country estate; Mozart was kicked down a flight of stairs by a court official. In the case of John Lanier, he was dealing with the most powerful man in England at the time; what looks to us like servility was to him elementary prudence. (13-14)

For all his might, Cecil himself, however, did not exist outside or at the top of the power structure of society, and he in turn genuflected to his superiors, Queen Elizabeth and King James, the best example of this being the giving over of the estate of Theobalds to King James, who had coveted it.

Of Campion's friend's and acquaintances, it is perhaps Dowland who had earliest established a relationship with Cecil. Robert Devereux and Cecil signed Dowland's travel documents, permitting him to travel on the continent during

the 1590's. On November 10, 1595, Dowland corresponded with Cecil, acting as an informant about certain English Catholics living abroad who were plotting to assassinate Elizabeth.[33] Dowland himself was a self-confessed Catholic (although probably not a devout one), and it is now difficult to determine his motivations, but with Cecil's status as a spy-master it is not impossible that he was one of Cecil's agents. Indeed when Dowland returned finally to England in 1609, he seems to have expected or hoped for Cecil's direct patronage, for his first publication after his return, his translation of the ***Micrologus*** of Ornithoparcus (1609), was dedicated to Cecil. As Poulton relates,

> The work is dedicated . . . in language extravagantly flattering even for an age in which adulation was a recognized means to the notice and favour of the powerful. In this dedication he mentions a 'future taske, more new in subject'[34] which he will be encouraged to complete should the present work be favourably received by the Earl of Salisbury. (***John Dowland*** 64)

Dowland likely received a monetary reward for the dedication but did not obtain any other (known) favour from Salisbury. However, Cecil may have recommended him to Theophilus Howard, Lord Walden and son of Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk,[35] for we find him in Walden's employment from 1609 until to 1612 when Dowland finally attained his long held goal of becoming a court musician.[36] Theophilus Howard and a number of his brothers also performed in most of Campion's masques.

Campion's own relationship with Dowland may have started as early as 1595 when Campion published the epigram of praise, *Ad Io. Dolundum*, in ***Poemata***, his collection of Latin verse. Later in 1597, he contributed the prefatory poem, *Tho. Campiani Epigramma de instituto Authoris*, to Dowland's ***First Booke of Songs***,[37] and in 1602, Dowland, in his ***Third Booke of Songes***, set one of Campion's songs, "I must complaine, yet doe enjoy my love," to his own music.

That Dowland also had a friendship with Rosseter is evident from the fact that in 1601 Rosseter appears to have testified on his behalf "during the hearing of a lawsuit in connection with the printing of [his] ***Second Booke of Songs***" (Poulton, "Rosseter, Philip").

There is no evidence of any direct ties between Rosseter and Cecil. However, Cecil had been one of Dowland's patrons and protectors, and their relationship had continued during Dowland's lengthy stay on the continent. In Dowland's absence, the responsibility for the education of his son Robert was assumed by one of Salisbury and Northampton's subordinates — Rosseter and Campion's patron Sir Thomas Monson.[38] It is also interesting that Rosseter became a court lutenist after James's accession to the throne in 1603. It was the year that Monson first sat in Parliament for Northampton. Monson, however, would not yet have been in a position to have brought Rosseter to the attention of the court. Such advancement might possibly have been engineered by his brother, Sir William Monson, but it is more likely that their patrons, Salisbury and Northampton, had a hand in it. Monson definitely helped Rosseter later, in 1610. By then, however, he had made connections at the court of Queen Anne and had received a number of honours at the court of James, thus possessing more influence than before, but still it was likely the weight of Northampton and Cecil behind him that helped him regain the right for Rosseter's theatre company, the Children of Whitefriars, "to call itself the Children of the Queen's Revels, a name which it had (some time before Rosseter's management) been forbidden to use" (Ibid.).[39] Rosseter and Campion are known to have been friends from 1601, when they jointly published ***A Booke of Ayres*** and dedicated it to Monson, and, as previously stated this friendship lasted until 1620, when Campion died leaving Rosseter as his beneficiary.

As Lindley has suggested, Rosseter presumably introduced Campion to other court musicians. Giles and Lupo, with whom Campion collaborated on ***Lord Hay's Masque*** (1607), were likely met in this manner. About Giles almost nothing is known, but Lupo was already a well established court musician by 1607.[40] There is no evidence of any connection to the Salisbury-Northampton group, but while far from anything but conjecture, it is perhaps significant that, much later in 1628, Lupo gave his son the name Theophilus, possibly after Theophilus Howard, Lord Walden, a noted patron of music.[41] Theophilus Howard performed in the masque that Lupo and Campion composed, and as previously noted, his father, Thomas Howard, was one of those who likely paid for the entertainment. Lupo may have been a client or prospective client of Walden. Campion himself made a plea for Walden's patronage.[42]

Rosseter may have also introduced Campion to Ferrabosco who was another established court musician. Campion is not known to have worked with him, but he did contribute a prefatory poem, "To the Worthy Author," to Ferrabosco's ***Ayres*** (1609).[43] As with Lupo, there is no evidence of any direct connection between Ferrabosco and the Salisbury-Northampton group. There are, however, a number of links at second hand. Ferrabosco's father, also Alphonso Ferrabosco, also once a court musician, is thought to have been an spy for both Robert Cecil's father, the spy-master, Lord Burghley, and his confederates, Sir Francis Walsingham, Elizabeth's Secretary of State, and Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester.[44] Additionally, ties of marriage and of professional friendship or acquaintanceship may have connected Ferrabosco (the younger) to Cecil. Ferrabosco is known to have been one of the music tutors of the royal children, first to Prince Henry and later after Henry's death to Prince Charles (Cockshoot, "Ferrabosco, A. Ferrabosco (ii)"), and like Ferrabosco, Campion's friend, Coprario, seems also to have served as a royal tutor, although there is only

limited circumstantial evidence of this (Field, "Coprario , John;" Charteris, ***John Coprario*** 31-33). Ferrabosco was also married to Ellen Lanier, one of Nicholas Lanier's aunts, and he was also involved in a business venture with her brother, Innocent (Spink, "Lanier, (3) Nicholas Lanier (ii)"). Coprario and both the Lanier men, Nicholas and Innocent, were all clients of Robert Cecil, Nicholas as an indentured servant.[45] It is unlikely that Cecil did not know Ferrabosco.

Contrary to Lindley's suggestion otherwise, it does not seem likely that Rosseter was Campion's link with Lanier and Coprario. Nor does it appear probable that either Coprario's or William Monson's relationship with the Clifford family were Campion's means of introduction to them. The more likely candidate for the link between them all is Cecil.[46] Campion's friend, Coprario had probably been one of Nicholas's tutors (M. Wilson 19). Payments to both Coprario and Nicholas Lanier continue in the Cecil household accounts even after Robert Cecil's death, Cecil's son William also being a music enthusiast, and Nicholas Lanier apparently having been his music tutor (and perhaps even his friend since they were of almost the same age). It is under the lordship of Cecil's son William that a payment to Campion recompensing him for his expenses in the production of ***The Somerset Masque*** appears in the Hatfield House accounts.[47] Campion's known involvements with Lanier, Coprario, and the Cliffords all occur after the marriage of Cecil's daughter, Frances, to Henry Clifford on June 25, 1610. Furthermore, neither Coprario nor Lanier seems to have fully entered court service until much later — Coprario perhaps not until after accompanying Princess Elizabeth, likely once his pupil, to Heidelberg after her wedding in 1613, although no definite records of his court employment occur until 1625, and Lanier perhaps not until 1616 when the first records of his court employment appear.[48] Coprario's first known service to the Cliffords occurs in 1614,[49] considerably after both the Clifford-Cecil wedding and the death of

Robert Cecil. George Mason, with whom (it shall be argued) Campion collaborated on the entertainment at Brougham Castle in 1617, was once a singing boy and apprentice musician in Cecil household under the tutelage and tutoring of both Innocent Lanier and Coprario, but he did not enter Clifford's service until Christmas of 1610,[50] again after the Clifford-Cecil wedding. Additionally, by the time that Campion became a client of Sir Thomas Monson, about 1600-1601, Francis Clifford and the Monsons may not have been on the best of terms. As previously noted, there is evidence of an affectionate relationship having existed between George Clifford and his younger brother Francis, and there is also evidence of a serious falling out between George and Sir William Monson, Monson perhaps having felt abandoned to the Spanish by Clifford in 1591 and Clifford perhaps having felt betrayed by Monson's shifting of his allegiance to Clifford's rival, Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, in the mid 1590's. If the Monsons had been friendly with Francis Clifford, who was an extremely avid patron of music,[51] it seems certain that Campion would have written for him before 1613. The presence of Clifford and Monson's musicians and singers at the king's entertainment at Salisbury House in 1608, a presence referred to earlier by Lindley, does not necessarily mean that both Clifford and Monson were present, nor does it mean that if they were present, they were cooperating on any other grounds than mutual service to Cecil, their shared social superior. As previously demonstrated, Cecil was noted for demanding the use or outright possession of the best musical talent from that in his subordinates' service. It is tempting to suppose that Campion may have met Clifford, Coprario, and Lanier in the course of some celebration following Henry Clifford's marriage. Whether or not this is the case, however, it still seems most certain that their relationship did begin in or stem out of the Cecil household sometime between 1608 and 1612, most likely after 1610.

Campion's friends led him into a career in music within the patronage network of the Salisbury-Northampton alliance, and as previously noted, music gave Campion an advantage over other literary figures; literary patronage systems were oversubscribed. There were far fewer poet-composers than poets, and Campion was a novelty. However, music was also a trap, for where Campion's musical friends could go, he could not follow. Virtuoso performance musicians found it relatively easy to maintain simultaneous relationships with patrons from rival political camps and to change patrons quickly, even across religious boundaries. Price relates that a long history of music patronage by the Catholic Church and by Catholic families caused the Elizabethan-Jacobean music industry, if it can be called such, to have definite Catholic leanings; the dominance of Italian musical fashions also contributed to this predilection (ch. 4). Still almost everyone, except the severe puritans, enjoyed music. William Byrd was a notorious Catholic recusant and a noted composer of Catholic devotional music, and he was patronized by many members of the old Catholic aristocracy, including Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton, who was suspected of being the secret leader of the Jesuits in England. However, Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex, one of the champions of the Protestant cause, Sir Philip Sidney, another Protestant champion, Robert Cecil, yet another Protestant, and Queen Elizabeth herself may have numbered among Byrd's patrons and protectors. As Poulton notes, Byrd also composed liturgical music for the Anglican Church (***John Dowland*** 43). At the time of his death in 1623, Byrd "was about eighty and in his fifty-fourth year" as a gentleman of the Chapel Royal (Woodfill 163). Campion's friend Dowland was also a Catholic, yet he was equally as welcome in northern Europe's Germanic Protestant heartland as he was in Roman Catholic Italy (Poulton, ***John Dowland*** ch. 1). Sir Robert Sidney, another champion of the Protestant cause, was one of his primary patrons in England. Thomas Morely

could also be discussed as another example of a musician who crossed factional divisions, although for him there was more political difficulty involved.

Almost all of Campion's musical friends gained the security of appointments to the Royal Musick, positions for life, or so it seems,[52] which relieved them of the need to rely completely on other patrons and gave them even greater relative safety from the dangers of factionalism. Campion was a skilled composer of lute songs,[53] but it is unlikely that he possessed a technical mastery of the instrument sufficient to warrant his employment either as a soloist or an accompaniast. Hence his options were more limited. He could not change patrons with the same ease as his colleagues, nor, as much as he might solicit royal patronage, could he ever hope for a court appointment.

In the literary arena, competition was fiercer, and there were no court appointments for poets, save that later of Ben Jonson, who was certainly the first writer of the Jacobean era, if not the first poet since the Saxon/Danish period of English history, to define for himself at court a literary position analogous to those held by the members of the Royal Musick — even Chaucer had been a diplomat and civil servant first, his poetry perhaps only incidental or unrelated to his employment. Campion was a skilled poet who in the areas of prosody and sound could perhaps rival even the best of his contemporaries. Indeed, in certain areas Herford and Simpson find Campion far superior to Jonson.[54] However, in matters of intellectual complexity and learning Campion definitely fell far short of Jonson and other poets such as Herbert and Donne, all of whom were perhaps more pleasing to the upper-class *literati* and *intelligentsia*. Jonson's pension from James in 1616 placed him on a sort of literary retainer which gave him a limited refuge from the hazards of factionalism. Campion, however, was stuck for better or worse in the midst of the Salisbury-Northampton alliance.

Chapter 2 Footnotes:

1. For *the* basic, original (and still very solid) Campion biography see Vivian, "Introduction." Davis, ***Thomas Campion***, ch. 1, largely reviews Vivian's material but also summarizes new thoughts, since 1909, about Campion's life. Kastendieck, ***England's Musical Poet, Thomas Campion***, New York: Russell, 1963, and Lowbury, Salter, and Young, ***Thomas Campion, Poet, Composer, Physician***, London: Chatto & Windus, 1970, offer little beyond what can be found in Vivian.

2. Binns translates Vaughan (sig. C4^{r}): "Here you, O Thomas, to whom Campana herself gives a surname, roll out rhythms bound by strict measures" (2).

3. Vivian does not provide a specific reference for Camden's comment. There is cause for a certain amount of caution in reading contemporary praise of Campion. It is suspected that like modern authors exchanging panegyric *book-blurbs* for the covers of each other's paperback editions, Campion and his Latin-writing contemporaries may have indulged in a certain degree of mutual self-promotion. Most of those who applaud Campion were or were to be applauded by him as well. See n. 8, below. Campion's Latin *is* admired by modern scholars, such as Binns ("Latin Poetry") and Bradner (***Musae Anglicana***), but their praise is considerably more subdued and is judiciously mixed with sound criticism of Campion's many flaws. See also n. 16, below.

4. See fig. 9, Appendix I, p. 238 and fig. 3, p. viii, for an indication of what published Campion "poems" looked like. Fig. 3 is copied from ***The Somerset Masque***, and the music here is by Nicholas Lanier, but the page's appearance is not dissimilar to that of Campion's published airs. Fig. 9 is an example of Campion's own work copied from ***The Third and Fourth Booke of Ayres***.

5. Greer counts the songs from Campion's books of airs and adds to the tally "the three songs with music by him printed in his masque 'Descriptions' of 1607 and 1614" (8 n. 2). See Greer p. 9 for the numbers for other composers. Many other composers did not write all their own lyrics, and if their collaborative works were to be discounted, the sheer volume of Campion's airs would dwarf that of any other writer, Jones and Dowland included. Additionally, Greer passes over those works which are not attributed to Campion with complete certainty; hence, the actual total of Campion's songs is likely even higher than the 119 that Greer reports.

6. The context of Orgel's aside should be reconstructed here. He is discussing Jonson's almost total domination of the masque genre in England: "By far the most serious, prolific and successful Jacobean masque writer was Ben Jonson, who between 1605 and the king's death in 1625 produced twenty-five masques, more than one a year. (Most prolific after Jonson was Campion, who wrote three; and under Charles I, D'Avenant, who wrote five.)" ("The Masque" 359). However, Herbert Arthur Evans, examining the period of 1604 to 1624, credits Jonson with twenty-two and Campion with four (lx-lxiii), and it is interesting to note that, if one counts the ***Caversham Entertainment*** (as Evans does) and the entertainment at Brougham Castle as masques to Campion's credit, his total rises to five. "Campion has also been suggested [without much supporting evidence (or likelihood)] as the author of the ***Mountebanks Masque*** produced by Gray's Inn in 1617/18" (Bentley 3: 104; 5: 1378), raising his possible count to six.

7. The economics of the Elizabethan-Jacobean music publishing business dictated that a publishing composer's relationship with a patron would be closer and more dependent than that of a writer and patron. David C. Price notes that the only reward a composer could reasonably expect after the Stationer's Company, the publisher, the printer, and the Music Publishing Monopolist had all taken their shares was the gift presented by the dedicatee-patron: "Most of the

dedications . . . hit the financial mark successfully and a reward of about five pounds, often the sole reward to the composer, was perhaps not a rare occurrence" (185). Price adds the note: "As Morley complained to [Robert] Cecil, 'for such things as I have had imprinted of my own works I have had so small benefit of them, that the books which I dedicated to your Honour, the bounteous reward of your Honour to me was more worth to me than any book or books whatsoever' (*H.M.C.* [***Historical Manuscripts Commission Reports***] (Salisbury), VII, 273). This was a subtle twist in the thread binding both monopolist and musician to private patron (who is also a public figure)" (185 n. 2).

8. Davies, "*To the most iuditious and excellent* Lyrick-Poet, Doctor Campion," ***Scourge of Folly***, qtd. in Vivian xl-xli. Percy Simpson notes that Davies' praise is "in all probability a reply to" Campion's epigram, "Ad Io: Dauisium," from Campion's ***Poemata***, 1595 (271): "Quod nostros, Dauisi, laudas recitasque libellos, / Vultu quo nemo condidiore solet : / Ad me mitte tuos, iam pridem postulo, res est / In quo persolui gratia vera potest" (***Poemata*** f8, qtd. in Simpson 271; see also ***Works***, ed. Vivian, 345, and Works, ed. Davis, 440, which both present either a textual variant or a grammatical correction, substituting "qua" for "quo" in the phrase "In quo persolui . . . ."). Davis translates Campion's epigram: "Because you read and praise our books, Davies, with a franker expression than anyone else, send me yours; I asked long ago, this is an opportunity when a real favor can be repaid" (441). S. A. Reid notes that, while Davis offers the interpretation "read" for the verb *recite* ("recitasque"), the word can also be translated as "sing" (unpublished commentary); the verb's ambiguity is perhaps significant since Campion's English songs would have already been in mss. circulation among his Latin coterie.

9. C. Wilson examines the accounts for the ***Lords Masque*** (1613) and notes a discrepancy between the payments made to Campion and Inigo Jones, Campion receiving "lxvi^{li} xiii^{s} iiii^{d}," Jones "l^{li}." Wilson observes: "We should, perhaps, have expected Campion to have been paid the same as Jones — compare Love Freed from Ignorance (1610) where both Jonson and Jones received £40. We know that Campion composed at least one song, 'Woo her and win her', so that his extra £16.3s.4d. [sic: £16.13s.4d.] probably represents his contribution to the music of the masque. It is interesting, (perhaps not significant), that 'He that played to y^{e} boyes' received precisely £6.13s.4d.; and that [Robert] Johnson and [Thomas] Lupo each received £10, probably for setting the songs. Could it be that Campion's extra is payment for one song and for his performance on the lute during the pages' dance? If this is the case, the it would . . . supply us with the only (positive) shred of evidence that Campion played the lute" (356-57).

10. See "Campion and the Lute," as a whole, but p. 11 in particular. See also Ryding, "Collaboration."

11. C. Wilson, however, states that "musical studies were not taken seriously at the Universities" (66), and for support alludes to C.F. Abdy Williams, ***A Short Historical Account of the Degrees in Music***, London and New York, 1893, p. 130, and N.C. Carpenter, ***Music in the Medieval and Renaissance Universities***, Oklahoma, 1958. He is most certainly correct that music was not a *serious* part of the curriculum at the universities. Price, however, argues convincingly that music was a part of many students' lives and that an interest in music was actively encouraged by some dons (23). My understanding of the music patronage system is greatly indebted to Price.

12. See Davis in Campion, ***Works***, 507, for a brief discussion of the history of the attribution of these songs to Campion. See also ch. 1, n. 2, herein. The songs are included in Davis's edition, pp. 474-75. For the masque itself, see ***Gesta Grayorum, or, The History of the High and Mighty Prince Henry, Prince of Purpoole, Anno Domini 1594***, ed. Desmond Bland, English Reprint Series 22, Liverpool: Liverpool UP, 1968.

13. "The instrument admitted to Probate" for Campion's will qtd. in Vivian, xlvii. Vivian does not give a source for the probate record.

14. Poulton, "Rosseter, Philip;" Davis, ***Thomas Campion*** 20.

15. Poulton with proper caution makes no strong claim for this case, however. She only notes documents bearing their names or the names of their families; the papers themselves, however, do not identify those mentioned as the musicians or their families.

16. Campion was one of the very few Anglo-Latin poets of the Elizabethan-Jacobean age and one of the even fewer who were published (and of whom we have a canon). Even without his English texts, he would have received some minor distinction. He is still remembered within the arcane discipline of renaissance Latin studies, and an appreciation of his verse in this language can be found in both Binns and Bradner. See also n. 3, above. Moreover, Campion's English verse is not always successfully *trans-historical* — a hallmark quality distinguishing what has been *traditionally* viewed as *great poetry*. Campion is often delightful for what is his *apparently* open simplicity and also for the beauty of his technical mastery of sound and meter (not to mention his ribaldry which I suspect is the unconfessed origin of much Campion enthusiasm), but he can just as often *seem* obvious and empty. Charles Gullans, however, asutely counters such criticism with the observation that "Campion has this in common with all his contemporaries and most of Latin literature: he is never afraid of the obvious, so long as it is neither bald nor banal in the rendering. The literature of our time sets itself apart from all preceding ages in its unnatural distrust of the obvious, although it is there after all that the central, the normative, and the true have their residence" (7). It becomes increasingly evident, as one reads the body of Campion criticism, that a *full* appreciation of Campion's very real *wit* as a lyric poet is dependent upon a broad reading of classical Latin literature and a large familiarity with the conventions of English, French and Italian renaissance verse and song (states I can only aspire to). Campion likes sound, and he seems to abhor the convoluted complexity and riddling of word play in favour of subtle ironies formed by the violation of convention and the negotiation of distance from his sources and models. Camden, a well educated and widely read contemporary, could (and quite possibly did, if his praise was sincere) view Campion as an equal to Jonson and Shakespeare; I suspect, however, that very few modern readers can understand why. C. H. Herford and Percy Simpson, Jonson's editors, may be exceptions here, though, as they do, in at least one example, find Campion's rendering into English of classical models, such as Catullus, far superior to Jonson's "mediocrity" in this area (***Jonson*** 2: 386-87). As much as I am enamoured of Campion, though, I am only beginning to appreciate that it may have been possible for a reader to hold Camden's opinion.

17. The reader should be cautioned that my ellipsis here indicates a large deletion from Ryding's text, a portion which includes extensive quotation from Rosseter and Campion's dedicatory note. The general thrust of Ryding's thoughts, however, remains unaffected.

18. Lindley cites: Richard Charteris, 'Jacobean Musicians at Hatfield House, 1605-13' 123.

19. Price relates that "The Flemish musician James Dennys was in the service of the traveling Henry Howard, 8th Earl of Northampton, as early as 1568" (33).

20. Price notes "***Gradualia ac cantiones sacrae*** for 3, 4 and 5 voices, dated 1605 in the catalogue of [Charles de Ligny], Lord Lumley's collection (Trinity Col. Cambridge MS. 0.4.38, no. 34)" (157 n. 4), musical texts which were viewed as "'papistical books written by William Byrd, and dedicated to Seignuer Henry Howardo, Earl of Northampton'" (157: the source of Price's quotation here is not clear). Price adds that the music books led to Lord Lumley's arrest (Ibid.).

21. All quotations of Campion's works, except those from ***De Puluerea Coniuratione***, are from this edition, unless otherwise indicated.

22. Davis relates that the "early . . . [impression is] represented by the Bodleian copy and . . . [the] corrected one [is] represented by the British Museum and Huntington copies" (***Works*** 502).

23. C. A. Talbot Papers, M479, qtd. in Price.

24. Price alludes to C. A. Talbot Papers, K27, L134, L173.

25. The reader should be cautioned that my appeals to Price, here following, are only for the information his work contains. Price himself may or may not support my interpretation of that information, a rendering quite different from but not inconsistent with his general views (as I read them).

26. C. A. Talbot Papers, M36, qtd. in Price 105. As Price notes, "the verses are no longer in the manuscript" (105 n. 2). For a more extensive quotation of the letter see Poulton, ***John Dowland*** 398. Poulton adds the note: "It has been suggested that the verses beginning 'Though your strangeness frets my heart', set both by Thomas Campion and Robert Jones, are the ones referred to here. Although some of the lines could be understood as a comment on the incident, the meaning of the complete poem hardly fits the circumstances" (398 n. ★).

27. February 1595, Burgh to Cecil: "Daniel you shall have: three other boys are 'misshapned' to me, one of them both plays and sings an excellent treble, but his conditions are not stayed, and one other hath a voice of a very high mean: the last is Jack, of whom I think you have taken notice. Of these, and whatsoever else is with me, command what you will" (***Historical Manuscript Commission Reports*** (Salisbury) VI: 68). — Champernoune to Cecil: "If for his private contentment Cecil would like to have the youth attend sometimes for a month or two, and so return again . . . the youth shall be at his service" (Ibid. V: 437). — December 1598, Harte to Cecil: "Understanding by your letter that the boy which proferred his service to me has departed without your leave or liking, and that it is your pleasure to have him sent up to you, I determined to send him up" (Ibid.). — All qtd. in Price 173-74; all ellipsis is Price's. Such behaviour may not have been exceptional; Price also reports King James's or Prince Henry's expropriation of Thomas Cutting from the service of Arabella Stuart (18, 129).

28. M. Wilson cites Richard Charteris ("Jacobean Musicians at Hatfield House 1605-1613") who edits the musical (financial) accounts of the Cecil family. A December 1, 1607, endorsement notes the following organ maker's bills: "October 21 Item for tuning a portative instrument which was brought from the right worshipful Sir Fulk Greville his house at Austin Friars unto Salisbury House and there tuned for his Honour's use 5s. [¶] The 30th for removing an instrument from Mr. Brownlow his house in Holborn, to Salisbury House, and there tuned for his Honour's use 5s. [¶] The 31st for carrying it [Brownlow's organ] back again into Holborn the aforesaid instrument taking it all asunder, setting together and tuning as before 5s." (Charteris, "Jacobean Musicians" 119).

29. Robinson, "To the Reader," ***New Citharen Lessons***, 1609, qtd. in Price 45.

30. All insertions are Wilson's, as is all ellipsis, except as indicated in n. 31, below.

31. I have deleted a following paragraph here. It pertains to the testing of Nicholas's competency on the flute.

32. Hatfield House Library MS (no catalogue #) qtd. in M. Wilson 12-13.

33. For a transcription of the letter see Poulton, ***John Dowland*** 37-40.

34. Dedication, ***Micrologus***, trans. Dowland, 1609, qtd. in Poulton, ***John Dowland*** 64.

35. As previously noted, both Thomas and his son Theophilus were high ranking members of the Salisbury-Northampton alliance directly under Robert Cecil and Henry Howard.

36. For the skeletal details of Dowland's ambitions and frustrations and his employment with Walden, see Poulton, "Dowland, John." The same information can also be found in a greatly expanded form at various locations in Poulton, ***John Dowland.***

37. For the two poems, see Campion, ***Works***, ed. Davis, 440-43, 197.

38. "We . . . learn from ***Varietie of Lute-Lessons*** (London, 1610), in the dedication to Sir Thomas Monson, that he [Robert] received part of his education in Mounson's household while his father was abroad" (Poulton, "Dowland, Robert").

39. E. K. Chambers and W. W. Greg provide the text of the patent in question (271-72), stating that it is Ingleby, ***A Complete View of the Shakespeare Controversy*** 254 (no further bibliographical reference given), who notes "that it appears from the Signet Office books that the warrant was obtained in December, 1609, by the influence of Sir Thomas Monson" (271). Chambers and Greg also relate that the "Signet Bill is indexed under December, 1609, in Phillimore, 103" (Ibid.; no further bibliographical reference given). The patent is dated January 4, 1610.

40. Jennings "Lupo, (3) Thomas Lupo (i);" Goodwin "Lupo or Lupus, Thomas."

41. Dowland provides evidence of such practice. He quite likely named his son after Robert Sidney, a patron who became the child's godfather (Poulton, "Dowland, Robert;" ***John Dowland*** 23, 42, 315).

42. The final stanza of "To the Right Noble and Vertuous / *Theophilus Howard*, Lorde of / Walden, sonne and Heire to the right Honor- / *able the Earle of Suffolke*," a prefatory poem in the published ***Lord Hay's Masque***, reads: "My slender Muse shall yet my love expresse, / And by the faire Thames side of you sheele singe; / The double streames shall beare her willing verse / Far hence with murmur of their ebbe and spring. / But if you favour her light tunes, ere long / Sheele strive to raise you with a loftier song" (***Works***, ed. Davis, 209).

43. For the poem, see Campion, ***Works***, ed. Davis, 197.

44. Ferrabosco (the elder) was likely involved in a plot to murder Don John of Austria, Governor of the Spanish Netherlands (Haynes, ***Invisible Power*** 84).

45. Christopher D. S. Field notes that Coprario appears to have "been on the continent during 1603, for the privy purse expenses of the Secretary of State, Sir Robert Cecil, for 2-13 April include a sum of £3 'by my Lord's appointment unto Coperary at his going into the Low Countries.'" He relates further that Cecil seems to have been "Coprario's chief patron" from 1605 on, and drawing on Richard Charteris ("Jacobean Musicians at Hatfield House 1605-1613"), he adds that "the Cecil papers at Hatfield House indicate frequent payments to him between June 1607 and April 1613, covering lodging, the cost of stringing the instruments in his care (which included a 'lyra'), disbursements in connection with the boy George Mason, rewards for musicians hired probably for the entertainment of the King at Salisbury House in May 1608, a 'free gift to him' of £20 at Christmas 1609 and a gift of £10 from the second earl [Robert Cecil's son, William] before his journey to Heidelberg in 1613" ("Coprario, John"). For a much more detailed account of Coprario's relationship with the Cecil family, see Charteris, ***John Coprario*** ch. 1. Of Lanier, Ian Spink explains that "he was indentured to the Earl of Salisbury for a period up to 1607 and his name occurs in the Cecil family and estate papers at Hatfield House as a recipient of various payments between 1605 and 1613. He may even have gone to Italy in 1610 to

join the earl's son, William Cecil, who wrote to his father asking for Lanier to be sent 'into Italy with me by reason of a desire to learn the viol while I am there'" ("Lanier, Nicholas"). Both Field and Spink rely heavily on Charteris. Charteris himself also records Innocent Lanier's employment with Cecil (***John Coprario*** 16). For a fuller account of Nicholas Lanier's association with Cecil, Coprario, *et al* over the time period here discussed, see Michael I. Wilson, ***Nicholas Lanier*** ch. 1 and 2.

46. It should be noted, however, that there may have been a relationship between Dowland and George Clifford. Clifford is thought by some editors to have contributed the verse to Dowland's "My thoughts are winged with hopes," which is contained in ***The First Book of Songs***. Additionally Dowland's "His golden locks time hath to silver turned" was composed for and performed on the occasion of Sir Henry Lee's retirement from the office of Master of the Armory and the investiture of George Clifford, the replacement whom Lee had recommended (November 17, 1590). The song was performed by Robert Hales with whom Cecil was later to collaborate (Poulton, ***John Dowland*** 238-40; see also ch. 2, p. 43, herein). It is interesting to note that Sir Thomas Monson, another Salisbury-Northampton client, received the same office later in 1603.

47. Charteris transcribes the following entries for December 26 and 27, 1613, associated with ***The Somerset Masque***: "To Ellis the messenger by [my] Lord's commandment to deliver to Doctor Campion for money by him laid out about the masque £10 C.F.E.P. Accounts 128/1 [;] ... To William Eaton for a head piece for my Lord for the masque £5 C.F.E.P. Accounts 128/1 [;] ... To Bridgett the embroiderer by the hands of George Thorowgood in part of a more sum for embroidering a masquing suit for your Lordship and a cloak £20 C.F.E.P. Accounts 128/1" ("Jacobean Musicians" 135-36; insertions here are Charteris's).

48. Michael I. Wilson notes Lanier was appointed to the position left vacant after the death of Robert Hale(s), another of Cecil's musical acquaintances (2; see also n. 46, above, and ch. 2, p. 43, herein); however, he points out that the Lanier family, beginning with Nicholas (i), the grandfather of Nicholas (ii), had held various musical positions at court from 1561, when the grandfather was appointed as a court musician by Elizabeth. He had been recruited from the service of (the recently deceased) King Henri II of France by Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford, in the company of Robert Cecil's older brother Thomas. Wilson documents a number of court occasions, at court and elsewhere, where the young Nicholas may have been employed (ch. 1, ch. 2). It is interesting to note that Seymour's recruitment of Nicholas (i) had definite political purposes. As Wilson states, "mindful of his recent secret and possibly treasonable marriage (December 1560) to Lady Catherine Grey, sister of the executed pretender Lady Jane, Lord Hertford was probably looking out for ways of currying favour with the young Queen Elizabeth (he himself was only about twenty-two) and of insuring himself against the wrath to come. One idea that suggested itself was to find a new flautist to replace a member of the English royal Musick who had rec-ently [sic] died" (3).

49. See the entry for July 16, 1614, in Cumberland's household accounts [95:-242v], qtd. in Woodfill 258.

50. See the entry for June 23, 1611, in Cumberland's household accounts [94:-73v], qtd. in Woodfill 257. See also Charteris, ***John Coprario*** 15-18. Cecil may have passed on or lent Mason to Henry Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton, for a short period before Mason entered Clifford's service (M. Wilson 11, 17). Wilson argues with almost irrefutable evidence that Cecil let Mason go because his voice had broken and because he was not a first class instrumentalist (Ibid.). While this assertion is undoubtedly correct, Cecil may have calculatedly linked his immediate domestic purposes with larger political intents, combining them cunningly into a gesture of

friendship. Wriothesley was, as Caroline Bingham explains, "the self-appointed patron of young Essex [Robert Devereux, 3rd Earl], because he had been the closest friend of Essex's unfortunate father" (123). Cecil, it must be remembered, had been the primary instrument in the elder Essex's execution, and only about three years before Mason's departure from the Cecil household had the ultimately doomed process of reconciliation begun with the engineered Howard-Devereux and Howard-Cecil marriages. See ch. 1, p. 11, herein.

51. Woodfill 70, 86, 233, 256-60.

52. As with all civil service positions, positions in the Royal Musick were legal property; witness John Lanier's appeal to Cecil for help in obtaining the reversion of Piero Guye's place in the orchestra for his son Nicholas (p. 45, herein). Note also Guye's legal right to the position, even though John Lanier had actually filled it himself for many years. See also Rodger's discussion of the rights of civil servants (ch. 4, p. 108, herein).

53. Not all scholars hold with this opinion, though. C. Wilson states that Campion was "a highly gifted amateur in the company of professional poets and musicians" (367). Ryding also argues: "We should not forget that Campion was professionally a doctor, not a composer. His musical talent, though impressive in an amateur, was decidedly limited" (***Harmony*** 111). (One wonders, however, if Ryding has similar reservations about Alexander Borodin.)

54. See n. 16, above.

CHAPTER 3

1607-1613: HIS SHIP COMES IN

Campion's first large scale political service for the Salisbury-Northampton alliance occurred in 1607 with ***The Lord Hay's Masque***, performed in celebration of James Hay's marriage to Honora Denny. The marriage was arranged in keeping with James's policy for the creation of Great Britain through the inter-marriage of English and Scottish aristocracy; Hay was one of the king's Scottish favorites, perhaps *the* favorite at the time, and Denny was the daughter and heiress of Sir Edward Denny, an Englishman, who seems to have been a person of some wealth and influence. There was little or no romance involved, and neither Sir Edward nor his daughter is reported to have held much enthusiasm for the match. In the end, James is thought to have used the coercion of land and honours to tempt Denny "to part with his daughter" (Gardiner, "Hay, James"); whether she herself was tempted as well is, of course, not recorded, but one might suppose that she was not. A forced marriage was difficult to allegorize in terms of higher neo-Platonist ideals, and moreover, (as we shall see) Campion's immediate patrons, while vocally expressing support, were, when it came to action, highly ambivalent about the larger issue of union which the marriage itself represented. In the composition of the masque, Campion was likely caught in a conflict among his sympathies for women,[1] the attitudes of his patrons, and the unionist agenda of the king.

Undoubtedly, he was placed under considerable restraints by both James and his patrons, the masque's themes (and counter-themes) perhaps dictated to him. Such restraint in itself, however, is not exceptional, for all writers in the Jacobean period faced problems of artistic freedom. Patrons had to be pleased, and even clandestine coterie poets such as Donne had to cloak political meanings in convoluted word play that only those on the inside could decode, for texts could and did escape their intended audiences. Jonson himself reported to William Drummond that his "Epigram on the Court Pucell," a satire on Celia Bulstrode, returned to cause him "great displeasur."[2] Those who wrote for publication or public performance exposed themselves to dangers; Jonson and some of his friends, for example, at various times found themselves in prison or before star chamber hearings. Any criticisms of authority, made by the writer himself or on behalf of his patrons, would have to be expressed through irony or ambiguous allegory, literal meanings serving as protection from censure — or alternatively, such criticism would have to be so delightful in the cleverness of its conceit as to become palatable. For masques in particular, any artistic freedom would have to be negotiated within the parameters set by the patrons financing the project and/or by the policies and attitudes of their superiors before whom the performance would be staged. Limon, having noted thematic patterns in the cycle of festivities surrounding court events, has made a similar observation:

> One of the intriguing features of the cycles of events, of which masques were a part, is that in a number of cases they seem to have been devised and planned by people other than those who actually wrote the scripts for particular elements of a given cycle. It is reasonable to assume that the overall plan of celebrations was always established in consultation with the monarch, who had final say in the ultimate content and schedule. No doubt even the minutest details were discussed. For instance, while planning the details of the creation of Henry Prince of Wales, his father insisted that Henry would not arrive at Parliament on horseback. In addition, one of

> the masques prepared for the celebrations of the marriage of Frederick and Elizabeth was called off, presumably because of its extreme political overtones. . . . . Many more examples could be provided, which lead one to suspect that the poets and the artists had much less to say in the final shape of the courtly entertainments than is generally acknowledged. (***Masque*** 112)

For Jonson's masque, ***The Key Keeper***, written for Cecil in 1609, we are fortunate to have correspondence from Thomas Wilson, Cecil's secretary, informing his master about the work in progress. James Knowles relates that "we know that Cecil proposed an outline of . . . [the] speeches and devices, leaving . . . Wilson . . . to supervise the work of Ben Jonson and Inigo Jones" (14). "Wilson's account . . . illuminates the close collaboration between the patron, Cecil, and his employees, Jonson and Jones" (Ibid.).[3] Within Campion's ***Lord Hay's Masque***, there is circumstantial evidence of this sort of control, so much so that the work has long been viewed as a clumsy and sycophantic presentation and endorsement of James's agenda for union. Lindley, however, argues convincingly that the work is far more complex; the masque's subtext is rife with what are perhaps nostalgic allusions to Elizabeth I, the virgin queen; and while the work is not set directly against James's agenda, it does counsel that the king proceed with respectful caution,[4] Campion treading a dangerous path through the covert political battlefield formed by the clash of wills among his superiors.

Lord Hay's Masque presents two commanding and diametrically opposed allegorical figures — Hesperus, the agent of Phoebus, and Night, the servant of Cynthia/Diana, the two figures representing the interests of James and his supporters in opposition to those of the English and the now dead Elizabeth. Night, speaking for English interests, addresses James's agenda directly — "[*Cynthia's*] holy Forrests are by theeves prophan'd, / Her Virgins frighted"[5] — and she stands firmly in defiance of the sun god's agent, Hesperus, and thus threatens the immediate occasion of the Hay-Denny wedding by refusing to yield any of

Cynthia's maidens. In the end, however, there is reconciliation between Phoebus and Cynthia, and a number of Phoebus's knights who had been transformed into trees as punishment for pursuing Cynthia's nymphs are released. Concord is restored between earth and water (the domains of Cynthia) and air and fire (those of Phoebus), and the marriage is blessed by all parties. Davis notes that

> in one sense his [Campion's] story was about the bride and groom, her cool regressive fears and his hot desires. . . . But one thing Campion made sure people realized was that it was [also] about the joining of two kingdoms, the reluctant and cool one that had been a female domain with a hot and energetic male kingdom. The politics was obvious: fertility was to result. (***Thomas Campion*** 15-16)

Indeed, the reconciliation of Phoebus and Cynthia *appears* to be brought about by the fiery male potency of the god Phoebus — "*Night* must needs yeeld when *Phoebus* gets the day" (219) — however, this *appearance* is undercut elsewhere in the text, and Night's concession here is, perhaps, only the statement of a cruel political reality and not an endorsement of it. For as the character Flora had earlier stated, "Virginitie is a voluntary power, Free from constraint" (217) — Flora is speaking to Night, arguing that Cynthia's nymph's should not be prisoners of chastity, but the larger ironic meaning that her statement presents is that women should freely have a choice and be neither constrained to keep nor forced to give up their celibacy. Ultimately Campion suggests that James should not aid and abet political rape even though he does at the same time concede that the country needs to recover from the *virginity* (and hence the politically dangerous sterility) of the previous monarch — after all, uncertain lines of succession often do lead to civil war.

The Cecil brothers, Robert and Thomas, and the Howard family, all of whom likely paid for the masque, had carefully shepherded James to the throne

in an effort to avoid such conflict, but as Lindley observes, they were not enthused about James's plans for the union of the kingdoms:

> It would certainly have been impolitic to have declared open opposition. Indeed Robert Cecil was severely rebuked by the King for the feebleness of his advocacy in parliament:
>
> > What great expectation can ye have that there shall ever be a perfect Union when ye say no more but that ye most heartily desire it — and so would ye do that I might live Methuselam's age, albeit ye know it can nor will never be.[6]
>
> The French ambassador reported that 'I know that the Sieur Cecil is uneasy about it, and that besides as an Englishman he rejects and distrusts it more than he desired it.'[7] It is likely that Thomas Howard who was reported to 'follow wholly the advice of Secretary Cecil',[8] and was highly conscious of his ancient lineage shared this attitude. (***Thomas Campion*** 176-77)

In having him critically analyze the issue of a forced union of the two kingdoms, Campion's patrons assigned him a most difficult and dangerous task, and to his credit he performs this high-wire act with a certain degree of aplomb. Lindley notes that Jonson tackled a similar theme in ***Hymenæi***, a masque for the wedding of Frances Howard and Robert Devereux in 1606, "but where Jonson devotes all his energy and weight of learning to supporting the project [union], Campion . . . shows much more contact with the political reality of the debate" (Ibid. 177).

