

PERSPECTIVES ON KING JAMES' INFLUENCE ON
LITERATURE

PERSPECTIVES ON KING JAMES VI AND I'S INFLUENCE
ON THE LITERATURE OF HIS REIGN

BY

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A Thesis

Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies
in Partial fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree
Master of Arts

McMaster University

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MASTER OF ARTS (1989)

(English)

McMASTER UNIVERSITY

Hamilton, Ontario

TITLE: Perspectives on King James VI and I's Influence on
the Literature in his Reign

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NUMBER OF PAGES: vi, 108

Abstract

Throughout his reign, King James acted as a lucrative loadstone; writers pointing true north were headed in the right direction. Head of the Church and State, King James remained powerful and symbolic enough to raise the pens of poets, political writers and preachers in his praise and defence. James' ideas and actions were lauded and emulated not through any merit of their own (though some were meritorious), but through the fear and awe which the title of their originator, King, still carried.

This inherited power was further directed by James' own literary pursuits: by his treatise on poetry; his own poems; his speeches, tracts and "paper bullets". Those vying for the approval or patronage of the King found in James' written word a broad base in which to plant their ladder to success.

Did King James' preference for those who praised him as "best of poets", "best of Kings" sway the direction of the literature in his reign? The King's desire to see John

Donne in an ecclesiastical rather than a secular employment may have occasioned more in the style of Essays in Divinity at the expense of a few more "Songs and Sonnets". But this can only be speculation. What is more certain is that the King's rejection of Alexander Montgomerie for political and religious reasons resulted in the virtual disappearance of Montgomerie's poetry. Certainly James' preference of Ben Jonson as court masquer lengthened that dramatist's repertoire. Although Drummond of Hawthornden was one of the self-sufficient few who managed without James, he too found occasion to lament the plight of the isolated.

King James may not have been the Castalian spring whence his kingdom's poetry sprung, but he certainly provided a dam or two.

Acknowledgement

I would like to thank Dr. W.G. Roebuck for guidance and inspiration. Thanks also to Dr. D. Duncan for his help with my previous work on Ben Jonson, and to Ms. Lisa May for helping me to organize myself.

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KING JAMES' SCOTTISH RENAISSANCE

The Scottish Reformation of the 1560s was not a very effective catalyst for poetry. The strict measures of the Protestants, unstable politics, and in 1567 an infant king, provided little incentive for the poet. In contrast to the flowering of Scottish poetry in the earlier years of the century, of Douglas and Dunbar under King James IV, and Lindsay and Scott¹ under Mary, the sixties and seventies seem indeed barren. Although poets were not lax in their praise of the young King James, it was not until the King reached the age of thirteen that court poetry gained its foothold. In 1579 James was no longer under the tutelage of Buchanan and Young, and in this year he formally entered Edinburgh and gained control of the state and church. With the power to create and ruin men's fortunes, the King became the focus for courtiers.

Poets scrabbled for preferment, extolled the King's learning and, in poetry at least, expressed complete faith in his ability in kingcraft. In the Scottish court, acceptance as a poet often meant a position in the Royal Household, so that a poet might have influence in areas

other than literary. While poets extended their influence, so too did the King. With the poets of the Castalian Band gathered about him, James satisfied his vanity with other men's praises; the King paraded his poetical talents, expected, and received applause. During his Scottish reign, King James, patron of poets, subject of poets, and not refused the title "king of poets", with a word of approval or rejection, guided the mainstream of Scottish poetry.

King James is not well known as a poet; the history of his politics, his personal eccentricities and his interest in theology -- which allowed the King James Version of the Bible to be produced -- usually act as an interesting buffer to inquiry into the King's literary abilities. His poetry is found to be pedestrian, too like a school boy's exercises to merit much examination. The contemporary praise it received is seen as flattery of a King in the hope of advancement, and not as genuine applause of poetical talent. Criticism of this sort is for the most part warranted. James' dependency on common tropes and on native and foreign example implies a lack of imagination. Though he understood the mechanics of form, he not infrequently falls out of rhythm, or into imperfect rhyme. The ostentatious listing of classical myth or biblical allusion

reveals a scholar's vanity, and not the expressions of a poet. James' ideas on poetry and his public examples cannot be shunted aside, however. They provided a model for aspiring court poets and opened (and perhaps closed) the doorway to the Scottish Renaissance.

The Castalian Band which formed around the King in 1579 consisted of poets and musicians.² Released from the strict tutelage of the scholar George Buchanan and the kinder hand of Peter Young, the young King revelled in his new found freedom and authority. Along with the serious considerations of poetry, the Band enjoyed its interaction with the King which provided inspiration and assurance of acceptance. The poets, John Stewart of Baldynneis, William Fowler, Alexander Montgomerie and for a short while Alexander Hume, often joined forces with the musicians, Andrew Blackhall, the Hudson brothers and James Lauder, to create a flourish of court song and entertainment. There is also a possibility of a female member of the Band in a Christian Lindsay; she is mentioned three times in poetry of the period as a writer, but of whom no known works are extant. The "writing game" had its own language, with James -- King Cupid, or in later years Apollo -- at its centre, a device which allowed excessive amounts of indirect

admiration to flow to the King.

This early formation of the Castalian Band came to an abrupt end in August of 1582, however. Religion and politics combined with literature to create a three-fold strand of unbreakable perturbations. The Ruthven Raiders, a small group of powerful Protestants made anxious by the King's growing circle of Roman Catholic admirers, captured the King and held him at Stirling Castle. Alexander Montgomerie (the King's "maister poete"), Esmé Stuart, Seigneur d'Aubigny (the King's favourite and titled the Duke of Lennox) and James Lauder, court musician faithful to the religion and politics of the imprisoned Queen Mary, were all Roman Catholics. Montgomerie and Lennox were, moreover, distant kin of James. This personal and potentially dangerous papist ring was broken by the Ruthven Lords. Although the occasion was provided for consolatory verses, without their patron the Castalian Band lost, for a short while, its focus.

It was not until June 1583, after a dramatic escape, that James, and the Castalians, returned. The number of the Band now became a symbolic nine, the number of the Muses, a conceit which occasioned much poetry from the members.³ This

restoration of the "brethren of the Castalian band" lasted until 1586, and saw more publication and influence than the original group. Perhaps the most influential work, published in 1584, was the King's own, The Essayes of a Prentise, in the Divine Art of Poesie.⁴ Along with the "first fruictis" of the King's poetical hand is included a short prose piece entitled "Ane Schort Treatise, conteining some revlis and cautelis to be obseruit and eschewit in Scottis Poesie". Modern critics often find the work to be mere "boyish crudity",⁵ and "petty plagiarism"⁶ of Gascoigne and French authors. Its effect on Scottish poetry and the King's "planned Renaissance"⁷ demands attention, however, and it is for this reason, and not for any novel or inspiring ideas it might (but does not) present, that it receives more consideration than any other of the King's early works.

"A Quatraine of Alexandrian verse" directed to "the docile bairns of knowlege", and a "Preface", open the "Treatise". The "Preface", with its personal appeal to the "docile reader", lists two main reasons for the writing of the work. The first is that "as the tyme is changeit...so is the ordour of Poesie changeit", and reveals the King's desire to keep, or make, Scotland a land to be reckoned with in the literary world outside its own borders. The second

inspiration for the piece is one of national rather than international import; though many treatises on poetry had lately been written, "there hes neuer ane of thame written in our language", vernacular Scots. The "Treatise" is to aid in the creation of a distinctly Scottish poetry which can be held to accompt internationally.⁸

For the most part, the "Treatise" follows the ideas of humanist writings and their use of the ancients. James' years under Buchanan may have aided in his approach. Gascoigne's Notes of Instruction (1575) for English poetry and works of French authors, notably Ronsard, du Bellay and du Bartas, also inspired the King.⁹ In looking to the French, James was both following and continuing a tradition which helped to distinguish the Scots from the English, who tended to look to Italian examples. Though in the "Preface" James presents a distinctly Scottish poetry, most of the "reulis and cautelis" apply to poetry in general. Decorum of speaker and speech, intent and tone, a "vocabula artis", are not particularly distinctive, and neither is the importance of Nature aided by art. "Rhyiming in terms" is simply another name for a perfect and not repetitive rhyme which stresses the ease of rhyming words of few syllables, while "sectionouns" are the use of caesuras.

What is peculiar to King James' Scottish poetry is the emphasis on smooth, "flowing" verse, a trait which again distinguishes it from English verse, of whose "harsh, hard trotting tumbling wayne" the King was often to complain. The extended use of the sonnet is another aspect singular to Scottish poetry. While the English tended to write longer sonnet sequences and to limit their expression to love, the Scots wrote shorter sequences of three to five sonnets and used them not only for love, but "for compendious praying of any bukes, or the authouris thair of, or ony argumentis of vther historeis, quhair sindrie sentences, and change of purposis are requyrit" (Chapter 8). The rhyme scheme also differed from that used by the English, and was usually the cross-rhyme stanza attributed to Spenser (ababbcbccdcdee).¹⁰ One last distinguishing feature is the Scottish "flyting" or invective. Written in a "tumbling" verse, the flyting increases the already prolific use of alliteration common to Scots poetry. The most famous flyting in King James' reign followed in the tradition of Dunbar and Kennedy under James IV, and took place between Patrick Hume of Polwart and Alexander Montgomerie. In this battle of wits, Montgomerie chased Polwart from the favoured seat at "the king's chimney nuike" and became the "maister poete" of the Castalian Band.

It is from Montgomerie's flyting that the King draws an example for the "Treatise".

"Beloved Sanders maistre of our art" (LI), Alexander Montgomerie had quite an influence on the King's "Treatise". He was the King's poetic "tutor" in the Castalians, and may have directly helped James in the composition. He also proves an indirect influence on the readers of the "Treatise", for, of the King's thirteen representative quotations, all of which are Scottish, three are anonymous, three are James' own, and seven are from Montgomerie. Though the patron and royal master of the Castalians was King James, the poetic master was Montgomerie. Because the Castalians were leaders of the Scottish Renaissance, and Montgomerie was their leader, it is only fitting that he should be the model for the "Treatise" which was meant to open the door to the future of Scottish poetry. By following the "reulis and cautelis", poets might now hope to gain the King's favour and advance themselves in court. With this in mind, it might also have been fitting that Montgomerie's own literary career would have been assured, which, as will be explored later on, was not the case.

Ironically, what is meant to be an advancement of

the Scottish Renaissance may also have stymied its further development. By following the "reulis and cautelis", poets might now hope to gain the King's favour and forward their stations. To follow James' (and Montgomerie's) lead is to indirectly praise the King. To criticize or to be innovative and step outside the Treatise could imply a disagreement with or disapproval of the King's beliefs. Although "inuention" is upheld as "ane of the cheif vertewis in a Poete"(Ch.VII), flattery by imitation is more likely to provide patronage from a vain King. And so although James enabled poetry to find its feet, he did not allow it to walk.

Along with the theory provided in the "Treatise", The Essayes of a Prentise includes examples of the King's own poetic practise. Five Scottish (Montgomerie provides one) and three Latin eulogistic sonnets introduce the King's work, which begins with "Ane Quadrain of Alexandrin Verse" beseeching the help of the Gods, upon whom twelve "inspirational" sonnets follow. All are in the cross-rhyme sonnet praised in the "Treatise", and all nine Muses are called upon to "perfyte" his verse. A translation of du Bartas' "Uranie" follows with a Preface directed to "the favourable Reader".

After a short "apologia pro poemata meo", or topos of inadequacy, King James prepares to praise du Bartas by translating the "easiest and shortest of all his difficile, and prolixed Poems", a poem therefore suited to the lesser skill of the King. Ironically, while many other poets looked to the "Treatise" as a guideline to the King's good favour, James himself plainly apologizes for his negligence in regards to his own rules of translation. After a fourth supplication to "the favourable Reader", King James begins his translation, wherein the topos of inadequacy is revealed as truth. Although James is competent in his translation, and matches du Bartas line for line, the restrictions of line, metre and the "ten feete" of which the King complains in the "Preface", do tend to stunt any real poetic flow. Though occasionally clever, so confined is the King in the art of translation and form that Uranie, who can "quint-essence the Poets soule so well" (l.57), is lost. In the margins are found short clarifications of classical, mythological and biblical references. This is the work of a scholar, not a poet.

Following the "Uranie" is an original work entitled "Ane Metaphoricall Invention of a Tragedie called Phoenix".