However noble and bold Campion's anti-rape subtext in ***Lord Hay's Masque*** may have been, in terms of his own personal politics it was quite likely a major *faux pas*, one that the sycophantic dedications to James in the published work may have unsuccessfully attempted to rectify.[9] For it seems that after ***Lord Hay's Masque***, Campion was absent from court celebrations for the next six years, and this absence was perhaps a sign of disfavour. What he did during this

time is not known, but he seems not have produced, or at least not published, much in the way of literature or song, for as Vivian notes,

> in 1609 appeared Ferrabosco's *Ayres*, with his verses prefixed. In 1611 appeared Coryate's *Crudities* with his prefatory Latin epigram. His output in this period was indeed slender. (xli)

It is generally thought that he may have worked on developing his medical practice, for he did need to support himself somehow. There is great likelihood, though, that he still continued to write during this period — the extraordinary outburst of productivity in the year(s) of 1613 (and 1614?) — two collections of songs, three masques, and a music theory text — had to be based, at least in part, on work done earlier, especially in the case of *Two Bookes of Ayres*.

Campion's return to the court stage was marked by the *The Lords Masque* written for the wedding of Princess Elizabeth in 1613, the marriage originally planned for 1612 but postponed because of the death of Prince Henry. The greatest likelihood is that Coprario, who probably collaborated with Campion on the masque's songs, helped him gain this commission, perhaps by some influence with Elizabeth herself (and certainly by his relationship with William Cecil who probably assumed part of the masque's cost). As previously stated, there is evidence that Coprario may have been one of the royal children's tutors, and it is known that he was later chosen to accompany Elizabeth on her journey to Heidelberg, undoubtedly a sign of her favour. Additionally, Campion and Coprario's *Songs of Mourning: Bewailing the Untimely Death of Prince Henry* (1613) may have also helped the two friends gain favour at court, for of all the elegiac works that deluged the royal family theirs was unique in both its personal qualities and its use of music. Davis's insightful observations on Campion's place among the rival Henry-elegists are worth serious consideration:

> Ruth Wallerstein has established a full context for *Songs of Mourning* in her brilliant study of the elegies on Prince Henry (*The*

> ***Laureate Hearse: The Funeral Elegy and Seventeenth Century Aesthetic in Studies in Seventeenth-Century Poetic*** [Madison, 1950], pp. 59-95). The main stylistic streams she finds are the "drab" or mediaeval survival (in the Scots poets James Maxwell and Sir William Alexander), the Spenserians, usually channeling their laments into the pastoral elegy (Drummond, Fletcher, Browne) and the strong-lined, speculative metaphysicals (Donne and his circle of friends Herbert, King, and Goodyere). Campion's contribution falls into none of these groups; it is unique in at least two respects, in its concrete historical treatment of Prince Henry and in its meditative structure. Both the Spenserians and the metaphysicals attempted to relate this particular event to the most general of concerns, the former by involving the fate of mankind in the individual's fate by the means of myth (as Drummond did in ***Teares on the Death of Moeliades***, celebrating "A second Adons death"), the latter using the death of the individual for speculations into metaphysics (as Donne and Herbert did). Campion chose instead to remain entirely within the realm of the particular and factual, by first stressing Prince Henry's individual virtues and exploits, then exploring his meaning for the people close to him — father, mother, brother, sister — in personal rather than ideational terms. By opening out to Great Britain and the world at the end, the series achieves some universality of compass; but, even here, what is stressed is particular history (the East India venture, for instance), and the politically general has been reached by accretion rather than assimilation. The truly universal dimensions of Henry's death lie, for Campion, in the common emotions aroused by it. (***Works***, ed. Davis, 115)

Henry's death, while genuinely mourned, was a window of opportunity for those writing outside the court patronage system. And indeed, as noted above it may have aided Campion's return to court favour. Even without evidence of royal sanction, Davis notes that publication of *Songs of Mourning* "does have the look of an *official* public expression of grief" (***Thomas Campion*** 17; emphasis added). The realistic quality of Campion's work and its analysis of personal grief may have struck the right chord in Elizabeth, for she of all members of the royal family was the closest and most devoted to Henry. Whether the suite of songs actually helped land him the commission for Elizabeth's wedding is debatable,

though — Lindley, with reasonable supporting evidence, suggests that ***The Lords Masque*** was actually commissioned before Henry's death (***Thomas Campion*** 205-209) — nonetheless, the songs may have promoted Campion to the star position in the celebrations, for his masque was performed on the night of the wedding itself.

The Lords Masque is arguably Campion's greatest accomplishment in the genre, but unfortunately it is outside the scope of this paper, since its political focus is primarily on the international rather than the domestic arena — because of this international character there is perhaps some significance in that the cast involved in and behind the masque was of a multi-factional nature. Davis notes that "the masquers included the Earls of Montgomery and Salisbury and Lord Hay, all of whom had taken prominent parts in the wedding preparations and ceremony" (***Works***, ed. Davis, 232): The Earl of Montgomery was Philip Herbert, one of James's first English male favourites and a member of the Sidney-Essex group; Salisbury was of course William Cecil, the patron of Coprario, the son of the now dead Robert Cecil, and the son-in-law of Thomas Howard, the Earl of Suffolk; and James Hay, as noted above, was a Scottish male favourite — one who, if Gardiner is correct in his assessment of him, used his good looks, considerable charm, and royal favour to transcend court factionalism ("Hay, James"). For further discussion of this masque, the reader is directed to Davis (***Thomas Campion*** 134-143), DeNeef ("Structure and Theme"), Limon (***Masque*** 135-42, 163-65), and Lindley (***Thomas Campion*** 190-210).

Campion's next presentation before royalty was ***The Caversham Entertainment***, performed for the amusement of Queen Anne at Sir William Knollys's estate near Reading. It was tangentially related to ***The Lords Masque***, since one of the functions of the entertainment was to cheer up the Queen after Princess Elizabeth's departure for the continent with her husband. Unlike ***The***

Lords Masque, however, its political dimensions were strictly domestic and factional, the occasion, if not the entertainment itself, related to the Howard family intrigue surrounding the relationship between Frances Howard, the Countess of Essex, and Robert Carr, Viscount Rochester, later Earl of Somerset.

The background for Campion's entertainment at Caversham was convoluted and marked by scandal. Carr, the king's current male favourite, had previously been quite cold towards the Salisbury-Northampton faction, and with the death of Cecil in 1612 their power began to wane somewhat. Understandably, both Northampton and Suffolk were thus interested in nurturing the romance between Carr and Suffolk's daughter — a marriage between the two would be a major political coup. There was, however, the problem of the divorce from Essex to be dealt with first. Everyone would have to move cautiously, keeping the affair with Carr a secret as long as possible, while they gathered support for the divorce. This need for secrecy seems to have been the reason for Overbury's imprisonment; it is thought he was threatening to expose the affair and scuttle the divorce plans.

Northampton and Suffolk would have felt reasonably confident about backing from James. He habitually indulged Carr greatly, and indeed, when the subject was later raised, he is thought to have supported the match immediately — perhaps because he disliked Overbury and because Frances had succeeded in separating Carr and Overbury. It is believed that James was jealous of attentions paid to his favourite by other males, and there was, as White has noticed, more than just a suggestion of a homoerotic quality about the friendship between Carr and Overbury.[10] The king appears to have held no similar jealousies about Carr's involvements with women, though, and his enthusiasm for the relationship with Frances would later cause him to interfere with the divorce proceedings once

they were in progress — an action which would bring him into conflict with Archbishop Abbot.

In the end, Abbot became the major impediment to the divorce, and quite apart from any moral/religious ground he may have stood upon, there was undoubtedly a political aspect to his obstructionism as well. As earlier noted, he was a member of the rival faction which included Pembroke, Ellesmere, Southampton, and Winwood, a group which had enjoyed a degree of influence over Carr and which quite likely felt anxious about Carr's new friendship with Northampton and Suffolk — once they knew about it, that is.

In the beginning, though, Queen Anne was a more immediate obstacle. The considerable power she held was, to her long-standing frustration, more social or cultural than political;[11] nonetheless, any opposition from her would have proved most embarrassing, and there may have been reason for the Howards to suppose that Anne would not view their plans favourably. It is known that she detested Carr, as had Prince Henry, perhaps because of the influence his homoerotic relationship with James gave him. Another source of her dislike may have been an earlier scandal involving Henry, Frances, and Carr; it was rumoured, much later and perhaps unreliably, that in addition to the political friction between Henry and Carr, there had been some romantic entanglement between the three and that this had led to a fight — the Scott, Sir James Elphington, is reported to have offered in the aftermath to kill Carr as a favour to Henry.[12] Roy Strong muses that "perhaps Sir Anthony Weldon's comment is correct when he recorded that Henry had said 'if ever he were King, he would not leave one of that family [Carr's] to piss against the wall'" (***Henry*** 57).[13] There may also have been at one time some maternal attachment to Frances on Anne's part, and this also may have contributed to potential reticence about the match; Frances was one of the young members of Anne's court and had likely grown up in its en-

vironment. Her mother, Catherine Knevet, Countess of Suffolk, and her older sister, Elizabeth Howard, Lady Knollys, were both well established figures in Anne's circle. Whether or not Anne actually ever came out in direct opposition to the plans for Frances's divorce and remarriage is not known — there is later circumstantial evidence from Chamberlain that she may have — but whether Chamberlain's report is based in fact or not, it seems certain that among the Howards there would initially have been very little cause to hope for her support.[14]

Knevet, Suffolk, and Northampton must have realized that the relationship between Carr and Frances would cause factional politicking within Anne's court once it became widely known. Anne's principal favourite was Lucy, Countess of Bedford, who was affiliated with the Pembroke group, and perhaps because of her, Anne seems to have been favourably inclined to towards both Pembroke and Archbishop Abbot, despite her own (apparent) Spanish / Catholic sympathies. If Pembroke and the larger group of which he was a part had known of the Howards' plans, they would likely have acted sooner, attempting to enlist Anne's aid. As shall be seen presently, even Chamberlain, who was one of Winwood's friends and who was arguably the best informed gossip in London, did not know of Carr's involvement in the Essex divorce case for quite some time, and it seems the Howards used this period of general ignorance to their advantage. It was also most convenient for the Howards that the Countess of Bedford was seriously ill during much of their intrigue.[15]

Even before the news of the divorce case broke, there is evidence that the Howards were at work, attempting to bind Anne to them. On February 10, 1613, Chamberlain writes to Winwood: "The Countesse of Salisburies daughter [born in January] is to be christned this day in the Kings chappell the Quene and the Countesse of Suffolke her mother beeing to be Godmothers."[16] The Countess of

Salisbury was Catherine Howard, the sister of Frances Howard and the wife of William Cecil, the 2nd Earl of Salisbury — Robert Cecil's son. Through her participation in the ritual of baptism and her acceptance of the role of Godmother, Anne had, within the congregation of the chapel, become a member of the extended Howard family — a sister in the church to Knevet.

After the divorce plans were common knowledge, the Howards continued their work. Chamberlain relates in a letter of April 29 to his friend Sir Dudley Carleton that Anne, on April 27 and 28, had been a guest at Caversham, the estate of Sir William Knollys and his wife Elizabeth Howard, Frances's sister. Among the other guests present were Theophilus Howard, Lord Walden, Sir Thomas Howard, Charles Howard, Henry Howard — all brothers of Frances Howard. Their friends, Richard Sackville, 3rd Earl of Dorset, and his wife Lady Anne Clifford, were also in attendance, and, although Chamberlain only mentions Campion's work without reference to him, here too we find the poet/composer — employed in the all important task of entertaining Anne. His cast of masquers included all the young men from the Salisbury-Northampton faction who are listed above. Interestingly, as John Nichols notes, "the whole eight of the present performers [the masquers at Caversham] were in the following December engaged in the masque by Dr. Campion at the Earl of Somerset's marriage" (2: 629 n. 8).

Chamberlain added his report of Anne's entertainment at Caversham to the other news of the day, news which included, among other things, both the story of Overbury's imprisonment and the latest information about the proposed Essex divorce. A small reconstruction here of the events immediately prior to his letter will help clarify the time frame in which they and the letter itself occurred. On April 14, Princess Elizabeth left England with her new husband, and Anne, who was reported to be unhappy and in ill health, made plans to visit Bath. On

April 21, Sir Thomas Overbury, the first major threat to the success of the Essex divorce, was confined to the Tower. On April 24, Anne began her progress to Bath, stopping over at Caversham on the 27 and 28. The next day Chamberlain made his news report to Carleton; the letter's relevant highlights are as follows:

> I doubt not but you have heard of Sir Thomas Overburies committing to the Towre the last weeke. The King hath long had a desire to remove him from about the Lord of Rochester [Robert Carr, Viscount Rochester], as thincking yt a dishonor to him that the world shold have an opinion that Rochester ruled him and Overburie ruled Rochester.[17]

> There was a divorce to be sued this terme twixt the earle of Essex and his Lady, and he was content (whether true or feigned) to confesse insufficiencie in himself, but there happened an accident of late that hath altered the case : his Lady sought out and had many conferences with a wise woman, who (according the course of such creatures) drew much monie from her and at last cousened her of a jewell of great value, for which beeing prosecuted and clapt in prison, she accuses the Lady of divers straunge questions and propositions, and in conclusion that she dealt with her to make away her Lord, (as ayming at another marke) upon which scandall and slaunder the Lord Chamberlain [Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk] and other her frends thincke yt not fit to proceede in the divorce.[18]

> The King brought the Quene on Saterday to Hampton Court onward on her way to the Bath. On Monday she went to Windsor, the next day to Caushan a house of the Lord Knolles wher she was gallantly entertained with revells and a maske performed by the Lord Chamberlains fowre sonnes, the earle of Dorset, the Lord North, Sir Harry Carie and Sir Harry Rich.[19]

For Chamberlain, the three items are just interesting stories to be reported along with the other current news. He does not connect them, nor does he place Carr as a causal factor in the Essex divorce.

While the reason for Overbury's imprisonment was not known publicly with any certainty, some astute observers did expect that the sudden and pre-

cipitous nature of his fall from grace, whatever or whoever may have brought it about, made his doom absolute and inexorable — the logic of the web of patronage did lead one's thoughts to such speculation. There was also a sense of certainty that if Carr was not involved in Overbury's downfall he would soon find himself sharing Sir Thomas's fate. About the time of Chamberlain's letters, Sir Henry Wotton ominously conjectured:

> Now in this whole matter there is one main and principal doubt, which doth trouble all understandings ; this is, whether this were done *without the participation of my Lord Rochester* [Carr] ; a point necessarily inviting two different consequences. For if it were done without his knowledge, we must expect of himself either a decline or a ruin ; if not, we must then expect a reparation by some other great public satisfaction whereof the world may take as much notice. These clouds a few days will clear. In the mean while, I dare pronounce of Sir Thomas Overbury, that *he shall no more return to this stage,* unless courts be governed every year by a new philosophy, for our old principles will not bear it.[20]

Wotton was not clairvoyant. That he would be proven correct before the year was out simply indicates his skill and experience as a political observer/reader — one can not decode any text without the ability to predict. Like William Monson, he knew that "a Court is like an army, ever in war, striving by stratagems to circumvent and kick up one another's heels," and while he may not have understood the details of the particular foray which claimed Overbury, he did recognize him as a casualty.

While widely informed, Chamberlain seems to have been either a less astute or less cynical reader of events than Wotton. His reports lack Wotton's insightful fatalism. On May 6 — the very day that Sir Thomas Monson, with Campion's help, finally effected the removal of Sir William Wade from his position at the Tower and his replacement with Sir Jervis Elwes — Chamberlain was writing again, this time to Winwood — mostly repeating the same news he

had related earlier to Carleton about Overbury, the Essex divorce, and Anne's reception at Caversham — adding only that the Queen "at her parting [from Caversham was] presented with a daintie coverlet or quilt, a rich carquenet, and a curious cabinet to the value in all of 1500li."[21] Here again, it does not occur to Chamberlain that there is any relationship between the three news items — and, indeed, from his point of view at this time, there was no particular reason why such a suspicion should have presented itself. Not even the shrewder Wotton, as much as he may have suspected Carr's involvement, comprehended the entirety of what was happening.

Campion was much closer to the action than Chamberlain and Wotton, but it is extremely doubtful that even he fully understood the larger function of his entertainment at Caversham, particularly during the time of its composition and performance. He must have known of the divorce case, since Chamberlain knew of it. As a friend of Sir Thomas Monson, who was reputed to be the host of "wild musical parties," which Frances Howard possibly attended, Campion may also have known of her involvement with Carr, and while putting the finishing touches on the script for the entertainment or while rehearsing it, he would have heard the official story of Overbury's imprisonment — it was a very hot topic. Monson, as Northampton's man, quite likely knew the true reason for Overbury's incarceration and may even have had foreknowledge of it, but, given his general political shrewdness, it is unlikely that he ever gave Campion his full confidence. It is even less likely that Campion, beyond his offering of deferential greetings, would have had much direct contact with the chief plotters, Northampton and Suffolk, and it seems completely implausible that they would have confided in him. Thus, looking in the entertainment for any comment by Campion on Essex, Carr, Howard, or Overbury is probably futile, especially given the time frame of events. The entertainment is caused by them, but it is

not about them. Its immediate practical function was merely to structure and brighten the two days of Anne's visit with a light and playfully humorous fiction that guided her movements between various locations and activities at Caversham. Its immediate political purpose was to snare Anne with kind praise and pleasant flattery, but its larger function was to gain her eventual support for Frances's divorce and remarriage — the timing and the place of the entertainment and the presence of an almost full complement of Frances's siblings, along with some of their friends, taken together with the expense of both the entertainment and the parting gifts would all seem to support such an interpretation of ***The Caversham Entertainment***.[22] The *timing*, the *place*, the *presence*, and the *expense*, however, were all things beyond Campion's control, and their significance was also likely beyond his complete comprehension at the time.

As with all masques and similar entertainments, Campion's work for Anne raises the question of authorship — not of the words, *per se*, but rather of the invention or device. Limon has suggested that from the basic framework of masques right down to the level of minor details, the hands of patrons and their superiors are often visible.[23] The most likely candidates for the ownership of other hands in ***The Caversham Entertainment*** are William Knollys and Theophilus Howard — Knollys as the host, Howard as the liaison with Campion. Theophilus was a noted patron of music, and he had performed in all of Campion's earlier masques, and Campion had solicited his patronage in 1607. Howard's connections with the Monson brothers were numerous as well.

The most immediate constraint placed upon Campion by his patrons was the performance site itself. Caversham's geography dictated the physical shape of the entertainment in space and time, and Campion finds it necessary to explain the topography in order to make the entertainment comprehensible to his readers, but perhaps also in order to signify, in a manner similar to that of land-

scape paintings, the power and wealth of his patron — the prestige and position derived from the possession of land. Indeed, in the published title, the patron and the estate get star billing — "A / RELATION / OF THE LATE ROY- / ALL ENTERTAINMENT / GIVEN BY THE RIGHT HONO- / RABLE THE LORD *KNOWLES*, AT / *Cawsome*-House neere *Redding:* to our most / *Gracious Queen, Queene* ANNE, *in her* / Progresse toward the *Bathe,* upon *the seven and eight and twentie / dayes of Aprill.* / 1613" (231) — and Campion's first words are as follows:

> *For as much as this late Entertainment hath beene much desired in writing, both of such as were present at the performance thereof, as also of many which are yet strangers, both to the busines and place, it shall be convenient, in this generall publication, a little to touch at the description and situation of* Cawsome *seat. The house is fairely built of bricke, mounted on the hill-side of a Parke within view of* Redding, *they being severed about the space of two miles. Before the Parke-gate, directly opposite to the House, a new passage was forced through earable-land, that was lately paled in, it being from the Parke about two flight-shots in length, at the further end whereof* [the queen approached]. (235)

The entertainment spanned two days, and all movement within it, progressing from the *further end* of the *new passage* to various stations on the grounds and then on towards the house was likely programmed by Knollys, as was the schedule of dinner, masque, and revels, followed the next afternoon by the presentation of gifts at Anne's departure. "Indeed," as Lindley observes, "from Sir William Knollys's point of view the whole work is by its very nature an extended modesty topos elaborating the simple idea 'welcome to my humble home'" (***Thomas Campion*** 214).

In ***The Caversham Entertainment***, Campion links Knollys's "modesty topos" with a fairly simple neo-Platonist theme: Anne, welcomed, praised as a "Godesse" and a "friend," and perhaps personified as "joy," is the bringer of peace and harmony; as she crosses the boundary of Knollys's property and begins her

approach to the house, the centre of the estate, discord starts to die away; and when she enters the house, she becomes the centre of the universe, the countryside rejoicing harmoniously around her in the concordant measure of dancing couples. Her departure the following day becomes an occasion of grief, bringing with it the threat of a return to disorder.

When the queen arrives, discord is manifested on the perimeter of the estate in the form of two fractious characters, a "Cynick" and a "Traveller." Both have antisocial tendencies, having spent time away from the commonwealth of their nation, although the Traveller does present himself as a champion of society. Both are obtuse and rude in their failure to recognize the queen and acknowledge her station; the Cynick is abrupt with her, and the Traveller seems largely to ignore her. The Cynick is a stock figure, but exaggerated for comic effect, and his attitude bears a superficial resemblance to that of Shakespeare's character Jaques from ***As You Like It***. Campion describes him as "*a Cynick* [who] *appeared out of a Bower, drest in a skin-coate, with Bases, of green Calico, set thicke with leaves and boughes, his nakednesse being also artifically shadowed with leaves; on his head he wore a false haire, blacke and disordered, stucke carelessly with floweres*" (235). Immediately upon his appearance at the entrance to the passage through the fields, he accosts the queen and her train in a "curt Senecan" manner:[24]

> Stay; whether you humane be or divine, here is no passage; see you not the earth furrowed? the region solitarie? Cities and Courts fit tumultuous multitudes: this is a place of silence; heere a kingdome I enjoy without people; my selfe commands, my selfe obeys; Host, Cooke, and Guest my selfe; I reape without sowing, owe all to Nature, to none other beholding: my skinne is my coate, my ornaments these boughes and flowers, this Bower my house, the earth my bed, herbes my food, water my drinke; I want no sleep, nor health; I envie none, nor am I envied, neither feare I, nor hope, nor joy, nor grieve. If this be happinesse, I have it; which you all that

> depend on others service or command want. Will you be happy? be private; turn Pallaces to Hermitages, noies to silence, outward felicitie to inward content. (235-36)

The Cynick has no sooner finished his speech than a cloaked stranger on horseback who has hidden in the crowd comes forward to berate him about his anti-social ways.

This figure is revealed to be the Traveller, whom Campion describes as "*a fantastick Traveller in a silken sute of strange Checker-worke, made up after the Italian cut, with an Italian hat, a band of gold and silke, answering the colours of his sute, with a Courtly feather, long guilt spurres, and all things answerable*" (236). This peculiar character engages the Cynick in an absurdly pedantic dialectic, and Davis hypothesizes that the Traveller is a mockery of "Thomas Coryate, who [had] amused the court with accounts of his travels."[25] And indeed, the character does pose as a well-travelled academic and courtier. The motley checkerboard of his ridiculous costume and the strangeness of his reasoning, however, show him to be a fool, and much later in the entertainment he does in fact confess his own absurdity, stating, "For my owne part . . ., I have beene laught at in most parts of Christendome" (243). But with his concluding argument, which introduces the theme of friendship, the Traveller finally convinces the Cynick of the error of his misanthropic ways:

> is there any Element simple? is there not a mixture of all things? and wouldst thou only be singular? Action is the end of life, vertue the crowne of action, society the subject of vertue, friendship the band of societie, solitarinesse the breache. . . . thy soule, poore wretch, is farre out of tune, make it musicall; come follow me, and learn to live. (237)

The Cynick concedes defeat graciously: "I am conquered by reason, and humbly aske pardon for my error; henceforth my heart shall honour greatenesse, and love societie" (Ibid.). There are two ironies here, though, which undermine the

apparent concord between the two characters. One is that neither of them does "honour [the] greatenesse" which is immediately present, for as Campion relates, "*The* Traveller and Cynick *instantly mount on horse-backe, and hasten to the Parke-gate*" (237), leaving the queen behind still unacknowledged. The other irony is that, although the Traveller has offered to help "tune" the Cynick's "soule" and "make it musicall," he is revealed in the entertainment's next tableau to be quite unmusical himself — *"the Traveller being not able to sing, gapes in silence, and expresseth his humour in Antike gestures*" (238) — and thus cannot participate fully in the first *musicall* celebration at the presence of "the Queene of grace" (Ibid.).

Upon her rude abandonment, Anne and her train begin to cross the "earable-land," moving towards the house, and as she progresses, the estate bursts into music. Campion explains: "*In this space Cornets at sundrie places intertaine the time, till the Queene with her traine is entred into the Parke*" (Ibid.). At the "*Parke-gate,*" Anne is met by two Keepers of the park's wood-lot and two of their Robin-Hood-like foresters. Unlike those of the Cynick and the Traveller, these rustics' costumes are orderly — stylized harmoniously in green — and are all in accordance with their station — as is the senior Keeper's polite, deferential greeting of the Queen:

> More then most welcome, renowned and gracious Queene; since your presence vouchsafes to beautifie these woods, whereof I am Keeper, be it your pleasure to accept such rude entertainment as a rough Wood-man can yeeld. This is to us a high holy-day, and henceforth yearly shall bee kept and celebrated with our Countrie sports, in honour of so Royall a guest; come, friends and fellowes, now prepare your voices, and present your joyes in a Silvan dance. (Ibid.)

The Cynick participates in the song and dance as one of the counter-tenor voices, but as noted, the Traveller's discordant humour can only be expressed mutely in

"Antike gestures." The song itself is composed entirely of pleasant, sugary flattery; only one line, with what might well be an accidental allusion to vanity in the myth of Echo and Narcissus — "Fill all the Woods with Ecchoed welcomes" (238) — contains any suggestion of criticism or correction. In function, the song simply reinforces the overall neo-Platonist design of the entertainment — the movement towards the house as the centre of the estate:

> Welcome, O welcome, ever-honoured Queene,
> To this now-blessed place,
> That grove, that bowre, that house is happy
> Which you vouchsafe to grace. (239)

In addition, here introduced is the theme of Anne's divinity: "Let pleasure strive to please our Goddesse, / For shee is all divine" (Ibid.). When the Keeper's tableau is ended, discord apparently is banished, for "*the two Keepers carrie away the* Cynick, *and the two* Robin-Hood-*men the Traveller*" (Ibid.), and Anne continues her progress towards the house.

Describing her movement, Campion continues his landscape portraiture, relating that

> *presently Cornets begin againe to sound in severall places, and so continue with varietie, while the Queen passeth through a long smooth greene way, set on each side with Trees in equall distance; all this while her Majestie being carried in her Caroch. . . . . [All] her foot-way was spred with broad cloth; and . . . her Majestie with traine entred into the Lower Garden.* (Ibid.)

In the progress away from the rough forest into the orderly lower garden/bower, the overall theme of harmony increasing with movement towards the centre of the estate — "That grove, that bowre, that house" — is again reinforced. It is a movement which Helen Cooper views as "parallel [to] the use of scene changes in masque to indicate increasing order" (145). The theme is also reflected in the Gardener's welcoming speech; Davis explains that the "language[, as it] becomes

more 'flowery,' . . . traces a rustic vision of the progress of civilization, from wilderness to forest to garden . . . [to] house" (***Thomas Campion*** 145). With its convoluted brocade-like syntax, the Gardener's speech does, indeed, have a florid quality to it:

> Most magnificent and peerelesse Diety, loe, I the surveyer of Lady *Floras* workes, welcome your grace with fragrant phrases into her Bowers, beseeching your greatnesse to beare with the late woodden entertainment of the Wood-men; for Woods are more full of weeds then wits, but gardens are weeded, and Gardners witty, as may appeare by me. I have flowers for all fancies. Tyme for truth, Rosemary for remembrance, Roses for love, Hartsease for joy, and thousands more, which all harmoniously rejoyce at your presence; but myselfe, with these my Paradisians heere, will make you such musick as the wilde Wooddist shall bee ashamed to heare the report of it. Come, sirs, prune your pipes, and tune your strings, and agree together like birds of a feather. (240)

The Gardener is a quaint rustic figure, somewhat comic and old-fashioned in his appearance and manner, and as Davis notes, Campion infuses the character's language with "the rhetorical schemes and sound effects (such as alliteration and rime) associated with Euphemism and related styles popular in the 1580's".[26] The song he introduces showers Anne with continued flattery, and in its conclusion — "Roses of all flowers most sweete" (241) — it picks up the image of the rose from the Gardener's greeting. Roses are the imperial flowers on the great chain of being, and a link here is formed between: Flora, the Gardener's immediate mistress; Venus, the goddess of love; and Anne, the queen. The existence of this link is substantiated by a revelation later made by the Gardener regarding his comic and near-mythological occupational genesis:

> When I was a Child and lay in my Cradle (a very pretie Child) I remember well that Lady *Venus* appeared unto me, and setting a Silver Spade and Rake by my Pillow, bad me prove a Gardiner; I told my mother of it (as became the duetie of a good Child) whereupon shee provided straight for mee two great Platters full of

> Pappe; which having duetifully devoured, I grew to this portrature you see, sprung sodainely out of my Cabine, and fell to my profession. (243)

Also, as shall be argued later in the context of ***The Somerset Masque***, the figure of Venus, Venus the "Sea-borne Goddesse," may well be an allusion to an event in Anne's personal history/mythology — her nuptial voyage from Denmark to Scotland. Under Flora and Venus, the Gardener shows himself to be a woman's servant, the caretaker of a woman's orderly realm:

> I make sweet walkes for faire Ladies; Flowers I prepare to adorne them; close Arbours I build wherein their Loves unseene may court them; and who can doe Ladies better service, or more acceptable? (243)[27]

In the closing of the Gardener's tableau, it is expressed that this garden realm is subject to Anne and that its "mistresse" Flora will guide Anne, her sovereign, along the last leg of her progress, through the upper garden to the house:

> Wonder not (great Goddesse) at the sweetnesse of our Garden-aire (though passing sweet it be) ; *Flora* hath perfumed it for you (*Flora* our mistresse, and your servant) who envites you yet further into her Paradise; shee invisibly will leade your grace the way. (241)

Campion relates that at the end of the upper garden, "*neere the house, . . .* [a] *Song* [presumably representing the invisible Flora's voice] *was sung by an excellent counter-tenor voice, with rare varietie of division unto two unusuall instruments, all being concealed within the Arbour*" (Ibid.). The brief song proclaims the "Joyes exceeding! / From love, from power of [Anne's] wisht sight proceeding" and focuses on her "steppes ascending" (242), and thus Anne enters the house.

Here there was a brief hiatus in the entertainment, and Anne, presumably tired from her journey, retired to dine in private. Campion relates, however, that later, "Supper being ended, her Majestie, accompanied with many *Lords and Ladies, came into the Hall, and rested Her selfe in Her Chair of State, the Scaffoldes of the*

Hall being on all partes filled with beholders of worth" (243). Before this assembly, the Gardener, in company with the Cynick and the Traveller, reappears to perform a short anti-masque of sorts. Perhaps under the Gardener's influence the two formerly discordant characters are somewhat reformed, for Anne is now recognized by them, not for her person or position but rather for the qualities of divinity, beauty and bravery implied to be apparent in her. The Traveller addresses the audience, stating: "I have now seen a Dietie as farre beyond [Venus and Cupid's] as the beautie of light is beyond darknesse," and the Cynick later adds: "I now see braverie and admire it, beautie and adore it" (243). In keeping with the nature of an anti-masque, though, a hint of lingering discord is still evident in these two characters; both of their panegyrics, which are only very indirectly offered to Anne, are undercut with strange similes which contain suggestions of appetite. The Traveller, in the comparison of Anne's divinity to other gods, speaks of a "Feast" and "Sallets" (Ibid.), and the Cynick, discussing her comparative beauty and bravery, talks of "Wine and Water," and in the process he implies that he is in fact drunk — "*Bacchus* hath opened mine eyes" (Ibid.). The Gardener, who fails to notice their latent discord, "[joys] in [their] conversion" (244), reintroduces the theme of friendship, and proposes a song: "let us all . . . joyne together sociably in a Song, to the honour of good fellowship" (Ibid.).

With Campion's pretty little song here, the entertainment begins to approach its climax — a restoration of the Golden Age. A catalyst in this restoration, the song links the themes of joy and friendship in the harmonious concord of three voices, a concord which, as we shall see, summons forth the forest and meadow dieties. However, before this event, Campion injects an element of uncertainty about whom the song is addressed to. The only referent, the possessive pronoun "your," is highly, and perhaps purposefully, ambiguous. If

the pronoun refers only to Anne, the song is then a simple wish that "Joy" remain her attendant. If, however, it refers to the audience, particularly the Howard family (as is most likely), the entertainment then crosses, not so slightly or subtly, over the flowery borders of Campion's humorous little masque world and out into the harsh realities of Jacobean politics, this crossing accomplished through a melding of joy, friendship and neo-Platonist cosmology with a recognition of patronage as the inherent structure and order of society. "Joy" is the "friend," the "nurse," the "Patron," "the [neo-Platonist] fountaine of all good." It is also, by implication, Queen Anne herself:

> Joy is the sweete friend of life, the nurse of blood,
> Patron of all health, and fountaine of all good:
> Never may joy hence depart,
> But all your thoughts attend;
> Nought can hurt the heart
> That retains so sweet a friend. (Ibid.)

The desire for Anne's friendship, nursing (of the blood or perhaps *family*), patronage, good will is strongly evident, and thus it does not require much ingenuity to interpret the song as a fairly direct appeal for patronage. Indeed, it is implicit in this the song's closing verse that Anne's patronage is the instrumental factor in the restoration of the Golden Age, for the song moves the entertainment to the penultimate step before its neo-Platonist centre. Here, the classical/pastoral deity Sylvanus is invoked, and he displaces the three rustics, who are the last vestiges of temporal discord. The departing Traveller acknowledges both the god's status and his transformative power with an observation that the hall is no longer fit for mortals: "Let us give place, for this place is fitter for Dieties then us" (245).

Humour also departs with the rustics, and the entertainment becomes far more stately and serious. Campion takes pains to point out that Sylvanus's cos-

tume was "*shapt after the description of the ancient Writers*" (244), and in keeping with these models, the speech he provides for the forest god has a dignified Ovidian tone. "Silvanus *alone, . . . comming neerer to the State, and making a low Congee, speakes*" (Ibid.):

> The health which harbours in the fresh-air'd groves,
> Those pleasures which greene hill and valley moves,
> *Silvanus*, the commander of them all,
> Here offers to this State Emperiall;
> Which as a homager he visites now,
> And to a greater power his power doth bow.
> With all, thus much his duetie signifies:
> That there are certaine Semidieties,
> Belonging to his Silvan walkes, who come
> Led with the Musicke of a Spritely drome,
> To keepe the night awake and honour you
> (Great Queene) to whom all Honours they hold due. (Ibid.)

At the conclusion of this speech, music sounds, and eight pages enter, followed shortly by the eight masquers — the pages and the masquers both costumed in green. Campion recounts that the masquers

> *instantly fell into a new dance, at the end whereof they tooke forth the Ladies, and danced with them; and so well was the Queene pleased with her intertainment, that shee vouchsafed to make herself the head of their Revels, and graciously to adorne the place with her personall dancing; much of the night being thus spent with varietie of dances.* (246)

The outcome here contrived through the agency of the entertainment was perhaps the ultimate flattery, for Anne is placed at the very centre of the masque world, a position analogous to that, within the universe, of the Aristotelian prime-mover, the "fountaine of all good."

The created scene is very strongly reminiscent of the representation of Elizabeth I seen at the climax of Sir John Davies' poem ***Orchestra*** where Elizabeth is surrounded by the harmonious discordia-concors of couples dancing:

And there did represent in liuely show
Our glorious English Court's diuine image,
As it should be in this our Golden Age.

. . . .

Her [Elizabeth's] brighter dazeling beames of maiestie
Were laid aside, for she vouchsaft awhile
With gracious, cheereful, and familiar eye
Vpon the reuels of her Court to smile ;
For so Time's journeis she doth oft begile :
Like sight no mortall eye might elsewhere see,
So full of State, Art, and varietie.

For of her barons braue, and ladies faire, —
Who had they been elsewhere, most faire had been :
Many an incomparable louely payre,
With hand in hand were interlinkèd seene,
Making faire honour to their soueraigne Queene ;
Forward they pac'd, and did their pace apply
To a most sweet and solemne meolody.
(Stanzas 126, 127, 128)

E. M. W. Tillyard, in his discussion of "the cosmic dance," the harmonic motion of the universe, reads Davies' portrait here in an almost emblematic fashion: "The introduction of Queen Elizabeth and her court is not mere flattery; it shows the cosmic dance reproduced in the body politic, thus completing the series of dances in macrocosm[,] body politic and microcosm" (98).[28] Tillyard's observation is valid, and undoubtedly the concept of "the cosmic dance" also lies behind the structure of Campion's masque. However, if one is prepared to entertain a degree of Machiavellian cynicism, the *politic* of Tillyard's "body politic" can be taken in a much more sinister direction, one in which Campion's masque, whether he himself fully realized it or not, presents not just ***mere*** flattery but also that of a much higher order — the carefully contrived and most seductive kind.

Indeed, such adulation was calculated to appeal to a tired, dejected Queen, one whose marriage at fifteen to a homo- or bi-sexual king had led, for

the most part, to one disappointment after another, a chain of events which, apart from a brief, initial period of optimism about her role as queen, sadly extended out into a life of marginalization. Leeds Barroll reports that "Anna . . . had in her parents, especially in her mother [the powerful matriarch Sophia], available role-models of some intellectual and political weight" ("Court" 193) and that "with her mother Sophia as her only model, she would attempt to define a position as Queen Consort in the sixteenth-century Scottish court" (Ibid.). Such attempts, while initially encountering modest success, ultimately met with failure, and the move to England with the death of Elizabeth in 1603 only led to greater political exclusion. Hardin Aasand elaborates:

> As we traverse the history of Queen Anne's presence in the English court, . . . we discover domestic alienation to predominate in her personal social relationships . . . . Suspicion over her allegiances to Spain and hostility towards her Catholic adherence suggest the extent of her estrangement from her subjects. (277)

Aasand also documents "the tribulations that marred Anne and James's marriage during their early years in England" (Ibid.), these being a lack of "marital passion," "hostility over symbolic control of the offspring," and "James's adoption of male favorites, beginning with Philip Herbert in 1603 and continuing . . . [with] Robert Carr" (278). Aasand relates further that from 1608 until her death in 1619, "Anne remained physically estranged from James, retiring to her various country estates in a monarchial limbo akin to her masque persona's deprivation in [Jonson's] ***The Masque of Blackness***" (283). Still though, she was not completely without power; her court eventually entered a state of social and cultural, if not political, rivalry with that of James.[29] It must also be remembered that in 1613 at the time of ***The Caversham Entertainment,*** Anne was in poor health and had only recently lost both Henry and Elizabeth, and it is perhaps significant that, while James's grief over Henry was public and demonstrative (and was shortly

followed by hunting at Theobalds), "the grief of Anne, alone at Somerset House, is unrecorded" (Bland 39). Her trip to Bath was intended to be restorative, and Campion, with his patrons, worked hard fulfill that intent, perhaps out of a genuine concern for the Queen but also, most certainly, out of a definite self-interest. In either case Campion's work was highly effective as Anne's enthusiastic participation indicates, and Campion reports that the entertainment as a whole was "*graciously received of her Majestie, and celebrated with her most royall applause*" (248).

The Caversham Entertainment was bait, and it may have been taken eagerly by the needy Queen who, as Aasand states, had "a sincere appreciation for any visible sign of compassion" (278).[30] If we look for traces of the politicking involved in the implementation of the political agenda lying behind the entertainment, the soliciting of Anne's support for Frances Howard's divorce and remarriage, its presence can perhaps be found, not *in the text itself*, but rather *in that which the text does not account for*. There is a large gap in Campion's description of the Queen's time at Caversham. In the report of the first day's events, almost every instant is detailed from Anne's arrival until the end of the evening's revels, but for the second day, the entire morning and perhaps the early afternoon as well are conspicuously absent from Campion's account. If the Knollys's and the Howard siblings managed to have a private audience with Anne during even a part of this time, it is not difficult to imagine what they would have talked about — ***the*** Howard family concern of the moment was Frances's divorce and remarriage. And indeed, the anti-masque song's description of Anne as "nurse of the blood" suggests that the Howards felt that there was a *blood* or family matter she could heal. The presentation of the gifts which Chamberlain catalogues was likely made at this time, since Campion does not describe it as occurring later. In addition to these gifts, one of the bargaining chips proffered Anne at such a meeting might well have been a role in Frances's wedding masque. Anne loved

masques, and Campion would later give her a small but central part in ***The Somerset Masque***, once again depicting her as the dispeller of discord. Moreover, "Bring away this sacred tree," arguably ***The Somerset Masque***'s most beautiful song, would be composed in Anne's honour by Campion and Nicholas Lanier — Lanier who had been indentured in the Cecil household and who was William Cecil's client, friend and tutor — Cecil who was the husband of Frances Howard's sister Catherine — Catherine who was the mother of Anne's godchild. Something happened at Caversham on the morning of April 28, and it was very likely political in nature. The otherwise garrulous Campion, however, remains unusually silent, but given the issue at hand and the persons present, one can make far more than a blind conjecture about what that something might have been.

After these missing hours, Anne began her departure, and Campion reports:

> At the Queenes parting on wednesday in the afternoone, *the Gardiner with his Man and Boy and three handsome Countrie Maides, the one bearing a rich bagge with linnen in it, the second a rich apron, and the third a rich mantle, appeare all out of an Arbour in the lower Garden.* (247)

During the Gardener's speech which follows, the idea that country freely pays tribute to the queen, "the Mistris of our joyes" (Ibid.), is underlined as the "mean presents," the "Home-bred things" (Ibid.), which Campion mentions above are offered to her, "perfumed / With . . . [the] flowrie incantation" of Campion's verse. The theme of grief is also introduced as the speech leads into "a mourneful parting song" (Ibid.) which expresses anxiety that the order which Anne has *revived* with her presence is about to be *destroyed* with her departure. "Mirth" is converted "to tears" (Ibid.). "Gladnesse" swiftly turns "to sadnesse" (Ibid.). "Without . . . [Anne's] heav'nly light," "winter quickly over-takes" the

residents of Caversham (248). And then the entertainment and the song end together with the flattering conceit that no goodbyes or farewells can be offered, for such an offering would diminish Anne's perpetual welcome — "Welcome here shall you heare ever, / But the word of parting never" (Ibid.). Indeed, Anne had been made very welcome, copiously showered with flattery and gifts, and in the following December she would endorse Frances Howard's marriage by attending the wedding and by taking a central role in the masque that Campion would write for the occasion.[31] Even if its effect was not immediate, Campion's entertainment at Caversham served its purpose well.

While Anne continued on her progress, the events of the Essex divorce proceeded to unfold. On May 6, as already noted, the Howards' candidate, Elwes, replaced Wade as the lieutenant of the Tower, and the next day, May 7, Sir Thomas Monson effected the placement of Weston as Overbury's under-keeper. These actions by Monson were the first steps towards Overbury's death, since with Elwes's apparent complacency, Weston would be instrumental in Overbury's poisoning. Chamberlain once again provides a good indication of what public knowledge there was of these matters. By May 13, he is reporting the change in the lieutenant's office to Carleton, and he places Suffolk or Catherine Knevet as the agency behind the change.[32] It is not until June 10, however, that Chamberlain, again writing to Carleton, comprehends, with a certain degree of shock or dismay, that there is a third party involved in the divorce;[33] still though, he does not mention Carr by name, but perhaps this is only out of propriety, since he insinuates to Winwood the same day that he knows the party's identity. To Winwood he also expresses greater indignation:

> The divorce twixt the earle of Essex and his Lady is on foote, and hath ben argued twise or thrise at Lambeth before certain commissioners, but *a huis clos*. The greatest difficultie is that though he be willing to confesse his insufficiencie towards her, yet he wold have

> libertie to marrie with any other, a beeing *maleficiatus* only *ad illam*. Yet some lawiers are of opinion that yf she will take her oath that he is impotent towards her, yt will serve the turne, wherof yt is thought she will make no bones, as presuming that she is provided of a second, which I shold never have suspected, but that I know he was with her three howres together within these two dayes, which makes me somwhat to stagger and to thincke that great folkes to compasse theyre owne ends have neither respect to frends nor followers.[34]

Chamberlain also adds that the scandal had escaped into a wider and more public arena — that of the political riddles and encoded satirical broadsides which circulated around London, not all of which, Chamberlain confesses, are comprehensible to him:

> There be divers ydle papers and riddles (as I heare) cast abrode and there were found in Grayes Ynne two lame hexameter verses, without head or foot to my understanding, for I know not what construction to make of them, and they go thus as I could carie them away at once hearing: Curans, Lord Compton, Whitlocke, Overburie, Mansfeld: Nevill, Starchamber, Sutton Scot, Baylie, divorcement.[35]

The next development that Chamberlain reports is the physical examination of Frances Howard (or Monson's daughter, as some would later have it), and here for the first time he mentions Robert Carr, Viscount Rochester, by name:

> The divorce now in question twixt the earle of Essex and his Lady is thought shalbe decided one way or other the first day of July. The opinions are divers of the successe, and the case is of so daungerous consequence that no doubt the commissioners will proceed with great warines and maturitie, for yf such a gap be once let open, yt will not so easily be stopt but that infinite inconveniences will follow. In the meane time the Lady hath ben visited and searcht by some auncient Ladies and midwifes expert in those matters, who both by inspection and otherwise find her upon theyre oath a pure virgin: which some Doctors thincke a straunge asseveration, and make yt more difficult then to be discerned. The world speaks liberally that my Lord of Rochester and she be in love with one another, which breedes a double question, whether that consideration be like to hinder or set yt forward.[36]

However, the divorce was not "set forward" — July 1, the date by which Chamberlain had predicted a decision in the case, came and went without any resolution, and a week later our correspondent was reporting on the slowness of the proceedings:

> The Lord of Essex and his Ladies divorce goes not on so fast as was looked for. She for her part hath performed all that was required, and indured the triall ; he is gon out of towne with protestation that he will stand to and abide whatsoever the commissioners shall award and enjoyne, but that will not serve the turne for he must be present at some proceedings, and assignation is geven him to appeare by a certain day. Some thincke the matter wilbe protracted, to see yf yt will fall of yt self yf yt be not too earnestly pursued, for yt is held a very difficult case, and can hardly be ended with satisfaction.[37]

(For a sense of chronological context, it should also be noted here that Sir John Digby wrote to James on September 9, informing the king of both Cecil and Sir William Monson's reciepts of Spanish pensions.)[38] While the case dragged on, largely due to Archbishop Abbott's obstructions, Overbury languished in the Tower, and after a series of poison induced-illnesses, he finally died on September 14 — killed, as it was argued later, by the administration of an enema of corrosive sublimate of mercury. Eleven days later, on September 25, a judgment in the divorce case was finally handed down. Frances Howard was a free woman. Chamberlain, who states on October 14, "I am newly come to town and know not what is news to you," attempts to bring Carleton up to date on what had happened during his (Chamberlain's) absence from London. Overbury's death, Essex's divorce, Archbishop Abbot's loss of favour, and the king's interference — Overbury and the marriage annulment still unlinked — are among the items of interest he reports:

> Sir Thomas Overburie died and is buried in the Towre. The manner of his death is not knowne for that there was no body with him not so much as his keper, but the fowlenes of his corps gave

> suspicion and leaves apsersion that he shold die of the poxe or somwhat worse: he was a very unfortunat man, for nobody almost pities him, and his very frends speake but indifferently of him. The bishop of Lincoln died upon very short warning, for he was well at bowles after dinner, and dead before nine a clock that night: yt is thought the bishop of Coventrie and Lichfeild shall succeed in his place and the bishop of Rochester to Lichfeild and little Dr. Sharpe to Rochester: most men thought yt shold have been bestowed on Dr. Abbot of Oxford, but his Grace of Caunterburie [Archbishop Abbot] hath lost some grace of late about the great buisnes [the Essex divorce], though I hope not the Grace of God or men. The mariage twixt the earle of Essex and the Lady Frauncis Howard is dissolved and pronounced a nullitie by the bishop of Winchester, who with the bishop of Rochester were only supernumerarie to the first commissioners and so cast the balance by weight of number being seven to five: the morning the matter was to be decided, the King sent expresse commaundment, that in opining they shold not argue nor use any reasons, but only geve theyre assent or dissent, and in the sentence there is no cause exprest but in these terms *propter latens et incurable impedimentum.*[39]

There was no immediate rush to marriage, though, at least not publicly, for about two weeks later, on October 27, Chamberlain relates to Carleton: "There is no certaintie of his [Carr's] mariage: but either yt is don, or is thought wilbe shortly, though without show or publication till they thincke goode,"[40] and later on November 11, he recounts: "The mariage was thought shold be celebrated at Audley-end the next weeke, and great preparation there was to receve the King, but I heare that the Quene beeing won and having promised to be present, yt is put of till Christmas and then to be performed at White-hall."[41] It is not until November 25 that Chamberlain reports of the finalized marriage plans: "All the talke is now is of masking and feasting at these towardly mariages [Carr with Howard, and Robert Ker, Lord Roxbugh, with Jane Drummond], wherof the one is appointed on St. Stevens day in Christmas [Carr's], the other for Twelftide. The King bears the charge of the first."[42] In the growing excitement, Overbury

and Essex were largely forgotten — erased from consciousness, for the moment at least, by pleasurable thoughts of masquing and feasting.

Chapter 3 Footnotes:

1. See n. 27, below.

2. "Conversations with Drummond" ll. 646-648, ***Ben Jonson*** 1: 150. For typographic reasons, H & S's *long S*'s have not been reproduced.

3. Wilson's correspondence is among the "letters and bills at Hatfield House." Knowles provides a sizable quotation from the document (14), but, in keeping with the format of ***The Times Literary Supplement***, he provides no catalogue numbers for the letter.

4. Lindley, "Campion's Lord Haye's Masque and Anglo-Scottish Union;" ***Thomas Campion*** 176-90; and "Who Paid for Campion's ***Lord Haye's Masque***."

5. ***Lord Haye's Masque, Works***, Ed. Davis, 218. All further quotations of ***Lord Haye's Masque*** are from this edition and will be indicated only by relevant page numbers.

6. ***Reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, Salisbury*** (Cecil) MSS, IVII, p. 373, qtd. in Lindley, ***Thomas Campion*** 176.

7. Lindley cites "Algernon Cecil, ***A Life of Robert Cecil*** (London, 1915), p. 288," and adds, "Villeroy reported in 1604 that the King was determined to press ahead 'contre l'avis du Sieur Cecil qui redoutant les defficultez qui s'y trouveront de part et d'autre, voudroit que cette affaire se fist avec plus de temp et de loisir.' (BL [British Library] Kings MS 125, fol. 94^{v}.)" (***Thomas Campion*** 178 n. 6).

8. A. J. Loomie, ***Spain and the Jacobean Catholics***, London, 1973, 1: 47, qtd. in Lindley, ***Thomas Campion*** 177.

9. See ***Works***, ed. Davis, 207-208.

10. With a lack of prejudice that is both surprising and admirable for her time (1965), White points out that "it should not . . . be forgotten that in those days a friendship between two men often — and openly — involved emotional and sexual attachment. James himself set the tone — and an example — for inverted relationships ; and there can be little doubt that the friendship between Carr and Overbury was of this nature. Both of them were strikingly handsome; of Carr especially it can be said that his face was his fortune — though Overbury, who never married, may have been more naturally homosexual. But although their relationship bears out these implications, we have no means of gauging the strength or depth of their first mutual attraction" (8).

11. See Leeds Barroll, "The Court of the First Stuart Queen," for a long overdue reassessment of Anne's influence in Jacobean culture and politics. See also Hardin Aasand, "'To blanch an Ethiop, and revive a corse': Queen Anne and ***The Masque of Blackness***," for an interesting study of Anne's frustration at her political marginalization.

12. Elkin Calhoun Wilson cautiously summarizes reports of the intrigue and the conflict: Henry may have become involved in a power struggle between Rochester and Salisbury; he may have struck Rochester with a tennis racket; he may have eventually rejected Howard because of her involvement with Rochester (95-96). In his book, ***A Second Jacobean Journal***, G. B. Harrison presents this entry for July 25, 1610: "Many scandals are being whispered about the Court concerning the young Countess of Essex. Some say that by her father's uncle, my L. of Northampton, she was set on to catch the eye of the Prince, and that he had her virginity and enjoyed her. Others that she is in secret the mistress of the favourite Robert Carr. On a time at a masque, the Lady having dropped her glove, a courtier thinking to please the Prince picked it up and pre-

sented it to him, who replied that he scorned it since it had been stretched by another. It is notorious that there is little love between the Prince and Carr, whom once he threatened to have stricken with his racket when they were playing tennis" (216). Here Harrison appears to draw upon Sir Walter Scott, ed., ***Secret History of James the First***, 1811, ii: 239, and Arthur Wilson, ***The History of Great Britain***, 1653, 56. However, both E. C. Wilson, a more serious scholar from an earlier generation, and David Lindley, a more sympathetic and more *politically correct* modern scholar, have reservations about passing judgment on Howard. As Lindley, who becomes her apologist, cautions, "hypotheses about Frances Howard's affair with the Prince and her more general promiscuity are demonstrably built on shaky factual ground" (***Trials*** 67). Lindley looks for *truth*, and subjecting the puritan historians he reads to intense scrutiny, he finds no contemporary supporting evidence for their claims. As a result, he largely discards their work as fabrication. Still though, one must ask if it is not just the case that *the truth* had been earlier suppressed, thus existing only as oral rumours which left no trace in contemporary sources. For literary and political purposes, the *truth* of such hypothetical rumours, if indeed these narrative texts existed, is perhaps irrelevant — as Paul Strohm has suggested, "a text can be powerful without being true" ("Saving the Appearances," 27).

13. Anthony Weldon, ***The Court and Character of King James***, London, 1817, 27, qtd. in Strong.

14. Williams actually argues that Anne "refused to go to the wedding" (166). While this state of affairs is not at all improbable, Williams' argument is unsubstantiated and may not be trustworthy, particularly as she seems to muddle the details of Princess Elizabeth's wedding with those of Somerset's. She states: "Queen Anne looked with distaste on the wedding. She believed in decency and decorum, and there was neither in Lady Essex's divorce. So she refused to go to the wedding and was thankful when Court mourning for Prince Henry caused it to be postponed" (166). Henry died November 12, 1612, and Frances Howard finally obtained her divorce on September 25, 1613, long after the official period of mourning was over. It was Princess Elizabeth's marriage on February 14, 1613, that had been delayed, and it was this wedding that Anne had refused to attend either because of poor health and/or, as some believe, because she felt Elizabeth to be marrying below her station. Chamberlain offers circumstantial evidence, however, that Anne was not fully swayed by the Howards until November and that the marriage of Frances was postponed, not because Anne refused to attend it, but rather because she finally agreed to endorse it; see ch. 3, p. 94, herein.

15. On February 11, 1613, Chamberlain reports that "The Lady of Bedford lies in weake case (and they say) drawing on" (Chamberlain to Carleton, London, February 11, 1613, ***State Papers Domestic Series, Jacobean I*** lxxii: 26, ***Letters of John Chamberlain*** 1: 422). He does not report her return to court until August 1 (Chamberlain to Carleton, Ware Park, August 1, 1613, ***State Papers Domestic Series, Jacobean I*** lxxiv: 49, ***Letters of John Chamberlain*** 1: 470).

16. London, February 10, 1613, ***Winwood Papers***, vol. viii, Letters ***of John Chamberlain*** 1: 419.

17. London, April 29, 1613, ***State Papers Domestic Series, Jacobean I*** lxxii: 120, ***Letters of John Chamberlain*** 1: 441. Chamberlain continues at great length with a discussion of the received story of Overbury's fall, explaining that Overbury was presented with offers of diplomatic postings on the continent but had refused them in a manner that offended James thus causing the king to have Overbury committed to the Tower. Chamberlain's story was the official story, and it seems to have been true, at least as far as it went. In the larger picture, however, it appears that Northampton had contrived the offering of the postings and that Carr had counseled Overbury to refuse them. If Overbury were in the Tower only for having refused the appointments, it is not

likely that he would have been placed under close arrest, an action which prohibited him from communication with anyone except those who had arranged his imprisonment.

18. Ibid. 444-45. This event was only a temporary setback for the divorce proceedings. It was also rumoured, later, that Essex's alleged impotence was caused by preparations administered to him by Frances in an effort to escape his sexual advances.

19. Ibid. 446. It should be noted that persons unaligned and members of rival factions were present as well. Chamberlain adds: "She [Anne] is attended by the Countesse of Darbie the Lord Chancellor's wife [Ellesmere's wife], The Countesse of Dorset, and divers other Ladies and noble-men, amoung whom the Lord Davers is a diligent attendant" (Ibid.).

20. ***Reliquiæ Wottonianæ***, 1672, 408, qtd. in Rimbault, "The Life of Sir Thomas Overbury" xlvii.

21. London, May 6, 1613, ***Winwood Papers***, vol. ix, ***Letters of John Chamberlain*** 1: 450.

22. Given the fees paid for other entertainments, Campion may have been paid as much as £40 or £50 or more for writing the text and (possibly) the music for ***The Caversham Entertainment*** (See ch. 2, n. 9, herein.), and there would have been innumerable other costs to the Knollys's and the Howards, as well. From Campion's description, it seems that there were twenty-seven roles in the entertainment, including those of the eight non-professional "maskers." Of the remaining nineteen roles, as many as nine may have been filled by professional entertainers because of the demands these parts presented — acting, singing, dancing, musical accompaniment, and combinations thereof. Even if logistics allowed the possibility of some performers assuming more than one role, there was still the cost of twenty-seven elaborate costumes — William Cecil, for his role in Campion's later ***Somerset Masque***, was to pay £5 for his head dress and £20 for the embroidery on his costume; the price of the costume itself is unknown (See ch. 2, n. 47, herein.). In addition, ***The Caversham Entertainment*** seems to have required the services of a large number of musicians and possibly three extra singers who performed out of sight — a single musician, if not indentured, might expect as much as £6.13s.4d. for a performance in a masque (See ch. 2, n. 9, herein.) — perhaps even more if travel outside of London was involved. Campion also notes that "because some wet had fallen that day in the forenoone (though the Garden-walks were made artificially smooth and drie) yet all her [Anne's] footway was spred with broad cloth" (***Works***, ed. Davis, 239) — this cloth would have added considerably to the expenses. There would also have been the cost of feeding and lodging Anne, her train, and other guests, as well as any imported performers. One of the characters, the "Traveller," mentions "this Feast, whereof we have had our share" (Ibid. 243), although Campion relates that it was "the Queenes pleasure . . . that night to suppe privately" (Ibid. 242). And as already noticed, Chamberlain reports that the value of the gifts presented to Anne — those beyond the *Countrie* gifts which Campion mentions, the "riche bagge with linnen in it," the "rich apron," and the "rich mantle" (Ibid. 247) — totalled £1,500 alone. It is perhaps berating the obvious to state that the entertainment was not cheap.

23. See ch. 3, page 62, herein.

24. ***Works***, Ed. Davis, 240 n. 20. Davis provides a brief stylistic analysis of the three rustics' speeches.

25. ***Coryats Crudities***, the story of his travels, was published in 1611, but it must have been circulated widely before publication, for many of the finest writers of the day contributed prefatory material to it, Campion included (***Works***, ed. Davis, 198). Davis provides a brief biography which sheds light on why Anne and her followers may have found the character hysterically funny: "Thomas Coryate (ca. 1577-1617), from whom 'The Traveller' in The Caversham

Entertainment may be drawn, was a learned and vivacious (but bumptious) member of Prince Henry's retinue; in 1608 he embarked on a walking tour of the Continent to Venice . . . . When he published a voluminous and extravagantly written account of his travels in 1611 . . ., the poets and wits, apparently at the instigation of Jonson, deluged it with a flood of more than fifty mock-complementary poems . . .; Jonson, Donne, Richard Corbet, John Hoskins, Inigo Jones, Michael Drayton, John Davies of Hereford, and John Owen were among the contributors" (Ibid. n. 7).

26. Davis in, ***The Caversham Entertainment, Works***, ed. Davis, 240 n. 20.

27. An intriguing conjecture can be made here. The Gardener's self-representation is not dissimilar to Campion's self-representation as a lady's poet, a purveyor of "fragrant phrases" — a representation which, along with other matters, may have helped him earn Jonson's abject (and misogynistic) contempt (***Jonson***, ed. Herford and Simpson, 11: 235). In closing the published account of ***The Lord Haye's Masque***, Campion offers this verse: "Neither buskin now, nor bayes / Challenge I: a Ladies prayse / Shall content my proudest hope. / Their applause was all my scope, / And to their shrines properly / Revels dedicated be: / Whose soft eares none ought to pierce / But with smooth and gentle verse" (***Works***, Ed. Davis, 228). Additionally Campion is one of the relatively few poets of the period to write extensively in female personae, and his occasionally counter-hegemonic sympathy with women's issues has garnered him the earnest praise of at least one feminist scholar; Gail Reitenbach observes: "Campion's female personae belie the 'simple' (foolish and simplistic) way men's rhetoric of love portrays them. Neither 'foule [nor] fayre,' these speakers reveal complex characters and motives that disprove the physical and moral dichotomization of womankind prevalent in Renaissance love poetry" (80). If we look for Campion in the text of the entertainment, I suggest that the Gardener is he, and if Campion participated as an actor in its performance — an event not impossible as there is evidence that he did act while at Gray's Inn — this character would likely have been his role. Moreover, if this conjecture has any substance, there is most certainly an element of good-humoured self-mockery in the presentation of the Gardener's loquaciousness — contemporary satire pegged Campion as somewhat of a chatterbox. Vivian relates that "he is referred to in the satirical poem *Of London Physic*[i]*ons* found in the MS. poetical commonplace-book of a Cambridge student (date about 1611), the allusion running : — [¶] How now Doctor Champion, music and poesies stout / Champion, / Will you never leave prating?" (xl; for typographic reasons I have expanded the contraction in the poem's title).

28. It is hoped that my insertion of a comma here clarifies Tillyard's sentence. Either Tillyard or his editors disliked commas, and they are used throughout his book somewhat oversparingly.

29. It should be noted that Aasand, with a particular *axe of correctness* to grind, presents what is perhaps an excessively bleak monochromatic portrait of an impotent queen attempting self-representation through the medium of Jonson's ***The Masque of Blackness***. However, ***if*** there is a problem with this portrayal, it is only in the narrow scope of its examination, a scope which requires a major truncation of data, which in turn leads to a somewhat simplified interpretation of Anne's status (body parts that don't fit in the bed have been lopped off, or so it seems). Nonetheless, Aasand's provocative article is highly recommended. It is both interesting and informative, and *the evidence it presents* is, as far as can be ascertained, entirely sound. However, if one is concerned about matters of perspective and complexity, the article should be accompanied by a reading of Barroll's more widely informed, but equally revisionist, scholarship. In Barroll's portraiture, Anne, while frustrated at her political marginalization, was a figure of major social and cultural power. As Barroll argues, "with . . . [Anne's] accession a number of powerful countesses and their husbands, high-ranking earls, came to reside in or around the court for the first time; many of these nobles, of both sexes, had been strong patrons of the arts. It was, in fact,

the countesses with Queen Anna who sponsored and enacted the masques Ben Jonson is so often said to have written for King James. Because traditional study of the reign of James has not been a study of the powerful women who were part of the scene, because our interpretations of these years have been skewed in patriarchially inclined directions, our efforts at a new historicism may have overlooked an obvious source of power and patronage that may even have extended into the drama presented at court" ("New History" 463-64). Barrol's *Anna* is a potent cultural force, a presence to be wooed, flattered, and catered to. By contrast, it is highly unlikely that the Howards or anyone else would have bothered to attempt the political seduction of Aasand's Queen Anne.

30. Aasand is discussing Anne's reception in Bristol during the same *progress* that brought the Queen to Caversham; the often quoted passage — "I never knew I was a queen [sic: Queen] until I come [sic: came] to Bristol" (Aasand 278; taken from E. C. Williams 163) — is presented as evidence of Anne's "sincere appreciation."

31. Here, we may have an indication of the time frame which Campion had to work in. Chamberlain reports that Anne did not agree to support the marriage until November and that this caused the wedding to be postponed until December so that its celebrations could be moved to Whitehall; see ch. 3, p. 94, herein. Campion must have had something in the works for the November date, but he was given, perhaps, only a month and a half to incorporate Anne into the masque script. The problems experienced with the stage machinery may also be the result of a rushed job. There is also perhaps an indication here that Ben Jonson's ***Irish Masque***, one of Jonson's least "literary" masques and one that required no stage props or elaborate costumes, may have not been planned for the November date and may have been a very late addition to the celebrations.

32. See ch. 1, p. 21.

33. Chamberlain to Carleton, London, June 10, 1613, ***State Papers Domestic Series, Jacobean I*** lxxiv: 1, ***Letters of John Chamberlain*** 1: 456.

34. Chamberlain to Winwood, London, June 10, 1613, ***Winwood Papers*** vol. ix, ***Letters of John Chamberlain*** 1: 458.

35. Ibid. 459.

36. Chamberlain to Carleton, London, June 23, 1613, ***State Papers Domestic Series, Jacobean I*** lxxiv: 10, ***Letters of John Chamberlain*** 1: 461. The exceedingly cryptic nature of the comment which follows immediately here and which seems entirely out of any context indicates perhaps a desire on Chamberlain's part to hide its meaning from anyone other than Carleton; the sentence seems completely unrelated to the next topic of the letter, and so it may (or may not) be part of the discussion of the Essex divorce. Chamberlain continues: "Once our frends busines for ought I can learne goes backward, and I begin to despaire every day more and more, yet they at home seeme confident still, and will not yeeld nor abate any part of theyre hopes, but for my part I learned a song when I was a litle one, (which I cannot forget,) that blessed is the wooing that is not long a dooing" (Ibid.). With the factional allegiances of Chamberlain's friends, it is not impossible that there some coded political message here regarding Abbot's obstruction of the proceedings, Chamberlain perhaps hoping that Carr's *wooing* will not be *blessed* if it is *long a dooing*.

37. Chamberlain to Carleton, London, July 8, 1613, ***State Papers Domestic Series, Jacobean I*** lxxiv: 26, ***Letters of John Chamberlain*** 1: 463.

38. Gardiner, ***History*** 2: 356-61. See also ch. 1, p. 18, and ch. 1, n. 36, herein.

39. Chamberlain to Carleton, London, October 14, 1613, ***State Papers Domestic Series, Jacobean I*** lxxiv: 86, ***Letters of John Chamberlain*** 1: 478. See also Chamberlain to Carleton, London, September 19, 1613, ***State Papers Domestic Series, Jacobean I*** lxxiv: 56, ***Letters of John Chamberlain*** 1: 474-75: here, Chamberlain reports on the unpleasantness of the stalled hearings; he also recounts that Essex and young Henry Howard, Frances's brother, were to duel, all arrangements having been made, and that James was desperately trying to intercede.

40. Chamberlain to Carleton, London, October 27, 1613, ***State Papers Domestic Series, Jacobean I*** lxxiv: 89, ***Letters of John Chamberlain*** 1: 481.

41. Chamberlain to Carleton, London, November 11, 1613, ***State Papers Domestic Series, Jacobean I*** lxxv: 4, ***Letters of John Chamberlain*** 1: 485.

42. Chamberlain to Carleton, London, November 25, 1613, ***State Papers Domestic Series, Jacobean I*** lxxv: 28, ***Letters of John Chamberlain*** 1: 487.

CHAPTER 4

1613-1615: THE SHIP GOES DOWN

It is not known when Campion was contracted to write the wedding masque for Carr and Howard. Definite marriage plans cannot have been made until after September 25, when the divorce was granted, but with James's earlier support providing a sense of optimism, the Howards may have formed tentative plans as early as the time of ***The Caversham Entertainment*** when they were soliciting Queen Anne's support, perhaps even before. It also not certain who hired Campion, but presumably he was contacted by Sir Thomas Monson or Theophilus Howard. There seem to be no clear records of who paid for the masque, and although Chamberlain indicates above that James offered to assume most of the expenses, we also have evidence that in connection with the masque Campion received money from William Cecil.[1] E. K. Chambers also adds:

> I am not quite clear whether the costs of this mask, as well as of Jonson's ***Irish Mask***, fell on the Exchequer. Chamberlain's notice of 25 Nov. . . . is not conclusive. Reyher, 523,[2] assigns most of the financial documents to the ***Irish Mask***, but an account of the Works for an arch and pilasters to the Lords' masque; and a payment to Meredith Morgan in Sept. 1614 (*S. P. D. Jac. I*, lxxvii.92), which he does not cite, appears from the Calendar to be for more than one mask. The ***Irish Mask*** needed no costly scenery. (***Stage*** 3: 247)

However, given the occasion, its political importance, and its participants, the greatest likelihood is that the Howard family, particularly Suffolk and

Northampton, together with their allies, were involved in the entertainment's financing. Limon even suggests that Queen Anne herself may have been one of the masque's sponsors (***Masque*** 175), and his suggestion seems quite probable if one modifies it to read *one of the masque's **final** sponsors*. Anne had been most delighted with ***The Caversham Entertainment***.

For Campion, the composition of ***The Somerset Masque*** would present greater challenges than any experienced with ***The Caversham Entertainment***. A performance at court in front of the political elite of the nation, as well as foreign dignitaries, would have much greater import. There would be a larger number of interested (and sometimes contrary) hands involved in the arranging of the masque event, and Campion would become a literary juggler struggling to keep all interests aloft. First and foremost he would have to venerate the king — his person, position and power — a ball which, as we shall see, Campion fumbles. He would also have to address the general subject of heterosexual marriage, a thorny issue because of Carr's relationships with James and Overbury and because of Anne's resentment of James's male favourites. He would also have to celebrate the specific occasion of the marriage itself, cleansing the relationship between Carr and Howard of the scandals that had preceded it — these principally being the divorce and Carr's abandonment of his friend Overbury, but not Overbury's murder itself, since there is little or no contemporary evidence that many people understood that he had been killed, never mind that his death was a result of his threat to Carr and Howard. Beyond a general discussion of marriage, Campion would also have to signify the changes in political allegiances that the match entailed. Carr's relationship with his wife would alter that with

James as it would also alter those with other court factions. Queen Anne's support would have to be demonstrated, as well, and because of this support her wishes would have to be accommodated in the final composition of the masque, forcing Campion dangerously close to an open criticism of James's sexuality and mockery of his kingship. In addition to all this, there was another very immediate and important political item on Northampton's agenda which Campion would have to contend with; it was the problem of naval reform, an issue which, although it long predated Francis Howard's divorce and remarriage plans, was again active in 1613.[3] Associated with this particular question were matters of national security, maritime sovereignty, international relations and trade, and colonial power — and perhaps also related was the difficulty occasioned in 1613 by Sir John Digby's discovery of Admiral Sir William Monson's receipts of Spanish money.[4] It seems certain that, when the time came for Campion to begin writing ***The Somerset Masque***, Northampton's concerns about the navy provided him with its basic framework.

In 1613, the navy was in a complete shambles, and since Northampton, Robert Carr, and Sir Robert Cotton (and possibly also Sir William Monson and Suffolk) were involved in the 1613 push to reshape the navy's administration,[5] it is not likely a coincidence that Campion's masque draws attention to both England's dependence on marine transportation and its potential isolation, should that transportation be hazarded. The masque's simple plot is that foreign visitors are unable to attend Carr and Howard's wedding celebrations because of dangers at sea (caused by enchantments), and at its climax/resolution, where, if it were conforming to a standard masque paradigm, it should offer a vision of

some higher neo-Platonist *truth*, the masque merely presents its audience with what appears to be a hard mundane reality — a portrait of the banks of the Thames at London where ordinary sailors are embarking on and disembarking from ships — the Thames, ships, and sailors, all the means of England's trade wealth, its national security, and its colonial power. For an island nation, the masque signifies the importance of maintaining a mastery of the sea.

To solidify this argument about ***The Somerset Masque***, it is helpful to consider the history of both the navy's decline and the struggle for its reform. The navy was, as Peck observes, "the largest department of government next to the royal Households above and below stairs" (***Court*** 107), and it had become exceedingly costly:

> The navy expanded in numbers of officials, the size of its budget and its shipbuilding activities after the accession of James I to the English throne.[6] In a time of peace, the navy spent more than it had during the protracted war with Spain. Annual costs of wages, victuals, cordage at home and in sea service had swollen to £53,004. . . .[7] Wages paid for little or no work, poor provisions such as the bad cordage for which £18,000 was paid to the Muscovy Company in 1609 alone, exorbitant prices for canvas, line, oil, tar and rosin, light scales and heavy books (both of which worked to the merchant's advantage), recording more than supplied: venality marked naval administration. (Ibid. 111)

Ships were poorly maintained, few were seaworthy, and ordinary seamen often went without pay,[8] and this decline did not go unnoticed by foreign observers:

> In the days of Elizabeth Venetian ambassadors were wont to speak of the activity of the English at sea in flattering terms. Towards the end of James I's reign[, however,] this was the report: 'For the [sic] sixteen years he has been King of England, they have never knocked a nail into any of the royal [sic] ships, nor [sic] so much as thought of such things.' (Lloyd 36)[9]

In fairness to James, though, Peck rightly asserts that "the difficulties of the navy were not created by . . . [him]: he inherited them. The royal navy had begun to deteriorate in the 1590's" (***Northampton*** 153). Nonetheless, there was some culpability on James's part, and Oppenheim is particularly hard in his judgment of him:

> And [in 1618] had not Buckingham [James's male favourite after the fall of Carr] desired to be Lord Admiral, we have no reason to suppose that James I would have seen any cause for interference merely on behalf of seamen who were starved and robbed, or of the English people whose chief defense was being destroyed, and whose money went to enrich a ring of thieves. (***Administration*** 215)

Still though, as Rodger argues, the root of the problem seems to have been Nottingham, "the last of the mediaeval [Lord] Admirals."[10]

The history of attempts at correction was lengthy and fractious. Robert Cecil and Northampton had long fought for the reform of the nation's administration and finances (partly out of self-interest as well as altruism), but one of Northampton's particular passions was the navy — a passion which again and again put him at odds with Nottingham and his clients (Peck, ***Northampton***; ***Court***) and which may even have pitted him against Cecil on occasion (Sharpe 119).[11] The intra-factional struggle between Nottingham and the reform-minded Robert Cecil and his allies likely began in the late 1590's. Campion's friend, Fulke Greville, was appointed Treasurer of the Navy in 1598, and he was probably preferred to the position by Cecil since he seems to have sought Cecil's patronage.[12] And as Peck notes, "Complaints about corruption were voiced by . . . Greville . . . and John Coke who served as his assistant in 1602/3" (***Court*** 117). However, Greville's attempts at reform proved ineffectual, though probably

through no fault of his own, since even Northampton at the height of his political powers would prove almost as impotent. Greville was finally removed from office in the reorganization after James's accession, and his replacement was Sir Robert Mansell (Mansfeld, Mansfelt), one of Nottingham's favourites.[13] Under Mansell's financial stewardship problems in the navy became much worse, and Oppenheim asserts that "Mansell . . . was an incapable and dishonest administrator, . . . and the greater portion of . . . [his term of office, 1604 - 1618,] is practically a record of his unfitness" (***Administration*** 189).

Before 1613, two organized attempts at large scale cleanup were mounted, one in 1602 and one in 1608. The first seems to have been prompted by Greville's complaints, but "its leadership was entrusted to the leading naval officers" (Peck, ***Northampton*** 153), and thus its outcome was so dismally predictable that it requires absolutely no comment.[14] By 1608 the extent and magnitude of the corruption had reached an unprecedented excess, and as Oppenheim recounts,

> the scandal . . . was so great as to compel inquiry, whether the determining cause was the contrivance of Sir Robert Cotton or of others.[15] A commission was issued to the Earls of Nottingham and Northampton, Lord Zouch, Sir Ed. Wotton, Sir Julius Cæsar, Cotton, and others, of whom only Nottingham was an experienced seaman, and he never attended their meetings.[16] The sittings of the commission extended from May 1608 until June 1609 ; they commenced with an 'elegant' speech from the Earl of Northampton, a voluminous report was compiled, and the only punishment the culprits experienced was that of suffering 'an oration' from James, in which he trusted that the guilty persons would behave better in the future, and with that patient and saintly hope the proceedings ended. (***Administration*** 193)

Of course there was no *better behaviour*. If anything James's patience and saintliness seems to have been taken as tacit consent for the continuance of the malversation, and at an escalating rate, the navy degenerated even further.

In an effort to make James's apparent apathy and inertness comprehensible, N. A. M. Rodger offers an analysis of the civil service subculture of Jacobean England, an examination which explains the difficulties that all attempts at naval reform would encounter:

> It may seem incredible to modern readers that such corruption could be tolerated. Certainly, even then, a line was drawn between honest and dishonest profits from office. It was drawn with difficulty and hesitation, but contemporaries were in no doubt that Mansell and [Sir John] Trevor [the Surveyor of the Navy, and another Nottingham client] were abusing their trust. Their security of tenure — in an age when civil servants were almost as difficult to remove as now — derived from two circumstances in which the early Stuart administration faithfully followed its predecessors. All "civil servants", even the most junior, were in some sense political — that is, they derived their offices from personal contact, favours done and granted or pressure brought to bear. The idea of promotion on merit was almost unknown.[17] So long as the conditions which had brought a man to office continued to operate, his tenure was safe, however well or ill he conducted himself. Even if his patrons died or lost favour, he was still secure in the enjoyment of what was unquestionably regarded as a piece of property. Offices were bought and sold, bargained, inherited, mortgaged and bequeathed like any other property. It was hardly easier to dismiss an official for misconduct that [sic] to dispossess a landowner for inefficiency in the management of his estates. At worst, a man might be compelled to sell or otherwise relinquish his office — suitably compensated, of course.[18]

Still though, by 1608 the abuses of trust by the naval administration were so extraordinary that James could have had at least Mansell and Trevor removed from office and thrown in the Tower — that is if he had possessed the political will

to deal with the fallout that would ensue. He might even have been able to dislodge Nottingham from his position as Lord Admiral by employing some combination of threats and compensation, but as was often the case he avoided the confrontation that such action would have required.

The condition of the navy left England open to great dangers, and these had been growing since the 1590's. At risk was sovereignty over coastal waters: the Dutch could and did harass Spanish shipping in British territory and were perhaps only inconvenienced by the ill equipped British navy (this was the primary source of the Dutch and William Monson's mutual hatred); they could and did dominate England's coastal fisheries (an area where Monson was again in conflict with Dutch interests); in fact, "the Dutch regarded the [North Sea] fisheries as the foundation of their shipping, prosperity, and power; our [British] statesmen and economists considered the rapid expansion of the Dutch fishing fleets as a menace to the wealth and strength of England" (Marcus 124). And unlike the British, who were hampered by the outrageous costs of corruption and innumerable monopoly patents, the Dutch, operating from the base of this industry, were also able to exploit markets for international marine cargo shipping.[19] British colonial interests were also greatly hazarded; all colonial powers depended upon naval force, and there was great rivalry for the wealth that colonial possessions provided. In addition, there were menacing rumours of a new league of nautically-minded militant Catholic nations who had an interest in Ireland. And finally, to make matters worse, piracy was everywhere rampant around the country; it has been suggested that between "1609 and 1616 the Algerines [alone] had captured 466 British ships and reduced their crews to

slavery" (Oppenheim, ***Administration*** 198),[20] this in addition to their occasional slaving raids on English coastal villages. Christopher D. Penn relates that "in December, 1609, the Earl of Northampton had uttered loud complaints against Nottingham's neglect in suppressing piracy" (23), and that James, in a typically ineffectual manner, attempted in 1612 to "persuade the pirates to cease their depredations, by granting universal pardon to all those who were English subjects" (25).[21] But of course nothing of a practical nature was done to remedy the decline of the navy, and as noted above, the investigations of 1608 were fruitless.

By 1613, the condition of the navy had worsened again to such an extent that Cotton, with Northampton and Robert Carr behind him, called for yet "another inquiry" (Oppenheim, ***Administration*** 194) — this joint effort being one of the first indications of the new friendship between Carr and Northampton. Of the investigation that was launched, the situation that prompted it, and the failure it experienced, Penn offers a fairly detailed overview and analysis, one that merits quotation at length:

> The Navy had now fallen into so precarious a state that all shipping in 1613 was stayed till the Lady Elizabeth [the princess] had left the kingdom, and such was "the decay of navigation, that 2,500 mariners cannot be furnished without much ado."[22] Such humiliation was intensely galling to the King's pride. His own daughter could scarcely leave the kingdom as a Royal bride without showing the feebleness of "the bulwark of the nation," and the Elector [Frederick, Elector Palatine, Elizabeth's husband] had the mortification of noting the contrast between the well-manned, well-victualled Dutch fleet that met him as he proceeded to Holland, and the weak squadron that had escorted him from England's shores. In June, 1613, Nottingham's adversaries succeeded at last in getting the upper hand, and James was persuaded into ordering a commission to be appointed for inquiring into naval abuses. Frauds and malversation of the most damning nature were dis-

> covered, and Mansell, in order to save himself from ruin, urged [James] Whitelocke [his lawyer] to take exception to the commission. This was done in a most contemptuous manner, Whitelocke even going as far as to attack the King's prerogative, "for which he stands charged, as does Sir Robert [Mansell], for seeking undutifully to oppose His Majesty's proceedings."[23] James, ever mindful of his personal dignity, angrily ordered them to be incarcerated in the Tower.[24]
>
> But the party of corrupt officials which rallied round Nottingham was too powerful to be shaken, even though suspected by James himself, and an abject submission, coupled with the most ignominious confession of their misdeeds by the culprits, sufficed to induce the King to grant them pardon. Mansell and his guilty associate were reinstated in their former offices. . . . .
>
> The work of the Commission had proved an utter farce. The "cipher" [Nottingham] and his obsequious followers continued their malpractices. . . . . The King had already lost £100,000 since the commission was appointed . . . . The merchants in earnest supplication send their petition to the Council but "it is impossible to redress abuses in the Navy, whilst the pay is so much in arrear that the wives and children of the sailors are hardly kept from making outcries at the gate."[25] And all this time the pirates were harassing the British shores with their renewed depredations, the cry from Ireland and elsewhere for naval assistance remained unheard, and . . . [Nottingham's client, Mansell,] was free once more to dip into funds assigned for the maintenance of the Royal Navy, and to enrich himself at the expense of the nation's one and only safeguard.[26] (26-28)

The issues at hand were probably quite public, for sporadic reports on fractious events involving Northampton and naval officers, before and during the inquiry of 1613, appear in the letters of Chamberlain (often the same letters discussing Overbury and the Essex divorce). On February 10, he recounts to Winwood: "Sir William St. John a sea-man, that was to be one of our chief commaunders in this freshwater fight [a mock battle on the Thames as part of the

celebrations of princess Elizabeth's wedding], is committed to the Fleet for replieng somwhat roundly to a lie (as I heare) geven him at the counsaile table by the earle of Northampton;"[27] the next day he informs Carleton of the news adding that "Sir Robert Mansell is [now] cheife commaunder" of the naval display.[28] On the actual occasion of the mock battle, Nottingham commanded the fleet opposing Mansell's (Laughton, "Mansell, Sir Robert"). On June 10, Chamberlain wrote to both Winwood and Carleton, and in the letter to the former he states:

> Sir Robert Maunsell hath ben in the Marshalsee this fortnight for animating the Lord Admiral against a commission geven to review and reforme the disorders committed by the officers of the navie: and Whitlocke the lawier is in the Fleet for two causes, first for speaking too boldly against the authoritie of the marshall-court, and then for geving his opinion that this commission was not according to law, though he gave but in privat to his client, and not under his hand.[29]

If Chamberlain knew of the problems, Campion, who was a friend of Sir William Monson's brother, Thomas, and who was at the time a direct client of the Howard family, cannot possibly have been unaware of the severity of the situation.