As preface to the "Phoenix" are two cryptic poems: the first is a form poem in the shape of an urn, the second an acrostic in which both the first and last letters of each line spell Esmé Stewart Duike. Lennox had been forced to flee Scotland by the Ruthven raid and had died in France in December 1583. This is alluded to in the poem itself, in which the rare Phoenix (Lennox) is attacked by jealous ravens (Ruthvens), flees to foreign climes and dies. A worm which remains on the ashes of the Phoenix is the King's only consolation, and probably implies Lennox's son, Ludovic Stuart, who took his father's place as favourite. The argument of the "Phoenix" is rather repetitive in its descriptive passages and occasionally treads with heavy feet. The rhyme of "reflex" with "whose name doth end in X" is an example of the distortion that occurs for the sake of rhyme. Though most conceits are appropriate -- one of which is Montgomerie's oft used-Fortune's Wheel -- there are some unexplained and rather indecorous conceits. As the Phoenix is attacked, she "...betwix my [the King's] leggs herselfe did cast". Why the King used this rather improper suggestion, rather than "into my arms", perhaps, can only be left to the imagination.¹¹

A second translation, this from the poet Lucan,

upholds the divine right of monarchs, a favourite topic of James. Following the "Treatise on Scottis Poesie" is a version of the CIIII Psalm. Perhaps inspired by his lofty theme, James manages to follow all of his own rules. Appropriate language and the "Ballet Royal" verse, for "heich & graue subiectis", are used, and the Psalm flows smoothly. "Ane Schort Poeme of Tyme" follows, and echoes one of Montgomerie's favourite conceits, "Take tym in tym, or tym will not be tane". Like Montgomerie, James sanctifies the conceit, and so ends his work as a prentise with an appropriate reminder to look to God. After a short glossary pedantically explaining his use of classical allusions, James ends the work with a "sonnet of the Author", asking for the respect and understanding of the "good Reader" in these his "first fruictis". Stuttering to a close, "the filling out of thir vacand pageis" provides one last scholarly explanation as to the source for the Phoenix myth, and finally King James bids farewell.

Much, if not most of The Essayes of a Prentise, would not have been printed had James not been King. Though skilled enough in the craft of poetry, James rarely reaches any lofty heights, and one is tempted to agree with Westcott that the King "was blessed with little imagination or

insight".¹² These "first fruictis" of, at the oldest, an eighteen year old, are not yet ready for harvest. The young King may have been learned in the art of poesie, but as James himself states, "gif Nature be nocht the cheif worker in this airt, Reulis wilbe bot a band to Nature"(Preface).

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To Allan Westcott's title New Poems by James I of England should also be added "and James VI of Scotland". Westcott himself states that "after 1603, James wrote little verse"(xxxii). The poetry is divided into three sections -- "Amatoria", "Miscellanea" and "Fragmenta" -- which could lead one to believe, since a full section is devoted to love poetry, that James was a rather amorous man. It is a small section of twenty poems, however, and many rely not on any personal feelings, but on popular love conceits. The lover struck by Cupid, the lover's complaint, the unworthy lover, the lady as Muse, the constant lover and the inconstant lover, all are handled adeptly by the King. Westcott states that most of these poems were written just before the King's marriage to Anne of Denmark (p.71). The personal note of some could be the result not merely of reworking familiar conceits, but of Cupid's golden arrow itself. The fair

emotion does occasionally make a poet of James, and his verse flows smoothly. Even in the midst of passion, however, James does not forget the scholar, as one title shows: "Two Sonnets to Her Majestie: to show the difference of stiles"(V,VI).

Not all of the "Amatoria" are addressed to Queen Anne. "A Dreame on his Mistris My Ladie Glammis"(XVII) contains an extended conceit of a necklace made of a golden tablet and an amethyst, the amethyst representing the man's constant passion, and the tablet the woman's pure and unwavering love. Descriptions can become repetitive, classical parallels slip in continually and James cannot resist the reminder that he is not merely a man, but a "Monarch" swayed by "a womans might"(l.268). However, the cleverness of the main conceit carries the poem. It is perhaps this cleverness, too, which removes it from some of the more personal and biographical poems on Queen Anne.

Ironically, or perhaps not, "A Satire Against Woemen" is included in the "Amatoria". It combines two poetical practices, natural history and satires on women, and Westcott finds that "the mingling of the two in the present poem is...original with James" (p.81, note). The

combination of the two may be original, but overall the poem is predictable. Women are "of nature" loquacious, cunning, vain, greedy and ignorant. It is only satisfying to say that the poem is "of nature", commonplace and uninspired.

Included in the "Miscellanea" is a short sonnet sequence on Ticho Brahe, single sonnets to du Bartas, to scholars, divines, chancellors, and occasional verse. Epitaph writing and its grave nature restricts the King in form and content. A comparison of two of James' epitaphs -- one on Sir Philip Sidney(XXX), the other on John Shaw(XXXI), a servant to the King -- will reveal the heights the King could reach when personally involved with his subject. Sir Philip Sidney and James may not have met, but between the two there was mutual admiration and friendliness.¹³ James' epitaph is written in the lofty language suited to Sidney's station and reputation, and draws on classical learning and virtuous abstractions to reveal the King's grief. John Shaw was the King's master stabler who died defending the King from the Earl of Bothwell in 1591. His death is mourned by the King in a plain language that makes no lofty allusions, but which simply describes the servant's loyalty, and the King's affection and loss. The simplicity of the second epitaph far outweighs the complexity of that on Sidney,

which directly preceeds it in Westcott's edition and thereby highlights the contrast. The too noble tone distances the subject and disrupts the word order and smoothness of the first poem, but that on John Shaw flows in an almost natural speech, and the personal note of the final couplet raises it far above Sidney's weighted epitaph: "But here my inward greefe does make me staye/ I minde with deeds, and not with words to paye"(1.13-14).

"Epithalamion", a masque written for the marriage of George Gordon, the sixth Earl of Huntly and Lady Henrietta Stuart, daughter of the first Duke of Lennox, is found in "Fragmenta". An introduction by the King, which implies that James took an active part in the production (a thing he was not to do in the many English masques written for him), and a tilt, which took place out of doors, opened the masque. This was followed perhaps later in the day by the masque proper, which would be performed indoors. The cast - Mercurius, Nymphes, Agrestis, Schollers, Women, Vertuous men, Zanies, Soldiers and Landwart Gentlemen -- praises the bride and those attending the marriage in a language befitting each character's station. Thus James follows his own Treatise's advice. Not all of the masque is preserved,

but the vying of the suitors' couplets runs quickly, if somewhat repetitiously, along.

Also of interest are the poems which allude to other members of the Castalian Band, and which reveal the relationship of the King to his poets. Both Thomas Hudson's translation of du Bartas' The History of Judith (XXVI) and William Fowler's Triumphs of Petrarch (XXIX) were written on James' request (Westcott, p.xl), and each aptly receives a sonnet of praise from the King. In the sonnet to Hudson, James manages to insert his own presence not fewer than three times. Hudson is praised for leaving England for love of "this realme and me" (l.6); the Muses, all of which inspired Hudson, are called upon to blow "upon me" (l.11); and Hudson's humility and knee-bending propensity are praised, for Hudson merely "preasseth but to touche the laurell tree" (l.13), and does not wish to usurp the King's title. The tone of the poem is not, however, one of self-glorification. The references to personal history, the lack of grand allusions, and the final admission that though Hudson's humility does not permit him to grasp the laurel, "Yett well he merites crown'd therewith to be" (l.14), all work in the King's favour. James' is not loth to praise a fine, if not better, poet.

"A Sonnet on Mr. W. Fuller's Translation of Petrarch's Triumphe of Love" carries none of the personal note of the eulogy of Hudson, but reveals King James' deftness in conventional praise. He first praises Homer, Virgil and Petrarch, while Fowler, who "triumphs ouer Petrarch's propre name"(l.14) is reckoned not only with these "worthie schollers", but over and above them. Excessive praise was not, obviously, given only to the King.

"A Sonnett on Sr. William Alexander's Harshe Verses After the Ingliche Fasone" is one of the King's better attempts. With a slight touch of the flyting's invective tone, James berates Alexander for his use of what is called the "metaphysical" style, and for his negligence of "Castalias fountaine cleare" (l.4). A forceful induction (which, with hindsight, is reminiscent of the opening lines of Donne's "The Canonization") of alliterative imperative grabs the attention and leads the reader into a smoothly flowing verse of the kind James rarely accomplished. Appropriately, the snags in the rhythm are those which refer to the "Inglish Fasone", and the catches are reinforced with alliteration:

Such hamringe hard the metalls hard require
 Our songs are fil'd with smoothly flowing fire.
 (1.13-14)

The references to the comfort and care afforded by the Castalians provide a brief insight into their poetic and personal camaraderie. Again, the personal element and felt emotion inspire James to a better poem.

Two other poems in the collection are directed to Alexander Montgomerie. "Ane Admonition to the Maister Poete to leave of greit crakking", is a longer poem whose unrestricted and friendly tone reveal a closeness to his master poet not seen in other poems. The King humbly acknowledges Montgomerie's right to the title of "Maister", and reveals his regard of both the poet and his art:

Beloved Sanders maistre of our art
 The mouse did helpe the lion on a daye
 So I protest ye take it in good part
 My admonition cumming from a hart
 That wishes well to you and all your craft...
 (2-6)

After this serious-seeming warning to "a friend", the King reveals that Montgomerie was "cracking crouslie of your broune"(1.25), or bragging coarsely of his brown, his horse. This boast results in a race which Montgomerie loses, and prompts the King to end his story with one of Montgomerie's favoured devices, the proverb: "The proverbe sayes that

mends is for misdeed/ Cracke not agine no forder then the creede." (l.110-11).

The King warns that "Olde crucked Robert" (and later the more familiar "Robin"), "elfgett Polward" (from Montgomerie's "Flyting"), and Christian Lindsay all wish to "winne the chimnay nuike", revealing the competitive nature of the Band. The nicknames -- the King's own of "William Mow" and the possible "Rob steene" of Montgomerie -- the references to love and friendship, and the alliance of "pen and drinke" disclose the familiar and relaxed nature of, at least, the King. Earthy Scots, the heavy alliteration of the flyting and familiarity temper the King's love of scholarly tricks ("he was an A per se") and classical allusion. Seldom does the King, from his own pen a mouse and a fool, shine in a better light.

The second poem is "An Epitaphe on Montgomerie". As the poem reveals, the once "maister poet" remains "unmurned", and "to his buriall was refused the bell". The political and religious "failings" which caused Montgomerie's downfall will be reviewed in more detail later, but it is for these reasons, and not because of any laxity on the part of the "sacred brethren of the Castalian

band", that the death of "the prince of Poets in our land" remains unrecognized. The King's epitaph gives not only literary encouragement, but political sanction to other remembrances. The sorrowful tone and high praise of the leader of the Band imply a regret on the King's part at Montgomerie's unhappy ending. There is, however, little consolation for a dead poet in a well-written sonnet.

ALEXANDER MONTGOMERIE: THE FATE OF PHILOMEL

As an influence on King James which in turn influenced court poetry and therefore Scottish poetry, as the most memorable poet in the court of King James VI, as one whose poetry found acclaim amongst contemporaries and was reprinted into the early eighteenth century, Alexander Montgomerie has received rather short shrift. In light of the interest paid the King's poetry, the equal lack of attention for his major poet is not surprising. Even the King himself forgot his esteem of the "divine art of Poesie", and his duty to his subject and tutor when his "friend" became embroiled in the many religious and political plots of the day. A look at Montgomerie's poetry discovers what was considered the best and/or most popular poetry written in Scotland at this time, and its biographical references reveal the changing relationship of Poet and King.

Alexander Montgomerie was born in approximately 1545, and by 1568 his poetry was well enough regarded to be included in Bannatyne's manuscript of that year.

Montgomerie's introduction to the court took place in 1579, the same year the King was officially welcomed into Edinburgh. A generation older than the young King, Montgomerie's age and reputation deferred to the King's station, and offered "in propyne" and in hope of reward, two entertainments at the King's arrival in Edinburgh.

The "Navigatioun" (XLVIII) and "A Cartell of the Thre Ventrous" "Knights" (XLIX) may have been connected pieces. Spectacle is central to both and both contain a group of three foreign travellers who have come to see the new King, a parallel to the biblical story of the three wise men and the Christ child which is difficult to miss. As the first takes place inside and the second outside, they might be complementary poems. Speaking directly to the King, the narrator of the Navigatioun praises the weeded garden of James' court, and advises the King that his "gardene wall mak the Neu Testament" (l.15). "Ane German borne" (l.21), the narrator was probably Montgomerie himself, german-born, or kin to the King. Throughout a long, geographical trip around the globe, James is praised as:

So sapient a ying and godly King,
A Salomon for richt and judgment.
In eviry langage he is eloquent.
All lands about do beir of him record,
He is the chosen vessell of the Lord.(78-82)

This flattery overrides any difficulty the lofty rhetoric may provide, and the later reference to James' potential for the English crown -- "What if the Quene war deid?" (l.227) -- insures the King's approval. That the "Navigatioun" was a part of a larger celebration can be inferred from the ending, that this piece was "To shau the way vnto your Graces hall,/ That, eftir supper, we might sie the ball" (l.273-74).

"A Cartell of Thre Ventrous Knights", a short piece, serves as an introduction to chivalric games and more than likely took place out of doors. The tourney itself, in which three men who have travelled to see the Scottish King compete against three knights of the court, was judged by the royal audience. The cartell is a minor part of the whole spectacle, as the narrator explains: "...we come not to that end,/ To wery you, and wast the day in verse..." (l.14-15). Montgomerie proves a good courtier and, unlike the later court poet Ben Jonson, knows when to highlight the visual rather than the verbal.

The "Flyting", written in 1581/82, established Mongomerie as the chief court poet. This verbal tourney was

Occasional personal insults reveal that the "Flyting" was not merely an exercise in writing. References to Polwart's "halfe an elfe, halfe ane aipe" appearance (l.262) and to Montgomerie's intemperence, combine with potshots at each other's skill in poetry. Although Polwart is a better debater, and answers Montgomerie's arguments point by point, it is Montgomerie's imagination that conquers. "Inuentioun", that virtue of poets, places Montgomerie in the coveted position at the "chimney nuike".

Although Polwart's defeat made Montgomerie the master poet, he is not mentioned as a member of the King's household until 1583. In this year, with the overthrow of the Ruthven Raiders, Montgomerie was awarded a pension of 500 marks, to be got from rents from the Bishopric of Glasgow, the See of which had been empty since 1560.³ Montgomerie's Roman Catholicism and his status of persona grata in the court of King Philip of Spain were not, as yet, counted against him. King James himself seemed open to conversion. All seemed well for Montgomerie. (It was, however, King James' constant "seeming", his religious juggling act which he called foreign policy, and his reward of the pension which were to lead to Montgomerie's downfall).

The Castalians first came into print in 1584. Along with Thomas Hudson's Judith and an entertainment by John Stewart of Baldynneis crowning James with both a golden and laurel crown, came the King's Essayes. Montgomerie is quoted seven times, from "Echo", the "Flyting" and "The Cherrie and the Slae". The inclusion of the "The Cherrie and the Slae", Montgomerie's most popular poem, means that the poem was written at the latest in 1584. For Cranstoun, the poem is an almagamation of "pregnant proverbs pithily expressed" (xxvii), but in a "defective construction" (xxxi). Because it begins like one of the "Questioni d'amore",⁴ or love poems, and turns quickly into a moral poem or religious allegory, "The Cherrie and the Slae" has proven confusing to critics. Helena M. Shire and R.D.S. Jack give the most nearly complete criticism of the poem. While Mr. Jack perceives the poem as the growth from youth to age, from innocence to experience and to an ultimate realization of this world's mutability and the eternity of God, Ms. Shire's argument, if more extravagant, is also a plausible explanation.

"The Cherrie and the Slae" text of 1584 is incomplete; it breaks off halfway through the sixty-seventh

stanza. If, as Ms. Shire argues, the poem has an underlying religious and therefore, at this time, a political import, it would not be surprising if the Kirk, or the King under pressure from the Kirk, had stopped the composition. The many "characters" of the poem and the constant musical references and analogies point to the poem's probable performance, either accompanied by music or actually sung. (It is written in the stanza of the "Banks of Helicon" tune). A poem which praised Roman Catholicism as the true religion over Protestantism would never have permission to be performed in a land whose church constantly feared and detested Roman Catholic influence.

The title provides Shire with her two main religious analogies. As a love allegory, the cherry and the sloe represent the objects of desire, a worthy and vertuous lady, and an easily achieved and lowly woman. Ms. Shire sees these not as symbols of a worldly love, but of an heavenly love, and a choice which must be made between Roman Catholicism and Protestantism. The cherry is not only sweet and delicious, but has medicinal powers. It is an heavenly fruit, thought to have been desired by Mary before the birth of Christ and symbolising the Eucharist. The cherry tree, the rood, stands high on a rock, the Rock of Faith in

Christ, across the baptismal river in an immutable landscape. The Roman Catholic faith, the cherry, is the true and eternal religion.

In opposition, the sloe is a bitter and lowly fruit, only able to slake the thirst temporarily, indicating its mutability and worldliness. There is also a connection of which Montgomerie could easily have been aware. In 1583, the Burning Bush was made the heraldic badge on the seal of the Reformed Church of France, which allies the sloe on its bush to Protestantism. This alliance is reinforced through the slightly vague but plausible connection of Despair to the doctrine of predestination through the Benedictine Epitaph 1, and the reference to Dreid, Danger and Despair, promoters of the sloe, as "preachours".⁵ Shire's argument not only agrees with Montgomerie's religious sympathies, but provides a logical explanation to the curtailing of the poem by an increasingly Protestant-dominated court.

A version of "The Cherrie and the Slae", "corrected by the Author himself", was reprinted in 1597 by Waldegrave, the King's printer. This, too, is incomplete. That James allowed a copy of the poem to be reissued at this time is confusing. Montgomerie had been outlawed in July of this

year, and to publish his poem when he was in disfavour seems ill-considered. This has led to the speculation that Montgomerie was either dying or dead, and the King, in grief and regret, gave the imprimatur. A further confusion as to the date of Montgomerie's death lies in the 1615 edition of "The Cherrie and the Slae", an edited and completed text. The revisions and ending strengthen a religious reading, and reveal Montgomerie's disappointment with a double-dealing King and the poet's rejection of worldly problems for heavenly gain. Shire believes this edition was written directly after the 1597 printing, which was not authorized by the poet and did not portray his changed feelings to the King and the court. Because the 1615 edition was revised "not long before the Author's death" (titlepage), many have dated Montgomerie's death as late as 1611. Anywhere between 1597 and 1611 seems possible, though a complete absence of mention of the poet would imply an earlier date.

The revised edition of "The Cherrie and the Slae" reveals a changing tone in the poet's voice. The springtime happiness and flourish in the garden of the original poem is saddened and occasionally sinister. Birds and beasts become aged and unnatural; classical allusions are to myths of sorrow and loss. The first stanza of the poem introduces

the change. Where the narrator had previously listened to the birds whose "mirth was sa melodius" (1.9), the narrator of the edited version must hear the sorrow of Philomel's rape and the cutting out of her tongue. This appropriate allusion is matched by a similar one in stanza six; unable to describe the park in which he finds himself, the speaker passes the job "to Poetis to compyle/ In hich heroick staitlie style,/ Quhais Muse surmatches myne" (1.4-6).⁶ If the garden park can be an analogy to the court, as it is in "The Navigatioun", then Montgomerie seems to be complying with the King's statement in his Treatise, that poets should "be war of wryting any thing of materis of comoun weill" (Chapt. VII). If poets are not wary, they could end up like Philomel.

King Cupid (one of King James' titles in the Castalian Band) or in this poem Cupido, is given a new deceitfulness: "Of Doubleness I had nae Doubt" (st.10, 1.8). A contract is made, wherein Cupido will aid the narrator if the narrator will help Cupido. "As Icarus" (st.9, 1.4) the speaker falls, and the parallels to Montgomerie's own fall are heightened by the fact that his nickname amongst the Bairns of Beath was Sir Icarus.⁷ Cupido, uncaring, takes his leave. Both the speaker and the

poet were struck with Cupido's "double dart" (st.12, 1.7), and both found that "Too late Experience dois teich/ The Schuil-maister of fuils" (st.14, 1.5-6). It is not unusual, therefore, that the poem turns, as the poet did, from the world of Cupido to thoughts of the heavenly city on the far side of the river. The "twinkland Rubies round and red" (st.24, 1.2), the Cherries, are the crowning Grace of God, received through faith and will. The poet offers at the end that which James wished for but could not provide, a universal religion, in which "All nations also magnifie/ This everliving Lord" (st.114, 1.7-8).

"The Cherrie and the Slae" ran into 22 editions and was printed until 1711. Its musical counterpart was applied to verse in Scotland in 1676, though its popularity in England had waned at the beginning of the seventeenth century (Shire, p.173). For such a demand, "The Cherrie and the Slae" must have held more for its audience than the trials and tribulations of Alexander Montgomerie, and more, one would think, than simply a religious message. Perhaps the familiar folk-wisdom of those "pregnant proverbs" in the Scots tongue spoke to the audience, or perhaps the "Banks of Helicon" stanza and music carried the poem for so long. In any case, "The Cherrie and the Slae" continued where other

songs to the same tune failed, and where its longevity speaks for the poem's popularity, the poem itself reveals Montgomerie's mastery of idea and form, and his changing opinion of King James.

In 1584 then, the King's Treatise, with the first few snippets of Montgomerie's "The Cherrie and the Slae", was printed and proved an influential work for aspiring poets. Not only was advice on form furnished, but the King's own works and his poetic ability provided a subject. Praise of every part of the King's Essayes appeared in a steady stream. Montgomerie was on the forefront of the adulating wave.

In the sonnet section of Cranstoun's edition of Montgomerie's works, poems VII to XIII all have the King as their subject. There is a slight difference in the manner of addressing the King in this group of sonnets. The first poem, addressed "To his Majestie", is an extended counsel formed of good advice, proverbial wisdom, and praise of the golden mean James upheld. That James must "leirne to be a king" (1.9) dates this poem in an early period in the King's reign, perhaps before the Essayes appeared, but after sufficient time for Montgomerie to be able to offer advice

not only in poetry, but in kingcraft and policy.

Montgomerie does not actually praise the King, but praises the ideal King he holds up to James as a model. The comparison of James and David can only be made if James gathers worthy councillors about him and cleanses his country "of thir cruell crymis,/ Adulteries, witchcraftis, incests, sakeles bluid" (1.1-2). About witchcraft at least, James was to do his duty.

Sonnet VIII, "In Praise of his Majestie", indicates by its title a different tone. Bowing low, Montgomerie praises the King as founder of the Castalian spring, and therefore patron and King of poets. James, whose love of peace (or cowardliness?) is a well broadcast characteristic, is praised for his "knichtlie curage" (1.60), and as "A martiall monarch" (1.13). There are two references to James' beloved subject, a union of the crowns: that "His brand all Brytan to obey sall bring" (1.8); and "Vhilk sall the prophesie compleit" (1.14). Praising James' present fame as poet and monarch, Montgomerie ends both octave and sestet with a look to James' future position as King of Britain. The hope of James as King of Britain is not unusual in eulogistic poetry (Cranstoun: see note to 1.8, p.331), but the portrait of a fearless and warlike monarch

smacks more of flattery than of praise.

A short sonnet sequence of four poems shows Montgomerie in a very unseemly posture of knee-bending. "In prais of the Kings Vranie", in answer to the poem's appearance in the Essayes, portrays flattery at its best, or worst. For his translation of the "Uranie", adequate but stiff, James is named "O Second Psalmist!" The desired alliance of James with David of sonnet VII seems complete. Such exclamatory praise is continued throughout the whole sequence. The mythical heredity of Mars, Minerva, Mercury, Apollo, Jove, Pallas, Phoebus and Titan covers all possible virtus and virtues. The King ascends a ladder of praise. The first two or three feet of the concluding couplet of each sonnet exclaim the King's increasing greatness: "Worthy Prince!" (X); "thy name, O Prince! eternall" (XI); "pierless Prince!" (XII) and finally, "quintessenst of kings!" (XIII). James is further raised by Montgomerie's own self-denigration: "I want but only arte" (X); "blunter brains" (XI); "we steinzie bot our aune" (XII) and "Thou stanis my versis with thy staitly style" (XIII). It is not the excessive flattery of a poet who is, after all, King, but Montgomerie's self-abasement and praise of the King's weaker works over his own which clangs in the modern

reader's ear.