Indeed, Campion's masque for the marriage of Robert Carr forces a consideration of the naval controversy. Its stage setting immediately presents the audience with a marine vista, perhaps a stylized view of Britain's isolation from the "mayne Land" of the continent:

> *On the upper part* [of the scene formed by the stage, the closed curtain and the "*Arch Triumphall*"] *there was formed a Skye with Clowdes very arteficially shadowed. On either side of the Sceane belowe was set a high Promontory, and on either of them stood three large pillars of golde ; the one Promontory was bounded with a Rocke standing in the*

> *Sea, the other with a Wood. In the midst betweene appeared a Sea in perspective with ships, some cunningly painted, some arteficially sayling. On the front of the Sceane, on either side, was a beautiful garden, with sixe seates a peece to receave the Maskers ; behind them the mayne Land, and in the middest a paire of stayres made exceeding curiously in the form of a Schalop shell.* (268-69)

The importance of the ships here is established by the sudden entrance of four squires who have come to request the king's assistance — "Then pardon (Sacred Majestie) our griefe / Unreasonably that presseth for reliefe" (269) — and to relate the tale of their misfortunes:

> Great Honors Herrald, *Fame*, having Proclaym'd
> This Nuptiall feast, and with all enflam'd,
> From every quarter of the earth three Knights
> (In Courtship seene, as well as Martiall fights)
> Assembled in the Continent, and there
> Decreed this night A solemne Service here.
> For which, by sixe and sixe embarqu'd they were
> In several Keeles; their Sayles for *Britaine* bent.
> But (they that never favour'd good intent)
> Deformed *Errour*, that enchaunting fiend,
> And wing-toungu'd *Rumor*, his infernall friend,
> With *Curiositie* and *Credulitie*,
> Both Sorceresses, all in hate agree
> Our purpose to divert . . . . (269-70)

The squires continue their story, explaining that, although they themselves have escaped *Error* and his conspirators, six of their twelve knights remain at sea, trapped there by an enchantment-created "Tempest" which has raised "serpents" from the deep, and that the six other knights, having been transported to land by Providence, were there transformed into "Pillars all of golde / Faire to our eyes, but woful to beholde" (270). The story of their troubles ends with a direct appeal to James:

> But, o, protect us [squires and knights] now, Majesticke Grace,
> For see, those curst Enchanters presse in place

That our past sorrowes wrought: these, these alone
Turne all the world into confusion. (Ibid.)

With this plea, the opening scene ends, and the anti-masque, performed in pantomime, begins as the "*Enchanters*" and "*Enchantresses*" (Error, Rumor, Curiosity, and Credulity) suddenly "*appeare*" (271).

Taken in the context of the 1613 naval controversy and the inquiry initiated by Northampton and Carr, the masque's opening scene, together with its stage setting, presents James with a fairly direct entreaty to act upon the country's real maritime problems — to reform the chaos and confusion — to put an end to the hazards in British waters. For there was, indeed, a tempest of sorts all around the nation's coast. Sir William Monson, the brother of Campion's main patron, was responsible for protecting traffic in the Narrow Seas, the very area where the masque's hapless knights were beset by the "Tempest" and its "serpents." He was also responsible for ferrying foreign dignitaries and princely visitors, such as the masque's knights, but he was hindered in the performance of his duties by the condition of the navy,[30] and perhaps also by the *error, rumour, curiousity,* and *credulity* brought about by Sir John Digby's discovery earlier in 1613 of his receipts of Spanish money.

It must also be remembered here that there had been concerns in April about the safety of Princess Elizabeth's crossing of the Channel. Chamberlain related to Carleton on March 25 that "Here is a generall stay [for almost three weeks] of all shipping that none may go foorth till the Lady Elizabeth be gon which shewes a great penurie and decay of navigation that they cannot provide 2500 mariners to furnish eight or nine of the Kings ships without all this ado and noise."[31] And while Nottingham had taken charge of this operation, it seems that

even the Lord High Admiral himself had trouble mustering a fleet adequate for the occasion.

The masque's opening scene also contains a goad against James's inert and cowardly avoidance of his self-defined responsibilities as the patriarch and protector of the nation.[32] With its linking of stranded travellers, enchantments, and marriage, it is very strongly reminiscent of the story of James's own wedding, an episode from his personal mythology/history in which he not only *did* act but did so with an almost foolhardy courage. As King James VI of Scotland, he married the Danish princess Anna by proxy in the late summer of 1589,[33] and on September 1, Anne, now uncrowned Queen of Scotland, left Denmark with a fleet under the command of the Danish Admiral Peter Munk. The convoy, however, was set upon by intensely violent storms, and its passage was blocked. Bingham recounts that, when Anne did not arrive in Scotland, James was deeply disturbed, and she draws attention to an account written by William Ashby on September 24:

> The King, as a true lover, wholly passionate and half out of patience with the wind and weather, is troubled that he hath been so long without intelligence of the fleet and thinketh every day a year till he see his joy and love approach.[34]

In Scotland the weeks continued to pass, and still there was no news of Anne's fleet. On October 8, James wrote a rather romantic letter to his new bride:

> Only to one who knows me as well as his own reflection in a glass could I express, my dearest love, the fears which I have experienced because of the contrary winds and the violent storms since you embarked, the more especially since the arrival here of some ships which put to sea after your own and came without word of you. My resultant anguish, and the fear which ceaselessly pierces

> my heart, has driven me to despatch a messenger to seek for you, both to bring me news of you and to give you the same of me.[35]

This letter, however, did not reach Anne before James received the news of what had happened, for as Williams relates, only two days later "on 10 October a Danish ship, battered and storm-tossed, arrived from Norway bringing letters from Queen Anne with details of her terrible voyage" (17). Williams also presents a contemporary report of the ship's arrival:

> *One Stephen Beale, a Dane . . ., brought letter from the young Queen and from such Councillors and great men about her, and they were all indeed tragical discourses, pitiful, for the said Queen was in extreme danger of drowning; in her own ship a cannon brake and slew eight men afore her, and shook the ship that hardly could keep her above water, but with extreme labour; and being a ten huge ships, they were all brosed and weather-beaten, that having taken a Sound in Norway twenty miles within the land, they abode there and dare not stir because such is the preciseness of the Danish commissions determined in Council that they dare not bring the young Queen hither, what wind soever they have, with fewer ships than they brought out; and eleven of the great ships are gone home to repair being lightened of their heavy ordinance, so there is but five small ships with the Queen, who lies in a miserable place for victual or any good thing; and they have been seven weeks at sea, and twice or thrice, within sixty miles of their coast, and yet driven back again.*[36]

There was also talk that the storms were caused by witchcraft (a subject which interested James greatly) — Admiral Munk, a highly experienced seaman, claimed never to have seen weather of such extreme brutality — not even the most urgent prayers of the ships' priests had any dampening effect whatsoever on its intensity — and Munk remembered that before sailing he had quarrelled with a man in Copenhagen, "whose wife was a notable witch" (Williams 17). The conclusions drawn were sadly predictable, and their consequences, as we shall see, would prove tragic. James, who was without naval resources or the

money to raise any, quickly accepted the offer of a ship from Sir John Maitland, who was attempting to regain the king's favour. Maitland also offered to sail the ship to Norway in order to rescue the Queen, but James, against all prudent advice to the contrary,

> suddenly resolved that he would undertake the voyage himself. It was a familiar story to him that his grandfather James V had sailed to France and brought home his first Queen, Madeleine de Valois. [sic: ,] the daughter of François I. It would be a regal gesture to emulate the earlier James's voyage, and a chivalrous one to rescue his bride from the dangers of the sea. (Bingham, ***James VI*** 118)

Through the oncoming winter, James made his way across the North Sea to Norway and found Anne. The royal couple then travelled south to Denmark, mostly by land. James and Anne could not leave for Scotland immediately, though, for the requisites of a state visit had first to be fulfilled, and then there was of course the *necessity* of an inquisition of witches — Melville notes that "the confessioun of sindre of them [was heard], when they wer burnt."[37] When the weather finally allowed, the royal couple sailed from Kronenburg, departing on April 21, 1590, and with his Queen safe beside him, James triumphantly arrived at Leith on May 1.

The Somerset Masque's initial scene is almost certainly an echoing of these events — the occasion of marriage, the enchantment, the storm, and the stranded seafarers are all too similar. Moreover, the reference to Venus formed by the "*curiously*" formed "*Schalop shell*" stair case on the stage fits as well into the mythology of Anne and James as it does into the present celebration of Carr and Howard's marriage, a relationship unusual in their social class in that at the personal level (separate from the larger interests of the Howard family) it was

primarily based upon love and sexual passion rather than the transference of money, land and honours. Like the beautiful young Anne, Venus/Aphrodite also came from the sea to an island. Hesiod recounts that, carried on the sea,

> first she [Aphrodite] was brought to holy Cythera, and then from there she came to sea-girt Cyprus. And she emerged a dread and beautiful goddess and grass rose under her slender feet. Gods and men call her Aphrodite, and the foam-born goddess because she grew amid the foam, and Cythera of the beautiful crown because she came to Cythera, and Cyprogenes because she arose in Cyprus washed by the waves. She is called Philommedes (genital-loving) because she arose from the genitals,[38] Eros attended her and beautiful desire followed her when she was born and when she first went into the company of the gods. From the beginning she has this honor, and among men and the immortal gods she wins as her due the whispers of girls, smiles, deceits, sweet pleasure, and the gentle delicacy of love.[39]

Here Venus is a goddess of vegetation and eroticism, and there are similar thematic resonances in ***The Caversham Entertainment***, where Anne is associated with both Venus and Flora — the Gardener bringing forth vegetation under the command of Flora, Venus and Anne — "I make sweet walkes for faire Ladies; Flowers I prepare to adorne them; close Arbours I build wherein their Loves unseene may court them" (243). In ***The Somerset Masque***, Venus becomes an important figure, only alluded to, but possessing the ultimate transformative power, the power to instigate the consummation of the marriage, an act which in microcosm, like dancing, represents the discordia-concors of the cosmos.[40] Indeed, the masque resolves harmoniously with a song in testament to the goddess's potency:

> Hymen doth long nights affect;
> Yeild him then his due respect.
> The Sea-borne Godesse straight will come,

> Quench these lights, and make all dombe.
> Some Sleepe; others she will call:
> And so godnight to all, godnight to all. (276)

The sexual innuendo here in the "long nights," the arrival of Venus, and the lack of sleep on the part of those called by the goddess is quite obvious and leaves no doubt as to what the newlyweds will be doing once the celebration has ended. There is yet another parallel here, for if within the masque world Venus has effected this harmonious congress, it is Anne within the social world of Jacobean England who, with her endorsement of the marriage, has effected the same. Campion also relates that song invoking the "Sea-borne Goddesse" is "*Sung while the Boates pass way*" (276), and here again Anne is linked with Venus for as we shall see it is "Bel-Anna" who has untied the "Knotted spels" of Error, Rumor, Curiosity, and Credulity, the masque's four necromancers, thus freeing the mariners that "*the Boates* [might] *pass way*" safely.

The case for associating Anne with Venus is strengthened by Cay Dollerup's observation that there is a possible "allusion to the Danish princess Anna . . . in Spenser's description of Concord and Venus's temple" in ***The Faerie Queene***, IV. x. 31 (23). Dollerup notes that Concord's head-dress "is clearly that of a Danish noblewoman" (24), and he adds further:

> It is impossible to know if Spenser referred ever so obliquely to Anna, but there are at least two slight indications in the description of Venus' temple, although they may equally well be part of the general symbolic representation: 'all the ground was strow'd with flowers as fresh as May' (37:9) might allude to the fact that Anna and James did not arrive in Scotland until May 1590, where she was then crowned on the 17th and had her 'entry' in Edinburgh on the 19th. (Ibid.)

Dollerup follows with a discussion of Anne's difficulties crossing the North Sea and then relates this discussion back to Spenser, stating that Anne's journey "might possibly be behind the tribute to Venus [¶] That with smyling looke doest pacifie / The raging seas, and makst the stormes to flie . . . (44)"[41] (Ibid.). Such a reference would not have gone unrecognized, for the story of James and Anne's adventure was well known in both Scotland and England. Dollerup points out that even Queen Elizabeth alluded to it in her letters to Anne — "after many misfortunes you have escaped the mercy of the waves."[42]

The goad which ***The Somerset Masque*** presents James is two-pronged, the first tine intended to motivate him into taking action on the issue of naval reform, braving the dangers at sea as it were, the second to make him live up to his own patriarchal mythology and repair his relationship with Anne. Much of his political rhetoric had been couched in marriage metaphors, and Anne had figured prominently in James's international agendas. Drawing on the figure of Concord, Dollerup explains:

> The idea of associating Anna with Concord is fairly easy to explain: at the political level one of James's arguments for marrying the Danish princess was that this might further his plans for setting up a league of nations of Scotland, England, Denmark, France, and the German Protestant princes against Spain.[43] And it was also argued that the marriage between Anna and James could be used for influencing Spain to open negotiations with England.[44]

In both ***The Caversham Entertainment*** and ***The Somerset Masque***, Anne is portrayed as a figure of concord who quells disorder, and in ***The Somerset Masque***'s figures of Hesperus and Venus there is perhaps a model of marital concord, a union of two-in-one. For Hesperus, the evening star, alluded to in one

of the masque's songs (273), was a stock epithet for James; however, the star itself was actually the planet Venus, and as Lindley observes, "the image of the water-borne goddess coming towards the land, fused with the arrival of the evening star, conventionally [signaled] the end of a marriage masque" (***Thomas Campion*** 220), this perhaps signifying the harmonic union of female and male elements exemplified in the royal marriage. Lindley's conclusions that

> there is no pressure behind this symbolic gesture — as there had been in ***The Lord Hay's Masque***[, and that] generally in ***The Somerset Masque*** the potential of myth is attenuated, narrowed in scope and turned into decoration (Ibid.)

must be questioned, though, for the discordia-concors of king and queen was a model for the harmony of the nation and perhaps also in a nationalistic sense for that of the world, and a repair to James and Anne's highly symbolic relationship was now possible with Robert Carr's attentions turned towards Frances Howard.

Campion's goad is also present in his cunning manipulation of masque paradigms. The stock neo-Platonist conceit lying behind most masques is that the king and his court are an analogous microcosm of the universe. Limon offers an excellent explanation of how the geometry of the masque performance space reflects this analogy and incorporates the audience into the masque world. The vanishing point created by the set on stage represents the centre of cosmic order, and this point is balanced by the position of the king.

> The king's eye is directly opposite the vanishing point and on the same level as the illusionary horizon. Thus the space between the king and the stage picture was the main acting area, surrounded on three sides by spectators. .... However, ... the boundary between the stage and the auditorium was an illusionistic device — a trick,

> because in fact the entire hall was incorporated into the created world, along with the spectators. (***Masque*** 68-69)

One might view the king and his court and the receding stage picture as two identical triangles, harmoniously aligned along their bases, an alignment that defines the liminal performance space. The discordant anti-masquers, like Plato's temporal shadows, must be banished from this place if one is to see the parallel suns at the apexes of their triangles. There are two ways of interpreting this arrangement of triangles. The first is that the king and court are "an almost ideal reflection of the divine order" (Ibid. 57), the second that the stage picture reveals the inner neo-Platonist beauty of the king and court. In a philosophical sense the distinction is probably insignificant since the inner beauty is the divine order — trying to separate the two views is like trying to map only one side of a Möbius strip. What Campion presents on ***his*** perspective stage, however, is a sea "*with ships, some cunningly painted, some arteficially sayling,*" and when the curtain or *scena ductalis* is drawn aside to reveal what should be the "more remou'd *mysteries,*"[45] "*on the sodaine the whole Sceane is changed: for whereas before all seemed to be done at the sea and sea coast, now the Promentories are sodainly remooved, and London with the Thames is very arteficially presented in their place*" (273), and shortly thereafter, "*Straight in the Thames appeared foure Barges with skippers in them*" (275). If these perspective devices are reflections of the king and court, they are most unusual — a blunt demonstration of the actual foundation of the crown's power, perhaps.

The Thames was, for Campion, a potent symbol of England's strength. In "Ad Thamesin," his Latin poem about the Armada battle, Campion presents the

spirit of the river as an instrumental force in the British victory — "Totum hoc poema gratulationem in se habit ad Thamesin de Hyspanorum fuga" (362):[46]

> Nympha potens Thamesis soli cessura Dianae,
> Caeruleum caput effer aquis, charchesia late
> Quae modo constiterant signis horrenda cruentis,
> Ecce tuos trepide liquere fugacia portus. (362 ll. 1-4)[47]

> At tu nympharum Thamesis pulcherrima limphis
> Alta tuis, procul ut vidisti hostilia signa,
> Tu dea flumineam spaciosa gurgite frontem
> Celata, aequoreas turbasti fluctibus undas.
> Donec Iberia cohors ventorum pulsa furore,
> Et virtute virum, per Hybernica saxa refugit.
> (374 ll. 247-49; 376 ll. 250-52)[48]

The poem is also about the quest for the wealth and power of colonial possessions; the allegorical figure, Dis, is glossed by Campion as "'*Americae poetica descripto*' [poetic description of America]" (363 n. 2), and, as Davis notes, the work predicts the Spaniards' "struggle with the British over America" (367 n. 7). And even beyond this prediction, the inevitability of British conquest is also suggested, this destiny evident in the dialogue between the old man Oceanus and the American spirit Dis:

> Quamvis nulla senis subiit reverentia Ditem,
> Sic tamen affatur, mollitque astutia vultum:
> O qui luctantes civiliaque arma gerentes
> Imperio fluctus componis, et aequora late
> Fusa, et sidentes ruptis de montibus amnes,
> Cur invisa iacet? cur haec vacat insula cultu?
> Pondere terra gemit, foeto maturuit alvo
> Resplendens aurum; ferit hoc mortalia sydus
> Pectora, tu solus prohibes quod amabilis auri
> Suadet amor facinus; non has Romanus ad oras,
> Non venit Hispanus castris assuetus et armis,

Nec quisquam Italiae, tua monstra natantia terrent.
Esto precor facilis, quosque ingens gloria Martis
Extulit Hesperios, animis rebusque potentes
Excipe, conde sinu, nostroque in littore siste.
Quem contra Oceanus: Tibi, Dis, patet orcus, et omnis
Vis terrena, nocensque aegris mortalibus aurum,
Verum siquid habent, et habent tua munera pulchri.
Sunt Angli, sunt Troiana de gente Britanni,
Qui pacem, numenque colunt, et templa fatigant.
Sin longa spectes serie numerosa trophaea,
Has etiam spectes immensae molis arenas.
(364 ll. 47-56; 366 ll. 57-68)[49]

As a whole, "Ad Thamesin" offers an early example of the Thames used as a symbol for Britain's manifest destiny, a use later seen in Sir John Denham's "Cooper's Hill" and Alexander Pope's "Windsor Forest" — all manifestations of a Eurocentric attitude that, from a common, evolving *Zeitgeist*, would eventually coalesce into Hegel's philosophy of historical absolutism. Campion's use of the ships and the Thames at the end of ***The Somerset Masque*** is deliberate and pointed. The suggestion contained here is that the time has come for the spirit of the Thames to rise again, and since Diana/Elizabeth is dead, it is James who must direct the rising.

Campion's ships can also be read in an emblematic manner which complements the interpretations above.[50] In emblem books, the ship was often used as an icon which illustrated parallels between the soul, the individual and the state, and it seems appropriate that, with Britain's dependence on the sea and with the naval troubles at hand, Campion would utilize the emblematic associations of ships, especially considering his patrons' interests in naval reform. Gabriel Rollenhagen's ***Nucleus Emblematum Selectissimorum***, Cologne, 1611,

offers two emblems which might be applied here. In the first, the metaphor of the ship representing the nation is readily apparent, for there is actually a king at the vessel's helm. In one hand he holds the tiller, in the other his sceptre. The image is surrounded by a motto, "DVM CLAVVM RECTVM TENEAM," and this could be translated as, "If only my tiller stays straight,"[51] the implication being that as the king steers so goes the nation, for better or worse.[52] Figure 1, seen in the epigraph, is here repeated:

Figure 1: after emblem 37, George Wither, ***A Collection of Emblems, Ancient and Moderne . . .***, London, 1635, book 1, page 37; Glasgow University Library, Department of Special Collections, Stirling-Maxwell Collection, SM1903. Also published in Gabriel Rollenhagen, ***Nucleus Emblematum Selectissimorum***, Cologne, 1611.

The second emblem from Rollenhagen presents a ship under sail with a man at the oars, and the whole is surrounded by the Latin motto, "REMIGIO VENTIS Q<ue> SECVNDIS," which might be translated as, "By means of oars and a following wind."[53] The obvious suggestion here is that God helps those who

help themselves; it is not enough to be a passive traveller. Read in the context of naval reform, the image of the ship might also suggest that action must be taken by those within the ship of state. The grace of God alone will not remove the problems that beset the nation nor will it insure safe and prosperous passage for its citizens.

Figure 4: after emblem 13, George Wither, ***A Collection of Emblems, Ancient and Moderne . . .***, London, 1635, book 1, page 13; Glasgow University Library, Department of Special Collections, Stirling-Maxwell Collection, SM1903. Also published in Gabriel Rollenhagen, ***Nucleus Emblematum Selectissimorum***, Cologne, 1611.

In Whitney's collection of emblems, there is, as Limon notes, a similar emblem. In Whitney's device the ship is again linked with the individual rather than the state: "a sailing ship is presented in emblem 137; the accompanying epigram reads that just as a ship keeps its course and reaches it destination, in spite of all perils, winds, and waves, so man will attain heaven if he keeps his course in this

world" (*Masque* 171).[54] Whitney's emblem makes the spiritual dimension of all three devices plainer, and the three taken together reveal the cosmic parallel between the individual, the state, and the soul — all must follow a course of virtue. If Campion is thinking in these emblematic terms (as seems most probable from his descriptions of the stage settings and devices), then there is a suggestion that disorder in any one of the three planes disrupts the others and that it is the king who has the responsibility for restoring order within the state. It is his hand on the tiller of the navy and the nation. It is his hand that can end tempest at sea, and by doing so he can initiate the restoration of order on the other planes. Thus it is to him that the masque's Squires make their plea, and as Limon observes, they "ask the king for protection from the 'curst Enchanters' who 'turne all the worlde into confusion.' Thus the king is asked to protect all the world" (Ibid. 172).

Limon also observes that on one side of the opening stage setting, "Campion says, there is a rock in the sea, which again is an emblematic representation, with the sea standing for the world and the rock for human constancy" (Ibid. 171).[55] Rollenhagen offers a similar device which is remarkably like Campion's stage setting. In the emblem, there are a rock in the sea, a promontory, and a ship — the ship sailing through a storm. The encircling Latin motto reads: "NESCIT LABI VIRTUS," and it is possible to translate this as, "Virtue (or perhaps *courage* or *manliness*) is incapable of sliding;"[56] see figure 5, next page. Within a theme of virtue, the icon of the ship becomes linked with the rock of human constancy, and it is here perhaps that Campion finds a point of transition

to bridge the nautical aspects of the masque with the present occasion of Carr and Howard's wedding.

Figure 5: after emblem 60, George Wither, ***A Collection of Emblems, Ancient and Moderne . . .***, London, 1635, book 4, page 218; Glasgow University Library, Department of Special Collections, Stirling-Maxwell Collection, SM1903. Also published in Gabriel Rollenhagen, ***Nucleus Emblematum Selectissimorum***, Cologne, 1611.

The Essex divorce, and perhaps the imprisonment and death of Overbury, had caused Carr and Howard to be set upon by a tempest of gossip, the echoes of which have come down to us in texts such as Chamberlain's letters, and as Peter Holman argues, the masque's plot "is almost a model of the real situation: Error, Rumour, Curiosity, and Credulity [the masque's four necromancers] represent the scandal these events certainly caused" ("Introductory Note" n. pag.; implied pagination ii-iii). As Campion describes them, the four characters are a nightmarish lot:

> *two Enchanters, and two Enchantresses appeare:* Error *first, in a skin coate scaled like a Serpent, and an antick habit painted with Snakes, a*

> *haire of curled Snakes, and a deformed visard. With him* Rumor *in a skin coate full of winged Tongues, and over it an antick robe ; on his head a Cap like a tongue, with a large paire of wings to it.*
>
> Curiosity *in a skin coate full of eyes, and an antick habit over it, a fantasick Cap full of Eyes.*
>
> Credulity *in the like habit painted with eares, and an antick Cap full of eares.* (271)

The leader of the group seems to be Error, and his Satanic associations are apparent from the serpent motif that adorns his costume. The obvious suggestion here is that the power of speech, represented by Rumor, becomes Satan's minion when the tongue is not governed, for as Limon points out, a "winged tongue appears in P. S.'s ***The Heroical Devices;***[57] the epigram reveals that the tongue is dangerous and should be controlled by reason" (***Masque*** 173). Rollenhagen also provides an example of this emblem:

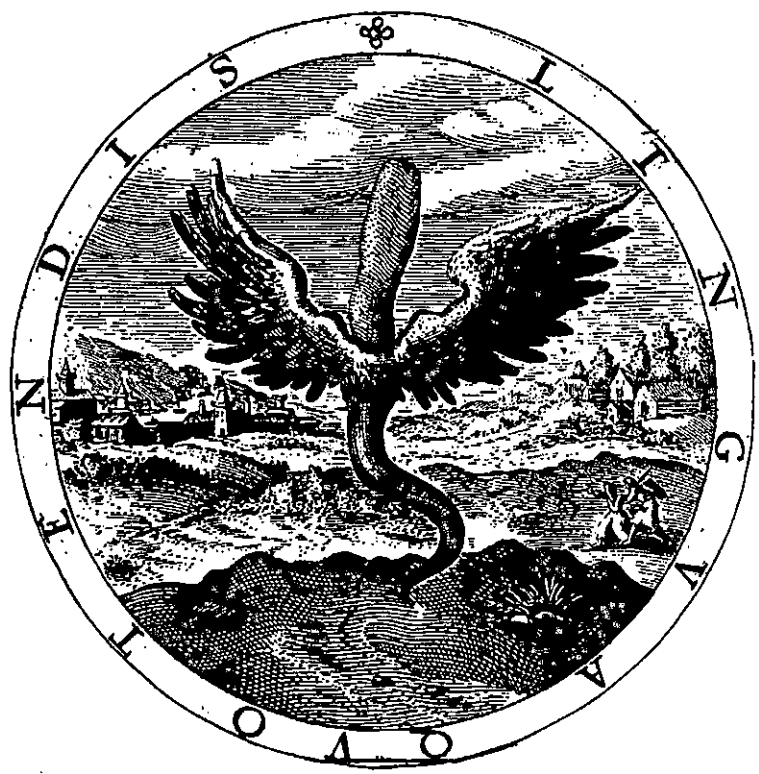

Figure 6: after emblem 42, George Wither, ***A Collection of Emblems, Ancient and Moderne . . .***, London, 1635, book 1, page 42; Glasgow University Library, Department of Special Collections, Stirling-Maxwell Collection, SM1903. Also published in Gabriel Rollenhagen, ***Nucleus Emblematum Selectissimorum***, Cologne, 1611.[58]

The Latin motto, "LINGUA QUO TENDIS," could be rendered into English as "O Tongue, where are you taking me?"[59] — the implication being that there is a danger of disorder, the master becoming the follower, if the individual lets his or her own tongue take the lead. The emblematic connotations of the two Enchantresses's costumes are not certain, but they can perhaps be read in a manner analogous to Limon's interpretation of Rumor's "*antick habit.*" Sight and hearing, untempered by reason or critical thought, are also dangerous, and can lead one into the service of evil. Juxtaposed against these four necromancers, the emblematic background formed by the stage setting, with its rock in the sea and its ships, counsels both steadfastness and a straight course in the face of these four vectors of scandal who invade the stage's performance area and threaten both the marriage and the world with their disorder.

The immediate effect of the Enchanters and Enchantresses's spells was, as we have seen in the report the Squires made to James, a tempest which raised serpents from depths of the ocean and stopped travel between England and the continent, stranding the Knights at sea. This storm is, however, only a catalyst which sparks a larger disorder, for shortly after the entrance of the necromancers, the very cosmos comes unhinged. Campion states that

> *When they* [Error, Rumor, Curiosity, and Credulity] *had whispered a while as if they had rejoyced at the wrongs which they had done to the Knights, the Musick and their Daunce began: straight forth rusht the foure Windes confusedly.* (271)
>
> *After them in confusion came the foure Elements.* (Ibid.)
>
> *Then entered the foure parts of the earth in confused measure.* (Ibid.)
>
> [And] *All these . . . daunced together in a strange kind of confusion.* (272)

In this chaos, however, Campion continues an orderly emblematic subtext which counsels virtue (and/or its other possible translations from Latin, *courage* or *manliness*). Limon reports that

> Winds are also frequent metaphors in emblem books. Whitney, for instance, presents an emblem in which a rock is shown as being "attacked" by four blowing winds; the accompanying epigram states that one should "houlde vertue by the hand, / And in the rage of wyndes, and Seas, the Rock doth firmely stand."[60] (***Masque*** 173)

The reader is also reminded of the rock that is present on stage with the four winds in Campion's masque (Ibid.). A similar emblematic device is again provided by Rollenhagen — his Latin motto, "ADVERSIS CLARIVS ARDET," possibly translating as, "By adversity it burns more brightly."[61]

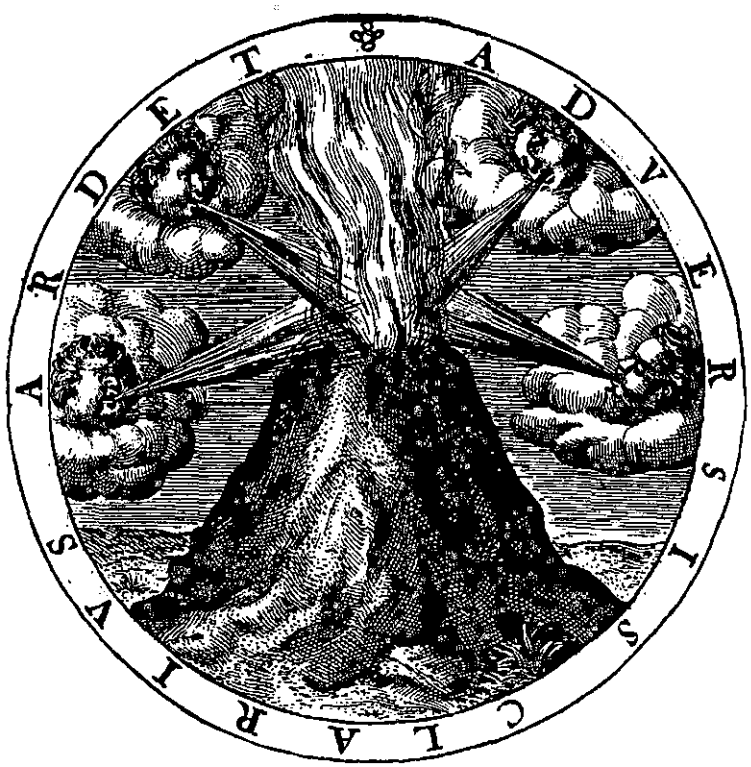

Figure 7: after emblem 85, George Wither, ***A Collection of Emblems, Ancient and Moderne . . .***, London, 1635, book 2, page 97; Glasgow University Library, Department of Special Collections, Stirling-Maxwell Collection, SM1903. Also published in Gabriel Rollenhagen, ***Nucleus Emblematum Selectissimorum***, Cologne, 1611.

The rock we have seen before as a symbol of steadfastness or stoic virtue; hence, the motto's implied subject (here translated as "it") can be interpreted as virtue itself. The significance of the device to Carr and Howard's scandal burdened relationship seems fairly straight forward; again the masque counsels stoicism.

In the discord among the elements there is also a suggestion of latent order, for as Campion describes them, each element in microcosm reflects the order of the body, the state, and the cosmos:

> *Earth, in a skin coate of grasse greene, a mantle painted full of trees, plants, and flowers, and on his head an oke growing.*
>
> *Water, in a skin coate waved, with a mantle full of fishes, on his head a Dolphin.*
>
> *Ayre, in a skye-coloured skin coate, with a mantle painted with Fowle, and on his head an Eagle.*
>
> *Fire, in a skin coate and a mantle painted with flames: on his head a cap of flames, with a Salamander in the midst thereof.* (271)

The oak, the dolphin, and the eagle are all symbols royalty and are, on the great chain of being and within their elements, analogous to both the king within the state and God within the cosmos. Their positions on the caps of the anti-masquers is indicative of the position of the king as head of the body politic. As we shall see, however, the portrayal of their discord as a group is a direct comment on the political dissension within England.

Observing that costumes of the all the elements except fire depict their "natural attributes," Limon points out that the salamander icon is "puzzling" (***Masque*** 173), for the beast is the antithesis of fire — "so cold that it [can] extinguish fire simply by lying on it" (Ibid. 174). However,

> An icon in P. S.'s book of "devices" represents just that: a salamander lies in flames. The epigram says that the animal "is of such a cold nature that she quenches the fire like ise." Quite appropriately for the context of the masque, the emblem is also said to represent the king's desire to nourish the virtuous and destroy the wicked.[62] (Ibid.)

Limon is most certainly correct in his emblematic reading of Fire's costume and in his assertion of the emblem's appropriateness to the marriage of Carr and

Howard where it serves as an expression of James's desire to nourish the relationship and squelch the wicked gossip surrounding it. However, when Fire is considered in relation to the stage setting on which he appears, it is again made obvious that the masque is about much more than the wedding at hand. Fire and the discord among his fellow elements become a device or point of transition by which Campion leaves the occasion of Carr and Howard's wedding and again picks up the larger political theme of naval reform.

It is significant that the salamander is an amphibian, a creature of both land and water, perhaps as the king of an island nation should be. Rollenhagen's salamander emblem provides a key to this reading, perhaps, for it is startlingly similar to the Campion's descriptions of the character Fire and the stage on which he appears:

Figure 8: after emblem 30, George Wither, ***A Collection of Emblems, Ancient and Moderne . . .***, London, 1635, book 1, page 30; Glasgow University Library, Department of Special Collections, Stirling-Maxwell Collection, SM1903. Also published in Gabriel Rollenhagen, ***Nucleus Emblematum Selectissimorum***, Cologne, 1611.

The sense of the Italian motto, "*NVDRISCO IL BVONO ET SPENGO IL REO*," — "I nourish the good, and I extinguish the evil"[63] — is almost identical to the interpretation which Limon offered of the emblem from the P. S. text. What is different, however, is that the salamander here is actually depicted as a king. Moreover, to the right of the animal, there is a ship, trying to reach the port on the left of the emblem. The ship is in distress, perhaps being lured onto the beach by two figures carrying torches. Across the water and behind the ship there is a rock under attack by winds. The emblem pulls together many of the masque's aspects, again associating the king with the ship icon and suggesting his responsibility for its safety. It is the king who must set the course of virtue for the ship of state and act as its protector. It is he who must stand like the rock of steadfastness and virtue (courage/manliness). It is he who must nourish the good (or virtue) and extinguish evil. If it were not for the farcical events of the commissions for naval reform in 1608 and 1613, Campion's stage here could be read as merely the presentation of stock flattery. However, given these events, a large degree of irony becomes apparent, for the stage device, by establishing a model of the ideal and setting it an environment of chaos, points directly to James's failings. Shipping around England was lured on to the rocks by criminals who hoped to scavenge cargo. It was set upon by heathen Turkish and Algerine pirates, who were greatly feared but were probably no more or less savage than the swarm of Christian privateers from Scotland, Ireland, France, Holland, England, and other nations — although Campion could not know it, in only about three years time there would actually be "a fleet of thirty Turkish ships in the Atlantic," and a North African "Salleeman" would actually be captured right in the Thames, England's metaphoric lifeblood (Oppenheim, Administration 198).[64] As noted, however, England's navy was mostly

ineffectual, and Nottingham, Mansell, and Trevor, those most responsible for its chaotic condition, the king seems to have nourished rather than extinguished.

This reading of the salamander emblem in Campion's masque is supported by the disorderly entrance of the four parts of the earth, these largely representing British trade and colonial interests, which were all dependent upon marine transportation, which in turn needed the protection of the king:

> Europe *in the habit of and Empresse, with an Emperiall Crowne on her head.*
>
> Asia *in a Persian Ladies habit, with a Crowne on her head.*
>
> Africa *like a Queene of the Moores, with a crown.*
>
> America *in a skin coate of the colour of the juyce of Mulberies, on her head large round brims of many coloured feathers, in the midst of it a small Crowne.* (271-72)

G. J. Marcus notes that the peace with Spain in 1604 "enabled the national energies . . . to be directed once more to commerce, colonization, and exploration" (124). In Europe the British traded with Spain, France, Holland, Denmark, the failing Hanseatic League and others. With regards to Asia, the Muscovie Company had been founded primarily in an attempt to divert trade with near and far eastern countries away from the Mediterranean, and there were "persistent efforts to open up an overland commerce with Persia and India via Turkestan" (Ramsay). And as Chamberlain reports there had been talk that the nobility of Muscovie had in 1611 offered "to put themselves and theyre countrie under the Kings [James's] protection;" they had even held the hope that James "wold send them his second [son] to be theyre emperor."[65] An awareness of Africa's commercial potential had also started to present itself to the British in the mid-1500's, and slaving voyages had begun as early as 1562 and had continued sporadically as interest in them waxed and waned, but with the acquisition of colonies in the new world the economic potential of slavery on a large scale was slowly being realized by English commercial interests; there was also

trade in gold and salt, and there had been "support for a Moroccan invasion in 1591 across the Sahara, which . . . [did not achieve] its goal of capturing the sources of gold exports to North Africa" (Barker 1-6). At the time of Campion's masque, British traders were beginning to enter competition with the Portuguese and Dutch for the economic exploitation of "the dark continent." Additionally, "the first permanent English colony in America — Virginia — was founded in 1607. The occupation of Bermuda dates from 1609" (Marcus 124). By 1613, the Virginia Colony was beginning to enrich London merchants with tobacco profits, and although James was morally opposed to tobacco, he was perhaps capable of moral flexibility where money was concerned. The Virginia Colony was also a major irritant to Spain who saw it as a threat to their hold on the new world and who also had thriving tobacco business. Robert Cecil's shopping centre, "The New Exchange," or "Britain's Burse" as King James, who attended the opening, had named it, opened in 1609 as the fruition of Cecil's involvement in the Virginia Company and the East India Company; it and ***The Key Keeper***, the masque which Ben Jonson likely composed for the occasion, were celebrations of international commerce and colonialism. James Knowles relates that "both the Burse and the entertainment unite the two directions of English expansionism and its two types, the westward imperial colonialist thrust and the eastward maritime trading expeditions" (15). Britain's relationship with the outside world was about money, and in 1613 the flow of this money was threatened by piracy and trade rivalry. If the British navy was ineffective in its home waters, there was little it could do to protect the nation's growing commercial interests overseas.

The hierarchy evident in the portrayal of the four parts of the earth is also consistent with the "Thames-centric" view of Britain's manifest destiny seen in Campion's "Ad Thamesin." Europe comes first wearing an "*Emperiall Crowne*,"

but the status of the others seems lesser, America last with only "*a small Crowne,*" and all four geographic areas gather in the court of King James, James whom the Squires' had implicitly asked to protect the entire world. Consistent with this interpretation is Limon's reading of the masque's "millenarian dimension" (***Masque*** 176).[66] He draws attention to B. S. Capp's writing on the "Fifth Monarchy" (Ibid.):

> The theory of four world-empires . . . provided a means by which the whole, anarchic course of history could be reduced to a simple and satisfying pattern, and by which a divine, if inscrutable, purpose was given to all events. . . . . The division of Europe by the Reformation and the ensuing wars seemed to presage the impending dissolution of all things. A typical English writer early in the seventeenth century saw decay in the four elements of fire, water, air and earth; all plants were feebler . . . . (Capp 20-21)

There was a belief that a new world order was at hand, and "one cannot forget that these ideas were close to those of both James and Bacon" (Limon, ***Masque*** 176). The suggested place the English crown *should* hold in this new order is as self-evident in Campion's masque as is James's actual distance from that position. James, it must be reiterated, had been asked by the Squires to end the "confusion" affecting "all the world." The ending of confusion, however, was a task he could not perform even within his own kingdom.