Perhaps it is for this reason that Cranstoun, who also found Montgomerie's flattery distasteful, immediately follows the eulogistic sequence with a sequence of four in complaint to the King, a sequence of four in complaint to the Lords of Session, and soon after, five sonnets in complaint and grief to his brother poet, Robert Hudson. These three sequences have as their subject the loss of Montgomerie's pension, bequeathed by the King in 1583, left under the King's protection in 1586, and which, in 1593, was "reducis, retreittis, rescindis, cussis and annullis" (Stevenson, p.281). A combination of growing Protestant strength at court, the King's own shift to Protestantism (tension with Queen Elizabeth and the imprisoned Queen Mary forced James to take a more definite stand), trouble at court over the "James Bonaventor" in 1584,⁸ and Montgomerie's constancy to the Roman Catholic religion all combined for a negative effect on Montgomerie's position as "Prince of Poets". There was also a complication in the original beneficence of King James: a pension gleaned from an empty See was illegal.⁹

The personal tone gives these poems of complaint

what other, more formulaic poems lack. Although Montgomerie uses similar conceits and language for love and devotional poetry, for personal and occasional, these few poems to the King contain an immediacy which proves of worth to literary and historical critic alike. They do not simply use skillfully a tradition or topos, but with their mix of formal language and vernacular Scots and their revelation of the poet's growing frustration, they prove to be some of Montgomerie's best poetry.

Just as the four sonnets in praise of King James increase in adulation, the four sonnets of "To His Majestie, for his Pensioun" (XIV-XVII) show an increasing irritation and isolation as Montgomerie loses his position as courtier and poet to the King. In the first sonnet, Montgomerie's complaint is of "fals fortun". He is careful to distinguish Fortune from the King, but the contrary nature of each line seems to uphold rather than negate the connection. Even with Fortune as the culprit, Montgomerie gives James the power to rule over Fortune, and places the onus on the King to show Justice: "Sen chance, not change, hes put me to this pane,/ Let richt, not reif, my pensioun bring again" (l.13-14). Chance and the King have changed, and Montgomerie's constancy has turned Fortune's wheel.

The second sonnet in the sequence is not a call for justice, but a list of the injustices Montgomerie has suffered. He plays upon James' title of him as "Maister Poet", and concludes a long list of grievances with a redefinition of the poet: "If travel tint, and labour lost in vane,/ do properly to poets appertane -/ Of all that craft my chance is to be chief" (ll.6-8). With some ill-chosen examples of ill-fated poets,¹⁰ Montgomerie allies himself not with their talent, but with their ill-fortune.

From dignified plaint to bitter grievance, Montgomerie moves in the third sonnet to defiance: "In spyt of fortun, I shall flie with fame/ ...My hope is high, howbeit my hap be ill" (ll.5/7). As will-power grows in the octave (and with it a less formal and more colloquial diction), Montgomerie directly accuses the King of allowing, if not perpetrating, his downfall:

Wes Bishop Betoun bot restord agane,
To my ruin reserving all the rest,
To recompence my prisoning and pane!
The worst is ill, if this be bot the best.

Is this the frute, Sir, of your first affectione,
 My pensioun perish vnder your protectione?
 (1.8-14)

The same resentment appears in the final sonnet, though in an indirect and slightly cooled manner. Bidding adieu, Montgomerie begins properly enough with the King and moves in ever-increasing circles to "court, countrey and...kin" (1.1). This formal politeness is in contrast to the personal and heart-felt emotion of the farewell to his companions. It is not the King, but the trinity of the "suede Duke" (Lennox), Constable and Keir, and the loss of their "thrie treuer hairts" (1.4) which Montgomerie laments. The removed trinity of King, court and country is seen now from a distance of time and space. Since neither the King's "wryt, nor wax, nor word" (1.13) is reliable, the poet goes to "seik my fathers suord"¹¹. Montgomerie has left the court.

The sonnet sequence "To the Lords of the Session" echoes the impatience of the complaints to the King, although the increase is more sharp and results not in stoicism, but in colloquial invective and a prophesy of damnation "into dirk hellis gate" (1.14). Montgomerie's own lawyer, J. Sharpe, receives scathing abuse in a flyting sonnet which follows after the Session sequence, and if

Montgomerie's plight was bad before, it is not a wonder it worsened. The direct criticism and threatening note to the Lords reveals the restraint that Montgomerie showed, for the most part, when addressing James, even when the King appeared to be wrong.

While the sequence to the Lords discovers more blatantly the hurt and anger Montgomerie hides in formality to the King, his five-sonnet sequence to fellow poet and friend Robert Hudson reveals a nostalgic, if not sentimental remembrance of his loss of grace, and his desire to return to the King's service: "for me, I loue the King" (XXVII, 1.12); "who loues with all my hairt/ My maister best" (XXVIII, 1.13-14). Montgomerie's wrath seems tempered by sickness and isolation, and he looks to Hudson, his "best belouit brother of the band" (XXIX, 1.1), to "Shau to the King this poor complant of myne" (1.14). The shift from the colloquial vernacular of the first sonnet to the lofty language of classical remembrances of the Castalians in the last, reflects a desire and hope of return to the King's favour and to a circle of court poetry.

Montgomerie's position only grew worse. In 1586, he was given permission, or perhaps commission, to travel to

"france, flanderis and spane and utheris" for five years. In this same year, two other known Roman Catholic conspirators were given leave to travel abroad, Sir William Stewart of Houston and Hew Barclay of Ladyland. That Montgomerie may have been on the King's service as an envoy to Roman Catholic countries is seen in the first sonnet of the sequence "To His Majestie, for his Pensioun": "With, not without your warrand, yit I went;/ In wryt, not words; the papers ar in place" (l.12-13). It is thought that he carried papers to, ironically, Bishop Betoun, the absent Bishop of the See of Glasgow. (Shire, p.108; Stevenson, p.275). Shortly after his departure, Montgomerie was captured in possession of contraband by the English and imprisoned. Queen Mary was executed in 1587 and King James' hope of the English crown prohibited any untoward toleration of Roman Catholics, and so hindered James from helping Montgomerie, even if he had been wont. Montgomerie did not return to Scotland until 1589, and remained unable to secure his pension. The plot of the Spanish Blanks in 1593 and the growth of suspicion against Roman Catholics aided in the loss of the pension altogether. In 1597, Montgomerie was found "at least vpoun the counsale,divise, and fairknowlege with vmquhile hew barclay of ladyland in the lait treasounable interprise diuisit tuiching the surprising and

taking of Ilisha" (Stevenson, p.334). Ailsa Craig was to be used as a Catholic stronghold in the Second Armada. When he did not appear before the Lords to confute the accusation, Montgomerie was condemned as traitor and there is no more mention of him.

It has been conjectured that Montgomerie wished to become a monk at "Artaunum" in Franconia, which the Scots possessed in 1595.¹² His death prevented him, however. Five Latin poems written by Thomas Duff, a Benedictine monk of the Scottish Abbey of St. James, record the poet's life, death and burial. Montgomerie's disgrace at court apparently led to the refusal to bury his body in hallowed ground (poem 3) or to ring the funeral bells (poem 5). The poet had the support of the King, the Catholic Earls and the citizens, however, who demanded his proper burial and climbed the church towers to ring the bells themselves. Shire believes that this popularity may have influenced the King to publish "The Cherrie and the Slae" in 1597. Unfortunately, the date for Duff's poems is uncertain.

That Montgomerie was a devoted religious man can be seen in Duff's allusion to his desire to be a monk, to his constancy to Roman Catholicism in the face of a turning

fortune, and to his many sacred poems. His longing for a universal religion (perhaps Roman Catholicism for all) appears at the end of "The Cherrie and the Slae", and at his offer to provide a Scottish version of the Psalms to the Kirk. The offer was declined, but this of course did not stop Montgomerie from rendering many of the Psalms.¹³

Montgomerie manipulates but does not misinterpret biblical stories to fit his vision of divine benevolence and eternal life.¹⁴ He combines the Bible and his beloved proverbs with his own unworthiness and faith. Some may have been written with music in mind. There is occasionally a recognizably Roman Catholic flavour about some of the poems, but never enough to be exclusive. "A Godly Prayer" begins with the poet's unworthiness and ends with a supplication to the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, and the refrain (from the Roman Catholic liturgy) "Peccavi Pater, miserere mei". Like so many poets, Montgomerie condemns his previous secular verse and desires to be inspired only by the divine: "Help, Holy Ghost! and be Montgomeries Muse.../ My former folish fictiouns I refuse" (l.50/55). This would imply that at least this sacred poem, if not others, was written after and not during his time at court, after Montgomerie's discovery that "Court and Conscience walis not weill" (MP

II, 1.30). Montgomerie uses a union of a grave rhetoric which befits the circumstances and the Latin phrases and refrain with the more colloquial language of a humble penitent, combining the Latin church service and the personal plea for salvation. It is at once personal and a mirror of the religious lives of most who attended the church.

"A Walkning from Sin", "A Lesone how to Leirne to Die", "Away! Vane World": the titles reveal Montgomerie turning from this world to look to the next. Montgomerie continues to use proverbs and familiar conceits, and he still shows a mastery over a variety of forms and an affinity to colloquialisms, alliteration and even flyting against the "stinking sty with Satans sinfull swyn". There is, however, a difference. No longer is King James his muse and master, and no longer is the King his subject. No longer does he rail against the "god of love" or his former brethren. And, more importantly, Montgomerie no longer bows before a King to whom loyalty and devotion count for nothing.

WILLIAM DRUMMOND: THE ANGLICIZED SCOT

William Drummond was born in 1585 and wrote poetry a generation after the dissolution of the Castalian Band. Though his father was a Gentleman Usher to the King, and his mother's brother, William Fowler, was court poet and Secretary to Queen Anne, Drummond had little to do with the court. Drummond's father died in 1610, leaving Drummond self-sufficient as the laird of Hawthornden at the young age of twenty-four. Here he retired from the court to a life of solitude and contemplation. Such isolation would imply that Drummond was less influenced by James than those in the King's close circle, and William did take little heed of James' Scottish Renaissance and James' own Treatise and poems. In another manner, however, James had a decisive effect on Drummond's poetry. Although James proclaimed a Scottish Renaissance and wrote his Treatise for the Scottish tongue, it was really only Alexander Montgomerie who continued as a Scottish makar, following a tradition of writing in Scots and combining it with music for the Scottish Court. The other Castalians wrote primarily anglicized Scots, and even King James attempted an English tongue. Scottish poetry's decline and the King's move

south, combined with the increasing strength of English poetry at this time, decided in favour of English as the language of poetry.

Drummond's first publication was in 1613, well into King James' Union of the Crowns. In 1612 Prince Henry died, and the epitaphs were collected into a volume entitled Mausoleum.¹ Like all of Drummond's published pieces, his contribution is in clear and pure English. Though he undoubtedly spoke in Scots (as some Scottish rhymes reveal), he had mastered the writing and rhythm of the South. The many Scotticisms in his manuscripts, which Fogle names "flaws",² show that success came not without much hard work. Drummond's extensive reading in English poetry and prose of the sixteenth and (of course) early seventeenth centuries instructed him not only in the English tongue, but in the matter and manner of English poetry. Whether, as Fogle claims, the lyrical, meditative and "metaphysical" poetry of this period answered to Drummond's temperament (p.168), or whether he developed such a temperament through continuous application, Drummond has been placed not in the Petrarchan school, or that of the Elizabethan sonneteer, but "in the first rank of poets of the imitative school".³

Drummond's carefully documented library reveals that he had intimate knowledge of the Ancients, and an equally extensive knowledge of modern French, Italian, Spanish and English writers (Kastner p.xvii). His knowledge of his beloved Petrarch came directly from the master's pen, as well as indirectly from the various colours of Petrarch's many imitators. This Petrarchanism, which runs throughout most of his works, was both a help and hindrance to Drummond (Fogle p.21); through it he created fine poetry, many pieces worthy of Petrarch himself, and certainly excelling most of the English poets' attempts.⁴ Unfortunately, his attachment to this school limited him, dulling his own light and refusing him other means of expression. English fashion in verse was quick to change, and Drummond's poetry dated. He was, as Ben Jonson told him: "not after the fancy of the time".⁵ By the time Drummond had read and digested the European and English Petrarchans and produced his own individual variant, the movement was all but finished. Retired and in Scotland, twice removed from the centre of the isle's poetic creation, Drummond was not very fashionable, and not widely read.

Drummond's references to the political and religious controversies that raged in Scotland are few, emerging only

in epigrams at an older age in another reign, when questions of levies and covenants followed him to Hawthornden (Fogle, p.130-31). Because of his absence, James was very seldom Drummond's subject. Drummond was an avid royalist, and was not averse to writing for royalty when the occasion arose. Had the King remained in or returned more often to Scotland, there would in all probability be more allusion to the monarch and the court. Excluding "Teares on the Death of Moeliades" (an anagram of "Miles a deo") at Prince Henry's death and an epitaph at James' own, only "Forth Feasting" is specifically of and for the King.