After the chaotic anti-masque dance performed by Europe, Asia, Africa, America, the elements, and the necromancers, one would expect some restoration of order to be forthcoming, for such expectation is dictated by the macrostructures of the genre. And indeed, ***The Somerset Masque*** conforms to this genre convention, but only to a point. The pantomime dance of disorder is followed by the appearance of Eternity

> *in a long blew Taffata robe, painted with Starres, and on her head a Crowne.*
>
> *Next, came the three Destinies, in long robes of white Taffata like*

aged women with Garlands of Narcissus Flowers on their heads; and in their left hands they caried distaffes according to the descriptions of Plato *and* Catullus, *but in their right hands they carried altogether a Tree of Golde.*

After them, came Harmony with nine Musitians more, in long Taffata robes and caps of Tinsel, with Garlands guilt, playing and singing this Song.

CHORUS.

Vanish, vanish hence, confusion ;
Dimme not *Hymens* golden light
With false illusion.
The fates shall doe him right,
And faire Eternitie,
Who passe through all enchantments free. (272)

At this point in the masque, it would seem requisite that James, or some signifying cipher such as Arthur, Hesperus, or Apollo, step forward as the neo-Platonist centre of the temporal world, as an analogy to the prime mover, in order to initiate the final rectification of harmony, but what happens instead hearkens back to the earlier monarch, Elizabeth, for in a manner very similar to entertainments for that queen, it is "Bel-Anna" who appears in person to set off the cosmic and temporal realignment.[67] Whether this outcome was contrived to please Anne or to embarrass James is not certain, but as Campion reports, "ETERNITIE SINGES ALONE:"

Bring away this Sacred Tree,
The Tree of Grace and Bountie,
Set it in Bel-Annas eye,
For she, she, only she
Can all Knotted spels unty.
Pull'd from the Stocke, let her blest Hands convay
To any suppliant Hand, a bough,
And let that Hand advance it now
Against a Charme, that Charme shall fade away. (Ibid.)

Campion and Lanier's song explains how the enchantment which is holding the masque's knights as prisoners can be broken, and the chorus that follows picks up very indirectly the marriage theme of the preceding chorus — "Dimme not *Hymens* goulden light" — by alluding to Anne and James's own wedding, thus merging the present wedding, the royal marriage, and naval reform at the masque's point of transformation:

> Since Knightly valour rescues Dames distressed,
> By Vertuous Dames let charm'd Knights be released.
> Since Knights by valour rescue Dames distressed,
> Let them be by the Queene of Dames releast:
> So sing the Destinyes, who never erre,
> Fixing this Tree of Grace and Bountie heere,
> From which, for our enchaunted Knights we crave
> A branche, pull'd by your Sacred Hand, to have;
> That we may beare it as the Fates direct,
> And manifest your glory in th' effect. (272-73)

The "Knightly valour" discussed cannot be other than a reference to James's rescue of Anne, especially given the masque's opening scene and its allusions to Venus. Campion recounts that Anne took a branch from the golden tree and passed it on to a nobleman "*who delivered it to one of the Squires*" (273). Then, accompanied by song the Squire descended towards the stage:

> Goe, happy man, like th' Evening Starre,
> Whose beames to Bride-groomes well-come are. (Ibid.)

Here the Evening Star, Hesperus, is an allusion to James — the name was one of his stock epithets — and thus he is brought forward for the meeting of Hesperus and the Sea-borne Goddesse that, as Lindley noted, "conventionally [signaled] the end of a marriage masque." As the Squire approaches the stage with the golden bough, the masque's transformation is accomplished, for as Campion explains,

> *Then out of the ayre a cloude descends, discovering sixe of the Knights alike, in strange and sumptuous atires, and withall on either side of the Cloud, on the two Promontories, the other sixe Maskers are sodainly transformed out of the pillars of golde ; at which time, while they all come forward to the dancing-place, this Chorus is sung, and on the sodaine the whole Sceane is changed: for whereas before all seemed to be done at sea and sea coast, now the Promontories are sodainly remooved, and London with the Thames is very arteficially presented in their place.* (Ibid.)

This resolution of chaos into temporal order is without precedent in the masque genre. Campion has completely rejected the Golden Age of classical mythology and supplanted it with reality.[68] As demonstrated, it is a reality rich with symbolic and nationalistic resonances, but it is still nonetheless mundane — London and the Thames, the centre, the spirit, of the nation, whose prosperity is dependent upon the ships that will soon arrive, freed by the action of the queen.

Campion's "*Tree of Golde*," the implement of the transformation, stands offered to Anne as a choice piece of flattery, for as a first hand observer, Giovanni Battista Gabaleoni, the Agent of Savoy, reports, it was "un arbore significante l'olivo,"[69] and the olive was rich with both classical and biblical associations. Genesis 8: 11, in the Vulgate tradition, seems particularly appropriate to the masque's apocalyptic and maritime themes: "And she came to him in the evening, carrying a bough of an olive tree, with green leaves in her mouth. Noe therefore understood that the waters were ceased upon the earth."[70] In ***The Somerset Masque***, it is Anne, who, like Noah's dove, takes the bough from the olive tree and presents it to the court, thus signifying the end of the masque's own apocalypse. Anne's association with Venus should also be remembered here, for the dove was one of goddess's symbols, and we must also recall Spenser's tribute to Venus "That with smyling looke doest pacifie / The raging seas, and makst the stormes to flie."[71] Campion's flattery may continue on other levels, as well. For the olive also connects Athena, the goddess of wisdom, both

with the city state of Athens, the capital of Greece's golden age, and with the wrath of Poseidon, the sea god. In this story of the olive, there was a rivalry between the two gods over Athens, a competition that perhaps was not unlike the rivalry between James and Anne over London society. This olive legend was very well known, and like ***The Somerset Masque***, it had definite economic overtones. Morford and Lenardon relate:

> Athena and Poseidon were said to have vied for control of Athens and the surrounding territory, Attica. The contest took place on the Acropolis. Poseidon struck the rock with his trident and produced a salt spring . . . . Athena planted an olive tree, or more dramatically brought one forth from the ground with the touch of her spear. Athena was proclaimed the victor by a jury . . . . The moment of the goddess' triumph was immortalized in stone on the west pediment of her great temple, the Parthenon. Poseidon, in his anger at losing, flooded the Thriasian plain, but he was appeased and continued to be worshiped in Athens . . . . The importance of the olive in Greek and especially Athenian economy and life is symbolized by Athena's victory. (96)

Campion, the classicist, cannot have been unaware of this olive mythology, and if the story of Athena and Poseidon informed his "*Tree of Golde*" (the olive tree the source of Athenian wealth), the device must have been very pleasing to Anne. Morford and Lenardon remark further that Athena was generally thought of as one of "the younger generation of the gods championing progress and the advanced enlightenment of civilization" (104). The classical association of Athena, godess of wisdom, with the olive, if accepted as relevant to Campion's masque, may also lead back to a biblical correlation between wisdom and the tree of life (Proverbs 3:13-19), a correlation which would seem to address pointedly James's failure to appreciate and honour his queen:

> 13 Blessed is the man that findeth wisdom and is rich in prudence:
> 14 The purchasing thereof is better than the merchandise of silver, and her fruit than the chiefest and purest gold:
> 15 She is more precious than all riches : and all the things that are

desired, are not to be compared with her.
16 Length of days is in her right hand, and in her left hand riches and glory.
17 Her ways are beautiful ways, and all her paths are peaceable.
18 She is a tree of life to them that lay hold on her : and he that shall retain her is blessed.
19 The Lord by wisdom hath founded the earth, hath established the heavens by prudence. (Proverbs 3)

If Campion has this passage in mind, along with the other associations discussed above, his "*Tree of Golde*" serves as one of the most shamelessly exquisite pieces of flattery in the history of English literature.

Campion's tree may have a subtle snideness about it, as well. Much of ***The Somerset Masque*** seems to juxtapose neo-Platonist ideals of kingship against James's temporal inadequacies, and this criticism seems to continue here. Campion's tree may allude to Joatham's parable of the trees from Judges 9, an allegory on kingship which features the olive. Abimelech has slain "his brethern the sons of Jerobaal, seventy men, upon one stone : and there remained *only* Joatham the youngest son of Jerobaal, who was hidden" (9: 5). Abimelech then returns to "Sichem to his mother's brethern" (9: 1).

6 And all the men of Sichem were gathered together, and all the families of the city of Mello : and they went and made Abimelech king, by the oak that stood in Sichem.

Here, Abimelech, the false king, is presented next to the oak, which, whether it was a biblical symbol of kingship or not, was such an icon for the middle-ages and the renaissance. The oak also provides the point of tangent for Joatham's parable of the trees, linking it to the reality of Abimelech's kingship. Joatham "went and stood on the top of mount Garizim: and lifting up his voice, he cried, and said : Hear me, ye men of Sichem, so may God hear you" (9: 7).

8 The trees went to anoint a king over them : and they said to the olive tree : Reign thou over us.

> 9 And it answered : Can I leave my fatness, which both gods and men make use of, to come to be promoted king among the trees?

With the olive's rejection, the trees descend down along list of useful trees and plants, such as the fig and vine, proceeding in reverse hierarchical order and making the same offer of kingship to all. Finally they come to the bramble:

> 14 And all the trees said to the bramble : Come thou and reign over us.
> 13 And it answered them : If indeed you mean to make me king, come ye and rest under my shadow : but if you mean it not, let fire come out from the bramble, and devour the cedars of Libanus.

Joatham's parable prophesies the conflagration which will eventually consume Abimelech and the Sichemites, and he makes this prophesy explicit for them: "Now therefore if you have done well and without sin in appointing Abimelech king over you, . . . rejoice ye this day in Abimelech, and may he rejoice in you" (9: 16-19).[72]

> 20 But if unjustly : let fire come out from him, and consume the inhabitants of Sichem, and the town of Mello : and let fire come out from the men of Sichem and from the town of Mello, and devour Abimelech.

James's accession to the English throne in some ways mirrors both the bramble and Abimelech's kingships. Regardless of whatever claim James may or may not have had to the crown by kinship through his mother (like Abimelech), he was still an invited king from a lowly impoverished nation on the fringes of European civilization (like the bramble), one who would have been powerless in face of any opposition to his claims. The parallel stops, however, at the carnage associated with Abimelech; James detested violence, at least if was performed in his presence. As suggested by Limon, Anne may have been one of the backers of ***The Somerset Masque***, and Campion's olive tree may, on her behalf, present a

safely oblique question to the English trees about the comfort they now find in the shadow of the bramble they have made their ruler.

After the bough from "*Tree of Golde*" has worked its transformation, the focus of the masque turns again to marriage. The masquers perform a dance, and sung are several choruses which celebrate dancing, music, joy, and love, these songs being punctuated by the requisite, joyous acclamation of the god of marriage, "Io, Io Hymen" (274).[73] A second dance follows, after which (or during which) there is another song, one which Campion describes as "*a Dialogue of three, with a Chorus after the second Daunce*" (Ibid.):

> 1 Let us now sing of Loves delight,
> For he alone is Lord to night.
>
> 2 Some friendship betweene man and man prefer,
> But I th' affection betweene man and wife.
>
> 3 What good can be in life,
> Wherof no fruites appeare?
>
> 1 Set is that Tree in ill houre,
> That yeilds neither fruite nor flowre.
>
> 2 How can man Perpetual be,
> But in his own Posteritie?
>
> CHORUS.
>
> That pleasure is of all most bountifull and kinde,
> That fades not straight, but leaves a living joy behinde. (274-75)

Here Campion gets to the core of the Carr-Howard marriage and deals with its past scandals and future implications. Most obviously, "Let us now sing of Loves delight" functions as a statement about the imminent change in the relationship between James and his favourite. Somerset's erotic energies will be directed elsewhere, channelled in the sexual "affection betweene man and wife" rather than the "friendship betweene man and man." And indeed, Frances

Howard's passionate monopoly on the earl's attentions would lead to considerable strain between James and Carr. The song also serves as a defense of Carr's abandonment of his former friend Sir Thomas Overbury, with whom, we should remember, he had once had a relationship of some homoerotic intensity. Overbury's ghost cannot have but hovered over the wedding, and Carr, while he had politely assured Overbury's family that he was doing all he could to secure Sir Thomas's release from the Tower, appears in fact to have done nothing except that which would insure Overbury's continued confinement and eventual death (White 61-62).[74] The few who understood the true cause of Overbury's imprisonment — his friendship with Carr coming between the bride and groom — would not have missed the song's significance here, even if they did not know that Overbury had been murdered. Also present in the song is a defense and rationalization of Frances Howard's divorcing of Essex. In addition to the assertions that the marriage had not been consummated and that Howard was a virgin, one of the major claims made in the divorce proceedings was that Frances was denied the reasonable expectation of children because of Essex's impotence. The last three couplets of the song and the following chorus are all celebrations of heterosexual fertility, and for those who might castigate Howard's actions, the question is posed: "What good can be in life, / Whereof no fruites appear?" With the song's "Tree" and "fruites," Campion evokes biblical associations that reinforce Howard's rationale:

> 16 By their fruits you shall know them. Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles?
> 17 Even so every good tree bringeth forth good fruit, and the evil tree bringeth forth evil fruit.
> 18 A good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit, neither can an evil tree bring forth good fruit.
> 19 Every tree that bringeth forth not good fruit, shall be cut down and cast into the fire.
> 20 Wherefore by their fruits you shall know them. (Matthew 7)[75]

Not only a defense of Howard's desire for "fruites" of her womb, the song may also suggest by innuendo that Essex was a homosexual and that this was the cause of his failure to satisfy his wife's expectations.

"Let us now sing," however, goes much further yet. With the allusion to "that Tree," Campion digs to the roots of Judeo-Christian heterosexual hegemony:[76]

> 11 And he [God] said : Let the earth bring forth the green herb, and such as may seed, and the fruit tree yielding fruit after its kind, which may have seed in itself upon the earth. And so it was done.
> 12 And the earth brought forth the green herb, and such as yieldeth seed according to its own kind, and the tree that beareth fruit, having seed in each one according to its kind. And God saw that it was good. (Genesis 1)

Anne's hand is perhaps again visible here for the "Tree" of "Let us now sing of Loves delight" also suggests the "arbore significante l'olivo" of the earlier "Bring away this sacred tree," and in the celebration of heterosexuality over homosexuality, there is also an obvious attack upon James. Perhaps an expression of Anne's resentment, certainly another goad, the attack is again pointed directly at the failure of royal marriage which was a symbol of the king's self-defined role as husband and father to the nation.

Anne's involvement with the masque might also place the above passage from Matthew in different light. Matthew's text is similar in many ways to Joatham's parable of the trees; its head verse discusses the dangers of false appearance as Joatham had warned Sichemites of Abimelech's falseness. "Beware of false prophets, who come to you in the clothing of sheep, but inwardly they are ravening wolves" (Matthew 7: 15). The *grapes*, *thorns*, and *figs* of verse 16 are also suggestive of Joatham's parable in which the trees had made the thorn-covered bramble their king after the olive, the fig, and the vine had rejected the office. It might also be significant that *thistle* is the heraldic device of Scotland.

In this context, Matthew's question — "Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles?" — assumes a significance much like that of Joatham's allegory on kingship.

The Somerset Masque continues its theme of order in heterosexual union, for immediately after the chorus, "That pleasure is of all most bountiful and kinde, / That fades not straight, but leaves a living Joy behinde," resolution is found in the concordant measure of dancing couples — as Campion reports, "*After this Dialogue the Maskers daunce with the Ladies*" (275). This use of dance is a stock masque device, one we remember Campion using in ***The Caversham Entertainment***, but here in ***The Somerset Masque***, the device is made more pointed by its position after "Let us now sing of Loves delight."

The dance brings the masque to a final restoration of order in which the themes of marriage and naval reform meet again. Campion explains that "*Straight in the Thames appeared foure Barges with skippers in them, and withall*" is sung the first verse of "Come a shore, come, merrie mates," the song in praise of Anne/Venus the "Sea-borne Goddesse" (Ibid.). From the barges, ordinary sailors disembark and perform "*a brave and lively daunce, shouting and tryumphing after their manner*," and this was followed by "*the Maskers last daunce*" (Ibid.). The previously enchaunted Knights embark upon the barges, and their "*Squires approach the state, and speake*" (Ibid.). The First Squire's speech is offered to James, and with its "Plentie" and its "Sweete springs, and *Autumn's* filld with due increase" (Ibid.), it awkwardly picks up the theme of fertility from "Let us now sing of Loves delight," perhaps hoping to mask that song's criticism with present good wishes. The Second Squire's verse, presented to "The honour'd Bridegroome and the honourd Bride," continues with suggestions of fecundity, for as Davis notes, it alludes to Catullus's account of "*Peleus* Nuptialls" in which the Destinies prophesied "the birth of a son" (Ibid. 276 n. 29). "*The Squire's speeches*

being ended, . . . the Boates passe way" as the final verse of the Sea-borne Goddesse's song is sung (Ibid.). And thus the masque ends.

In terms of his own personal politics, Campion's chief failing with ***The Somerset Masque*** may have been his inability to better incorporate James into the masque and sugar coat or more deeply sublimate the criticism of the king that his patrons seem to have forced upon him. Campion cannot have been comfortable writing the masque, but with the assurances of Northampton, Carr, and perhaps Anne behind him he seems to have struggled on. Unlike Jonson, who could have a couplet eloquently extol and silently disembowel its subject simultaneously, Campion fumbles the all important task of self-preservation, for in his literary juggling act, he allows the king to fall completely. Acknowledgement of James is awkwardly tacked onto the beginning and end of the masque, and, other than as an object of criticism, the king is functionally extraneous. He remains inert, having no active presence: the Squires do ask him to "protect us now" (271), but it is Queen Anne who comes to the fore as the protectress and restorer of order rather than the king or some entity signifying his power. Furthermore, no panegyrics are offered. The Squires merely address James as "Sacred Majestie" (269) and "Majestic Grace" (270), and in the closing of the masque, he is only the passive recipient of good wishes that are first directed to the "state," which here may well mean the country rather than the throne:

> All that was ever ask't, by vow of *Jove*,
> To blesse a state with Plentie, Honor, Love,
> Power, Triumph, private pleasure, publique peace,
> Sweete springs, and *Autumn's* filld with due increase,
> All these, and what good els thought can supplie,
> Ever attend your Triple Majestie. (275)

Moreover, no sycophantic prefatory material was added to the published description of the masque as had been the case with ***Lord Hay's Masque***; what Campion provides simply addresses the issue of the marriage at hand:

> Pulchro pulcra datur, sociali foedere amanti
> Tandem nubit amans; ecquid amabilius? (267)[77]
>
> Verae ut supersint nuptiae
> Praeite duplici face:
> Praetendat alteram necesse
> Hymen, alteram par est Amor. (Ibid.)[78]

In ***The Somerset Masque***, James is merely a cipher, an empty shell of a patriarchal king which is subjected to caustic scrutiny. This close examination may have been part of his patrons' design; it is not something Campion would likely have undertaken on his own, especially in light of both his seemingly eager-to-please nature and his much-less-critical earlier work performed before James. It was perhaps also not something he had the skill to pull off.

A large question about James and ***The Somerset Masque*** presents itself here. If Limon is correct that masques were carefully scrutinized by James (or by Inigo Jones on his behalf) before performance, why did James allow the masque to proceed uncensored? While James may have had failings as an administrative king, he was not in any way intellectually deficient, and he cannot have missed the more obvious passages of criticism that Campion's masque contained — ambiguous and multi-functional as Campion's song, "Let us now sing of Loves delight," may have been, its criticism of James's sexuality was not that subtle. Perhaps it was Anne's presence in the masque that stopped James from quashing it. The occasion, the marriage of his favourite, may have also stayed his hand. Or it may have been that Inigo Jones was away on the continent. Whatever the reason may have been, the masque was performed. Campion, however, did not go unpunished.

There is evidence to suggest that James called in Ben Jonson as a literary *hit-man,* to humiliate Campion and to ridicule his work.[79] Jonson's ***Irish Masque*** was a rather late addition to the celebrations; no authorization for a warrant for Jonson's masque was issued by Suffolk, The Lord Chamberlain, until December 3, by which time James would have had more than enough time to consider the implications of what Campion and his backers were planning on presenting at court:

> Sr Thomas Lake Whereas his Matie is determynd to haue a Maske this Christmas pformed by some gentlemen of his servante that are good dancers. And the same for matter of chardge to be defraid by his Matie Theis are to will you to drawe and Issue a Warrant to his Maty That such somes as to vs shall be thought needfull for that service may be paid out his Mate excheqr to the hande of Meredith Morgan or his Assignes wthout imprest or chardge And this shalbe yor direccon in that behalf. Whitehall 3d of December 1613.
>
> Yor Loving frendes
> T Suffolke
> Iul Cæsar[80]

As previously noted, Campion may have begun work on ***The Somerset Masque*** as early as September 25 when the judgment in the Essex divorce case was handed down; he may have begun planning it as early as the time of ***The Caversham Entertainment*** when the Howards were soliciting Anne's support. We must also remember that "The mariage was thought shold be celebrated at Audley-end [Suffolk's estate] the next weeke [about November 18]" but was postponed [on about November 11] until the end of December so that it could be celebrated at Whitehall in the presence of Anne.[81] It is evident from the similarities between ***The Irish Masque*** and ***The Somerset Masque*** either that Jonson was provided with a ms. copy of Campion's masque or that he had witnessed it in rehearsal and had retained enough its structure and dialogue to mimic passages sarcastically.

In ***The Irish Masque***, Jonson's attack begins by pointing directly to Campion's failure to acknowledge James's presence and power. As with Campion's masque, four men enter in a disorderly manner and, in leapfrog dialog similar to that of Campion's four Squires, they begin to address the court, their leader Dennise's first words being:

> For chreeshes sayk, phair ish te king? Phich ish hee, an't be? show me te shweet faish, quickly. By got, o' my conshence, tish ish he! Ant tou be king YAMISH, me name is DENNISH . . . . (***Jonson*** VII: 399, ll. 1-4)[82]

Dennise proceeds to explain that he is a servant to the king's "owne cashtermonger" and that he sells apples, but he is soon interrupted by Donnell who questions whether it is "te fashion [of Suffolk, the Chamberlain], to beate te Imbashters, here? ant knoke 'hem o' te heads, phit te phoit stick" (ll. 9-10). Dermock finishes Donnell's question, adding: "And make ter meshage runne out at ter mouthsh, before tey shpeake vit te King?" (ll. 11-12). When Dennise attempts to silence them — "Peash DERMOCK, here ish te king" (l. 13) — the focus again turns to Campion's *faux pas*:

> DER. Phair ish te King?
> DON. Phich is te king?
> DEN. Tat is te king.
> DER. Ish tat te king? got blesh him. (ll. 13-17)

And indeed, one might have asked the same questions during the performance of ***The Somerset Masque***.

Almost immediately an argument ensues among the four about who will tell the king the tale of their misfortunes — again an allusion to Campion's Squires' fragmented telling of their story. After much bickering, Dennise begins: "An't pleash ty graish, I vill tell tee, Tere vash a great newesh in Ireland of a great Brideall fo one o' ty lords here, an't be" (ll. 58-60). The similarity here to

Campion's Knights and Squires, who on the continent had heard the news of the wedding, is almost too obvious to be missed, but after a few more digs at "Toumaish, o' shuffolke" and his *phoit stick stirring* — this stirring perhaps representing his political conniving since the white stick was the symbol of his office as Chamberlain[83] — Jonson makes the likeness between the two masques even more readily apparent:

> DON. . . . . But tish Marriage bring ouer a doshen of our besht Mayshters, to be merry, prhetee shweet faish, and't be ; ant daunsh a fading at te vedding.
> DEN. But tey vere leeke to daunsh naked, an't pleash ty mayesty ; for te villanous vild Irish sheas haue casht away all ter fine cloysh, as may ash cosht a towsand cowes, and garranes, I varrant tee.
> DER. Ant te prishe of a Cashtell or two vpon teyr backs.
> DON. Ant tey tel ty mayesty, tey haue ner a great fish now, nor a sheamoynshter to shaue tery cloysh aliue now.
> PAT[rick]. Nor a deuoish vit a clowd to fesh 'hem out o' te bottome o' te vayter.
> DER. But tey musht eene come ant daunch i' teyr mantels now ; ant show tee how tey can foot te fading ant te fadow, ant te phip a dunboyne, I trow. (ll. 69-83).

We remember that Campion's Knights had been set upon by a violent tempest which raised monstrous serpents from the deep and that six of them had been transported to land by means of a cloud at the masque's moment of transformation. Furthermore, Dennise and his friends' lower class status and their discussion of their lords wanting to perform Irish folk dances is certainly an allusion to Campion's bringing of ordinary sailors into the world of ***The Somerset Masque*** to perform what seems to have been a hornpipe. Dermock's observation that *Toumaish o' shuffoke* "takes vsh for no shquires, I tinke" (l. 67) also drives home the point that Campion's Squires are being ridiculed.

After the stabs at Campion here, Jonson's masque wanders aimlessly for awhile, indulging in general mockeries of the Irish and the Irish political situa-

tion — the Irish *Mayshters*, for example, "shit like poore men i' te porsh yonder" (l. 130). However, after Dennise and his friends have danced "*to the bag-pipe, and other rude musique*" (l. 136), followed by a dance of the Irish *Mayshters* "*to a solemne musique of harpes*" (l. 141), the masque returns to humiliate Campion once more. Patrick asks YAMISH, "Pre tee shee anoter daunsh, ant be not veary" (l. 149), and his plea here is probably a reminder of the weariness that Campion's three-hour-long masque with its numerous dances and songs may have caused its audience. Gabeleoni relates, "Hora la festa fu principata alle undeci hore della sera ; durò sino alle due" (Orrell 303),[84] and his other comments are perhaps more telling:

> La festa fu cominciata da un'oratione fatta da quatro vestiti poveramente, la quale haveva più presto, al portar della voce, del funebre che d'allegria di nozze. (Ibid.)[85]

> Finito questo brando, tornò la musica nell'istesso luoco; in tanto li dodeci Cavri si rimessero in ordine, e retirata la musica, . cominciorono altro balletto sopra altr'aria et assai ordinario. Finito, danzorono alcune gagliarde; e poi retirati, comparvero dodeci marinari, vestiti di tela e beretta rossa a modo di schiavi, cominciorono un balletto alla paesana, che faceva honesto vedere per i gesti e dispositioni de i gioveni et il strepito che facevano con il cridare tutti insieme, e con questo si finì la festa; che l'haver visto le loro Maestà all' ordine e con gran maestà, et la quantità delle dame in poi, non si vidde cosa che meritasse di gran longa l'incommodità di migliaia di persone, che stettero dodeci hore aspettando et senza cena. (Ibid. 304)[86]

Patrick's pleading with YAMISH not to "be veary," however, is bluntly "*interrupted by a ciuill gentleman of the nation* [Ireland], *who brings in a Bard*" (ll. 143-44) — implying perhaps that what was missing from Campion's masque was the presence of a poet. Into the foolish dialogue of Jonson's disorderly Irishmen, the civil Gentleman interjects: "He [James] may be [weary] of your rudnesse. Hold your tongues" (l. 150). The Gentleman's verse-speech which follows is a relatively lengthy defense of English colonialism in Ireland, technically eloquent but

heavily larded with sycophantic adulation of James's imperial/sexual potency. The Gentleman relates that James has, from afar, long been the subject of the Irish Bard's "prophecies," and he invites the Bard to "come vp and view / The gladding face of . . . [the] great king" (ll. 153-55) and be introduced:

> This is that IAMES of which long since thou sung'st,
> Should end our contreyes most vnaturall broyles. (ll. 156-57)

Jonson also counters Campion's suggestion of James's unfruitfulness. Ireland is made female, and there is a strong intimation that James, the husband and father of Great Britain, will impregnate Ireland, yet another wife and daughter. The Gentleman asserts: "This is the ***man*** [James] thou [the Bard] promis'd should . . . in ***her*** [Ireland] all the fruits of blessing plant" (ll. 161-65; emphasis added). The testament to James's power continues. As in Campion's ***The Somerset Masque***, a "Charme" is needed to effect the masque's transformation, but in ***The Irish Masque***, the Bard is instructed to compose the "charme . . . from his [James's] present lookes [gaze]" (l. 167). The Bard's *charm*, authored and authorized with James's regal authority, carries the masque towards its submissive close:

> Bow both your heads at once, and hearts:
> Obedience doth not well in parts.
> It is but standing in his eye,
> You'll feele your selues chang'd by and by,
> Few liue, that know, how quick a spring
> Workes in the presence of a king:
> 'Tis done by this ; your slough let fall,
> And come forth new-borne creatures all.

Again there are suggestions of Campion's themes of fertility in the "spring" and the rebirthing, and under the power of James's eye, the wild Irishmen are indeed reborn — shedding their drab mantles to reveal their masquing finery, they become civilized copies of English courtiers. After a dance, the Bard concludes the masque with another song of praise which continues the fertility theme, and here

again Jonson draws on Campion. Jonson's lines, "So naked trees get crisped heads, / . . . That are but look'd on by his [James's] light" (ll. 191-94), points perhaps to Campion's "Tree of Golde" and suggests that its power is not derived from Anne, for the tree itself is but a manifestation of the king's potency. Here, by setting an example of how a masque should end, Jonson reiterates his exposure of Campion's reduction of the king to an impotent object of criticism. By the end of ***The Irish Masque***'s unambiguous and unabashed panegyrics, no one can ask, "For chreeshes sayk, phair ish te king?"

In addition to the honour of serving James, his friend and patron, Jonson may have found attacking Campion a labour of love since he seems to have held very little opinion of him. Drummond claims that Jonson stated that "he had written a discourse of Poesie both against Campion and [Samuel] Daniel,"[87] this discourse being prompted by the Campion-Daniel controversy of 1602/03. In 1602, Campion had published his prosody theory treatise, ***Observations in the Arte of English Poesie***, a text which among other things advocated the abandonment of rhyme in English verse, a prescription which Campion himself did not follow. The following year Samuel Daniel attacked his former friend with the publication of ***A Defence of Ryme against a Pamphlet entituled Obseruations in the Art of English Poesie***.[88] Herford and Simpson argue that Jonson's "reply to [Daniel and] Campion's work . . . has been lost" (***Jonson*** XI: 192); however, it seems likely that the response was *a discourse **in** Poesie* rather than prose and that it still exists as "A Fit of Rime against Rime," XXIX in ***The Underwood*** (***Jonson*** VIII: 183-84). To Campion and his theories, Jonson may have offered this scorn: "And [may] his Title be long foole, / That in rearing such a Schoole, / Was the founder" (Ibid. ll 57-58).[89] Campion was also Jonson's chief rival as a composer of court masques — a fact often overlooked because Jonson's almost total domination of the genre obscures the work of all other writers who dabbled in

it.[90] By 1613, Campion had been commissioned to compose four masques — not much of a threat to Jonson, except that two of these ***The Lords Masque*** and ***The Caversham Entertainment*** were composed and presented during Jonson's absence on the continent with Watt Raleigh in 1613; that the fourth ***The Somerset Masque*** was also commissioned in 1613; and that this fourth was given the honour of being performed on Carr and Howard's wedding night, Jonson perhaps taking second billing with the ***Irish Masque*** performed a few days later. Earlier the same year Campion also published ***Songs of Mourning,*** laments on the death of Prince Henry, Campion collaborating with Coprario; the suite of songs is thought to have been well received by the royal family. It is also significant that ***A New Way of Making Fowre Parts in Counter-point,*** Campion's music theory text, was dedicated to Prince Charles and may have been published also in 1613, although 1614 is a more likely date perhaps. ***Two Bookes of Ayres*** also may have appeared in 1613. Campion was, shall we say, a *rising star*. As a competitor for masque commissions, Campion increasingly posed a threat to Jonson, and, while James likely assigned Jonson the task of ridiculing the ***The Somerset Masque,*** the enthusiasm evident in Jonson's satiric brutality was most certainly motivated by Campion's poaching on his territory.

There are other factors which may have informed Jonson's sarcasm in ***The Irish Masque.*** His choice of the (anti-)Irish theme may have been a snide allusion to Campion's family background.[91] Additionally, Sir Thomas Overbury had once been Jonson's friend and literary colleague, although by the time Overbury's death, they seem to have fallen out with each other;[92] still though, revenge may have been one of Jonson's prompts to write. General misogynistic cantankerousness may also have been at work. David Riggs also argues that there are indications that Jonson "had come resent his dependence on the favor of . . . powerful women," such as Anne and her circle (153), and Campion's

masque praised Anne highly. There was also Campion's ambition to become a lady's poet which may have irked Jonson, as well.[93] And finally Jonson's relationship with Howard family at large was anything but friendly, and there were almost certainly reasons for grudges to be held both by the family and by Jonson. Northampton, in particular, disliked Jonson and was instrumental in having him brought before the Council over the play ***Sejanus***; Jonson it seems had also assaulted one of the earl's retainers (Riggs 105-106). Other family members had caused the poet embarrassment, as well. Suffolk had once evicted Jonson and a friend from a masque performance at court (Ibid.), and Jonson may also have run afoul of the Chamberlain over ***Eastward Ho***, although Suffolk "in the end . . . decided to be lenient" (Ibid. 125). The attitude of Jonson towards Frances Howard may also have been somewhat hostile, and he must have found it very strange to be writing a second wedding masque for Howard while her first husband was still alive — in 1606, he had written the masque *Hymenæi* for her and Essex. In this work, Jonson had used the "moon" as a symbol suggestive of a woman in marriage:

> The *moone*, when farthest from the *sunne* she shines
> Is most refulgent ; nearest, most declines :
> But your poor *wiues* farre off must neuer rome,
> But wast their beauties, neere their *lords*, at home :
> And when their *lords* range out, at home must hide
> (Like to beg'd *monopolies*) all their pride.
>
> (***Jonson*** VII: 235-36, ll. 776-781)

Jonson's misogynistic irony in the juxtaposition of the inconstant moon with the alleged and unwilling constancy of wives is quite obvious, and the conceit may well be a sly reference to Howard's reputation for promiscuity, even at this early age — a slight which, while quite probably unjust at the time, did perhaps turn out to be prophetic. Whatever his primary motivations may have been for ***The Irish Masque***'s composition, on the night of December 29, three days after ***The***

Somerset Masque, Jonson unleashed the work on the court. And as previously noted, it was well received.[94]

Davis suggests that Campion's "third [prefatory] epigram [in the publication of *The Somerset Masque*] was probably provoked by Jonson's burlesque" of his work (*Works* 267 n. 1):

> Uni ego mallem placuisse docto,
> Candido, et fastu sine iudicanti,
> Millium quam millibus imperitorium
> Inque videntum. (Ibid. 267)[95]

If it is a reply to Jonson, it is quite mild and either takes refuge in or expresses quiet disdain with the elitism of Latin. Campion seems to have prided himself on his Latin, a language in which Jonson for all his learning seems to have composed very little. In the epigram's relative meekness, there may have been an awareness on Campion's part that if one is going to tread on the dragon's tail, even as a gesture of foolish courage, it is best to do so lightly and quietly.[96]

That Campion's masque was more incisive and more in touch with the reality of James's kingship than was Jonson's mattered very little in the end. On one hand, some masques were about the generation and maintenance of higher *political truths*, and the potency of these entertainments was utilized to attempt the alteration of temporal realities in ways that were, as Orgel has noted, both Platonic and Machiavellian.[97] Campion and his patrons seem to have understood this much, and their employment of this strategy is not at all unorthodox. On the other hand, however, some masques were intended simply to tinsel over brazen actualities beautifying them for public consideration, much in the way that modern politicians and their attendant *spin-doctors* stage their performance art — the impetus here not to change reality but merely to distort public perception of it with a full panopoly of multi-coloured smoke and sparkling mirrors. With *The Somerset Masque*, what Campion and his patrons

appear to have failed to comprehend fully is that to scratch through the surface of the tinsel-work, openly violating the most sacred and golden of *political truths* by juxtaposing them with the temporal bronze-work they were intended to obscure, was perhaps, if one will forgive the vulgar colloquialism, like pissing into the wind — a dubious activity at the best of times and one certainly not wisely undertaken in public without a sympathetic audience as well as a delightful degree of grace, agility, physical endowment, personal charisma, and social status. These are all, however, attributes which Campion may have held in insufficient degree for the successful realization of the spectacle his patrons had assigned him. Indeed, much of ***The Irish Masque***'s vitriolic back-spray likely drenched poor Campion,[98] and there is a sad irony in this outcome. For, critical though ***The Somerset Masque*** may have been, it is highly unlikely that either Campion or his patrons acted with subversive intent; the criticisms offered seem designed not to tear down the idealistic myths of James's kingship but rather to goad reality into a semblance of the mythology. James was to repair his relationship with Anne. He was to *act* as the patriarchal protector of the nation, and he was to restore the navy. He was to be the head of new world order brought about by the fulfillment of Britain's manifest destiny as imperialistic power, a destiny which depended upon trade and colonialism. Knowles points out that Britain's Burse, Cecil's shopping centre, was intended to "stand as a monument . . . to Cecil's policies towards the unification of trade, presenting an image of a world united through its links to Britain as the market of its goods, with the New Exchange [the Burse] as the crossroads of the new London, the renewed nation, and the new world" (15).[99] Cecil was loyal to the crown and the nation, and it is completely implausible that the regrouped alliance, Northampton, Carr, and Suffolk, ever questioned the alleged validity of the line of patriarchal authority, running from God to the king and down to the aristocracy and so on, for this

same line of authority also empowered them and granted them privilege. Even Anne, while resentful of her marginalized status within James's court, would not likely have abandoned the patriarchal mythology of rule by divine right, for it also insured her position of social privilege both within her own court and within the nation. Furthermore, there is no cause to suspect Campion of covert republicanism — not a hint of Tacitus or Machiavelli appears anywhere in his works. In ***The Somerset Masque***, Campion and his patrons attempted to harness royal mythology to change the worldly reality in which they lived. By contrast, Jonson, in what was perhaps an uncharacteristic manner, fawningly catered to the same mythology and ignored the reality it obscured. Smuts has argued that art, literature, and theatrical entertainments "were used not only to defend and glorify royal actions but implicitly to criticize them and suggest alternatives" (***Diversity*** 111), and in the instance of the Carr-Howard wedding and its entertainments, the tense polarity to which Smuts draws attention is highly evident between the masques of Jonson and Campion. In the end, even if ***The Irish Masque*** was divorced from reality of James's kingship, it was perhaps the *more politically true* of the two entertainments — and for its author it was certainly the more personally expedient.

There is perhaps little surprise that, after ***The Somerset Masque***, Campion vanished from the court stage. Most likely he was ostracized. However, in a manner reminiscent of Stephen Greenblatt's theory of *self-cancellation,*[100] Davis suggests that the disappearance of a disillusioned Campion was admirably intentional:

> Campion's big year was 1613: it . . . was marked . . . by an embracement of . . . the actual. . . . . In the masques he kept throughout the overall theme of chaos yielding to order, but his means became progressively more spare, from the complex allegory of ***The Lord Hay's Masque*** to a naked presentation of the civilizing power

> of language to make a masque or to make a world in ***The Lords' Masque***. Here in ***The Squires' Masque*** [***The Somerset Masque***] he stripped down the form to a spare diagram consisting of little more than an antimasque in pantomime followed by a spectacular but brief transformation scene. But the transformation did not catapult him or his audience into the wonderful; rather, it landed them in the world. What they all saw at the beginning was a tumult of elements, continents, and other personifications of the world — an illusion — and what they saw at its end was a crew of sailors coming up the Thames, disembarking, dancing a hornpipe. (***Thomas Campion*** 152-53)
>
> [***The Somerset Masque***] ends as realistic representation: the myth was the illusion. (Ibid. 151)
>
> The masque became for Campion a means of clarifying what in fact quotidian London life was, rather than an ennoblement of it. And when the year of reality, 1613, was over, he had seen enough of it. He left the stage. (Ibid. 153)

While theoretically sound, Davis's thought is perhaps not supported by fact. If Campion had seen enough of reality, (the Carr-Howard-Overbury intrigue, the disfunctional royal marriage, political conniving, rivalry, *et cetera*), it is odd that he continued to solicit royal patronage rather than devoting himself to his medical practice and his lesser patrons. His music theory treatise, ***A New Way of Making Fowre Part in Counter-point***, possibly published in 1613, but more likely in 1614, was dedicated "TO THE FLOWRE OF PRINCES, CHARLES, PRINCE OF GREAT BRITAINE" (***Works*** 323). Even after the horrors of the Overbury murder trials — hangings, imprisonments, and losses of position and favour, among his patrons and their servants and agents — Campion still looked for royal patronage. His second book of Latin verse, *Tho. Campiani Epigrammatum Libri II* (1619), was also offered to Charles. Hoping to appeal to the prince, Campion expanded "Umbra," one of its lengthier poems, from the fragment in ***Thomæ Campiani Poemata*** (1595) to include praise for his sister Princess Elizabeth and also for the recently deceased "Anna Britanna" — "magnae

similemque Dianae," but surpassing her in fortune and beauty.[101] Anne, who had died on March 2, had likely been alive while Campion was preparing the book for publication. *Tho. Campiani Epigrammatum Libri II* also contained the flattering epigram "*De Regis reditu e Scotia*," celebrating James's return from Scotland in 1617. If Campion found that he had had enough of *reality* in 1613, it seems certain that he later changed his mind. Or perhaps the relative poverty of life outside the court patronage system may have changed his mind for him. And indeed, outside he was after ***The Sommerset Masque***, and the exposure in 1615 of the Overbury murder and the subsequent revelation of Campion's minor involvement in it cannot but have increased his ostracism. He was never to work again at court, and it is not recorded whether Charles responded in any manner to Campion's dedications.

Chapter 4 Footnotes:

1. See ch. 2 n. 47, herein.

2. Paul Reyher, ***Les Masques Anglais: Étude sur les Ballets et la Vie de Cour en Angleterre (1512-1640)***, 1909 (New York: Benjamin Bloom, 1964). Since Chambers's reference to Reyher matches the 1964 edition, it seems safe to assume that the book's pagination is identical to the 1909 edition.

3. See Chamberlain's discussion of the riddles and idle papers he encountered at Gray's Inn in early June (ch. 3, p. 91, herein); some of these satires were about Overbury, some about the Essex divorce, but among the other topics of attack were Mansfeld (Sir Robert Mansell, Treasurer of the Navy) and James Whitelocke, Mansell's lawyer. In the same letter, Chamberlain reports that these two had been recently imprisoned because of their efforts to obstruct the 1613 commission on naval reform.

4. See ch. 1, pp. 16-19, herein.

5. It is difficult to determine where Suffolk stood on the issue of naval reform. He had definite ties to both kinsmen, Nottingham and Northampton, and he may have either tried to stay neutral or have attempted to play intra-factional peacemaker. Phenias Pett, a (corrupt) master shipwright and one of Nottingham's clients, describes an event that occurred on May 8, 1609, at Woolwich where the king, Prince Henry, Northampton, Nottingham, Salisbury, Suffolk, and others had gathered to examine Pett's allegedly substandard workmanship (47-48). Pett was one of the defendants in the on-going naval inquiry of 1608. He was also one of Prince Henry's most favoured clients, one with whom Henry is thought to have gone sailing on the Thames, Pett having much earlier designed for the then ten-year-old prince a scaled down but fully functional pinnace, to which the delighted Henry immediately appointed Pett his Royal Captain, although it was Nottingham who actually presented Henry with the ship (Strong, ***Henry*** 57). At the meeting at Woolwich, Henry is reported to have vociferously defended Pett, and the inquiry "sorted out clean contrary to . . . [Northampton's] expectation" (Pett 67). In the end, James sided with Pett, showing him "a very pleasing countenance, . . . [being] persuaded of . . . [his] honesty integrity and ability" (Ibid. 63). At the moment of the king's departure, Pett provides us with a glimpse of Suffolk in action: "In passing through the hall, the Lord Admiral going before and leading me in his hand, the Lord Thomas Howard [Suffolk], the Lord Chamberlain of the Household, made a motion to his Majesty to lay a charge upon me that I should not make any quarrel against any person or persons that had that day given information against me, alleging he knew my stomach to be such as, if I were not contained by his Majesty's commandment, I would call them to account for their doings, whereupon blood might ensue. [¶] His Majesty, giving ear to what his Lordship advised, gave him thanks for his worthy counsel ; and calling me unto him before the whole company, I sitting upon my knees, he gave me an especial charge upon my allegiance and life that I should not quarrel or challenge any person or persons whatsoever that had that day given information against me" (Ibid. 65-66). It is impossible to draw any firm conclusion from Suffolk's action here, but he does seem to be working with James at patching up the damage that the inquiry had done to the stability of the Howard faction. In the 1613 inquiry, he perhaps sided more openly with Northampton since Northampton had helped him with the Overbury problem and since Carr seems to have been on side with Northampton as well. Where he stood in 1608 is uncertain, but Pett, writing slightly later than the events described here, does not seem to count Suffolk as one of his friends or allies. Considering Sir William Monson's claims that he supported naval reform, it is interesting to note that he is conspicuously absent from Pett's accounts of the inquiries.

6. Here Peck refers the reader to a chart in Oppenheim, ***Administration of the Royal Navy*** 197.

7. It must be noted here that Peck is referring to the time period from James's accession up to Buckingham's naval inquiry of 1618, and the numbers presented here, while indicative of general conditions, may not actually represent the specific situation in 1613. Oppenheim does establish, though, that 1613 was a year of particularly high expenses (***Administration*** 197). Since Buckingham's commission is outside the scope of this paper, I have deleted Peck's reference to it here.

8. Chamberlain makes an aside to Carleton: "Our mariners grow daily discontented, and we heare of 800 that have lately manned five ships, and do much harme in the narrow seas and along the coast" (London, March 3, 1609, ***State Papers Domestic, Jacobean I*** xliv: 6, ***Letters of John Chamberlain*** 1: 287). The implication here is that the mariners have turned to piracy in their desperation.

9. Lloyd, with a number of transcription errors or editorial amendments, cites C. D. Penn, ***The Navy under the Early Stuarts***; Penn quotes the Venetian Ambassador in England writing to Doge, ***State Papers, Venetian*** 4: 14, 1619: "'For sixteen years he has been King of England, they have never knocked a nail into any of the Royal ships, or so much thought of such things[;]' . . . and it would need many months incessant toil to get each 'fallen colossus' into a condition which should fit it for a southern voyage" (58).

10. See ch. 1, n. 21, herein.

11. Cecil as Lord Treasurer had the penultimate responsibility for the navy before the king himself, and as Kevin Sharpe observes, the report of the naval commission of 1608 was "an implicit indictment of Cecil's regime" (119). He adds: "It does not detract from . . . [Northampton's] genuine efforts to reform that the navy to point out that . . . [he] undoubtedly hoped to profit by exposing the failings of others. The cause of reform in the early seventeenth century was a road to power and influence. [¶] [And] there are indications that by 1608 the uneasy alliance between Salisbury and Northampton was giving way to rival attempts to gain a monopoly of royal favour" (Ibid.). (As always,) Sharpe's opinions are very well supported, but they do need to be questioned in some aspects. If James would not act in the cause of reform, there was then really nothing that Cecil could do — he was powerless, for example, to remove Nottingham. If Cecil was responsible for the corruption of the navy, it is strange that he may have been one of the establishing forces behind the naval commission of 1602. One must also consider that a strong, effective Navy was to Cecil's own advantage; "during 1603-09, Cecil had been especially active in encouraging maritime enterprise and exploration, acting as the *éminence grise* behind the reorganization of the Virginia Company and the establishment of the East India Company" (Knowles 15). In the case of Northampton, his efforts at reform were fruitless in every way — no reform was accomplished — no personal power was gained; in fact, in the inquiry of 1608/1609 he may have risked James's disfavour, for as Phineas Pett relates, on one occasion "his Majesty, taking it ill that my Lord [Northampton] should dare to question his [the king's] just proceedings, which he had taken such pains personally to hear [and*] determine, took him [Northampton] short off with a sharp reprehension and willed him no further to insist upon that whereof his Majesty and the whole world were so sufficiently satisfied" (69; *Pett's editor's insertion) — yet Northampton seems to have pursued the cause almost up to the time of his death. Undoubtedly Sharpe is correct about the rivalry between Northampton and Cecil, but the rifts caused by intra-factional struggles are difficult interpret, and their ultimate severity is debatable. Cecil was still on good terms with the Howards at the time of his son's marriage to Suffolk's daughter in 1610. It should also be remembered here that Sir William Monson had

likely been Cecil and Northampton's candidate for preferment in the navy against Nottingham's men, Mansell and Sir Richard Leveson, and that Monson, who replaced Mansell as Admiral of the Narrow Seas in 1604, later claimed that he had stood firmly with Northampton on the issue of naval reform. Indeed, Laughton argues that Monson's criticism and complaint about the decline of the navy led to his alienation from Nottingham ("Monson, Sir William"). See also ch. 1, n. 29, herein.

12. The relationship between Greville and Cecil is complex. Greville, with the young Campion, Daniel, and others, appears to have been a member of a coterie of admirers and imitators of Sir Philip Sydney, and possibly through this coterie he became friendly with the Sydney family. He also developed a relationship of considerable intimacy with Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex. However, Greville's appointment to the position of Treasurer of the Navy seems to have been based on his mutual acceptability to ***both*** Essex and Cecil, and as Ronald A. Rebholz notes, "Greville attributed much of his success in acquiring his new post to Cecil" (117). Cecil later secured an additional commission for him as a Rear Admiral (Ibid. 188). Greville managed at first to stay in favour with both his patrons (Ibid.), but after the execution of Essex, a very disturbing event for Greville, Cecil seems not to have trusted him again, however much Greville tried to curry the First Secretary's favour. Still though, it is likely that Cecil was behind Greville's (partially self-serving) attempts to reform the naval administration — certainly, it was not something Greville would have had the power to undertake on his own. But, as Rebholz argues, the success of any proposed reform "depended . . . upon the potential which Cecil, the Lord Admiral [Nottingham], and the other Howards saw . . . for furthering their personal interests, and on the balance of power within that tight ruling circle. The Lord Admiral saw in . . . [reform] only a limitation of his own power and income; having toyed with the idea of resignation in exchange for another sinecure, he decided not only to keep the post but to condone the aspirations of his relative, Sir Robert Mansell, to replace Greville as Treasurer. When Cecil and Lord Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk, finally detected the Lord Admiral's inclinations, they forgot the proposed reforms of the navy, and Cecil allowed Mansell and Trevor to scuttle Greville" (169). After the death of Elizabeth, who had held him in high regard, Greville's fortunes began to wane, and he lost most of his offices. Greville, however, still continued to solicit Cecil's patronage, although with a thinly disguised bitterness. After his dismissal as Treasurer, it was to Cecil that Greville presented his plans for a history of Elizabeth's reign, hoping for Cecil's patronage and protection — or perhaps, as D. R. Woolf would have it, the plans were demanded by Cecil, on behalf of James, so that the project could be censored (123). In either case, Cecil refused Greville his support, and the planned history was suppressed. In 1607, Greville seems to have made Cecil a gift of a portative organ; it was perhaps unwillingly a gift, though (See ch. 2, p. 44, and ch. 2, n. 28, herein). Rebholz's book, ***The Life of Fulke Greville First Lord Brooke***, is highly recommended, especially to those interested in the uneasy relationship among power, politics and literature; see Rebholz, chapters 7-10, for greater detail on Greville's clientage with Cecil.

13. See n. 11, above.

14. See n. 12, above, for a brief analysis of Greville's troubles over naval reform.

15. Cotton was a Catholic. He had also been involved in the political maneuverings of James's succession; Northampton had commissioned him to write a defense of the "Scottish claim" (Riggs 97). He was also friendly with Suffolk's brother, Sir William Howard, an antiquarian scholar and recusant. It should be noted further that he was a close confederate of Northampton and Carr, one who became involved in the Overbury murder as an accessory after the fact by assisting Carr in the destruction, altering, and hiding of documentary evidence from Northampton's archives as well as material from Carr's own correspondence (Sharpe 134-36). He had also been involved with Carr in the negotiations for a Spanish marriage for Prince Charles.

See Sharpe ch. 4 as a whole for an admirably detailed examination of the relationship between Cotton, Cecil, Northampton, and Carr. With regards to the Overbury murder, the extremely vitriolic, possibly unreliable, and blatantly anti-Catholic Philip Gibbs insinuates that Cotton, that "notorious Papist," was at the centre of a plot to poison "the Prince, the Elector Palatine, or Lady Elizabeth" — his partners in crime being Carr and the Monson brothers — Sir Thomas "guilty of the guiltiest" (260). Again by innuendo, Gibbs suggests Count Gondomar as a link between William Monson and Carr — both Carr and Monson were exposed by the alleged vigilance of Sir John Digby (Ibid.).

16. Oppenheim notes: "The report of the commissioners will be found in ***State Papers, Dom., Jas. I***, xli ; the sworn depositions on which the report was based are preserved in ***Cott. MSS.***, Julius F III" (***Administration*** 193 n. 3).

17. Meritocracy in the civil service was, however, a concept that Cecil and Northampton began to explore in a limited way in their push for reformation of the nation's administration and finances (Peck, ***Northampton***).

18. Rodger draws on G. E. Aylmer, ***The King's Servants . . .***, London, 1961, 10, 76, 102. This passage from Rodger would seem to contradict the argument that there was an inexorable logic to systems of patronage — that when a patron died or lost favour, his clients suffered as well. However, not all clients held employment which gave them legal rights to their positions. Artists, with the possible limited exception of musicians, were extremely vulnerable. The situation described by Rodger is why Campion's musician friends were so eager to be preferred to the King's Musick; members of this group were essentially musical civil servants, and their positions were as secure as titled property. Note Piero Guye's holding of a place in the King's Musick, even when he himself could not fulfill its duties (ch. 2, n. 29, herein). Writers did not have such luxury. Even Jonson's pension in 1616 was only a pension; it was not attached to any legally defined position with rights of reversion.

19. "The Dutch were said to be obtaining the carrying trade owing to the greater cheapness with which their vessels were built and worked, the difference in their favour being as much as one-third of the English owner's demand for freight. In 1620 it was stated that the number of London-owned ships had fallen to one-half of that of former years, and, as accounting for part of the decrease, we have a certificate for 1618 of vessels belonging to the river but lately sold for want of employment. The list in question show an enormous depreciation in value, since none of them could have been very old" (Oppenheim, ***Administration*** 199-200: Oppenheim refers the reader to ***State Papers, Dom.***, civ, 65).

20. Oppenheim alludes to "R. Playfair, ***The Scourge of Christendom***, p. 34," without further bibliographical information.

21. Penn refers to ***State Papers, Venetian*** January 25 / February 4, 1612. It should be explained here that many Algerine ships were manned with expatriate British officers who had taught the Algerines the skills necessary to navigate northern waters. G. J. Marcus reports: "A high percentage of the pirates were European renegades, including Englishmen who had once been privateersmen and found themselves out of business by the peace of 1604. They had thrown in their lot with the Moors of the Barbary coast and in not a few cases had prospered exceedingly. Two of the most celebrated renegades were John Ward and Simon Danzer who had established themselves at Tunis and Algiers respectively. There were also Captain Richard Giffard of the *Fortune*, and Sir Francis Verney, who is even said to have adopted the costume of the country. Some of the renegades returned to England in 1612 upon the proffer of a pardon for life and goods; but the majority chose to remain in the country of their adoption. From Ward, Danzer, Giffard, Verney, and their fellows the Moorish crews learned the art of sailing men-of-

war in northern seas. These Barbary corsairs were admirably adapted for their work. To lighten the ships many of their knees were cut away, which, as Monson, remarked, resulted in a notable increase of speed, 'like a man this tight trussed and hath his doublet buttoned, that by loos'ning it he able to run the faster'. Since the practice of the Moors was to board, they did not need to carry many guns; and when pursued by warships, their superior speed generally enabled them to escape. The Barbary ports were essentially pirate strongholds. 'Their one function was to prey upon commerce, and for this purpose not only the fleet but the whole state was organized'" (126; Marcus quotes G. N. Clark, 'The Barbary Corsairs in the Seventeenth Century,' ***Cambridge Historical Journal*** VIII (1944): 25; the passage from Monson is not identified). Oppenheim adds that in 1611, two English pirate admirals, Peter Eston and John Ferne "together mustered forty sail and 2000 men" (Monson's ***Naval Tracts*** 3: 70). See also Penn 13-14 for further details of the problems before the 1608 inquiry.

22. See also ch.3, p. 114, herein.

23. ***State Papers Domestic Series, Jacobean I,*** June 13, 1613.

24. Penn notes here that "Campbell, 'Lives of the Admirals,' says 'The Marshalsea'" rather than the Tower. James McMullen Rigg states that Whitelocke, Mansell's legal advisor, was jailed in "the Fleet prison" on May 18 and was not released until June 13 ("Whitelocke, Sir James"). Mansell (Mansfeld, Mansfelt) was placed in the Marshalsea according to Chamberlain, whose evidence corroborates Rigg's claim: "Sir Robert Mansfeld hath ben this fortnight in the Marshalsee for animating the Lord Admirall to stand against a commission graunted to review and reforme the abuses committed by the officers of the navie, and Whitlocke the lawier is in the Fleet for speaking too boldly against the authoritie of the Marshall-Court: and beeing upon his release is remitted thether again, for giving his opinion (though not under his hand) to Sir Robert Mansfelt that this commission was not according to law" (London, June 10, 1613, Chamberlain to Carleton, ***State Papers Domestic, Jacobean I*** lxxiv: 1, ***Letters of John Chamberlain*** 1: 455-56).

25. Northampton to Lake, ***State Papers Domestic Series, Jacobean I,*** November 18, 1613.

26. Regarding the tone of outrage in Penn's work, it should be noted that he was writing shortly after World War I and that much of his text seems to present a thinly veiled opposition to any demobilization of the navy, an organization which, in 1920, he himself likely viewed as "the nation's one and only safeguard."

27. Chamberlain to Winwood, London, February 10, 1613, ***Winwood Papers,*** vol. viii, ***Letters of John Chamberlain*** 1: 419.

28. Chamberlain to Carleton, London, February 11, 1613, ***State Papers Domestic Series, Jacobean I*** lxxii: 26, ***Letters of John Chamberlain*** 1: 421.

29. Chamberlain to Winwood, London, June 10, 1613, ***Winwood Papers*** vol. ix, ***Letters of John Chamberlain*** 1: 458. For the relevant passage from the letter to Carleton, see n. 24, above.

30. G. J. Marcus relates: "During the period 1604-16 Sir William Monson was employed as Admiral of the Narrow Seas for the purpose of putting down piracy and privateering. But his ships were poor sailers, and they were at sea only for comparatively short periods. English merchants, finding that they could look for little protection from the Navy, were obliged to arm several of their own vessels for the defence of commerce. The operations of the pirates continued on an ever increasing scale, in spite of spasmodic attempts to curb them, until the revival of English sea power in the days of the Commonwealth" (126).

31. Chamberlain to Carleton, London, March 25, 1613, ***State Papers Domestic Series, Jacobean I*** lxxii: 91, ***Letters of John Chamberlain*** 1: 440. See also ch. 3, p. 110, herein.

32. The allusion here is to James's well known royal mythology in which he presents himself as both father and husband to the nation. In an effort to please James, Campion had parroted the royal self-image in the publication of ***Lord Hay's Masque***, perhaps with a tinge of irony in his skirting around the issues of bigamy and incest: "Angliae, et unanimis Scotiae pater, anne maritus / Sis dubito, an neuter (Rex) vel uterque simul. / Uxores, pariter binas sibi inugat ut unus, / Credimus hoc, ipso te prohibente, nephas. / Atque maritali natas violare parentem / Complexu, quis non cogitat esse scelus? / At tibi divinis successibus utraque nubit; / Una tamen coniux, coniugis vnus amor. / Cunnubium O mirum! binas qui ducere, et unam / Possis! tu solus sic, *Iacobe*, potes: / Divisas leviter terras componis in unam / Atque unam aeternum nomine, reque facis: / Natisque, et nuptis, pater et vir factus utrisque es; / Unitis coniux vere, et amore parens" ("Ad Invictissimum, / Serenissimumque Iacobvm / *Magnae Britanniae Regem*" (***Works***, ed. Davis, 208). Davis offers this prose translation: "I wonder (O King) whether you are the father of England and united Scotland, or a husband, or neither, or both at once. For one man to marry two wives at once — that we believe, by your own prohibition, to be an impiety. And for the parent to violate his daughter in marital embraces — who does not consider that a crime? But you by divine succession, marry both; yet they are one wife, one conjugal love. O wonderful marriage, which can join two and one! You alone, James, can do this; easily you bring divided lands into one and make them eternally one in name and in fact. To both the children and the brides, you have become father and husband: truly a husband out of union and a father out of love" (Ibid.).

33. Here in the story of James's marriage, I am principally informed by: Bingham, ***James VI*** ch. 7; E. C. Williams ch. 2; and Dollerup, "Spenser's Concord."

34. Ashby to Walsingham, September 24, 1589, ***Calendar of State Papers (Scottish)*** x: 157, qtd. (and presumably edited) by Bingham, ***James VI*** 116-17.

35. James VI to Anne of Denmark, c.2 October "1859" [sic:1589], ***Warrender Papers*** II: 109-10, qtd. and trans. by Bingham, ***James VI*** 117.

36. Fowler to Lord Burghley, ***A Collection of State Papers 1571-1596 Transcribed from the Original Papers Left by William Cecil, Lord Burghley***, ed. William Murden, London, 1759, 637, qtd. (and presumably edited) by E. C. Williams 17-18.

37. Melville 369, qtd. in Adolphus William Ward "Anne of Denmark." Ward is not clear about which edition of Melville he is quoting from, but since the spelling of the text is not modernized, the most likely edition is perhaps Sir James Melville, ***Memoirs of His Own Life***, 1827. Another edition, ***The Memoirs of Sir James Melville of Halhill . . .***, London: Folio Society, 1969, has a different reading: "Which storm of wind was alleged to have been raised by the witches of Denmark, as by sundry of them was acknowledged when they were for that cause burnt. That which moved them thereto was, as they said, a cuff or blow which the admiral of Denmark gave to one of the bailies of Copenhagen, whose wife, consulting with her associates in that art, raised the storm, to be revenged upon the said admiral" (147). Melville adds further: "The storms were also so great here [Scotland], that a boat perished between Burntisland and Leith, wherein was a gentlewoman called Jean Kennedy, who had been long in England with the queen His Majesty's mother and was since married to Sir Andrew Melville of Garvock, my brother, master of Her Majesty's household. Which gentlewoman, being discreet and grave, was sent for by His Majesty to be about the queen his bedfellow. She be willing to make diligence, would not by the storm be stopped from sailing on the ferry; where the vehement storm drove a ship forcibly on the said boat, and drowned the gentlewoman and all the persons, except two. This the Scottish witches confessed to His Majesty to have done" (147). There is also perhaps an echo of these events in the witches from Shakespeare's ***Macbeth***.

38. Morford and Lenardon note: "Perhaps an intentional play upon the word *philommeides*, laughter-loving, a standard epithet of Aphrodite" (32 n. 9).

39. ***Theogony***, an excerpt from ll. 139-210, qtd. and trans. by Morford and Lenardon 32.

40. Witness Donne's Elegy 19 *To his Mistress Going to Bed.*

41. ***The Faerie Queene***, IV: x: 44, ***The Works of Edmund Spenser***, ed. Edwin Greenlaw *et al*, Baltimore, 1932-57, qtd. in Dollerup.

42. Elizabeth to Anne, May 1590, ***Calendar of State Papers, Scotland*** 308-309, qtd. in Dollerup 24.

43. Dollerup's note: "See ***Calendar . . . Scotland***, xv-xvi (with further references)" (25 n 13).

44. Dollerup's note: "See ***Calendar . . . Scotland***, 143 (Archibald Douglas to Walsingham, 19 August, 1589)" (25 n 14).

45. The allusion here is to Jonson's often quoted preamble to the masque ***Hymenæi***, in which he discusses his theories of masque construction: "It is a noble and iust aduantage, that the things subiected to *vnderstanding* haue of those which are obiected to *sense*, that the one sort are but momentarie, and meerely taking ; the other impressing, and lasting : Else the glorie of all these *solemnities* had perish's like a blaze, and gone out, in the *beholders* eyes. So short-liu'd are the *bodies* of all things, in comparison of their *soules*. And, though *bodies* oft-times haue the ill luck to be sensually preferr'd, they find aftewards, the good fortune (when *soules* liue) to be vtterly forgotten. This it is hath made the royall *Princes*, and greatest *persons* (who are commonly the *personaters* of these *actions*) not onely studious of riches, and magnificence in the outward celebration, or shew ; (which rightly becomes them) but curious after the most high, and heartie *inuentions*, to furnish the inward parts : (and those being grounded vpon *antiquitie*, and solide *learnings*) which, though their *voyce* be taught to sound to present occasions, their *sense*, of doth, or should alwayes lay hold on more remou'd *mysteries*" (***Jonson*** 7: 209).

46. "Argumentum," "Ad Thamesin." Davis translates: "This whole poem congratulates the Thames for the rout of the Spaniards" (362).

47. Davis provides translation: "Powerful nymph of the Thames, second only to Diana, raise your dark head from the waters; see how far and wide the fleet which had just stood firm with bloody standards has left your harbors in panic like a runaway" (363 ll. 1-4).

48. Davis translates: "But you, Thames, fairest of the nymphs, deep in your clear waters, as you saw the enemy standards far off, you, goddess, concealed the source of the river in a wide eddy and confused the waters of the sea with your waves, until the Iberian company, driven back by the fury of the winds and courage of men, escaped through the Hibernian rocks" (375 ll. 247-49; 377 ll. 250-53).

49. Davis translates: "Although the old man approached Dis with no reverence, still Dis addressed him thus, and shrewdly softened his expression: 'O thou who hold sway over the waves (struggling and waging civil wars), and the seas spread far and wide, and the streams falling from the clefts in the mountains: why does this island remain unseen? why does this island [America] lack civilization? The earth groans with its weight, with shining gold ripened in its fertile womb; this star strikes mortal hearts, but you alone keep them away because the love of luring gold encourages crime; not a Roman has reached these shores, no Spaniard accustomed to armed camp, no one from Italy, because they fear your swimming monsters. Be gentle, I pray, receive, hide in your bosom, and plant on our shore the Hesperians [the Spaniards; Davis's gloss] powerful in spirit and wealth, whom the glory of war has exalted.' Oceanus answered: 'To you, Dis, Orcus lies open and all earthly power, and gold harming weak mortals; but what ever they

have, the fair have also your favors. These are the English, they are Britons from the Trojan race, who cherish peace and worship the spirit and frequent temples. And if you should see many triumphs in long array, you will also see these sands the field of a mighty struggle'" (365 ll. 46-57; 367 ll. 57-69; Davis miscounts lines; there are two lines 57.).

50. I am greatly indebted to Jerzy Limon for introducing me to the world of emblem books. His work in ***The Masque of Stuart Culture***, ch. 2 and ch. 6, informs and guides much of the discussion that follows herein.

51. Paraphrase/translation provided by Dr. Peter Smith, Department of Greek and Roman Studies, University of Victoria. Rollenhagen's text was not available to me, so I have examined only the emblematic devices and their mottos in Wither's book since these were reproduced from the same copper plates used in Rollenhagen. Wither himself relates: "*These* Emblems, *graven in Copper by* Crispinus Passæus (*with a* Motto *in Greek, Latin, or Italian, round about every* Figure; *and with two* Lines (*or* Verses) *in one of the same* Languages, *periphrasing those* Motto's) *came to my hands, almost twentie years past. The* Verses *were so meane, that, they were afterwards cut off from the* Plates" (a1^{v}; for typographic reasons neither long 's's' nor ligatures have been reproduced here). Rollenhagen's publishing date of [1611]-1613 and the fact that Wither, in England, had a copy of Rollenhagen's text in about 1613 — (Wither's text "was entered in the Stationer's Register 10 March 1633/4" (Horden n. pag.)) — make the emblems themselves roughly contemporary with Campion's ***The Somerset Masque***. And even if Campion did not actually see Rollenhagen and van de Passe's work, the emblems are quite conventional, and Campion would most certainly have recognized their motifs, for he himself appears to have used the same. The emblem of the rock beset by waves and winds (to be discussed shortly hereafter) appears in Campion's dedication to Sir Thomas Monson in The Third and Fourth Booke of Ayres: "I, that in your affliction often view'd / In you the fruits of manly fortitude, / Patience, and even constancie of minde, / That Rocke-like stood, and scorn'd both wave and wind" (ll. 9-12).

52. The emblem may have even passed into idiomatic language, for Chamberlain, on one occasion, defends the trustworthiness of his information from court by stating that "I know as much reason for yt as they that are neerer the helm" (Chamberlain to Carleton, London, April 29, 1613, ***State Papers Domestic Series, Jacobean I*** lxxii: 120, ***Letters of John Chamberlain*** 1: 4460.

53. Paraphrase/translation provided by Dr. Peter Smith, Department of Greek and Roman Studies, University of Victoria.

54. Limon provides this bibliography entry for Whitney: Geffrey Whitney, ***A Choice of Emblems and Other Devices***, Leyden, 1586.

55. Limon's note: "As, for instance, in [Henry] Peacham, ***Minerva Britanna*** [. . .], [London, 1612,] 158."

56. Paraphrase/translation provided by Dr. Peter Smith, Department of Greek and Roman Studies, University of Victoria.

57. Limon's note: "***The Heroical Devices of M. Claudius Paradin***, transl. P. S. (London, 1591; reprint, Delmar, N.Y.: Scholars' Facsimiles & Reprints, 1984), 137)."

58. This emblem, appearing in Wither, is also noted by Limon (173).

59. Paraphrase/translation provided by Dr. Peter Smith, Department of Greek and Roman Studies, University of Victoria.

60. Limon's note: "Whitney, ***A Choice of Emblems***, 96." See n. 54, above, for bibliographical information.

61. Paraphrase/translation provided by Dr. Peter Smith, Department of Greek and Roman Studies, University of Victoria.

62. Limon's note: "P. S., ***Heroical Devices***, 17." See n. 57, above, for bibliographical information.

63. Translation provided by Dr. Lloyd Howard, Department of Hispanic and Italian Studies, University of Victoria.

64. Oppenheim refers to ***State Papers Dom.*** lxxxvi, 101.

65. London, April 29, 1613, ***State Papers Domestic Series, Jacobean I*** lxxii: 120, ***Letters of John Chamberlain*** 1: 445. This is the same letter in which Chamberlain reported to Carleton on Overbury's imprisonment and the Essex divorce. His account of the doings of the Muscovie Company are quite interesting: "The counsaile have ben much busied of late about certain projects for Muscovie, for that about two yeares since some of the nobilitie offered to Master Merricke (my brother Georges wifes uncle) to put themselves and theyre countrie under the Kings protection. Master Merricke is a man that was from his youth brought up amongst them, and of as great credit and reputation as ever was English man in that countrie, so that the King hath had much conference with him, and will needes have him go again presently to negotiat this busines, but sure the world is much altered since that time, and the King had then another sonne, whereby they might hope he wold send them his second to be theyre emperor, for I can never beleve they wilbe content with a deputie, but the King doth so apprehend the matter that he saith he never affected any thing much and seriously but yt came to goode passe, and he never affected any thing more then this so that he doth not doubt of successe, and makes account of sending ten or twelve thousand men tether at the least, yf the busines grow to any conclusion, and withall there be many far fet projects and devices on foot, how to draw all the trafficke of Persia and the inland parts of the East-Indies up the river Hidaspes into the river Oxus that falls into the Caspian sea, whence with certain small ships that shalbe built the commodities are to be brought up the Volga to a straight of land not above forty miles and so into the river Dwina that comes to St. Nicolars of the towne of the Archangell the ordinarie ports and stations of our shipping in those parts: these I doubt are but discourses in the ayre, and yet Sir Henry Nevill hath ben much employed in them and hath had much conference with the counsaile by the Kings commuandment, wherin they say he hath shewed himself a very redy and sufficient gentleman" (Ibid.).

66. For a very informative discussion of the apocalyptic and "millenarian" dimensions of Campion's masque, see Limon, ***Masque*** 175-77. He draws together biblical allusions (Daniel 7: 2-3, 13-13; Isaiah 27: 1) with Fifth Monarchy philosophy.

67. See Strong, ***Art*** 93-95, for a discussion of the dispel-enchantment-and-release theme. Strong notes that along with other Elizabethan entertainments, ***Proteus and the Adamantine Rock***, a masque which Campion had been involved with, has a similar theme to ***The Somerset Masque***.

68. Cooper comments: "The gulf between the action and audience is bridged by narrative; it is physically abolished, as the masquers dance with the ladies; and the scene now represents the same place where the masque itself is literally happening" (139). Cooper is correct; however, in a non-literal sense the masque had never departed from the court and its present controversies. Cooper also adds that others later used Campion's device: "The same thing occurs at the end of [Milton's] ***Comus*** . . . [and] Racan's ***Artemice***, the first masque of Charles I's reign, and Townshend's ***Albion's Triumph*** use the same device at the end to bring together the allegorical and the literal, and to dissolve the stage illusion into the real world" (Ibid.).

69. Gabaleoni, "8 January 1613/14 new style (that is, 29 December 1613 o.s.)," qtd. in Orrell 303; the explanation of the letter's date is Orrell's (302). Orrell adds that "Gabaleoni's dispatch is now in the Archivo di Stato at Turin, but there is a transcription of it among the Additional manuscripts at the British Library" (Ibid.), B.L. Add. MS 32023 B, fols. 152^{a}-9^{b}. Gabaleoni, whose English was not likely very good, seems to have relied on "Baron d' Ies" (most likely James Hay, as Orrell has noted) for much of his information about the masque he was watching; Hay, at least, explained the reasons for the poorly functioning stage machinery (Ibid. 303, 304), and it is doubtful that their conversation was limited only to this topic.

70. Vulgate, trans. Challoner. All biblical quotations are from this text unless otherwise indicated.

71. Spenser qtd. in Dollerup 24. See ch. 3, p. 120.

72. The conditional clause which begins this quotation is syntactically linked to the independent clauses which end it. There are, however, many verses which have been deleted in order to bring the sentence to its point more quickly.

73. Liddel and Scott define "Io" (ιώ) as an expression of joy (surprise or grief, depending upon context) from tragic Greek ("ιώ."). Here because of the limitations of the Dos environment, the correct form of *iota*, the form with the smooth breathing mark, has not been used as it is unavailable being within the *ANSI* character section of the Greek *Truetype* font used.

74. More generally, see chapters 3 and 4 in White.

75. Also Matthew 3: 10: "For now the axe is laid to the roots of the trees. Every tree therefore that doth not yield good fruit, shall be cut down, and cast into the fire."

76. However, before one casts stones of *correctness* at Campion, one might consider that Henry Howard, most likely one of the principal sponsors of the masque, was highly intellectual, literate and learned and would certainly have understood the significance of much of the masque. He was also gay. One might also contemplate that Campion appears never to have married. His sympathy for women and his ability to assume convincing female personæ in his airs might also be pondered. I make no assertions here about Campion's own sexuality but merely offer instead a few idle observations.

77. Davis translates: "The beautiful is given to the beautiful, at last the lover weds the beloved with social bonds: what could be lovelier?" (276 n1). Both Carr and Howard were noted for their beauty. Campion's epigram simply celebrates the social acceptance in marriage of their love relationship.

78. Davis offers translation: "That true marriages may endure, you must lead the wedding procession with two torches: Hymen must hold the one, and it is best that Love hold the other" (276 n2). The sense of this epigram is more open-ended than the previous one. It obviously addresses the issue of Frances Howard's earlier arranged marriage to Essex, which had been celebrated by Jonson's masque ***Hymenæi***, and Campion seems to imply that perhaps the earlier marriage procession had been led by only one torch, not Love's. However, the epigram also reflects on the arranged marriage of Anne and James, a union that had not endured, its procession perhaps also led by only one torch.

79. It should be stated that ***The Irish Masque*** is much more than just a mockery of Campion's masque. Its discussion of British colonialism in Ireland and its highly prejudicial representation of the Irish is outside the scope this paper, however. It will suffice to note that 1612 was a particularly troublesome year in the Irish colony. For two excellent discussions of the political/colonial significance of Jonson's masque, see Lindley, "Embarrassing" 350-57, and Limon, ***Masque*** 180-85.

80. ***State Papers*** 14: lxxv. 33, December 3, 1613, qtd. by Herford and Simpson in ***Jonson*** X: 541. A number of typographical peculiarities (tailed letters, certain contractions, *etc.*) have not been reproduced here. Herford and Simpson add: "There is further warrant from Suffolk to Lake, *S.P.* 14 lxxv. 32, 3 December 1613" (Ibid.; the text of the warrant, or an excerpt thereof, is provided by H&S). It is interesting to note that the cost of ***The Irish Masque*** to the crown appears to have been a relative pittance at only about £200; at least this seems to be the amount that Meredith Morgan requisitioned (Ibid. 542). The masque seems to have required neither elaborate costumes nor any stage furniture (nor stage for that matter).

81. See ch. 4, p. 94, herein.

82. Here Dennise's pronunciation of the king's name is probably intentionally close to that of the Irish name "Seamus."

83. Indeed, there probably was much *white stick stirring* involved in the wedding celebrations. Suffolk, Carr, and Northampton, with Anne's help, may have attempted to use the wedding festivities as an instrument of inter-factional peace. Campion had stated that, in the performance of his masque, Anne had presented the olive branch from the "*Tree of Golde*" to a "*Nobleman*" (273). Gabaleoni reports that this nobleman was, in fact, the "Conte di Pambroch" (the Earl of Pembroke), that the earl subsequently offered his hand to the queen, and that the two together led a number of the dances at the masque's point of transformation (Orrell 304 and 305 (304 n. 1 cont.)). Lindley also reports that a contemporary, John More, saw the wedding as a metaphoric olive branch rather than a factional victory: "Here is a general reconcilement made between my ld. of Howard [probably Suffolk] and my lords of Pembroke, Southampton etc. in this conjuncture" (***Reports of the Historical Manuscript Commission, Downshire,*** MSS IV: 252, qtd. in Lindley, ***Campion*** 225). Lindley's discussion of Jonson's ***A Challenge at Tilt,*** another component of the wedding festivities, one which involved both the Earls of Pembroke and Montgomery, strongly reinforces the reading of the wedding as an attempt at peace: "It would seem that Jonson designed it [the tilt] specifically to enact the hope that the marriage would lead to the kind of concord that . . . formed a part of the Earl of Suffolk's hopes for the marriage" ("Embarrassing" 349).

84. Orrell offers paraphrase/translation: "Now the festivity began at eleven in the evening, and it lasted until two" (304 n. 1).

85. Orrell translates: "The show was begun with a speech made by four men dressed poorly, which, to judge by the tenor of their voices, would have been more suitable to a funeral than to the joys of a wedding" (304 n. 1).

86. Orrell again provides translation: "When this brando was over the music returned to the same place. Meanwhile the twelve gentlemen put themselves back in order and — the music having retired — performed another masque to another tune, and very ordinary it was. That done, they danced some galliards and then retired. Twelve mariners then appeared, clothed in linen and red berets in the manner of slaves, and they began a dance in the peasant fashion which made an honest sight, both for the gestures and expression of the young men, and for the noise they made when they all shrieked together. With this the festivity ended. [¶] Apart from having seen their Majesties in good order and with great majesty, and also the great number of ladies, one could see nothing that came anywhere near meriting the inconvenience of the thousands of people who waited twelve hours without dinner" (305 (304 n. 1 cont.)). In defense of Campion, Orrell cautions that Gabaleoni's account "is, of course, the description of an outsider. [He] does not understand Campion's English" (303).

87. "Conversations with Drummond," ***Jonson,*** ed. Herford and Simpson, 1: 132.

88. It is perhaps significant that Campion and Daniel, who seem earlier to have been members of the same coterie of Sydney admirers, were by 1602 in different political camps, Campion with the Salisbury-Northampton alliance, Daniel with the Pembroke group. Campion's text can be found in both the Davis and Vivian editions. There are number editions which bind Daniel's work together with Campion's; among them are: Samuel Daniel, ***A Defence of Ryme against a Pamphlet entituled Obseruations in the Art of English Poesie***, 1603, Thomas Campion, ***Observations in the Art of English Poesie***, 1602, Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP, 1966; and Samuel Daniel, ***A Defence of Ryme against a Pamphlet entituled Obseruations in the Art of English Poesie***, 1603, Thomas Campion. ***Observations in the Art of English Poesie***, 1602, London: John Lane The Bodley Head, 1925.

89. See also ch. 3, n. 27, herein.

90. See ch. 1, p. 34, and ch. 1, n. 6, herein.

91. Gratton W. H. Flood has argued that both Dowland and Campion were in fact Irish, an assertion which *if* true may have added strength to any bond of friendship between them. Here, though, we are only concerned with Campion: "Mr. Percival Vivian, in his excellent edition of Campions (1914) gives us the information that 'John Campion, son and heir of John Campion, late of Dublin Ireland, was admitted to the Middle Temple on July 26, 1565, specially by Mr. Bell, reader.' Thus the poet's father and grandfather were Irish" (Flood 62). Flood also suggests that Campion adhered "to the ancient faith" (Ibid. 63). However, Flood's scholarship, or lack thereof, is suspect. Vivian with more thorough research makes no such claim about Campion's ancestry himself, but rather traces Campion's family to Hertfordshire, concluding that the family may have been involved in the colonial administration of Ireland or in some commercial venture there (ix). Flood seems to have ignored Vivian's well supported conclusions. Furthermore, Poulton is very highly skeptical about the reliability of Flood's scholarship regarding Dowland (***Dowland*** 21-23). MacLysaght observes that while there may have been Campions (Champayne, de Champagne) in Ireland as early as 1295, "there is no reason to believe that . . . [the name] survived in the descendants" of these medieval Normans ("Campion"). The other Campions appearing sporadically in the fragmented Irish records (1569, 1579, 1590, 1608) are probably English colonists; however, by the mid-seventeenth-century the name was one of "the principal Irish surnames" in certain areas of the country (Ibid.). Since the Campions of Essex and Hertfordshire were probably descended from the same Norman stock, there is also a distinct likelihood that Thomas Campion was distantly related to the Anglo/Irish Jesuit martyr Edmund Campion, although as Davis notes, "nobody has been able to establish [such] a connection" (***Campion*** 2). Whether Campion was in fact of Irish ancestry or not, the fact remains that his family had been associated with Ireland, and it is not impossible that members of his extended family resided there in 1613.