The long-awaited return of King James in 1617 was met by as much celebration as the impoverished North could muster. Drummond's contribution to the outpouring of welcome and praise took the shape of "Forth Feasting. A Panegyricke to the Kings Most Excellent Majestie", printed by Drummond's publisher Andro Hart in 1617.⁶ It was later included in the 1618 edition of "The Muses Welcome", a collection of the poems which celebrated James' return, and whose title page bears a reminder of the King's long time away: "At His M. Happie Returne to His Old and Native Kingdome of Scotland, after XIIIII. Yeeres Absence" (Kastner,

p.lxx). Masson, Drummond's biographer, calls the poem "by far the finest literary product of the Visit" (p.55). Ben Jonson, visiting Drummond in 1618, said "that he wished, to please the king, that piece of 'Forth Feasting' had been his own" (Conversations, 1.98-100). From such a man, this is praise indeed!

Like most poetry written for the King, "Forth Feasting" is excessive in its praise. Amongst the general praise of abstract virtues -- Honour, Worthinesse, Pietie, Innocence -- are recorded the more individual merits of James. Couched in classical allusions sure to flatter the King's scholarship, Drummond's praise is chosen to please the monarch: James' expertise at the hunt; his thirst for knowledge; his love of peace and the golden mean; and in a vacant hour's rest from the duties of kingship, his delight and ability in poetry. The King's right of heredity to the throne is combined with a natural proclivity and a divine inheritance, underlying the belief in the divine right of Kings which James upheld and which he passed on to his son Henry in Basilikon Doron. The movement from general to specific virtues is balanced by a movement of outward influence from the King. Just as all the glories of other countries and other times are contracted into the King, a

sight of whom "did serve for them to all" (l.108), so is James "Vertues Patterne" (l.285), the "Exemplare" (l.116) to all others.⁷

Although Drummond prophesies that James' reign will one day extend around the globe, he is equally concerned with his homeland. Scotland is portrayed as the melancholic lover at the King's departure in 1603 (ll.75-100). The opening lines of "Forth Feasting" wonder at the revitalized landscape, which blossoms into an Arcadian afternoon at the King's return. This Edenic image returns to close the poem, as the "verdant Spring" (l.369) of Scotland offers itself to the King. Drummond, too, offers himself as a King's poet:

And I myself, wrapt in a watchet Gowne,
Of Reedes and Lillies on mine Head a Crowne,
Shall Incense to Thee burne, greene Altars raise,
And yearly sing due Paeans to Thy Praise.
(l.279-82)

Although Scotland, and Drummond, cry: "Nor Shee, nor all the world, can match with mee" (l.390), they must once again lose their King to his jealous lover, England.

This panegyric, whose flattery does perhaps border on Fogle's "nauseous",⁸ still manages to transform common eulogistic conceits and bold lies into the best poem

Scotland offered the King. This does not mean that "Forth Feasting" was the best of a bad bunch, but it testifies to Drummond's ability to infuse oft-used and worn conceits with new life. In Chapter VI of his Treatise, James warns poets to be wary of writing on subjects "so oft and dyuerslie writtin vpon be Poetis already, that gif ze do the lyke, it will appeare, ze bot imitate". Nor does it matter that James supports the use of the sonnet for subjects other than love, for nowhere does Drummond succeed more in rejuvenating stock phrases and images than in the Petrarchan love sonnet.

The regular edition of Drummond's Poems in two parts was published in 1616,⁹ with "Teares on the Death of Moeliades", "Vrania, or Spirituall Poems" and "Madrigals and Epigrammes" appended. Songs and madrigals are interspersed throughout the sonnets which comprise the volume. As Fogle reveals, the matter and mood of each volume parallel Drummond's relationship with Mary Cunningham. Part One reflects the Petrarchan lover in his many moods, and Part Two in his grief and loss, for Mary died of a fever shortly before their marriage. The personal nature of these poems infuses the petrarchan conceits with an intensity which rarely admits the pedestrian, although the sheer quantity of verse might prove monotonous to even the most amorous. The

love and death of Mary occasioned Drummond's best poetry for, although always faultless in form, Drummond uninspired can smell "too much of the Schools" (Conversations, 1.96).

There is one problem in paralleling Drummond's biography and literature: dates. Mary Cunningham died in 1615,¹⁰ which would place the love sequence of Part One before and at 1615 at the latest, and Part Two, the sequence after her death, between 1615 and the publishing date of 1616. Confusingly, however, the regular edition of 1616 was not the first printing. In his detailed bibliography, Kastner reveals that two "(? 1614)" editions are extant (p.lii-lxiv). If this is the case, then the parallels to the love and death of Mary Cunningham were published before her death, and perhaps before love! There are three possible explanations: the question mark overrides the date in Kastner's bibliography (or confusion with the new dating); Mary Cunningham did not die in 1615, but in 1614 or earlier; William Drummond is a more inspired poet than previously thought.

No matter how inspired this "Scottish Petrarch" (Masson, p.67) was, he could not hope to gain such prominence as his English counterparts. He realized that,

as a poet in Scotland, he could hope for little: "Alas! to what, then, can we obscure attain? What can we perform in this remote part of the earth?...Many noble pieces of our countrymen are drowned in oblivion..." (Masson p.34). He expected no honour from his offering in 1617, and he received none. To friend and poet Robert Aytoun, who had followed the King to England, Drummond wrote a conciliatory letter:

Great men in this age either respect not our toys at all; or if they do, because they are toys, esteem them only worthy the kiss of their hand: but especially Princes who are so inclined themselves. A Prince becomes jealous of possessors of those excellencies which he findeth in himself; thence it seldom happens, that learned Princes advance learned men.
(Masson, p.120)

This bitterness may have in part been the result of a letter Drummond received from Sir William Alexander of Menstrie, another poet of Scottish birth in the English court. Drummond had sent him a translation of a Psalm, a practice which had become quite popular through the King's own study of it: "He [the King] prefers his own to all else, though perchance, when you see it, you will think it the worst" (Masson, p.119). The suspicion of courts and kings which Drummond at times expressed in poetry and letters, and whose influence he avoided by his retirement, did not wane simply because James was a Scottish King. It increased in the

reign of King Charles, when the entwined worlds of politics and religion disturbed his solitude at Hawthornden.

William Drummond is known more for his Conversations with Ben Jonson than for his poetry's own "sweetness" (Kastner, p.xxxi). Although Scottish, interested enough in Scotland's history and traditions to write The History of Scotland (published in 1655 in London), and enamoured enough of the land to remain there when many followed King James south, Drummond left the traditions of Scottish poetry behind. Drummond's was a European and English heritage, complete with its own traditions and language. As quickly as the Scottish Renaissance had blossomed, it faded, and what little Scottish poetry there was, was indistinguishable from its southern counterpart.

JAMES' ACCESSION AND BEN JONSON

Though Queen Elizabeth often found herself the subject of poetry and drama, usually members of the nobility and not the Queen were providers of patronage. King James, however, was an avid supporter of poetry, prose and drama; in him writers found a subject and a patron. Although James wrote little verse after his accession, his early efforts at poetry and prose were reissued, and continued his name as a man of letters. Basilikon Doron (1599), The trew Law of free Monarchies (1598) and Daemonologie (1597) were all reprinted in 1603, and James' Essaies of a Prentise... (1584) and Poeticall Exercises at Vacant Houres (1591) were also fairly well known. For the English, these works were not examples to emulate, but examples to adulate. "Poet" and "scholar" could now be added to the list of royal epithets.

Symbolism ran awry at James' accession. A great storm which arose as James crossed the English border signalled the mourning of Scotland, while the following clear and sunny weather revealed the rejoicing of England. To the English, the rain seemed the tears of lament at the

death of Queen Elizabeth. As the calm followed the storm, so the winter of the Queen's death led into the happy spring rebirth of James' arrival. The Cambridge University publication in 1603 of Sorrowes Ioy; or A Lamentation for our late deceased Sovereaine Elizabeth, with a Triumph for the prosperous Succession of our gracious King Iames, &c.¹ displays this combination of grief and happiness and the many forms in which it appeared.

A woeful shepherd's lament, an increasing darkness, a growing sickness are all cheered, brightened and healed by the King's arrival. A Phoenix dies and a Phoenix springs from the ashes. "Our sunne is set, and yet there is no night",² for the light of the new sun of King James shines on the Hesperides/Arcady/ Eden of Britain. Parallels between microcosm and macrocosm, symbols from Heaven, the fulfillment of prophecies: all find their beginning and end in King James. He is a Christ figure, a David, Solomon, Arthur and Apollo. As the epitome of glory and as destiny manifest, James just manages to offset England's grief at the loss of their blissful state under the all-virtuous, all-chaste, all-wise, and all-but-unsurpassable Queen Elizabeth.

This endless expanse of allusion occasionally proved too much for the Cambridge poets:

Illustrious, puissant, and renowned Prince,
 Mirrour of learning; Nature's quintessence, &c.
 Pardon, great King of Europe's greatest Isle,
 Your boundlesse titles passe my feeble style.³

"Titles" or conceits once worthy of the Queen are now applied to the King with only slight changes. Where Queen Elizabeth was bright, James will prove just as bright, if not brighter. The "Queen of Peace" is now the "King of Peace"; "a Phoebe gone, a Phoebus now doth shine"; "Your Mother gon, he shall your Father hight".⁴ The honourable titles of the Queen are made masculine to suit the King. This praise is interchangeable, applicable to any monarch regardless of personal unworthiness. Although references to James' "heavenly dits, and powerful songs" or his "owne oft-tried Muse"⁵ reveal a more particular quality of the King, his role as writer appears dependent on his role as monarch. James is praised as virtuous or a poet because he is King, and not because he is virtuous or a poet. It is this quality of traditional literary praise and unquestioned acceptance of monarchy which make these Cambridge poems, though suitable for the occasion, still somewhat hollow. Little of either the poet or the King can be gathered from these verses.

At least one voice stood "high and aloof" from the general cacophony of adulation. Ben Jonson was James' unofficial "poet laureate", and the court masquer from 1605 to 1617, and 1621 until the King's death in 1625. Jonson was ousted in King Charles' reign, the result both of the move away from Jonson's strict decorum and of Jonson's own growing silence. Silence, not "dotages",⁶ for the unfinished The Sad Shepherd -- presumably written late in his life and published only posthumously -- proves that even at the end Jonson could still produce work worthy of any master writer. A more conclusive reason for Jonson's prominence during James' reign is James' own personal taste. Jonson's favoured position in court allowed him the time, money and inspiration to produce his work. It was not only Jonson's own ability, but James' support which helped to provide Jonson with an audience.

There are many reasons why Jonson might have appealed to the King, not least of which was Jonson's Scottish ancestry. The literature of both Jonson and the King was based on the tradition of the sixteenth century humanists, learnt at the hands of their tutors: the importance of decorum and order; a thorough knowledge of the

ancients; the helpmeet of art to nature and the preeminence of the imagination or "inuentiuon". The need for order and clarity in language found an outlet in James' Treatise and Jonson's English Grammar. Both found themselves at the centre of a literary circle: James in the Castalian Band and Jonson in the Tribe of Ben. Patron and poet shared an enjoyment of the indecorous decorously displayed. Though both were sufficiently vain and self-assured, both could bend themselves to the duties and responsibilities required by their positions in the hierarchical society. The theory of the divine right of kings, subscribed to by both men, demanded the subject's deference to his king, but it also implied a reciprocal relationship,⁷ in which the "Pater Patriae" protected his children, the people. If Jonson acceded to James' wishes and tastes in his own writing, as the subject must do for the King, Jonson never failed to remind James of the King's and patron's responsibilities. Although he does laud the King with the popular conceits of the day, Jonson's demands, appraisals and admonishments rarely allow his praise to become flattery. Jonson gives, but not without taking; he bows, but never too low.

Although Drummond states in the Conversations that Jonson "would not flatter though he saw death" (1.332-3),

Jonson did occasionally fall into hyperbole in his praise of James. In Epigramme 4,⁸ James is lauded as the "best of kings" and "best of poets"; both superlative statements easily revealed as excessive by a quick comparison with the reality. The excess arises in part, no doubt, from the tradition of encomiastic poetry, and the need to give a King the highest possible praise. It is not merely a literary tradition which Jonson is following, however, for he does believe in the divine right of Kings and their station at the top of hierarchical ladder. In his Discoveries or Timber, Jonson repeatedly underlines the importance of obedience to and love of the King. Two examples will suffice:

After God, nothing is to be loved of man like the prince: he violates nature, that doth it not with his whole heart. For when he hath put on the care of the public good and common safety; I am a wretch, and put off man, if I do not reverence, and honour him: in whose charge all things divine and human are placed.
(1218-1224)

Let no man therefore murmur at the actions of the prince, who is placed so far above him. If he offend, he hath his discoverer. God hath a height beyond him.
(1493-1497)

It is a natural duty of man to honour the monarch, who is second only to God.