92. Drummond relates: "Overbury was first his friend. then turn'd his mortall enimie" ("Conversations" 170, ***Jonson*** I: 137). Overbury, with Donne and others, and possibly Jonson at first, had been part of a social group around Celia Bulstrode, which played a curious literary parlor game called "Newes." Jonson's "Epigram on the Court Pucell" may have been prompted by his sense of injury at being excluded from this group. Overbury's poem "The Wife" and his alleged infatuation with its supposed addressee, the Countess of Rutland, may have lead to the split between Overbury and Jonson. (See ***Jonson*** I: 54, 137, 138, 161; II: 366; VII: 73; and XI: 25, for a selection of Jonson, Drummond, and Herford and Simpson's commentary on Overbury.) James E. Savage, "Introduction," provides more extensive discussion of Overbury's literary friendships and an intriguing speculation about how "Newes" was played. Savage also documents how the exposure of Overbury's murder brought about his literary resurrection and gave him a greater

degree of renown than he had perhaps known in life and how it invested "The Wife" with an anachronistic significance regarding the Carr-Howard relationship. See also Riggs 152-53.

93. See ch. 3, n. 27, herein.

94. See ch. 1, n. 8, herein, for Chamberlain's secondhand reporting on the masque. In contrast to his reports of Jonson's favor, Chamberlain states of Campion's work: "I heare litle or no commendation of the maske made by the Lords that night, either for devise or dauncing, only yt was rich and costly" (Chamberlain to Alice Carleton, London, December 30, 1613, ***State Papers Domestic Series, Jacobean I*** lxxv, 53, ***Letters of John Chamberlain*** 496). Chamberlain, himself, was not of a social class high enough to have been present at the wedding festivities, and given the nature of the court, his account of the success of Jonson's masque may indicate nothing more than sycophantic parroting of James's enthusiasm for the work.

95. Davis translates: "I should prefer to please one man who is learned, candid, and judicious without arrogance, than thousands upon thousands of the ignorant and envious" (***Works*** 267 n. 1).

96. However, Campion's "To his sweet Lute *Apollo* sung the motions of the Spheares," VIII, ***The Fourth Booke of Ayres*** (1617), might be read as an oblique and more witty and somewhat fiercer attack on Jonson's relationship with James. Throughout his musical/literary career, Campion, the poet, musician, and physician, saw himself in an Apollonian mode; appended to his first masque is a Latin epigram presenting this self-representation (***Works*** 228), and much later, to Prince Charles he wrote: "The first inventor of Musicke (most sacred Prince) was by olde records *Apollo*, a King, who, for the benefit which Mortalls reveived from his so divine invention, was by them made a God. *David* a Prophet, and a King, excelled all men in the same excellent Art. What then can more adorne the greatnesse of a Prince, then the knowledge thereof? But why should I, being by profession a Physition, offer a worke of Musicke to his Highnesse? *Galene* either first, or next the first of Physitions, became so expert a Musition, that he could not containe himselfe, but needes he must apply all the proportions of Musicke to the uncertaine motions of the pulse. .... Be all your daies ever musicall (most mighty Prince) and a sweet harmony guide the vents of all your royall actions" (Ibid. 323). By contrast, Jonson, as is evident from his self-representation as the satyr, Silenus, in the masque ***Oberon***, was more Dionysiac in nature. Campion's song, "To his sweet Lute *Apollo* . . .," discusses the contest in which Apollo and Pan decided to hold a musical competition and asked King Midas to judge between them. In the end the king was awarded ass's ears for his lack of taste in choosing Pan as the victor.

97. See ch. 2, p. 41, herein.

98. However, it is interesting to note that, unpopular as Campion's masque may have been at court, there seems to have been sufficient interest in it outside the court to warrant two impressions of the published text (see ch. 2, p. 42 and ch. 2, n. 21, herein); the agenda of Campion's patrons likely had a degree of popular support in the nation at large.

99. Perhaps of both tangential interest and circumstantial support here is the fact that George Clifford, 3rd earl of Cumberland — Cecil's old friend, former patron of Sir William Monson, and much beloved brother of Francis Clifford (who was Campion's Patron) — had been instrumental in the creation of the East India Company. Williamson relates that "at the very end of the year 1600, . . . occurred an event connected with Lord Cumberland's name that was to hve a far-reaching effect and was concerned with the events which made England become the greatest colonizing country in the world. [¶] It was nothing less than the establishment of the East India Company, and if Lord Cumberland had no other clain to remembrance, and had made no other mark upon English history, his claim was set out and his mark was made, when on the 30th of December 1600 Queen Elizabeth granted the first Charter of the 'English East India

Company' to this adventerous nobleman incorporating George, Earl of Cumberland, and 215 Knights, Aldermen and Merchants 'into one body politic and corporate by the name of Governor and Company of Merchants trading to the East Indies'" (*George* 251-52).

100. Ch. 1 of Greenblatt's book, ***Renaissance Self-Fashioning***, describes "the complex interplay in [Sir Thomas] More's life and writings of self-fashioning and self-cancellation, the creating of a public role and the profound desire to escape from the identity so crafted" (12-13).

101. *Works* 396; ll. 340, 335. Davis translates: "Anne of Britain;" "very like the great Diana," "Queen Elizabeth" (*Works* 397; ll. 340, 335; n. 25). In the stanza beginning at line 282, the poem presents a catalogue of women famous for their beauty, both classical and contemporary, and Anne, together with her daughter Elizabeth, is represented as the zenith of earthly beauty, rivaling that of the gods.

CHAPTER 5

1616-1620: THE CASTAWAY DROWNS

The early months of 1616 must have seemed desperate for Campion and his patrons, but as time dragged on without any apparent denouement to the scandal hanging over them, time itself started to become their ally. On June 8, Chamberlain, writing from the perspective of an opposing political camp, muses cynically on the inaction of the crown and ponders the decline of Thomas Monson's chief adversary, Sir Edward Coke: "Sir Thomas Mounsons arraignment which shold have ben yesterday, was then put of again till the Tewsday after the terme, which procrastination from time to time makes the world thincke we shall heare no more of this busines, the rather for that the Lord Cooke [Coke] of late is fallen (I know not how) into disfavor, so far foorth that the King hath ben very bitter to him, both in privat and publike . . . ."[1] Later in the summer, on June 22, Chamberlain, cynicism still unchecked, provides news about Sir Robert Cotton, who if not a co-conspirator in the Overbury murder was certainly an accessory after the fact:[2] "Sir Robert Cotton was set at libertie some ten or twelve dayes since, . . . and I thincke Sir Thomas and Sir William Mounson shall not tarrie long after : so that you may see there is an end of those matters, and no more to be lookt for."[3] But tarry a while Thomas Monson did, for it was not until early October that Chamberlain reports: "Sir Thomas Mounson was brought on Thursday to Westminster Hall and putting in baile fowre of his frends was discharged from the Towre, and hath his libertie for a yeare."[4] This freedom was,

however, not an unfettered liberty for he was technically still under arrest, but finally on February 13, 1617, Monson received his pardon, a grant of amnesty from any future charges in connection with the murder. Nine days later Chamberlain reports on the event: "Sir Thomas Mounson came well accompanied the last day of terme to the Kings Bench barre and there pleaded his pardon, but with much protestation of his innocence, and some secret glauncing at the course held with him by the Lord Cooke [Coke]."[5] With the advent of the pardon, hopes for restoration of favour and position ran high.

The sense of optimism surrounding the king's indulgence appears to have served as a stimulus to Campion, who brought his last collection of airs, ***The Third and Fourth Booke of Ayres***, to the publisher shortly thereafter. The hopefulness in the work's dedication to Monson is quite evident:

> Since now those clouds, that lately over-cast
> Your Fame and Fortune, are disperst at last:
> And now since all to you fayre greetings make,
> Some out of love, and some for pitties sake:
> Shall but I with a common stile salute
> Your new enlargement? or stand onely mute? (ll. 1-6)

For Campion there is the expectancy of renewed patronage, and he continues the dedication reminding Monson of his loyalty and his tending to Monson's "pined health," a ministering that had continued while Sir Thomas was in prison (l. 8). With praise, he also draws attention to the past generosity, the "waighty favours" of Monson's "ancient love to [him]" (l. 14, 13), implicitly begging its continuance. Additionally, he praises Monson's stoic, "Rocke-like" virtue (l. 12), and also credits him for his nurturing role in the composition of the airs themselves, "which in your Bowres much of their beeing tooke" (l. 22).

Campion's optimism is also present in the playfulness of the dedication's two closing couplets, which offer some delightful, caesura-generated ambiguity followed by a sly epigrammatic twist:

> Who love a sure friend, as all good men doe,
> Since such your are, let those affect you to:
> And may the joyes of that Crowne never end,
> That innocence doth pitty, and defend. (ll. 25-28)

It is necessary to reassemble the syntax of the first couplet, and a number of permutations are possible: *Let those who love a sure friend, as all good men do, affect you too, since you are a sure friend and/or a good man; Let those who love a sure friend affect you too, since you are as all good men do;* and *Let those who love a sure friend affect you too, as all good men do, since you are a sure friend and/or a good man.* All permutations flatter and, should the flattery be accepted, bind Monson to Campion as "a sure friend." The first reading is quite straightforward. The second holds up Monson's existence as an exemplum for the actions of "all good men," and this interpretation leads to the third permutation where puns on "affect" (to aspire to, to endeavor to have, to love, to show ostentatiously a liking for, to make an ostentatious use or display of, to assume the character of, to assume the false appearance of)[6] testify to Monson's status, presenting him for "all good men," as being a source of inspiration or motivation, a patron much sought after, an object of love, and a moral and fashion presence much emulated — all this dovetailing neatly with the *fayre greetings* and *love* of the dedication's beginning. After this pleasant flattery, Campion leaves Monson with a piece of wry, ironic humour. The final couplet appears to cap the dedication by crediting James with the restoration of the *innocent* Monson's fortunes and by expressing a hope for the preservation of the king's "joyes." With a comic sleight of hand, however, the praise for the monarch is quickly overturned. Campion's use of the demonstrative adjective "that," in "may the joyes of that Crowne never end," directs attention away from *the Crown* and towards another diadem, perhaps that of Christ, and the caesura in the following relative clause, "That innocence doth pitty, and defend," triggers the joke. The caesura causes "and defend" to be read

as a sarcastic aside and thus brings the poem to a comparison of *the Crown* and *that Crowne*, a comparison in which it is revealed that in reality there are present in the poem no good wishes for James. The king may have *pitied* Monson, his former friend, but his interference in the legal proceedings against Sir Thomas was merely a review of evidence followed by mild expressions of displeasure, nothing which might be called a *defence* of Monson's *innocence*. Having set the expectation that the dedication will culminate in a fairly standard topos of royal praise, Campion, with the last two words of the poem, snatches away any credit that *the Crown* might receive. The vindication of Monson's innocence is attributed to a higher authority, *that Crowne* which *both* pities and defends the innocent, and James, left off balance, suddenly topples over.

With the events culminating in Monson's release, there were intertwined contemporaneously other chains of circumstance that would affect Campion and further raise his hopes. King James was in financial difficulties and was planning his progress to Scotland. Meanwhile, Francis and Henry Clifford, the Earl of Cumberland and his son, Campion's other patrons,[7] were involved in a heated and highly important legal struggle over the ownership their estates. And as we shall see, these two chains were somewhat inter-tangled, and they would lead to the summoning of Campion to Brougham Castle, one of the Clifford estates in Westmorland, where Campion would become involved in an entertainment for James.

At Brougham, he would once more (possibly for the last time) have access to the king, perhaps in more intimate surroundings than ever before. Despite numerous renovations over the years, Brougham remained in essence a Norman border fortification. Its great hall and great chamber, where the entertainment would be held, "were both on the first floor and measured [only] 41 by 21 feet, and 54 by 23 feet respectively. This was quite small by Whitehall standards, but

not too small to prevent the Earl from putting on quite a spectacular show."[8] Nor, it might be argued, was this setting too large to prevent anyone present from gaining, at the very least, the momentary attention of the king. It is likely for this occasion that Campion rushed the scribal copy of his ***De Pulurerea Coniuratione*** to its completion.

One of the first links in the chains leading Campion to Brougham Castle, occurred in December of 1616, when King James composed a letter to the Scottish Privy Council, promising to visit his homeland which he had not seen since his departure in 1603:

> Wee ar not achamed to confesse that we have had theise many yeiris a great and naturall longing to see our native soyle and place of our birth and breeding, and this salmonlyke instinct of ours hes restleslie, both when wee wer awake and manie tymes in our sleip, so stirred up our thoghtis and bended our desyris to make a Jornay thither that wee can never rest satisfied till it sall pleas God that wee may accomplish it; and this we do upoun our honour declair to be the maine and principall motive of our intended Jorney.[9]

Undoubtedly, the lingering difficulties from the Overbury scandal and the financial embarrassments of the Cockayne scheme also provided motivation for James to depart from London.[10] Caroline Bingham reports that "the King's resolution was unpopular with his English courtiers, none of whom wished to go with him on a progress of unprecedented length to the northern kingdom where, they imagined, cold, discomfort, and barbarism awaited them" (***James I*** 162). Despite the reservations and apprehensions of his courtiers, James kept his promise and departed northward from Theobalds on March 15 to spend the spring and summer in Scotland. That the progress was a major social and political event is evidenced by ***Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue*** (1618), the masque by Campion's rival, Ben Jonson, which allegorized the difficulties James encountered in the

course of his journey and which also promoted the king's religious and social policies.[11]

One important aspect of the progress was that it suddenly gave those who were outside or on the margins of the court patronage system (and who possessed any social standing in the rural areas) access to the king and, hence, an opportunity to seek preferment. It can also be argued that this *access* to the king's presence provided James, who always had monetary difficulties, with a fresh reservoir of financial blood. In August of 1617, Chamberlain related that his "goode frend," Winwood, now Secretary of State, had issued "a warrant . . . wherby certain Scottish men go prolling up and downe Northamptonshire to borrow monie for the King, and how they have used or abused yt I know not, but a generall complaint is come from the gentlemen thereabout."[12] Sources of loans at court and in the city had dried up somewhat because of the failure of the Cockayne scheme and the king's non-payment or tardy payment of debts, these in 1617 "amounting to over £700,000" (Williams 195). Menna Prestwich relates that there was "great suspicion of royal credit" in the city (201).[13] Chamberlain, discussing the size of James's entourage at the time of the king's departure, had also predicted, "Yt [the progress] is like to prove a very costly viage every way,"[14] and his prediction was accurate; "James's return from Scotland saw a deficit of £31,548 on the ordinary account and a fresh debt of £105,481 charged to extraordinary expenditure" (Prestwich 200). Money was always an issue, and it appears to be in this context that, on his return from Scotland, James was the guest of Campion's patrons, Francis Clifford, 4th Earl of Cumberland, and his son, Henry Lord Clifford, at Brougham Castle in Westmorland — James seeking money, the Cliffords both giving thanks for James's preferment and/or protection and looking for its continuance.

The extended Clifford family fortunes had suffered greatly because of the extravagances and adventures of Francis's older brother, George Clifford, 3rd Earl of Cumberland, who as both a naval officer and a privateer had been one of Queen Elizabeth's favourites (Laughton, "Clifford, George").[15] George had also been a "Joint Commissioner for execution of [James's mother,] Mary Queen of Scotland" (Doyle 493), and thus it is perhaps not surprising that after James's succession to the throne he received little preferment beyond that which could be minimally expected given his status among the English political furniture of the early post-succession years. By the time of his death he was very deeply in debt, and Williamson suggests that because Francis had become a rich man of his own accord, George, who at his death in 1605 left the estates to Francis, may have done so surmising "that some of the mortgages on the northern estate would be cleared by him [Francis], and a portion thus liberated from the charges with which he [George] had so deeply involved it" (*George* 274). George's trust was not misplaced. Francis worked with his son to retrench, attempting to consolidate the family's wealth and preserve the estates, and he experienced some degree of success, but he also became embroiled in a lengthy series of intermittent legal disputes with Lady Margaret Clifford and Lady Anne Clifford, George's estranged wife and daughter, who had been disinherited under the terms of his will. As Williamson reports,

> Lady Anne tells us that "presently after the death of my Father, I being left his sole Daughter and heire, his widdow my deare mother, out of her affectionate care of my good, caused mee to chuse her my Guardian, and then in my name, shee began to sue out a Liverie in the Court of Wards, for my right to all my Father's Landes by way of prevention to hinder and interrupt the Liverie with my Unckle of Cumberland . . . . . which caused great sutes of Law to arise, betweene her and my said Unckle, which in effect continued for one Cause or another dureing her life. In which she

> showed a most Brave spirritt, and never yielded to any opposition whatever." (*Lady* 79).[16]

"By industry and research of records, [Lady Margaret] brought to light . . . [a] then unknown title which her daughter had to the ancient baronies, honours, and lands of the Viponts, Cliffords, and Veseys,"[17] and as Nathan Drake observes, it turned out that Anne did indeed have legal rights,

> the titles of baronage, together with the ancient family estates, . . . [descending] to the lady Anne . . . in virtue of . . . [this] entail, "setting forth the gift of the manor of Skipton to Robert de Clifford and the heirs of his body by King Edward II and deriving the same down to lady Anne Clifford, as heir entail, the reversion continuing in the crown" (2: 119).[18]

The situation became a stalemate; Lady Margaret and Lady Anne wanted the Clifford estates, Francis and his son, who held actual possession of most of the land, wanted clear title to it all, and neither group would budge.

In an effort to force a resolution, both sides undoubtedly brought influence to bear on the conflict. Lady Margaret (the youngest daughter of Francis Russell, 3rd Earl of Bedford) and Lady Anne had powerful friends; both had found favour at the court of Queen Anne, Lady Anne in particular having become somewhat of a fixture there. As Williams explains, "the Queen had always been attracted to the girl since their first meeting at Althorp" in 1603 (160). As we shall see the queen herself was to help young Anne. Perhaps in part to counter the influence of Lady Anne's friends, Henry Clifford, on July 25, 1610, "married Lady Frances Cecil, [the only] daughter of Robert, Earl of Salisbury" (Firth).[19] According to Williamson, Lady Anne was dubious about her cousin's wedding; "his marriage, she says, was purposely made for maintaining his suits of law more powerfully than ever" (*Lady* 50). However, Salisbury died, on May 24, 1612, and the hopes of Francis and Henry were dampened somewhat.

Lady Anne found little support in her own home, though. In 1609 she had married Richard Sackville, who became the Earl of Dorset upon his father's death a mere two days after the marriage. A sporting companion of the king, he understandably had financial difficulties and constantly badgered his wife to hand over her remaining property and property rights to him. Because of his problems, Sackville took an interest in the money of Francis Clifford and became involved in his wife's conflict with him, attempting to force a settlement of the dispute on both parties, having her give up her rights to the Clifford estates in exchange for compensation which would be paid to him. Even James joined the conspiracy against her:

> King James began to show himselfe extremely against my Mother and me . . . . . to show how much hee was bent against my Blessed Mother and myselfe in my Unckle's Behalfe he gave the Revertion of all these Landes in Westmoreland and Craven out of the Crowne by pattent to my Unckle Francis Earle of Cumberland . . . . . the grant of which Landes out of the Crowne to my sayd Unckle and his heires was done mearlie to defeat me, as hoping to gett my Hands to releas it to the Heirs male. (Williamson, ***Lady*** 84)[20]

Upon the death of Lady Margaret on May 24, 1616, Francis Clifford rushed to seize her property which included Brougham Castle and Appleby Castle — he arrived at Appleby only two days after her death. However, he was met there by Sackville and his followers, "and then came trouble, for the attendants of the two noblemen began to quarrel, and fell to blows, and [Lady Anne] says that Grosvenor Grey Dick, the Gentleman Usher, Tod, and Edwards the Secretary 'drawing their swords, made a great uproar in the town, and three or four were hurt'" (Ibid. 100). The matter of Lady Margaret's lands was set before the Lord President, but no decision was reached immediately. However, in August of 1616, King James commanded that for the time being Lady Anne "was not to be 'molested in Brougham Castle'" (Ibid. 99). Tension between Sackville and the

Cliffords, however, soon exploded, for sometime in November, 1616, Sackville quarrelled with

> Lord [Henry] Clifford and . . . challenged [him] to a duel. The affair [came] to the ears of the King, and they were both called before the Lords of the Council, and then the King "made them friends, giving my Lord [Lady Anne's husband] marvellous good words, and then willed for him to send for me, because he meant to make an agreement [regarding Anne's property and her rights to the Clifford land holdings] between us [Anne and Sackville]." (Ibid. 102)

With the assistance of the Queen, Lady Anne, however, skillfully outmaneuvered both James and her husband and thwarted their attempts to gain control of her assets. Eventually, though, she was forced to give up possession of her mother's property, although not the residual rights to it, which she maintained along with her rights to the other Clifford estates. "She left Brougham in December [of 1616], going herself to York, . . . for the legal decision by that time had gone against her, and the property was 'wholly delivered up to my uncle of Cumberland and his son from the 29th day of March, 1617'" (Ibid.).[21] Alan and Veronica Palmer add that, "in July of 1617, the king confirmed the Earl of Cumberland in possession of the estates, awarding the Earl of Dorset £20,000 compensation" ("Clifford, Anne"); however, Williamson, perhaps with greater reliability, provides an earlier date: "Sir Matthew Hale tells us that the award which the King made was dated the 14th of March, 1617, and that in it the King took upon himself to settle the differences, and decreed that Lady Anne and her husband should make a conveyance under the Great Seal of all her lands to Lord Cumberland under various remainders" (***Lady*** 119-120). The money was paid out in installments over a period of two years, and "it would appear [that it] had been raised out of the estates by fines, on long leases, . . . and the estates to that extent were crippled in value" (Ibid. 121). It is also significant that, in 1617,

Francis Clifford lent James "twelue thousand foure hundred pounds"[22] — the loan was most likely a favour granted as thanks for James's intervention in Clifford's legal affairs, and it would probably have been made during James's visit at Brougham Castle, since this formal visit seems to have been an occasion of thanks-giving, one suitable for the making of such a grand gesture. The struggle between the two Clifford factions formed the backdrop for James's visit to Brougham Castle on August 6, 7 and 8, 1617, and, as shall be argued, seems to have informed the entertainment which was provided for the visiting king and his courtiers.

A published account of this entertainment appeared in 1618: ***The Ayres that were Sung and Played, at Brougham Castle in Westmerland, in the King's Entertainment: Given by the Right Honourable the Earle of Cumberland, and his Right Noble Sonne the Lord Clifford. Composed by Mr. George Mason, and Mr. John Earsden.***[23] While Campion's name is missing from this publication, his involvement in the entertainment has long been suspected. A. H. Bullen, Campion's first comprehensive editor (1889), has "little doubt that Campion supplied the words" for the airs (xxiii). In 1909, Vivian seconded Bullen, stating that "it is tolerably certain that they [the words of the songs] were written by [the poet]" (xlvi), and he points to "external evidence for their connexion with Campion in a letter adduced by Nichols" (li). Nichols himself relates that

> One of the Earl's letters to his son Lord Clifford printed in Whittaker's History of Craven, and written whilst the King's visit was in anticipation, begins with this passage respecting the Entertainment: "Sonn, I have till now expected your lettres, according to your promis at your departure; so did George Minson your directions touching the musik, whereupon he mought the better have writt to Dr. Campion. He is now gone to my Lord President's, and will be ready to do as heares from you. For my own opinion, albeit I will not dislyke your devise, I fynde plainly, upon better consideration, the charge for that Entertainment will

> grow very great, besyde the musik; and that, instead of lessening, my charge in general encreaseth, and newe paiments come on, which without better providence hereafter cannot be performed" (3: 392).[24]

Vivian also draws attention to "an interesting parallel between Stanza 2 of III, *The King's Goodnight* [one of the entertainment's songs], and Ep. [epigram] 188, of the 1619 edition [of Campion's Latin verse], *De Regis reditu e Scotia*, written about the same event" and argues that the "matter" of Campion's authorship "can almost be clinched" (li).[25] In 1938, Miles Merwin Kastendieck, however, implied that Campion was not the author: ***Tho. Campiani Epigrammatum Libri II*** (1619) "seems to have completed his list of works," a list which fails to include ***The Ayres . . . at Brougham Castle*** (50). To the contrary, Bruce Pattison, writing in 1948, seems to have accepted the matter as "clinched," stating directly that "Campion wrote the words" (72). In 1969, Walter Davis placed the ***The Ayres . . .*** in his chapter of "Doubtful Poems," indirectly challenging Vivian's relatively confident attribution of them to Campion. Lowbury, Salter and Young, writing in 1970, followed Vivian: "Another laureate work with words almost certainly by Campion is the book of ***Ayres that were sung and played at Brougham Castle in Westmorland***" (148). Ian Spink, however, offers an additional piece of evidence which supports the argument for Campion's authorship. He reports that

> among the Clifford household accounts, the following entry dated July 18, 1617, is significant: "It^{m} given this day in Reward to S^{r} W^{m} Constable his coachman who came to knowe what day he could be readie wth his Coach to Carrie Doctor Campion from Londsbrough to Brawhum ij^{s} and to y^{e} Stewards boy whoe brought a letter to Doctor Campion from M^{r} Jo: Tailor — vid^{o}" ("Campion's" 58).[26]

In 1987, however, Davis still held his position, conceding only that "it is possible . . . [Campion] wrote the texts . . . for the entertainment" (***Thomas Campion*** 20).[27]

In 1989, Christopher Wilson offered the most serious challenge yet to the case for Campion's authorship: "That Campion was the author of the words of

the Brougham Castle ayres is extremely doubtful" (19). Wilson claims that the airs do not "bear the hallmarks of Campion's style" (Ibid.) and that "Vivian's English/Latin test [his inter-lingual 'parallel'] is interesting but not important" (Ibid. 20). There is great validity in questioning the highly subjective attribution of the works to Campion simply on the basis of style; however, Wilson's dismissal of such attribution on the same grounds is equally as subjective — while the song lyrics (judged *subjectively*) are of poorer quality than much of Campion's work, they would pass unnoticed and unquestioned between the covers of any of his books of airs. Moreover, one could argue, on the basis of style, that some of the airs known to be Campion's are not actually his. Davis explains:

> There is the criterion of style, the pitfall of any editor; at its best, it leads to negative conclusions. For instance, Campion is seldom crabbed or awkward; his faults lie in another way, toward the smoothly insipid. On the grounds of style, therefore, one might summarily reject "My deerest mistresse" [and] "Could my poore heart." (***Works*** 448)

Wilson's attack on Vivian's "English/Latin test" is soundly supported, showing that many renaissance works bear internal parallels because of common classical sources and models. Vivian, however, never argued that the *test* was conclusive or infallible; it was only offered as means of providing additional circumstantial evidence. Campion did, after all, often develop his ideas in both languages.[28] The weakest point in Wilson's argument against Vivian's position is his misleading representation of Spink's work, a representation which implies that Spink discounts the argument for Campion's role as author when in fact the opposite is true.[29] In the end, it is felt that weight of evidence, albeit circumstantial evidence, supports Vivian and Spink and that the lyrics of the airs can be attributed to Campion with a much greater degree of certainty than either Davis or

Wilson allows. Campion's presence at Brougham Castle in the summer of 1617 can only be explained by his direct involvement in the entertainment, an involvement that would most likely include an authorial role, especially if, as Spink suggests, the entertainment included a masque. It must be remembered that Campion was a masque writer of considerable stature and experience — a distant second, but second only, to Jonson himself.

The troubling absence of Campion's name from the work's title page is perhaps the only real impediment to a final attribution to the poet.[30] This absence, however, can be explained (hypothetically) as easily as can the absence of music from the masques of Ben Jonson, for example. The "dramatic masque," the "journalistic description" of a masque, and the "literary masque," whether in ms. or published form, can all exist without the other art forms which are necessary for "the masque in performance."[31] For both the *journalistic description* and the *literary masque*, the two most common forms in which masques have survived, there is no particular reason that reference to anything beyond those emblematic devices (in the other art forms) which might directly serve or illuminate the journalistic or literary text should be included in its presentation. Unlike Campion who often included music in his published masques, Jonson was not a musician and thus had no interest in documenting the musical aspect of his works. For him masque lyrics stripped of their music simply became poems. A book of airs, however, by its nature must contain song lyrics, but as Vivian notes it was not the "custom" for composers to credit the authorship of verse in songbooks.[32] Davis elaborates: "In the published song books, most lyrics are unsigned, and the reader has no way of knowing whether they are to be taken as the composer's own lyrics, or lyrics written for him by another, or common property" (*Works* 447).[33] It may be the case that Mason and Earsden, two musicians, were the first to arrive at a publisher who was in turn first to arrive at the Stationer's Registry.

Or, Campion may have found himself with the task of picking up, polishing, and incorporating into a coherent masque work already laid down by his patron and his patron's household musicians — perhaps a delicate situation in which the demanding or claiming of authorial credit would not be advantageous, especially given the fact that no money could reliably be expected from publication beyond that awarded by the dedicatee. Spink notes that "the Earl's letter indicates that he had trusted the his son with preparing [the entertainment], and the reference to 'y'r device' suggests that the basic conception was Lord Clifford's also" ("Campion's" 58). The poet may have been better off by humouring his patron and allowing his musicians to proceed unchallenged. Tangent to the question of Campion's absence from the title page of ***The Ayres*** is the absence of any dramatic text from the body of the same. It seems certain that a masque formed the principal part of the entertainment, and one must ask why then was there no masque text included with ***The Ayres*** — there are two answers perhaps. One is that Mason and Earsden were musicians with no interest in documenting the dramatic aspect of the entertainment. The other is that, while the two musicians, by virtue of their musical compositions alone, could with precedence lay claim to the airs, text included, they could make no similar claim to any dramatic text. Additional support for Campion's case is found in the fact that no evidence exists that Mason or Earsden ever wrote or published any other airs. Campion, whether merely the vehicle of execution for another's ideas or not, still remains an excellent candidate for the composer (or co-composer) of the lyrics and the best candidate for the composer of any lost dramatic text. Regardless of one's position on the issue of Campion's authorship, Vivian's final comment on the matter is worth repetition: "The assumption that Campion suppressed his connection with these verses as unworthy of him is unwarrantable. The Elizabethans were seldom so self-critical" (lii).

The rubrics associated with ***The Ayres . . . at Brougham Castle*** are minimal, almost to the point of being cryptic, and no other contemporary description of the entertainment is known to exist. Nonetheless, Spink argues convincingly that "the first night's entertainment was merely complimentary table music [ayres I, II, X, and III], larded (no doubt) with a few speeches, the gist of which can be easily imagined" ("Campion's" 60). He suggests further that on the second night there was a masque, incorporating ayres IV to VIII, and he provides a highly plausible reconstruction of its framework (Ibid. 60-62). As previously noted, Cumberland's comment, "the charge for that Entertainment will grow very great, besyde the musik," indicates that the projected entertainment was somewhat more elaborate than the simple presentation of a suite of songs. Spink adds that "'The Farewell Song' (IX) was no doubt sung at some brief entertainment given just before the King's departure on August 8" (Ibid. 60). In time and structure, the overall shape of *the entertainment* which Spink proposes seems quite typical of other country house productions, and in this respect, it is strongly reminiscent of Campion's ***Caversham Entertainment*** which had spanned two days.[34]

The suggestion, in Cumberland's letter, that the device of the entertainment was laid out by Lord Clifford is interesting for it again illustrates what constraints the authors of such entertainments were under.[35] It is unlikely that the Brougham entertainment was submitted to the king or any of his agents before its performance; the logistics of such submission during James's progress would have been difficult if not impossible, and the performance itself, held at a minor border castle before a limited audience, would have a much smaller socio-political importance than a similar event held at court. However, the occasion of James's visit would have great personal importance for the Cliffords, and they would be most eager to have their interests represented while at the same time

having praise and thanks offered to the king. If Campion's entertainment itself did not please the king, it was not from a lack of enthusiasm on the part of Campion's patrons. Williamson notes, "Lord Cumberland, by arranging this musical programme, . . . was evidently determined to show his sovereign his gratitude for the influence the King had exercised in winning the estates for him" (*Lady* 122).[36]

The first night's entertainment begins with an air (I) which is pointedly ambiguous. Its main function is to welcome James to the household and table of Campion's patrons, a welcome best summarized by the song's chorus:

> Joy at thy board, health in thy dish,
> Mirth in thy cup, and in thy bed
> Soft sleepe and pleasing rest wee wish. (ll. 12-14)

Set at the end of the air's first verse, however, are four lines which praise James, acknowledging his presence and his stature, but which also advertise the effort and expense the Cliffords had put into the entertainment:

> CANT. Here is a guest for whose content
> All excesse were sparing.
> TEN. All to him present,
> Hourely new delights preparing. (ll. 8-11)

On the surface, these lines present the topos that even the highest luxury seems restrained or inadequate in the presence of so great a king and thus flatter and aggrandize James, and they also insulate the Cliffords from any potential criticism which might point to provincial economy or rural stinginess since the inadequacy of any largesse to do justice to such an occasion has already been established. When one turns the topos over, however, one finds a statement of a different nature, a quite direct announcement of the entertainment's real costs. As Francis Clifford had pointed out to his son, "the charge for that Entertainment will grow very great, besyde the musik; and that, instead of lessening, my charge

in general encreaseth, and newe paiments come on . . . ." Very likely Cumberland's anxieties about James's visit became financial realities (here one must also remember both the £20,000 compensation that the Cliffords were required to pay out regarding the judgment on their estates and the £12,400 that was to be lent to the king). Cumberland and his son had indeed gone to "all excesse" and, even at the moment of the song's delivery, still very likely had their servants and clients hard at work "Hourely new delights preparing." It was perhaps their intention not to have this fact overlooked even though decorum required a veneer of modesty which the topos of inadequacy provided.

The general theme of welcome is continued in the second air, and here the "guest" is recognized as "our great King." Welcome soon turns to business, though, as praise for the "great King" transforms into thanks:

> CHORUS. There is no voice enough can sing
> The praise of our great King.
>
> . . . .
>
> CANT. In one all honor groweth,
> TEN. From one all comfort floweth:
> BOTH. Dutie saith that to this one all it hath it oweth.
>
> CHORUS. Let then that one of all be praised
> That hath our fortunes raised. (ll. 9-18)

James had indeed only recently raised Francis and Henry's fortunes, and acknowledgment of his help is also present in the initial song (IV) of the masque performed on the second night of the king's visit. By promising safety, the air encourages the fairies or tree spirits (perhaps fairies released from trees) to come forth, genuflect and bow, and then dance:

> Yet bend you low your curled tops,
> Touch the hallowed earth, and then
> Rise agen with anticke hops
> Unus'd of men.
> Here no danger is, nor feare,

For true Honour harbours here,
Whom Grace attends.
Grace can make our foes our friends. (ll. 7-14)

Here "Grace," a contemporary courtesy title for addressing a king ("Grace"), undoubtedly refers to James (or at least his presence attended by Grace). A flattering epithet with a raft of associations, the word "Grace" suggests for James the favour of God and for the Cliffords, perhaps, the unmerited favour of God through the hands of the king (unmerited, though, only in the sense of false-modesty).

The word also suggests in James's person an endowment of physical, intellectual, and moral qualities bestowed by Aglaia (Brilliance), Thalia (Bloom of Life), Euphrosyne (Joy),[37] and Charis (*Grace* herself, wife of Hephæstus/Vulcan, hence perhaps Aphrodite/Venus,[38] and further hence perhaps an allusion to Queen Anne). Known collectively as the Graces (Latin - *Gratiæ*) or the Charities (Χάριτες from Χάρις), these mythological beings are also highly suggestive of charisma (Χάρισμα - gift of God's grace). There are potent ironies at work here, ones which point to the authorial hand of a university educated classicist, such as Campion, rather than to the hands of Mason and Earsden, two musicians, both likely (Mason certainly) trained in their craft from a young age while employed as indentured servants. These ironies come to the fore when one examines other meanings of the Greek word Χάρις. Liddell and Scott note: "*grace or favour felt*, whether on the part of the Doer or the Receiver;" "on the part of the Doer, *grace, graciousness, kindness, goodwill*;" on the part of the Receiver, *the sense of favour* received, *thankfulness, thanks, gratitude*;" but also the use of "*favour, influence*, as opp. to force;" "*a favour* done or returned, *a grace, kindness, boon*;" in the sense of "to confer *a favour* on one, *to please* him, do a thing *to oblige* him;" and "*homage due*," in the sense of "their *worship, majesty*" ("ΧΑΡΙΣ").[39] The Charities also suggest the etymologically unrelated, but

phonetically similar, Latin word *caritas*, from which is derived the English word *charity*, the love of humanity and the mutual love between God and humanity. These chains of associations seem particularly appropriate given the context of the song's final line: "Grace can make our foes our friends." The foes here are most certainly Dorset, Lady Anne Clifford's husband, and his followers — Dorset who with Henry Clifford had only recently been set to duel. New and uneasy, the friendship/charity between Dorset and his wife's kinsmen had been established by the "Grace" of James but also through a complex series of *favours done and received*, centering around the Clifford estates and involving major transfers of money — all was accomplished by *favour* or *influence* where *force* (the pitched battle at Appleby and the proposed duel) had failed. The ironies here become more amusing when one considers that in the larger Elizabethan/Jacobean sense of the word *friend*, Lady Anne, as niece to Francis and cousin to Henry, had long been both their *foe* and *friend* and that it was perhaps Francis' *favour* and *influence* with his older brother George that had initially transformed Anne from *friend* to *foe*.

The second song (V) performed in the masque, a misogynistic ballad, perhaps reflects the root of the intra-family conflict — the estrangement of George Clifford and Lady Margaret.[40] The figure of Aeneas the song presents — "the *Trojan* Knight / That wandring many coasts had seene / And many a dreadfull fight" (ll. 2-4) — is not unlike that of the adventuring and rakish 3rd Earl of Cumberland — perhaps one of Queen Elizabeth's *romantic* favourites. Much of George's behaviour towards his wife and daughter had been reprehensible, and there is an attitudinal mirroring of this reality in the song. It goes beyond condoning the victimization of women to the point of actually inciting it:

Dido wept, but what of this?
The Gods would have it so:
Aeneas nothing did amisse,
For hee was forc't to goe.
Learne, Lordlings, then, no faith to keepe
With your Loves, but let them weepe:
'Tis folly to be true.
Let this story serve your turne,
And let twenty *Didoes* burne
So you get daily new. (ll. 21-27)

For Francis and Henry Clifford there was perhaps a need to rationalize their temporary (and ultimately indefensible) victory over Lady Anne's claim to the family estates. Abused, neglected, and disinherited (irrelevant to dynastic ambitions and patriarchal bloodlines), women may *weepe. But what of this? The Gods would have it so.*

The hand of the patron may also be visible in "The Kings Good-night" (III). One line in particular stands out: "Welcome, welcome, King of guests" (l. 1). In a literal and obvious sense, James is the king of the assembled guests, but it is a strange epithet nonetheless. The phrase may allude to a received topos of humility and piety in anticipation of the judgment at the second coming of Christ, this functioning rather like the emblematic skull iconography in Renaissance art. Consider the "guest" and "king" motifs in the text of Christ Church ms. 736-8:

YET if His Majesty, our sovereign lord,
Should of his own accord
Friendly himself invite,
And say, 'I'll be your guest to-morrow night,'
How should we stir ourselves, call and command
All hands to work! 'Let no man idle stand!

. . . .

Thus, if a king were coming, we would do;
And 'twere good reason too;
For 'tis a duteous thing
To show all honour to an earthly king,
And after all our travail and our cost,
So he be pleased, to think no labour lost.

But at the coming of the King of Heaven
All's set at six and seven;
We wallow in our sin,
Christ cannot find a chamber in the inn.
We entertain him always like a stranger,
And as at first, still lodge him in the manger.
("Yet if" ll. 1-6, 19-30)[41]

If this thought has been imported into "The Kings Good-night," the suggestion then is that Christ rather than James should be the king of guests; this idea, however, is probably not subversive — public humility and piety were political virtues in kings. The similarity of "YET if His Majesty" to the situation at Brougham castle is quite striking, and the allusion, if it is such, may be Clifford's rather than Campion's. Although Campion did write religious songs, religious themes were not his forte; his tastes generally ran more towards Catullus-like ribaldry. It is then perhaps significant that the greatest concentration and number of Campion's religious airs are to be found in "The First Booke" of ***Two Bookes of Ayres*** (1613?), a volume dedicated to Francis Clifford. Themes of religious piety were very much to the taste of the elder of Campion's patrons.

Although perhaps no more than coincidence, it may also be significant that "Bravely deckt, come forth, bright day," an "ode," as Davis describes it, "[commemorating] the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot to blow up the Houses of Parliament on November 5, 1605" (***Works*** 64 n. 14) is also contained in "The First Booke." "Bravely deckt" perchance indicates another of Cumberland's interests. Campion's only other work addressing the Gunpowder Plot was ***De Puluerea Coniuratione***, a (small) book-length Latin poem, existing now only in

one scribal presentation copy (Sidney Sussex MS 59). The ms. is, according to Lindley, revised throughout with correction slips ("Introd.," ***DPC*** 1). Of greatest interest among these corrections is the one on the first page; here, "a whole page, containing the prefatory epigram to the King, is pasted over an original prose dedication" (Ibid.).

> Comparison of the original prose dedication with the revised verse inscription suggests that Campion originally intended to present the work to the King on an anniversary of the Plot.[42] For some reason this wish must have been frustrated, and Campion had to provide a new dedication, taking the opportunity to revise details in the poem (and perhaps to seek patronage from John Donne by adding the complimentary fifth epigram. (Ibid. 4)

There may have been no frustration, though. Rather than having to postpone the presentation of the manuscript, Campion, with the entertainment at Brougham Castle, may have been provided with an earlier opportunity. If Cumberland had an interest in the topic of the Gunpowder Plot, he may have even encouraged the work.