Let it not be overlooked, however, that in both these examples Jonson refers to the deserved praise of a good King. When the King puts on "the care of the public good and common safety", then should he be praised. Though divinely appointed, a King is fallible, and must answer to God. The subject's duties are mentioned, but far more often does Jonson record the King's responsibilities to his subjects. Jonson's political beliefs are reflected in his poetical and dramatic writings. He is usually quick to couch his praise in a statement of condition; if this condition is fulfilled, then the praise is merited. The ideal monarch is upheld, and it is only when King James strives towards that ideal that he receives praise from Jonson.

"A Panegyre, on the Happy Entrance of James, Our Sovereign, to His First High Session of Parliament in This Kingdon, the 19th of March, 1603" (MP.XC) is just such a combination of instruction and praise. The poem can be divided into three sections: from line 1 to 72; line 73 to 127; and line 128 to the end. The first section reiterates many of the same conceits applied to the King in Sorrowes Ioy: James is the sun and light, the Hesperidian star, "the glory of our western world" (l.3); a bringer of justice,

order and peace; as the focus of all eyes, he is the harmonizer of all the people; a pattern of God, a medium between Heaven and Earth. It seems the King's accession is lauded and paraded not with desert, but merely for the occasion.

The "Meanwhile" (1.73) which begins the second section places it concurrently with the first, thereby qualifying what appeared to be exuberant praise at the opening, a parody perhaps of what Jonson saw in his contemporaries. Jonson lists the duties and responsibilities of a King, properties and actions which inspire and deserve the praise of the first section. The character of Thetis, personification of justice, provides Jonson with a proper distance; advice from a subject, even good advice, might seem impertinence. The first section, traditional praise of a King, is now seen as a "vain stir" (1.75), as flattery of the senses. Themis talks to the King's reason, "to his mind" (1.75). The statements of the seriousness of the King's divine nature and of his obligations are echoes of those found in the Conversations. The tyrant is caught in a circle of his own wickedness, a regular "Sejanus" (Conv. 1.1500-1524, and of course, Jonson's play of that title). The good King

rules "with love" (l.121): "the merciful prince is safe in love, not in fear" (Conv. l.1471). Jonson once again differentiates between "greatness" and "goodness". It is the earned praise of the third section towards which King James must strive.

King James was not, it seems, offended by this mixture of adulation and advice; it was, after all, advice which reflected James' own to his son in the Basilikon Doron. Perhaps, as his image in Jonson's "Panagyre", King James' "ear was joyed/ To hear the truth, from spite, or flattery void" (l.93/93). Jonson is able for the most part to match the dignity and learning of his verse with a content neither servile nor base. What goodness he can find in the King's person, poetry, prose or actions, Jonson commends and sets as an example to others. If the King is found wanting, Jonson prompts him towards an ideal. In this way Jonson preserves the dignity of both himself and the King.

Jonson's closest contact with King James was in the masque. The main function of the court masque was to display the brilliance and beauty of the court. As the court's central figure, the King was the focus, the object

of the masque. Only the King had perfect vision of the perspective stage. Only the King's entrance, the King's presence, could give life to the performance. With flattery the major purpose of the masque, why is it that Jonson became the court masquer, and how did he satisfy the King's vanity while remaining faithful to his own tenet that "he would not flatter"?

The answer lies in Jonson's approach to the masque. The masque was not an occasional piece whose life was extinguished in the glory of one night, nor was it a display of obsequious adoration. Rather than playing to the King, Jonson included the King in the proceeding. Although James never actually performed, unlike his wife and children, the King's presence, beliefs, speeches, political actions, all made him an intricate part of the story. James was not an idle, placid King waiting to be flattered, but a learned and industrious monarch, whose actions themselves helped to create the masque.⁹ Without the King's "participation", the masque would not exist; the praise gained is praise earned.

A brief look at Samuel Daniel's approach to the masque serves as a contrast to Jonson's beliefs and

practice. Daniel found a patron in Queen Anne, but wrote only three masques for the court. Jonson was abroad in 1613-14, acting as a tutor to Sir Walter Raleigh's son, and Daniel's Hymen's Triumph of that year was pronounced "solemn and dull".¹⁰ Daniel's Royal Masque Presented at Hampton Court (Progresses, vol.1, p.305) on January 8th, 1603-04, is a rather straightforward representation of virtues in the guise of "the best of Ladies" of "the glorious Patronesse of this mighty Monarchie" (p.310). The Virtues introduce themselves in four line stanzas, offer gifts (a tradition of the masques under Queen Elizabeth) and depart. There is no anti-masque and little story. The sparseness and plainness of the text was perhaps enlivened by the promised "new sightes,/ Strange visions..." (p.305). That the printed word appears weak without the crutch of its visual counterpart reveals the dependence of Daniel's text on the event.

The "Preface to the Reader" of Tethys' Festival; or The Queen's Wake (Progresses, vol.2, p.346) in 1610 states most clearly Daniel's conception of the masque, a conception in complete contradiction to Jonson's own. Masques are "shewes and spectacles...being compliments of state, both to shew magnificence and to celebrate the feasts to our

greatest respects" (p.346). The scholarship "grounded upon antiquity and solid learning"¹¹ which plays such an integral part in Jonson's productions is belittled by Daniel: "for these figures of mine, if they come not drawn in all proportions to the life of antiquity, (from whose tyrannie, I see no reason why we may not emancipate our inventions..." (p.347). The whole business of a text is set at close to nought. The Preface implies that Daniel has set the masque on paper to offset a "contrarie affection" in the popular opinion, and for no higher reason.

In his Masque of Blackness (Twelfth-Night, 1604-05), Jonson turns from the "shew" -- "So much for the bodily part, which was of Master Inigo Jones's design and act" (H/S, vol.7, p.172) -- and dwells on the verse, or "spirit" of the masque. The masque proper begins where the spectacle ends. Ironically, it is this very "carcass" (H/S, vol.7, p.170) which gives life to Daniel's Tethys Festival:

...the onely life consists in shew, the arte and invention of the Architect gives the greatest grace, and is of most importance; ours the least part, and of least note in the time of performance thereof; and therefore have I interserted the description of the artificiall part, which onely speakes Master Inigo Jones. (Progresses, v.2, p.348)

Certainly Jonson would be appalled. Daniel proclaims the

very concepts Jonson berates in his "An Expostulation with Inigo Jones": "The eloquence of masques! What need of prose,/ Or verse, or sense to express immortal you?"

(MP.CXVIII 1.41-2). The verse was not a lesser appendage to the spectacle; the show existed only to give motion to the poetry. The event might please James temporarily, but it is the text which provides immortal fame, and redeems both the masque and the King "as well from Ignorance as Envy, two common evils, the one of censure, the other of oblivion" (The Masque of Blackness).

There was much of King James, it seems, that Jonson believed worthy of preservation.¹² Though many of James' political manoeuverings appear, with hindsight, to lack any foresight whatsoever, there are those rare cases which Jonson saw fit to immortalize. These topical and historical allusions add a personal note and an element of truth to the more popular, glorious epithets of the King. James might still be the Sun, the beati pacifici or various other virtues and gods; these are the property of the poet as well as the monarch. James' contribution to the making of the masque were his own political histories. Certainly, these were transformed into art by Jonson, but they were created by James' own action, or at least his call to action.

One of Jonson's early masques, Hymnaei (H//S, vol.7, p.203) was written to celebrate the marriage of the Earl of Essex to Lady Frances Howard, and was performed on January 5, 1606. In this masque there are constant references to James as a "priest of peace" (l.92), a common enough title in the early poetry of the reign. Jonson allies this love of peace with the monarch's desire for a union between Scotland and England, a desire which formed a great portion of his 1603 speech to Parliament. James saw it as a union so natural as to be "preordained", for had not God "made vs all in one Island, compassed with one Sea" (Works, p.488)? This image appears in Jonson's masque:

...So, heart in heart,
May all those bodies still remayne
Whom he (with so much sacred payne)
No less hath bound within his realmes
Then they are with the OCEANS streames.
Long may his VNION find increase
As he, to ours, hath deign'd his peace.
(l.424-430)

King James is the "binding force of Vnitie" (l.207), the retainer of peace attempting to join "two such races" (l.556) in a marriage union.

Often called a "mummer's play", Christmas His Masque (1617) (H/S, vol.7, p.431) reworks a traditional

country entertainment. The writing of such a masque was very timely, for in his 1616 speech to the Star-Chamber, James had advised his subjects "in Gods Name [to] leave these idle forreine toyes, and keepe the fashion of England" (Works, p.568). James was determined that "onely necessary persons... remaine about this Citie: others must get them into the Countrey... especially at festivall times, as Christmas" (Works, p.568). The title of Jonson's masque alone takes a double stab at the unfavoured Puritans. The Puritans (who took rather a fierce thrashing in James' speech) disliked Christmas, seeing in more than just the word an element of the papist "mass". The suspicion was compounded in Jonson's masque, as the character of Christmas emerged from "Popes-head-alley" (l.116). They were also averse to masques, another form of excessive revelry. Jonson's masque upholds James' sentiments on English country traditions, for the whole is "a right Christmas, as of old it was" (l.174). The characters are those of traditional entertainments, and Christmas and New Years' customs. Once again James' political writings have become poetry in the hand of Jonson, or, as Jonson was wont to show it, once again his patron and King was the inspiration for the poet and subject's creations.

This Christmas entertainment was followed on the sixth of January, 1618, by The Vision of Delight (H/S, vol. p.). In her essay "'Present Occasions' and the Shaping of Ben Jonson's Masques", Leah S. Marcus claims that these antimasques "give light, form, and motion to James' description of abuses in contemporary London and the court",¹³ abuses listed in James' 1616 speech. Vice gained momentum as citizens flocked to the fashionable city. In the antimasques, the city is a chaotic place, where coherence and relation are things lost: "Would you streight weare your spectacles, here, at your toes,/ And your boots o' your browes, and your spurs o' your nose?" (l. 81-82). In the masque proper, under a song of Peace (l.127), the vices of city and court are transformed into the beauty and fertility of the countryside. The King's demand that the gentry "get them into the Countrey" results in revived decorum and order. James desire for reform (if reversion to an older way of living can be called reform -- and of course it can) crowns him the "King/ Whose presence maketh this perpetuall Spring" (l.201-2). Jonson uses James' political tracts as an intrinsic aspect of the action of the masque; James' completes and unifies the work.

In 1617 James returned to Scotland, mainly to

enforce episcopacy and English rituals on the Kirk. In Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue (1618) (H/S. vol.7, p.473), Jonson addresses the difficulties James faced in gaining a peaceful acceptance of the Anglican religion by Presbyterians in Scotland and by the Roman Catholic and Puritan factions in England.¹⁴ James "ever held the midway in all things to be the way of Vertue" (Works, p.564), and found great difficulty in accepting the extreme attitudes of the constrained Scottish Presbyterians and English Puritans on the one hand, and the pagan and exuberant Roman Catholics on the other. He tolerated Presbyterianism, but had decisive views on the other two religions, and would have "nor Papists nor Puritaines countenanced" (Works, p.569). The golden mean was Anglicanism. James not only upheld this middle way, but he embodied it, and by his very presence created it on the stage.

Anglicans had difficulty with the reconciliation of the pleasures of art and ceremony, or ritual, and the highest virtues that the Church was meant to represent. Anglicanism allowed art -- music, paintings, statues -- in the Church, but only for decoration, not for adoration or worship. The excess of Roman Catholic festivities which met the King in Lancashire in 1617 led to James' Book of Sports,

a tract which allowed only moderate celebrations on the Lord's day. The sports must not interfere with divine service, and only the more noble exercises of the martial arts and dance were encouraged; these festivities would keep men fit, healthy and away from the drink. The Puritans, however, saw any celebration on the sabbath, other than divine service, as sacrilegious, and the King's book, dubbed the "Book of Dances", was not considered by the Puritans as a middle way. The Puritan (and Presbyterian) saw the popish excess in Anglicanism; the Roman Catholic saw its puritanical censures.

The two antimasques of Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue can represent the two extremes James wishes to reconcile. Comus, a gourmand and drunkard who creates a god of his belly and demands revelries, caricatures the excess of Catholicism (and, incidentally, of the court). The second antimasque pictures a short group of "Brother[s]" (l.138) ready to constrain even the peaceful King-figure of Hercules. Both factions, excess and stricture, are banished by Hercules. Hesperus, another image of James, is the hero of the "sacred harmony" (l.245) of the masque proper, and the orderly and beautiful dances which ensue show Jonson's support of the King's stance on the combination of art and

religion, of pleasure and virtue:

For Dauncing is an exercise
not onely shows ye mouers wit
but maketh ye beholder wise,
as he hath powre to rise to it. (1.269-72)

...ye height<n>ing sence
of dignitie, and reuerence,
in your true motions found. (1.285-7)

The dancing, costume and music combine "a series of invocations, ceremonies and what...we would have to call benedictions".¹⁵ Under the eyes of James, pleasure is reconciled to virtue, the golden mean is upheld, and the Anglican religion is proven true.

Jonson again reconciles the antimasque's opposing forces in the masque proper of Love Restored (1612) (H/S, vol.7 p.373), which followed the Puritan outcry over masques in 1611. The zealous Puritan strictures are encompassed in Plutus, a figure soon ridiculed by the merriment of Robin Goodfellow. Though Stephen Orgel finds "a real structural flaw... with the reference to a dramatic relation between the masque figure Cupid and King James, which has never been established" (p.76), one need only recall the Castalians use of that term, and that love is not an uncommon trait to apply to a King.

However, on the occasion of Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue, the King was not amused. Perhaps Jonson's masque, which praised the King as a reconciler and creator of harmony in theory, reminded James that in practice he had failed to bring the Presbyterians to Anglicanism. The Scots may have grudgingly accepted the "Five Articles of Perth", but they never put them into effect (Marcus, p.274). Perhaps the King felt a taunting note in Jonson's *Comus*, whose gluttony "in any place of qualitie" (1.73-4) came too close to the exuberance of court feasts.¹⁶ The production of Jonson's masque contained ironies which escape the text. The regular and harmonious dances bored James, who cried out: "Why don't they dance? What did they make me come here for? Devil take you all, dance!"¹⁷ The King could be appeased only by the fancy footwork of his favourite George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham. Jonson's first antimasque did not hold a candle to the brilliant display of *Comuses* which followed the production. As recorded by Horatio Busino, at the expansive feast which followed the masque, the spectators and actors, "pounced upon the prey like so many harpies" (Ashton, p.242). On this occasion, the peaceful spirit of Jonson's word was unable to control the riotous body of the court.

The festive crowd of the play Bartholomew Fair (1614) (H/S, vol.6, p.1) is a perfect example of a chaos which Jonson's pen, combined with King James' politics, could put into order. Quite a few of King James' practices and writings are found distorted in the figure of Justice Overdo, that "Mirrour of Magistrates" (V,vi,32-3) of the play. They are perverted either by Overdo's misuse of justice, or by Jonson's placing of James' precepts in the Justice's mouth. Rather than reforming the clamorous fairgoers, Overdo's misuse of James' tenets only wreaks further confusion, implying that a proper observation of the laws would lead to peace and order. Though James may have enjoyed seeing his laws corrupted by an obviously comic figure, it would be less than humorous to hear one's own serious convictions in the mouth of an obviously fallible, "flesh and blood" character (V,vi,94).

In his speech of 1603, James refers to his Magistrates as "Eyes and Eares", warning them to be "blinde and not see distinctions of persons" (Works, p.494). Overdo's decision to weed out "enormities" (I,i,40) is due to his mistrust of subordinates: "We hear with other men's ears; we see with other men's eyes; a foolish constable or sleepy watchman is all our information" (I,i,28-30). He

forgets that he, too, is subordinate to the King, and must stay within his "trew limit, and iurisdiction" (Works, p.534). Overdo leaves his court of Pie-powders to search out enormities, even though his grievances must not be "greedily sought out... or taken vp in the streetes" (Works, p.536). None of the King's rules for magistrates is followed by Overdo, and his absence from his proper position in the court of Pie-powders can only lead to an abuse of justice.

King James must have appreciated Jonson's sketch of the too ambitious Overdo and his eventual undoing, especially when compared to the praise of his own perfect judgement. How James felt about the repetition of serious tenets in the mouth of this corrupt and comic figure is questionable. Jonson's portrayal of Overdo's easy treatment of the ward Grace Wellborn leaves no doubt about his own opinion of the selling of wards, even though it was one of James' sources of income: "Jonson disapproved, and expected his audience to disapprove, of the sale of human beings conducted by the Court of Wards"¹⁸. Overdo's speeches on the evils of tobacco are filled with the words of James' own Counterblaste to Tobacco (1604), whose bombastic, overdone style is zealous enough to compare with the Puritan

caricature of Busy. The final words of Overdo, that his "intents are ad correctionem, non ad destructionem" (V,vi,107-8), are taken from James' speech of 1609 at Whitehall, and refer to the true nature of law as ordained by God (Works, p.530). Quarlous' reminder that lawkeepers are but "flesh and blood" is an unpleasant reminder to James that though a King is the vicegerent of God, he, too, is subject to the laws and is as mortal as any of his subjects.

The relationship between James and Jonson seems to have been one of mutual reverence. How else could Jonson be allowed to publicly oppose James' royal policies¹⁹ or mock his fulsome style? Who other than Jonson could say to the King that "his master M[r] G. Buchanan, had corrupted his ear when young, and learned him to sing verses when he should have read them" (Conv. 1.581-3)? This honesty, or need to point to shortcomings as well as merits, was prized by both men: "Of all styles [Jonson] loved most to be named honest" (Conv. 1.658); James "did ever naturally so farre mislike a tongue to smoothe" (Works, p.486). Both Poet and King had divine appointments; both could occasion and obliterate fame. Jonson combined these two roles, for "he which can feign a commonwealth (which is the poet) can govern it" (Disc. 1276-78). James recognized a similar alliance:

"Kings being publike persons, by reason of their office and authority, are as it were set (as it was said of old) vpon a publike stage, in the sight of all the people" (Basilikon Doron). Jonson's printed commonwealth was a mirror of James' stage. The mirror's gilt frame is Jonson's handiwork, but the reflection is James' own.

KING JAMES, JOHN DONNE AND THE WORD

"To spend all my little stock of knowledge upon matter of delight, were the same error, as to spend a fortune upon Masks and Banqueting houses".¹ The words are Donne's, but the spirit of the words belongs also to King James. The King, who claimed adamantly his divine right and inheritance, who displayed whenever possible his knowledge and insight into the word of God, could not, with the figure in Sebastian Brant's Ship of Fools (1494), leaf idly through man's worldly attempts at immortality.² Did it really matter if one's earthly fame were recorded for all of posterity? The evidence of so many masques and banquets would imply yes, but for all that, King James did take his role as God's vicegerent extremely seriously. Unfortunately, his peace-loving (war-fearing) politics and defensive postures cloud the more bright aspects of James' religious devotions.

Both Puritans and Roman Catholics hoped for religious toleration (and perhaps preference) upon James'

accession. Their hopes seemed well-founded; James' political amity to Spain went hand in hand with an ever-imminent conversion to Roman Catholicism, while the continued collection of fines from Catholics in May 1603 (Willson, p.218) and the amiable initial reception of the Millenary Petition in 1604 suggested an equally kind reception of Puritan demands. James' attempt to tread a virtuous middle way in religion, to found a universal church, is a spiritual counterpart to his political juggling. Giving an inch of toleration, James found himself confronted with a mile of demands and assertions. He curbed these presumptions on royal clemency with refusals and laws, which in turn led to unrest and uproar. This resulted only in further restraints on Puritanism and Roman Catholicism alike. The royal denunciation of one faction only raised the aspirations of the other, and James found himself on a religious see-saw, the brethren on one end, the papists on the other, and the Church of England holding the balance.

The Hampton Court Conference of 1604 discussed the concessions desired by the Puritans in the Millenary Petition. Their request for restrictions on ritual (omission of the sign of the cross at baptisms, optional use of surplices, discontinuance of the words "priest" and

"absolution" in the Prayer Book) angered the King. This punctiliousness over indifferent ritual (which was not, after all, the word of God but of man) combined with the Puritan spokesman Dr John Rainold's use of the word "presbytery" (Willson, p.207) aligned in the King's mind the moderate English Puritans with the more intimidating Scottish Presbyterians: "I have daily more and more cause to hate and abhor all that sect, enemies to all kings, and to me only because I am a King" (letter to Salisbury, cited in Willson. p.209).³ Although some concessions were granted (the need for a more learned clergy, one catechism rather than two, the holiness of the Sabbath (Willson, p.205)), the final result of the conference was a more intolerant view of the Puritans. New Canons were enforced to separate the moderate Puritans from the more extreme non-conformists of the sect. Those who showed an outward conformity and obedience (which is all that the King really required) were tolerated, while those who did not conform risked losing their benefices.

Nor did things bode well for the Roman Catholics. The group of frustrated men who attempted the Gun Powder Plot in November of 1605, "to replant againe the Catholicke Religion" (A Discourse of the Powder-Treason; Works, p.234),

only succeeded in complicating even more the Catholic situation. Although the King realized that it did "not follow, That all professing that Romish religion were guiltie of the same" (1605 speech; Works, p.503), he instated the Oath of Allegiance in order to insure his own safety and the obedience to the sovereignty of those professing the Catholic faith. Allegiance to the King was duly declared by many, "whereof the Archpriest himselfe was one" (Apologie for the Oath of Allegiance; Works, p.257). The Pope, however, saw the Oath as a sure way to damnation, for it limited the Pope's temporal, and as Roman Catholicism saw it, his spiritual dominions.

The ensuing pamphlet war thrived as well as it did because King James was a major figure. Not only his own writings, but commissioned and voluntary writings which upheld his own, strengthened the monarch's position, and an equal number of refutations ensured the controversy's perpetuity. James felt that "the state of religion through all Christendom, almost wholly, under God, rests now upon my shoulders" (cited in Willson, p.230). A self-created Atlas, King James was completely engrossed by the dispute; Casaubon records that the King "is so entirely taken up with one sort of book that he keeps his own mind and the minds about him

occupied exclusively on the one topic...Neither his private affairs nor public business interest his Majesty so deeply as do affairs of religion" (cited in Willson, p.230).

Those who aided the King were duly rewarded. Often the works which carry James' signature are not written by his hand. Groups of learned men and bishops worked on translations and corrections of the royal manuscripts, or turned James' ideas into neat prose. Though James may have provided inspiration and learning, A Remonstrance for the Right of Kings, and the Independance of their Crownes was not, as he claimed, his own work.⁴ It was written by the French Protestant Pierre du Moulin, who had supposedly been employed by the King simply to polish James' French. Du Moulin was richly recompensed for his help with jewellery, money, prebends, honorary degrees and an estate in Wales (Willson, p.241). Such was the earthly reward for spiritual assistance.

James can be forgiven all his paper bullets, however, for his interest in literature and theology allowed the creation of the Authorized King James Version of the Holy Bible, first published in 1611. James wished to have one uniform Bible rather than the Bishops' Bible (the

official Church Bible) and that more popular with the people, the Geneva Bible (whose anti-monarchical marginalia were another incentive for a new translation). Fifty-four men from the Church and University each worked separately, later comparing and reworking their translations. The King desired the continued use of the old ecclesiastical words, a minimum of marginalia, and a work easily comprehensible to the common man. Many translators received rewards, preferments or livings for their help (Willson, p.215). Though it cannot be proven that King James did or did not write certain passages himself (Willson, p.215), he did wish to prepare a metrical rendition of the Psalms. As has been already stated (Chapter 3) , his advisor Sir William Alexander and Alexander's friend William Drummond of Hawthornden were two of the many who attempted to use their own translations of the Psalms to gain the King's favour, only to find that James "prefer[ed] his own to all else". The King's were not, however, included in the Authorized Version. By his death, James had translated approximately thirty of the Psalms. The Psalms of King David Translated by King James, completed and issued by Sir William Alexander, were accepted by neither the English Bishops nor the Scottish Presbyterians, and the edition petered out of view.