Dating the manuscript is problematic, but assigning it to August of 1617 would place it in the middle of the most likely time span for its composition. The discovery of the Plot in 1612 and Campion's death in 1620 define the extreme borders for any dating; however, internal evidence adduced by Lindley narrows this range somewhat:

> The fifth epigram addresses John Donne as "Doctor". He only achieved this title in 1615, and so the manuscript must have been prepared in its final form after that date. This epigram, however, is written in the darker ink of the alterations and emendations, and therefore does not exclude the possibility of earlier composition for the bulk of the work. It is possible that the reference to Princess Elizabeth as "soon to be the mother of sons" (II. 113) represents knowledge of the birth of her second son in 1617 — but the phrase could equally well be a fairly conventional hope for the future and cannot be regarded as sure evidence for dating purposes. (Ibid. 2)

In addition, Lindley narrows the possible time span further by following the text's probable path of entry into the Sidney Sussex College library. King James had charged James Montagu, one time Master of the college, with the care and keeping of Gunpowder Plot texts. Presumably, the poem entered the college's holdings through the Montagu family. "The absence of any record of its acquisition after 1619 perhaps suggests that it came to the college earlier" (Ibid. 5). Lindley also observes that the praise that the work offers "the Lord Chamberlain [Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk (II. 61)] may itself indicate a date of composition before his fall in 1618" (Ibid. 2). Lindley is most thorough, but he overlooks the fact that the only (known) access Campion had to the king after ***The Somerset Masque*** was the occasion of his visit to Brougham Castle. In addition, his hypothesis that "the reference to Princess Elizabeth . . . [may represent] knowledge of the birth of her second son" needs to be refined; the reference, part of a passage of retrospective prophesy, need not indicate anything more than a knowledge of Elizabeth's second pregnancy — "natorum ***mox*** foelicissima mater" (***DPC*** II. l. 113; emphasis added). Her second son, Charles Lewis, was born on December 24, 1617.[43] In August of 1617, Elizabeth would have been midway through her second trimester, and the knowledge that she was with child would likely have circulated around the court. Lindley's second hypothesis, that the reference to Elizabeth "could equally well be a fairly conventional hope for the future," seems more appropriate, particularly if it is amended to read *for the near future.*

The manuscript itself provides evidence that is consistent with the notion that Campion hurried the extant presentation copy, if not the text of the poem itself, to an early completion. ***De Puluerea Coniuratione*** is a large work, something on which Campion, over a long period of time, would have had to expend

a great deal of effort. It is quite polished. Robin Sowerby, attempting to explain subtleties lost in the English translation, states emphatically:

> Campion aspired to cast his story in a dignified and elegant style befitting both the gravity of the subject and the personage to whom it was dedicated, but the result is by no means stiff and bloodless Virgilian pastiche. The wit and word play that are evident in the epigrams are not excluded by an over delicate sense of decorum from the main narrative. ("The Poem," *DPC* 25)

After citing a number of examples of Campion's "word play," Sowerby adds:

> These few examples indicate what, sadly, may not be apparent in the literal and therefore often rather stilted English version — that Campion's Latin can be lively, interesting and entertaining, and may further suggest that whatever the political or occasional prompting of the poem, The Gunpowder Plot was for its author no perfunctory exercise in Latin versifying. (Ibid. 27)

The polish of the text, however, contrasts with the physical nature of the manuscript itself; according to Lindley, the scribal hand "shows some evidence of greater haste in the latter part of the book" (1), and yet the incidence of paste-over corrections is higher at the beginning and not towards the end where one would have expected a hurried scribe to have made a greater number of errors. Perhaps Campion did not have time for the same close supervision that is evident in the earlier portions of the text. It is not known when the Cliffords first contacted Campion about the Brougham entertainment, but the entry in the household accounts relating to the coachman who was to "Carrie Doctor Campion from Londsbrough to Brawhum" is date July 18. If ***De Puluerea Coniuratione*** is associated with James's visit to Brougham Castle, Campion may have had as little as two or three weeks in which to finish the poem and have the presentation copy prepared. This time frame would have caused some degree of haste, particularly if November of 1617 had been Campion's previous deadline.

The primary content of ***De Puluerea Coniuratione*** is largely irrelevant to this thesis. Lindley's well-informed judgment that in content the work is both derivative of and unexceptional within the larger canon of Gunpowder Plot texts seems unassailable.[44] What is of interest here, though, is the poem's political function for Campion. It seems to represent a major attempt to jump ship. The Cliffords were relatively safe patrons, more on the Salisbury side of the Salisbury-Northampton alliance and somewhat on the margin of this group at that. They were, however, becoming increasingly financially strapped. There was the settlement awarded to Dorset. Then there was the loan to the King, in addition to the cost of the King's visit. Francis Clifford seems to have been prudent in his finances, and his anxieties about the entertainment were probably well founded. Campion's other immediate patron, Sir Thomas Monson, had been released from prison in 1616 and had been pardoned in February of 1617, but as the year drew on it would have been more and more apparent that no restoration of court favour and offices was forthcoming (and there would be none until after Campion's death). It is likely that Sir Thomas would have had to curtail his (alleged) enthusiasm for "wild musical parties" — venues for Campion's airs — and even if he did not, there would have been few courtiers willing to attend such events in Monson's company after his precipitous fall from grace. Then there was also the haze of allegation and innuendo surrounding the group of Campion's extended patrons. There were matters of crypto-Catholicism, Spanish pensions, and murder. Northampton had been Catholic, he had been a recipient of Spanish money, and he had been deeply involved in the incarceration of Overbury. He may have been an accessory to the murder as well. Sir Robert Cotton was Catholic, and he had been an accessory in the cover up following the exposure of the Overbury affair. The larger Howard family was thought to harbour a substantial number of Catholics. Both Nottingham, Charles

Howard, and Suffolk's wife, Katherine Knevet, were pension recipients. Cecil had also been in Spanish pay, as had Sir William Monson. Whether the Monson brothers were actually Catholics or not (or merely the victims of witch-hunt tactics), the fact remains that there were a number of Catholic skeletons in the Monson family closet — John Monson later seemed quite insistent about pushing the closet door open. Then there is Campion, who may have been a Catholic himself, although it is doubtful that he was particularly religious. However, Lindley points to ***De Puluerea Coniuratione***'s "praise of Luther (Epigram I; I. 89)" ("Introd.," ***DPC*** 3) and to a number of other serious deviations from Catholic orthodoxy within the text and states that Campion was definitely not Catholic: "this work on the Gunpowder Plot would seem to lay the ghost of Campion's Catholicism once and for all" (Ibid.). Well argued and well supported as Lindley's position is, it is perhaps a little too certain. There are still too many loose threads attaching Campion to Catholicism (or at least to a Catholic background) to claim a successful exorcism. Campion's Latin was excellent, and he seems to have had a good classical education; why then did he not take a degree at Cambridge? Perhaps, he could not. Then there is the French medical degree — no Oath of Supremacy required. To all this we can add the general Catholic leanings of the Elizabethan/Jacobean music industry. Campion's friend, Dowland, was/had been a Catholic. There is also the question of the Irish association with Campion's family. True, all these points, taken individually, can be rationalized/explained away, but taken collectively they do perhaps suggest that Lindley's farewell to Campion's Catholic poltergeist is somewhat premature. But even if Campion were not Catholic, there may have been a certain degree of guilt by association, and thus Lindley's general assessment of the poem's purpose seems squarely on the mark:

> It makes sense, then, to see the poem as an attempt to restore Campion's fading fortunes. The panegyric drift of the poem as a whole would be calculated to appeal to the King . . . ; its firmly anti-Catholic posture frees Campion of any charge of crypto-Catholicism, and the compliment to Thomas Howard, who had endeavoured to keep as much distance as possible between himself and his daughter throughout the disclosures of dirty deeds done in secret, strives to maintain his contact with his [one remaining] major court patron. (Ibid. 5)

In ***De Puluerea Coniuratione*** Campion reaches high for help and patronage. In Donne, he may have seen a successfully reformed Catholic, accepted by both King and court, and he may have sought to associate/ingratiate himself with such a figure. Epigram 5 of ***De Puluerea Coniuratione***'s preface praises both Donne and his Latin work, ***Ignatti Conclave;*** flattering in both content and form, it is perhaps even modeled on Donne's satiric Latin style. As Lindley and Sowerby note, "the sense" of a complex joke on Donne's name which the poem contains

> may seem feeble but the skill of the epigram lies in the way in which the neo-Latinist manipulates Latin syntax . . . . The 'interlingual' joke was doubtless intended as an appropriate compliment to Donne for his bilingual expertise, a learned pleasantry which could be expected to appeal to Donne's own sense of humour. ("Notes," ***DPC*** 99-100)

In the verse dedication to the king, Campion is bold and quite direct in his request for patronage, far more so than he had been in the pasted-over prose dedication, perhaps an indication that the ms. was presented in person — the verse dedication lending itself to an audacious theatrical delivery, the prose dedication more restrained and distant, perchance more in keeping with a planned presentation by a third hand, perhaps Cumberland's. The conceit of the verse dedication is that James's discovery of the Gunpowder Plot was a God-like service to the British people, one that, if classical precedents are followed, must

be thankfully acknowledged with a "tribute of honours" (***DPC*** 33). Campion briefly ponders what a suitable tribute might be: "Quales ergo tibi Rex Maxime soluet honores / Gens Britonum, quasi nunc orbe renata suo" (I: ll. 5-6)?[45] Then without waiting for an answer, he steps forward, humbly, almost apologetically, with his Latin *magnum opus* in hand (now no longer the diminutive "opusculum" of the prose dedication): "Pars ego tam magni populi leuis, hoc tibi struxi / Laudis opus, cecinit quod pia musa mihi" (I: ll. 15-16).[46] Campion has already set his snare, though. By public acceptance of the work, the king himself acknowledges that service must be rewarded — if not out of *noblesse oblige* then out of the precedent Campion has already established: "nec debita facto / Siqua erat, authori gratia parca fuit" (I: ll. 5-6).[47] Implicitly, the king should not be stingy in his patronage of the "authors" of this "laudis opus." Campion's substitution of the English word *author*, more specifically a writer, for the Latin *auctor*, more generally a creator or maker ("Auctor"), insures that the implication is not too subtle.

It is unlikely that Campion was successful in his attempt to realign himself politically. There is no record of his having received any reward from James, nor is there evidence of further commissions received from any patrons, never mind new ones, and no indication of a blossoming friendship with Donne exists. One factor almost certainly involved in Campion's lack of success is that he was too closely associated with the politically embarrassed Monson to be an asset to anyone — Lindley quite appropriately refers to Campion as Monson's "protégé" ("Introd.," ***DPC*** 5). Another factor in Campion's failure may have been the sad truth that he was never very skilled at striking the right tone in his English panegyrics. They were either foolishly overblown, as in the dedication to the king in ***The Lord Hay's Masque***, or they were anemic and tedious, as in much of his other work. Indeed, most of the praise for the king in the Brougham

entertainment is truly tiring. It reaches its most sycophantic level in the choral prophesies made by the *Aegyptians*/Gypsies after the masque's point of transition when the "humble Songs" may speak "unmasked now and cleare" (VII: ll. 8-10),[48] and the prophetic praise here is all calculated to ingratiate poet and patrons with the king, but there is nothing notable about it except that it misses the mark widely. "Sacred light" is "cast" about James's "throne" (VIII: l. 16), but he himself emits "Bright beames" (IX: l. 5) only very intermittently, and these seem to have no effect on the events within the masque world and the larger entertainment. Once again, James is left a passive cipher, extraneous to the events unfolding before him. Nonetheless, there is some reason to suspect that James may have enjoyed the Brougham entertainment; Spink notes a strong similarity between the entertainment's masque songs and Jonson's ***A Masque of the Metamorphosed Gypsies*** (1621),[49] a similarity which, if not mere coincidence, could indicate that the *device* of the Brougham performance (if not the work itself or its author) was highly pleasing to the king — ***The Gypsies Metamorphosed*** "was thrice presented to King James" (Jonson, ***Complete Masques*** 316). However, if Spink's hypothesis is correct, it is then significant that it is Jonson rather than Campion who was given the opportunity to revamp the device. If indeed Campion's hand is involved in the composition of the entertainment, then it seems he had not learned from Jonson's demonstration with ***The Irish Masque*** that the composition of potent, muscular, empowering flattery had definite rewards.

Final consideration of ***De Puluerea Coniuratione*** provokes one very large question, the answer to which may well be related to Campion's inability to change political camps. In 1619, he published the second and last collection of his Latin verse, ***Tho. Campiani Epigrammatum Libri II***, a work dedicated to Prince Charles. It is most curious that ***De Puluerea Coniuratione***, Campion's

largest single work and perhaps his most technically accomplished one in Latin, finds no place between the covers of this book. The time frame between the book's entry at the Stationer's Registry, August 21, 1619, and Campion's death, March 1, 1620, taken together with ***De Puluerea Coniuratione***'s praise for Suffolk, makes it highly unlikely that work was composed after the publication of ***Epigrammatum Libri II***. Why then was it not included? Lindley, in a typically thorough fashion, examines a number of possible explanations, but comes to no firm conclusion, stating that "there is no very obvious reason for its omission" ("Introd.," ***DPC*** 4). While there is no conclusion that can be reached with any certainty here, there is one possibility which Lindley overlooks — that is that the poem became an embarrassment. Strongly anti-Catholic, going far beyond a simple condemnation of the Jesuits and attempted regicide, the poem may have betrayed the ideologies of patrons who had long supported Campion, patrons such as (the now dead) Northampton and (the politically dead) Monson. It is easy to live down a betrayal of old friends when one is safely sequestered in the company of new ones. It is entirely a different matter, though, when one must fall back in among the old ones. Perhaps political expediency dictated that Campion let the poem slip quietly into obscurity.

Whatever the reason for ***De Puluerea Coniuratione***'s disappearance may have been, Campion himself soon began to approach the same oblivion that had swallowed it. He may have retained some friends despite the neglect he received from his patrons. The fact that he made a witnessed nuncupatory will on the day of his death, March 1, 1620 (1619 old calendar), would seem to indicate that there were people with him at the end. Rosseter may have even been present for, as previously noted, Campion left him his entire estate, a mere £22. It is frustrating that the instrument admitted to Probate in August of 1620 (Vivian's discovery) does not name the "divers credible witnesses" to Campion's bequest:

> MEMORANDUM that THOMAS CAMPION, late of the parishe of St. Dunstons in the West, Doctor of Phisicke, being in perfect mynde and memory, did with an intent to make and declare his last will and testament vpon the first of March, 1619, and not longe before his death saie that he did giue all that he had vnto Mr. Phillip Rosseter and wished that his estate had bin farr more, or he vsed words to that effecte, being then and there present divers credible witnesses. (xlvii)[50]

Campion's memory may have lingered on with musicians, such as Rosseter, but within a few years of his death, he was all but forgotten by the larger public — a victim first of changing musical/literary tastes and secondly of puritanism. One of his prettier religious airs, "Never weather-beaten saile," did survive for a good length of time,[51] but it too eventually vanished, and then all trace of Campion disappeared from public consciousness until his literary resurrection at the hands of Bullen in the late nineteenth century.

Chapter 5 Footnotes:

1. London, June 8, 1616, Chamberlain to Carleton, ***State Papers Domestic, Jacobean I*** lxxxvii: 51, ***Letters of John Chamberlain*** 2: 6. Here, Chamberlain goes on to catalogue extensively recent instances of the king's disfavour towards Coke.

2. See ch. 4, n. 15, herein.

3. London, June 22, 1616, Chamberlain to Carleton, ***State Papers Domestic, Jacobean I*** lxxxvii: 67, ***Letters of John Chamberlain*** 2: 10.

4. London, October 12, 1616, Chamberlain to Carleton, ***State Papers Domestic, Jacobean I*** lxxxviii: 121, ***Letters of John Chamberlain*** 2: 26.

5. London, Feb. 22, 1617, Chamberlain to Carleton, ***State Papers Domestic, Jacobean I*** xc: 79, ***Letters of John Chamberlain*** 2: 54.

6. Davis simply glosses "affect" as "love" (***Works*** 133 n. 2), but the ***OED*** provides a wider menu of possibilities: "to aim at, aspire to, endeavor to have" a thing or to do a thing (1593 and 1605 examples); "to be drawn to, have affection or liking for; to take to, be fond of, show preference for, to fancy, like, or love" a person, (1601 example); "to assume the character of a person" (1595 example); "to assume a false appearance" (1603 example).

7. Campion's ***Two Bookes of Ayres*** (1613?) had been dedicated to Cumberland and his son, "THE RIGHT / HONOURABLE, BOTH / in Birth and Vertue, FRANCIS, Earle / of CUMBERLAND" and "THE RIGHT / NOBLE, AND VERTUOUS, / HENRY LORD CLIFFORD, Sonne and Heyre" (***Works*** 54, 84).

8. Spink, "Campion's Entertainment," 60. "See *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in Westmoreland*, Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical Monuments, England (London 1936) pp. 60-66, for plans and description" (Ibid. 173 n. 12).

9. ***Records of*** [Scottish] ***Privy Council*** qtd. in Nichols 3: 309.

10. Menna Prestwich suggests: "James may have hoped to forget Cockayne in Scotland, but his shadow lay darkly over London" (201). Ch. 4 of Prestwich details Cockayne's scheme for fabric exports.

11. See Leah Sinanoglou Marcus, "The Occasion of Ben Jonson's ***Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue,***" ***Studies in English Literature 1500-1900*** 19 (1979): 271-93, which focuses on the socio-political aspects of the masque. For a complementary 'literary' reading, see Richard S. Peterson, "The Iconography of Jonson's ***Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue,***" ***Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*** 5 (1975): 123-53.

12. Chamberlain to Carleton, London, August 9, 1617, ***State Papers Domestic Series, Jacobean I*** xciii, 15, ***Letters of John Chamberlain*** 2: 92.

13. More generally see Prestwich, chapters 1, 3, 4, and 5, for catalogue of James's financial problems.

14. London, Mar. 15, 1617, Chamberlain to Carleton, ***State Papers Domestic, Jacobean I*** xc: 122, ***Letters of John Chamberlain*** 2: 63.

15. Alan and Veronica Palmer explain that George Clifford personally financed his expeditions against the Armada as well as his later adventuring in Puerto Rico; "his expeditions were costly affairs, and Cumberland became more and more in debt, a condition aggravated by chronic gambling habits" ("Clifford, George").

16. This and all further quotations of Lady Anne's commentary are taken from Williamson and will be noted only by Williamson's page numbers except where additional information is available. Original sources are not clearly indicated, but it seems reasonable to assume that Williamson relies on "the Lady Anne Narrative," a lengthy ms., likely prepared for Lady Anne by an amanuensis. See ch. 1, n. 31, herein. The ellipsis here is Williamson's.

17. An inscription on a family portrait present in Skipton Castle in 1828, qtd. in Drake 2: 119-20.

18. Drake neglects to indicate the source of his quotation.

19. Another consideration for the Cliffords was that Cecil had provided his daughter with "a dowry of £40,000" (Harrison, ***Second . . . Journal*** 216). Here Harrison appears to rely upon Downshire, ***Manuscripts of the Marquis of Downshire preserved at Easthampstead Park, Berkshire***, Vol. ii, ***Papers of William Turnbull the Elder, 1605-1610***, ed. W. K. Purnell and A. B. Hinds, (no publisher indicated; no date given) 2: 328.

20. All ellipsis here is Williamson's.

21. For those interested in the final outcome of the conflict, it should be noted that Lady Anne adds, "and they kept it from me till their decease" (102) — her cousin failed to produce a male heir who survived to maturity, and she regained all the Clifford estates. On James's decision against her, she reflects: "But after by the Providence of God, it turned to the best for me, for if this pattent had not been granted out of the Crowne I should not have had that power (which I now have) to dispose of my lands to whomsoever I please" (84).

22. Charles Harding Firth notes Henry Clifford's friendship with Thomas Wentworth, adding that "it was owing to Wentworth's representation of the great and pressing need of the Clifford family that the king [Charles I] consented to repay in 1637 a quarter of the debt which his father had contracted twenty years earlier" ("Clifford, Henry"). Wentworth himself writes to the king: "In the thirteenth yeare of your majesty's blessed father there was a debte of twelue thousand foure hundred pounds due to the earle of Cumberland, for which his lordship had priuy seale granted and past" (Wentworth to Charles, Dublin, January 12, 1637, Carte 5: 228).

23. The text of this entertainment can be found in both ***Campion's Works***, ed. Vivian, and ***The Works of Thomas Campion***, ed. Davis.

24. Cumberland's letter qtd. by Nichols presumably from T.D. Whittaker, ***The History and Antiquities of the Deanery of Craven***, London, 1805. Nichols, however, does not provide a bibliography, but he does give p. 293 of Whittaker, nd., as reference for the letter (as does Vivian); the bibliographical information above is taken from Spink, "Campion's Entertainment," where pp. 263-64 are given as reference for the same letter. The original letter seems no longer to exist. Spink states: "The source may possibly have been one of the letters referred to under the date June 6, 1617, as 'Copies of letters from the Earl to his son' in the appendix to ***The Third Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts*** (London, 1872), p. 38, but which Mr. T. S. Wragg, the Keeper of the Duke of Devonshire's Collection at Chatsworth, informs me can no longer be traced" (172-73 n. 4).

25. The air and the epigram can be found in both the Vivian and Davis editions of Campion's works; however, Davis provides a translation from the Latin where Vivian does not. Vivian says of the two poems: "We find the same conceit of the sun dawning from the north, and close verbal parallels to lines 4 and 7 of the English stanza. Campion's style may be traced in some of the verses, notably in VI, 'Robin is a louely Lad' ; but they are not all up to his best level. It is, however, in accordance with the unfortunate custom which has left us in the dark as to the

authorship of some of the most perfect gems in the songbooks that the names of the composers alone are given" (li-lii). See also Vivian 371 n. 230 and n. 231.

26. Accounts qtd. by Spink from Bolton MSS, vol. XCVII.

27. Davis's concession appears to be based upon the cumulative weight of Vivian and Spink's scholarship (as presented in Spink, "Campion's Entertainment"). See Davis, ***Thomas Campion*** 170 n. 27.

28. In his edition of Campion, Davis notes similarities of thought or of parallel texts: *In Melleam* and "'My love bound me with a kiss,' *Canto tertio* of the songs appended to [Newman's edition of Sidney's] *Astrophel and Stella*" (425 n. 3, also 9 n. 18, 491) <C. Wilson does not accept 'My love . . .' as Campion's (15).>; *Ad Caspiam* and "Thou art not fair . . ." (429 n. 6, also 34 n. 30); *Ad Amorem* and "'Love whets the dullest whits,' *Canto quarto* of the songs appended to *Astrophel and Stella*" (429 n. 7, also 9 n. 20) <Wilson does not accept 'Love whets . . .' (15-17).>; *In Lycium et Clytham* and "It fell on a sommers day" (429 n. 8, also 31 n. 20 and 505 n. 60); *Ad Cambricum* and "I must complain, yet doe enjoy my love" (437 n. 18, also 184 n. 49, 499 n. XVII); and *Ad Leam* and "Why presumes thy pride . . ." (437 n. 19, also 139 n. 14).

29. No disrespect to Wilson is intended here; his monograph is a major contribution to Campion scholarship. Still though, there are minor problems. He claims that "about the same time as Davis's edition, Ian Spink produced an article in which he reinforced Davis's doubts, as well as questioning some of Nichol's description of the event. He noted that the original letter [from Cumberland to his son] to which Vivian referred was now lost. We may conclude that Campion probably did not supply the words to the ayres, and at most was consulted as one having previous experience of masques and courtly entertainments" (20). There are several distortions here. Firstly, Spink does not *reinforce Davis's doubts*; he cautiously sides with Vivian. Secondly, the aspects of Nichol's description of the event which Spink questions relate to the number of days over which the entertainment was spread. Thirdly, Spink's questioning lends greater credence to the case for Campion's involvement in the ***Ayres*** by establishing that some of them were probably part of a masque. Fourthly, Spink does not question the integrity of either Whittaker or Nichols, the sources at second and third hand for the now lost letter; hence, Spink's mentioning of the letter's disappearance does not lead in the direction of Wilson's conclusion.

30. It should be added here that a contemporary attribution of a particular work to an author is not always conclusive. Davis notes that in MSS "scribes assigned 'Harke, all you ladies' (A Booke of Ayres, Part I, xix) to Sidney and 'The man of life upright' (ibid., xviii) to Francis Bacon" (***Works*** 448). Both are Campion's.

31. The terminology here is Jerzy Limon's, and some explanation is necessary perhaps. Limon argues that when discussing masques, "we are actually dealing with three different texts, which belong not only to different genres but also to different systems" (20). The first category is the "Ur-masque" or "pre-text," an overall (mental?) plan comprising stage directions, dramatic text, music, lyrics, dance, costumes, scenery, special effects, lighting, et cetera. The *dramatic masque* is a component of the *Ur-masque* and may include stage directions, along with dramatic text and lyrics. The distinguishing feature of the *pre-text* is that it envisions its own production in the near future of its own time and is thus a form of drama. Limon's second category includes both the *journalistic description* which reports (in the past tense) on the performance of a masque and the *literary masque* which is totally divorced from performance; both must viewed as forms of literature since neither *projects its own staging*. The third category is *the masque in performance*, a socio-political, mystical, ritual, multi-media dramatic event which, without its participants (all those present in the environment of its performance) or the occasion of/for its performance, is

meaningless and (to coin a word) *unrestagable*. My explanations here, of necessity, involve a large degree of oversimplification; see Limon, ch. 1 in particular (and more generally his entire book).

32. See n. 25, above.

33. The reader should be cautioned that I am twisting Davis's words to a purpose for which they were definitely not intended. Davis, here, is defending his caution in not ascribing the airs (and other doubtful works) to Campion. It seems most ironic that his words serve equally well as a challenge to Mason and Earsden's authorship.

34. It should be pointed out that Spink sees no thematic similarity to Campion's Caversham Entertainment; the Brougham masque "is by no means a reworking of the same formula" ("Campion's" 61).

35. See also ch. 3, pp. 62-63, herein.

36. In addition to bringing Campion from London, Cumberland may have also arranged "for a party of glee singers to come down all the way from London to Westmoreland;" however, Williamson does not provide a source for the basis of this suggestion (***Lady*** 122).

37. See Zimmerman, "Charities" and "Euphrosyne."

38. Morford and Lenardon, 69, n. 11.

39. See "Grace," ***OED***, for a long list of contemporary English definitions of this word, holding similar meanings to Χάρις. See Lewis and Short, "Grates," "Gratia," and "Gratiae" for the Latin parallels. See also Partridge, "Grace," for a similar list of historical (multi-lingual) usage centering around deritives of the Latin "*gratia*," to which the name *Gratiæ* is related.

40. This ballad may not be an original work. Vivian notes that it can also be "found in Add. MS. 27879, fo. 220, Bishop Percy's famous 'folio MS.'" (***Works*** 371). It was perhaps a family favourite.

41. The text of the Christ Church ms. is generally collected with anonymous works, but the editors of the online ***Representative Poetry Indexes*** at the University of Toronto ascribe the music which accompanies the poem to Thomas Ford and date it before 1648. The ascription and dating, if correct, could make the poem contemporaneous with Campion's work — Ford outlived Campion, but he began publishing in the early 1600's. For the URL at U of T, see the bibliography entry herein under Thomas Ford. I have found the text from ***The Oxford Book of English Verse 1250-1950*** to my liking and have used it rather than the U of T's cyber-text; see the bibliography entry under "Yet if ...."

42. The relevant passage from the prose dedication reads: "Opuscullum hoc quo die opt: max: infinita bonitas vestrae autem diuinae Prudentiae in puluerea coniuratione relegenda foelicitas cele= brata est absolutum iam sub hac fautissima luce sacris tuis manibus offerre haud ineptum fore judicem" (***DPC*** 97). Sowerby translates: "Allow me to judge that it will not be inept to put into your sacred hands this little work released now on this most auspicious day, this little work in which is celebrated the infinite goodness of the most excellent almighty God and on the other hand the felicity of your divine wisdom in removing the gunpowder plot" (Ibid. 97-98).

43. Chamberlain's modern editor, Norman Egbert McClure, provides this information, ***Letters*** 2: 129 n.27.

44. See "The Poem and History" (5-15) within Lindley's introduction.

45. Sowerby translates: "What sort of honour should the British people, virtually born again in the world, pay to you, O mightiest of kings" (***DPC*** 33).

46. Sowerby translates: "An insignificant member of this great people, I have made this work of praise for you, which the faithful muse has sung for me" (*DPC* 33).

47. Sowerby translates: "nor if there was any debt owed for a particular deed was thanks to its author grudging" (*DPC* 33).

48. Spink identifies the seventh air as the point of transition ("Campion's" 61).

49. Spink concludes, "Jonson's masque is a work of considerable intricacy, more so than Campion's is likely to have been; but reduced to essentials, the relationship between the two seems quite pronounced and may indicate some sort of influence on Jonson by Campion" ("Campion's." 61-62).

50. The italics here are mine, not Vivian's, and they represent an expansion of a contraction which for typographic reasons cannot be reproduced.

51. Vivian notes that "this song occurs in a commonplace-book of 1707 in circumstances which suggest that it was still living at that date as a hymn" (lviii).

CONCLUSION

This thesis set out to describe a tyrannous logic of events peculiar within systems of government by patronage — a logic which defined the political creation and destruction of Campion the artist. It is hoped that this aim has been achieved. Should there be any lingering doubts on the part of the reader, these can be removed by bringing forth two contemporary voices and letting them testify in support of what has been argued herein.

First we shall hear again from Sir William Monson, who in a bitter act of self-representation reflects upon his career within the Salisbury-Northampton alliance. His account brings Campion's own career into sharper focus, for the political vectors which created and destroyed the political being, Vice Admiral, Sir William Monson, are identical to those which dictated Campion's rise and fall within the same patronage network. In deference, we shall allow Monson to start at the beginning, and we shall not interrupt him with ellipsis. The reader's patient courtesy is requested:

> In the year 1604, I was nominated Admiral of the Narrow Seas, without suit or seeking of mine. And the first service I was appointed to was the transportation of the Constable of Castile, who was to repair hither to conclude a peace betwixt the Crowns, that had been eighteen years at variance. What happened in that employment, as also in the twelve years after that I served as Admiral, I refer you to my Second Book throughout. Only I must say that, as in former employments I went not without danger of life by enemies, by the peril of sea, and famine, as I have formerly repeated, in

> this employment I was to fear neither foe nor famine, the King having a general peace with all princes and nations, and my employment being not so far from home but that in a few days I might be supplied with victuals. Though I account another danger greater than the rest, which consisted of accidents of the sea and extremity of storms and foul weather, in the south and straitest part of England, where commonly I was to lie at anchor ; and upon any occasion being put from my anchors, the narrowness of the seas betwixt land and land would put me in imminent danger of shipwreck and life. The shoals and sands were no less dangerous, considering that very often we were to be attended with fogs and mists ; besides that we were sometimes put to double lee-shore, which if we failed of we presently perished. [¶] But God so provided for me that I escaped all these hazards, and at last found malice had a greater power and force against me than by sea I found, or otherwise I deserved. For when I thought to have left my painful labours at sea, and to have enjoyed tranquillity of peace on land, envy, unluckily and unlooked for, seized upon my innocence. For being thought a bosom friend to a nobleman I much honoured, who at that time began to be aimed at, and was afterwards borne down by court faction, though I was one of the meanest in number and unworthy to have knowledge taken of me, as a man of no eminence, yet considering how my estate then stood by my engagements, and otherwise, I found fortune more adversed to me than most of the others had felt by malicious practices. (5: 190-191)

It is not certain who the "nobleman" Monson refers to is, but a few candidates present themselves for consideration: Salisbury, Northampton, Suffolk, and Somerset. The most likely of these are the latter three, and of this smaller group, the latter two. Salisbury, by his earlier death, was spared much of the indignity of political ruin. Northampton, with the lesser fortune of having died only shortly before the Overbury scandal exploded, was "borne down by court faction" in posthumous reputation only — although suspicions about his possible relationship with the Jesuits may have led to Digby's investigations into the Spanish pensions, these investigations being the first source of Monson's woes.

The remaining two candidates were "borne down" alive and in person, and of these two men's ruins, it is probably Somerset's which had the greatest impact upon Monson's own fortunes, since Sir William had already been disgraced by the time of Suffolk's fall. In the end, though, it probably matters little who Monson's noble friend was. Any or all of the candidates would have served the role equally well. Monson would still have been left a castaway — the *ship* in which he had *embarked his life and fortune*, having spent some time floundering, eventually sank anyway. In many respects Monson and Campion shared the same fate, and the understanding of this becomes clearer when we recognize that Campion was merely a lower ranking passenger *in the same boat* — in the end just another castaway.

It is only fitting that the last voice to speak should be Campion's own. In 1617(?), his ***The Third and Fourth Booke of Ayres*** was published, and among the airs in "The Third Booke" is one particularly haunting in its plaintive melancholy. Read *à la* Arthur Marotti ("Love is not Love"), the song, "Shall I come, sweet Love, to thee" (XVII), becomes a desperate plea for patronage and protection. As Marotti has established, the anguished and submissive language of love was largely indistinguishable from that used by clients towards their patrons. For immediate evidence of this "love-not-love" rhetoric, witness the letter from John Lanier to Robert Cecil contained herein.[1] Lanier's letter pleads with Cecil for favour, and the submissive sexuality of the language is sublimated somewhat by the obviousness of the letter's purpose — one must look to see the lover's complaint. With "Shall I come, sweet Love," the situation is entirely reversed. Here the sexuality is all in the foreground, and one must look to see the purpose. Only one's heterosexual assumptions offer any indication that the air's "sweet love" is

female. When these assumptions are set aside, however, the nature of the text transforms completely. The song was written for Sir Thomas Monson, and it most likely addresses James on his behalf. The work speaks of exclusion — "Shall I not excluded be?" (l. 3) — and "fained lett" (l. 4) which bars reconciliation. Once one of James's favourites, Monson had indeed been excluded, and his banishment was almost certainly a necessary and unpleasant political action performed by James with a "fained" distance, that distance establishing a posture which had to be maintained. The second stanza of "Shall I come, sweet Love" is totally incongruous with a lover's complaint addressed to a woman; it pointedly draws attention to the very real dangers encountered by fallen clients, such as Monson. *Foes* acting "through wicked foule despight" (l. 10) sought to *worke* their *woe* — witness Sir William's testimony to this effect. The air's emphatically repeating refrains also *tell* of the *long cold houres* spent *unredrest* at the patron's *dore*, thus increasing the faithful client's sense of exclusion, the familiarity of *at your dore* contrasting with the formal distance of *to thee* and *in thy bed*. The *bed* here — part of the pathetic request, "Doe not mocke me in thy bed" (l. 17) — touches on the homoerotic tension that existed between James and his male favourites, but it serves as an allusion to the royal bedchamber, as well — the bedchamber being the innermost sanctum of the chosen few at court — a place where Monson was once welcome. To understand the true emotive power of "Shall I come, sweet Love," it is absolutely necessary to hear it — the page seldom does justice to Campion's real talent. Drew Minter's counter-tenor rendition of the air, accompanied by the lute of Paul O'Dette, provides an excellent indication of how a contemporary performance may have sounded (Campion, *Ayres*). Brought to life, the work is possessed with a beautiful and

disturbing melancholy, which is only intensified when the work is placed in its political context. In the end, the words composed for Monson serve Campion just as well, and it is not difficult to imagine his thoughts bitterly turning to them as he sat in the poverty of his lodgings, ill and facing death:

Shall I come, sweet Love, to thee,
When the ev'ning beames are set?
Shall I not excluded be?
Will you finde no feined lett?
Let me not, for pitty, more,
Tell the long houres at your dore

Who can tell what theefe or foe,
In the covert of the night,
For his prey, will worke my woe,
Or through wicked foule despight:
So may I dye unredrest,
Ere my long love be possest.

But, to let such dangers passe,
Which a lovers thoughts disdaine,
'Tis enough in such a place
To attend loves joyes in vaine.
Doe not mocke me in thy bed,
While these cold nights freeze me dead.

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Conclusion Footnotes:

1. See Ch. 2, p. 46, herein.

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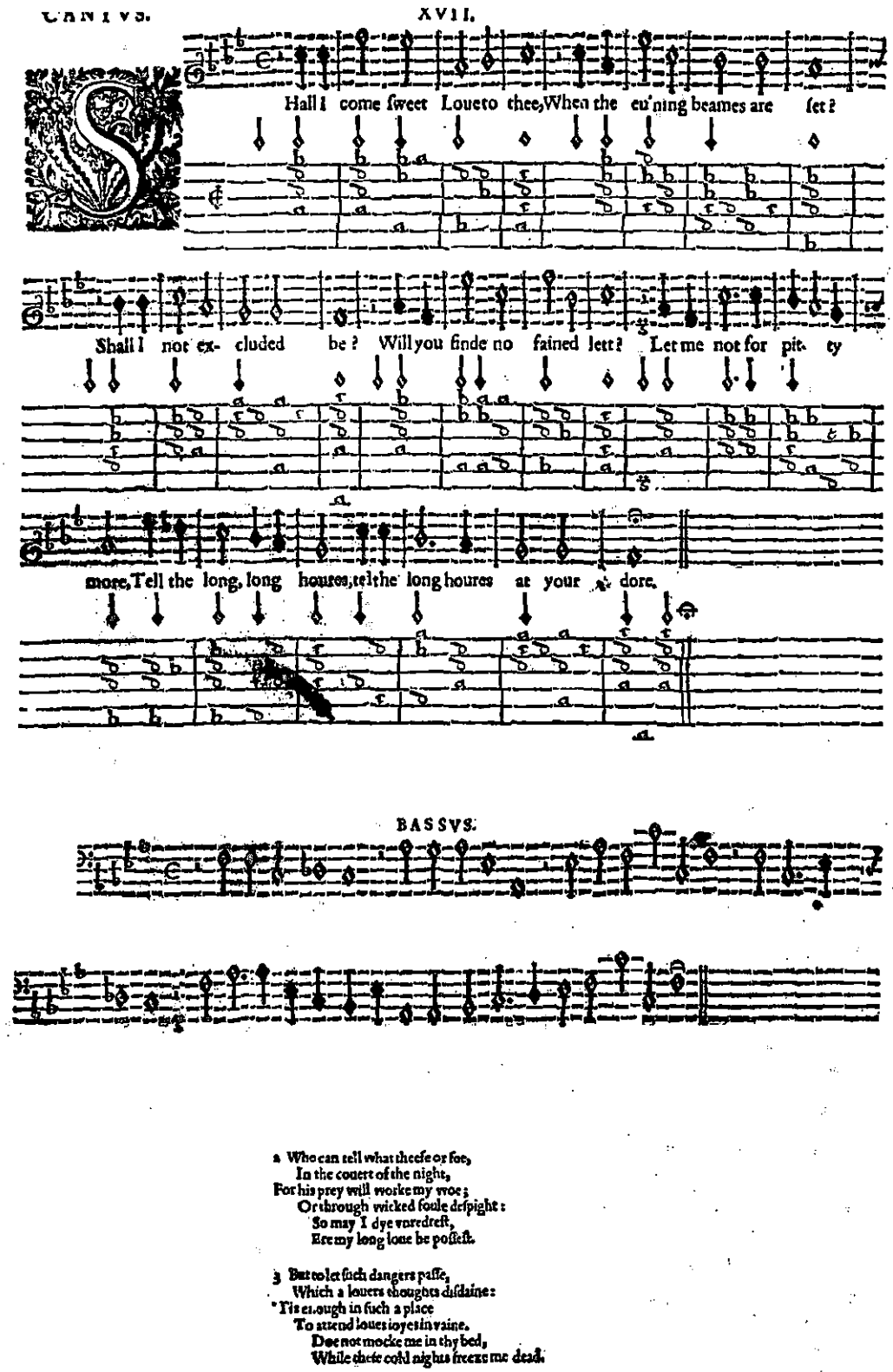
APPENDIX I

Figure 9: With permission from both the British Library and Scolar Press, the facsimile, figure 9, was created from Thomas Campion, ***The Third and Fourth Booke of Ayres***, London, <1618>, Menston: Scolar, 1969, which in turn was copied from the British Library text (shelfmark K.2.i.2).

The facsimile here is at a scale of 1: 1.314, and in addition the page has been substantially cropped. The translation of the Scolar text to a digital medium has unavoidably produced some minor thickening of the types, ornaments and music staves.



2 Who can tell what theefe or foe,
In the couert of the night,
For his prey will worke my woe;
Or through wicked foule deſpight:
So may I dye vnredreſt,
Ere my long loue be poſſeſt.

3 But to let ſuch dangers paſſe,
Which a louers thoughts diſdaine:
'Tis enough in ſuch a place
To attend loues ioyes in vaine.
Doe not mocke me in thy bed,
While theſe cold nights freeze me dead.

Figure 9: "Shall I come Sweet Love to thee," *The Third and Fourth Booke of Ayres* (d1v), after British Library, K.2.i.2., copyright vested in the British Library Board; further reproduction or publication is prohibited.

This text is set primarily in Palatino (postscript) 12/24, 12/15, and 10/13; variations in leading occur where necessary. The Greek *True-Type* font used is by Peter J. Gentry and Andrew M. Foutain. The *True-Type* fonts, Wingdings (by Microsoft) and Monotype Sorts (by Monotype), are also used. Graphics were collected and manipulated with a variety of applications (Adobe and Corel products, primarily) of different generations, on different platforms. The text was processed on Microsoft Word 6.0 (DOS) and was printed using a Lexmark Optra R+ laser printer at a resolution of 1200 dpi. It is printed on 20 lb. Rolland Colonial Glowhite Bond, a 25% rag content, acid free paper, with a laser finish.

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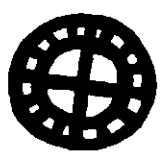

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Title of Thesis:

Thomas Campion and the Web of Patronage

Author: [redacted]

Lance Arthur Husoy
December 6, 1997