In the Second Booke of Basilikon Doron, King James advised his son to chose for his companions "men of knowen wisdom, honestie, and good conscience, well practised in the points of the craft, that yee ordaine them for, and free of all factions and partialities; but specially free of that filthie vice of Flatterie, the pest of all Princes, and wracke of Republicks" (Works, p.169). However, whether it be in a private poem or public play, in support of the King's views or mere deference to his station, flattery in some degree played a part in the rise of all courtiers.⁵ Even those desiring a position in the Church found that the guise of a courtier moved them up the steps not only to, but in the Temple. These were not divine appointments, but appointments gained through the grace of King James.⁶

John Donne had long tried to secure a secular appointment before he took Orders, but found that his wit and learning afforded him little when they were not accompanied by the King's good will. The King had taken an interest in Donne with the appearance of Pseudo Martyr in 1610, in which Donne upholds the Oath of Allegiance and the King's power. It was not, however, in a secular position that James wished to place Donne. According to Walton, when

Donne's patron Somerset approached the King in the hope of gaining a placement for Donne, James replied: "I know Mr. Donne is a learned man, has the abilities of a learned Divine; and will prove a powerful Preacher, and my desire is to prefer him that way, and in that way, I will deny you nothing for him" (cited in Willson, p.289). In his Devotions, Donne revealed that the King would rather he joined the Church: "When I asked a temporall office, he denied not, refused not that, but let mee see, that hee had rather I took this" (cited in Willson, p.293). "This", the Church, Donne soon took. Though his Essays in Divinity show that he had given thought to an ecclesiastical appointment earlier, Donne continued to search for a secular position until just before he took Orders. In July, 1614, Donne writes: "no man attends court fortunes with more impatience than I do" (letter to Sir Robert More, cited in Willson, p.292). On 23rd January, 1615, he was ordained a deacon and a priest.

Frequently, Donne stated that it was through King James' encouragement that he had entered the Church; it was the King "from whom J haue, not onely (as other men haue) receyued my lyuelyhood, but my priesthood" (cited in

Willson, p.393, n.2). To Charles I, he recalled that "Almightie God was pleased, to moove the heart of your Majesties blessed Father, of holy memory, to moove mine" (Willson, p.483). On his epitaph (which he wrote), Donne records that he "entered into Holy Orders, under the influence and impulse of the Divine Spirit and by the advice and exhortation of King James" (trans. in Willson, p.535). It was a life-long recollection of favour which Donne repayed through his new vocation. His natural sense of obedience to the King was strengthened by the King's patronage. Donne became a Chaplain in Ordinary to James, and through the King he received an honorary Doctorate from Cambridge.⁷ With aid from the favourite, Buckingham, Donne gained from the King the Deanery of St. Paul's in 1621. Though Donne had been unable to secure a court position, his popularity as a divine, and James' continued favour, brought him closer to the court circle.

Because Donne's religious and political beliefs ran parallel to James', the King frequently made use of Donne's position, both in foreign religious controversies⁸ and controversies at home. Donne's voice rang from the pulpit in support of royal policy. Not everyone agreed with King James' toleration of "by-religions" or monarchical

prerogative. Preachers who displeased the King by their forwardness with royal decisions might suffer loss of livelihood or imprisonment. Some grew afraid to preach at all, fearing they might upset the King. Chamberlain records: "Master Hales did not preach at court this Lent as was appointed, but desired to be spared, as pretending nothing but to live quietly".⁹

In 1621, doubts voiced by divines over the Spanish Match and the King's power prompted James to write his Directions to Preachers, in which he warns that the higher mysteries of state affairs, especially the monarchy, were not to be mentioned in the pulpit. Dr. Donne was called upon to clarify the King's intentions in a sermon of 1622: "for the second part, the Application of the Text [Judges 5:20], it will be warrant enough, that I have spoken as his Majestie intended" (Sermons IV, p.178-9). Sermons made to order. Donne claims that the King's Directions were the result of "a representation of some inconveniences by disorderly preaching" (Sermons IV, p.199), and meant to return the Church to old, grave and learned methods of useful and edifying preaching and teaching. As for the King's toleration of Roman Catholicism and Puritanism, "he doth constantly professe himselfe an open adversary to the

Superstition of the Papist... and to the madnesse of the Anabaptist" (Sermon IV, p.208).¹⁰ Discreet and elegant, Donne fulfills his duty, remembering, perhaps, that "he that gives to the King, shall have a Kings reward" (Sermon IV. p.262).

And Donne gave to the King. In a sermon on 24 March, 1616/17, Donne celebrated the anniversary of the accession in words made popular by courtiers of monarchs, and in allusions which very nearly parallel those made by the poets in Sorrowes Ioy:

This day, which god made for us, according to the pattern of his first days in the Creation; where, Vesper & mane dies unus, the evening first, and then the morning made up the day; for, here the saddest night, and the joyfulest morning, that ever the daughters of this Island saw, made up this day... showers of rain all night, of weeping for our Sovereign; and we would not be comforted, because she was not... In the death of that Queen, unmatchable, inimitable in her sex... in her death we were all under one common flood, and depth of tears. But the Spirit of God moved upon the face of that depth; and God said, Let there be light, and there was light, and God saw that that light was good". (Sermons I. p.217)

The light, of course, is that of King James. The similarity with the expressions of Sorrowes Ioy appears again in a sermon in 1616 God gave

a Change without Change, an alteration of Persons, and not of Things, that we saw old things done away, in the Secession of one, and all things made

new in the Sucession of another Sovereign, and all
 this newness done without Innovation.
 (Sermons I, p.227).

Donne manages to combine poetic and popular allusions in praise of the King and elevates them with Biblical scripture and his own divine position in the pulpit. Accomplishments of his reign and properties of his person which James frequently alluded to in his writings and speeches are also sanctified by inclusion in Donne's sermons. James' "undoubted title to this Kingdom" (Sermons I, p.219), his role as peacemaker -- "Beati pacifici" (Sermons I, p.218) --the union of Scotland and England, and James' preference for the laws of England over Scotland;¹¹ the King's favourite achievements are reiterated by Donne. Donne himself has that "reverential fear, a due consideration of greatnes, a distance, a respect of Rank, and Order, and Majestie" (Sermons I, p.234) which he advocates, and while the inclusion of James' own speeches may be calculated to please, they are by no means mere servile flattery. Donne was already in James' favour. His continued reciprocation of the favour only assure the monarch's good will.

The King's commission of sermons (as with Donne's explication of the Directions to Preachers) and his

selective publication of the sermons (the Directions sermon was the first of Donne's to be published, combined with Donne's voluntary inclusion in his sermons of the divine rights of royalty, could only produce in those who heard Donne's sermons a picture of a peace-loving and devoutly religious King. While Donne has been rightly praised for his ability to fit his text to his listeners and for the poetry of his sermons,¹² it was not for his wit that Donne wished to be remembered: "forebeare your acclamations and expectations of wonderfull good preachers, and admirable good Sermons... content thy selfe with truths" (Sermons IV, p.152).¹³ Like the movement in his Anniversaries, which travel through the pattern of Elizabeth Drury to a pattern of the Divine, Donne attempts in his sermons "to go the right way from things which we see, to things which we see not, by consideration of the King, to the contemplation of God" (Sermons I, p.222). However, for all King James' religious fervour, he seems somewhat unworthy as an image of God. For the King's sake, one hopes that the combination of James' piety, grown "out of his Understanding" (Sermons I, p.221), and the devotions of Donne, distilled from his very Spirit, are strong enough to translate King James from his earthly throne "to a throne more glorious" (Sermons I, p.219).

Appendices

Alexander Montgomerie

Sonnets XIV-XVII To His Majestie, For His Pensioun

Help, Prince, to vhom, on vhom not I complene,
 Bot on, not to fals fortun, ay my fo;
 Quha but, not by a resone, reft me fro;
 Qhuo did, not does, zit suld my self sustene.
 Of crymis, not cairis, since I haif kept me clene,
 I thole, not thanks thame, Sir, who servd me so;
 Quha heght, hot held to me, and mony mo,
 To help, not hurt, bot hes not byding bene:
 Sen will, not wit, to lait vhill I lament,
 Of sight, not service, shed me from zour grace.
 With, not without zour warrand, zit I went;
 In wryt, not words; the papers ar in place:
 Sen chance, not change, hes put me to this pane,
 Let richt, not reif, my pensioun bring agane.

If lose of guidis, if gritest grudge or grief,
 If povertie, imprisonment, or pane,
 If for guid will ingratitude agane,
 If languishing in langour but relief,
 If det, if dolour, and to become deif,
 If travell tint, and labour lost in vane,
 Do properly to poets appertane-
 Of all that craft my chance is to be chief.
 With August, Virgill wauntit his reuard,
 And Ovids lote als lukles as the lave;
 Quhill Homer livd, his hap wes wery hard,
 Zit, when he died, sevin cities for him strave:
 Thocht I am not lyk one of thame in arte,
 I pingle thame all perfytlie in that parte.

If I must begge, it sall be far fra hame;
 If I must want, it is aganis my will;
 I haif a stomok, thocht I hold me still,
 To suffer smart, bot not to suffer shame.
 In spyt of fortun, I shall flie with fame;
 Sho may my corps, bot not my curage kill:
 My hope is high, houbet my hap be ill,

And kittle aneugh, and clau me on the kame.
 Wes Bishop Betoun bot restord agane,
 To my ruin reserving all the rest,
 To recompence my prisoning and pane!
 The worst is ill, if this be bot the best.
 Is this the frute, Sir, of your first affectione,
 My pensioun perish vnder your protectione?

Adeu, my King, court, cuntrey, and my kin:
 Adeu, suete Duke, whose father held me deir:
 Adeu, companiones, Constable and Keir:
 Thrie treuar hairts, I trou, sall neuer tuin.
 If byganes to revolve I suld begin,
 My tragedie wald cost zou mony a teir
 To heir hou hardly I am handlit heir,
 Considering once the honour I wes in.
 Shirs, ze haif sene me griter with his Grace,
 And with zour vmquhyle Maister, to, and myne;
 Quha thoght the Poet somtyme worth his place,
 Suppose ze sie they shot him out sensyne.
 Sen wryt, nor wax, nor word is not a word:
 I must perforce ga seik my fathers suord.

A Godly Prayer

Peccavi Pater, miserere mei:
 I am not worthy to be cald thy chylde,
 Vho stubburnely haif lookt so long astray,
 Not lyk thy sone, bot lyk the prodigue wyld.
 My sillie saull with sin is so defyld,
 That Satan seeks to catch it as his pray.
 God grant me grace that he may be begyld:
 Peccavi Pater, miserere mei.

I am abashd how I dar be sa bald
 Befor thy godly presence to appeir,
 Or hazard anes the hevins to behald,
 Vha am vnworthy that the earth suld beir.
 Zit damne me noght vhom thou hes boght so deir;
 Sed saluum me fac, dulcis Fili Dei,
 For out of Luk this lesoun nou I leir,
 Peccavi Pater, miserere mei.

If thou, O Lord, with rigour soldst revenge,
 Vhat flesh befor the faultles suld be fund?
 Or vho is he vhois conscience can him clenge,

Bot by his birth to Satan he is bund?
 Zit, of thy grace, thou took auay that grund,
 And sent thy Sone our penalty to pay,
 To saiv us from that hiddious hellish hund.
 Peccavi Pater, miserere mei.

I hope for mercy, thocht my sinnes be huge:
 I grant my gylt, and grones to thee for grace.
 Thocht I suld flie, vhair sall I find refuge?
 In hevin, O Lord? thair is thy duelling place.
 The erth, thy futstule; zea in helis, alace!
 Doun with the dead; bot all must the obey.
 Thairfor I cry, vhill I haif tyme and space,
 Peccavi Pater, miserere mei.

O gracious God, my gyltines forgive,
 In sinners death since thou does not delyte,
 Bot rather that they suld convert and live,
 As witnessis thy sacred holy wryte.
 I pray the, then, thy promise to perfyte
 In me; and I sall with the Psalmist say
 To pen thy prais, and wondrous works indyte:
 Peccavi Pater, miserere mei.

Suppose I slyde, let me not sleep in sleuth,
 In stinking sty with Satans sinfull swyn;
 Bot make my tongue the trompet of thy treuth,
 And lend my verse sik wings as ar divyne.
 Sen thou hes grantit me so good ingyn
 To loif the, Lord, in gallant style and gay,
 Let me no moir so trim a talent tyne:
 Peccavi Pater, miserere mei.

Thy Spirit, my spirit to speik, with speed, inspyre.
 Help, Holy Ghost! and be Montgomeries Muse;
 Flie doun on me in forked tongues of fyre,
 As thou did, on thy oun Apostills, vse;
 And with thy fyre me fervently infuse
 To laud the, Lord, and longer not delay:
 My former folish fictiouns I refuse:
 Peccavi Pater, miserere mei.

Stoup, stubborne stomock, that hes bene so stout;
 Stoup, filthie flesh, and carioun of clay;
 Stoup, hardint hairt, befor the Lord, and lout
 Stoup, stoup in tyme, defer not day by day.
 Thou knouis not weill when thou man pass away;
 The Tempter, als, is bissie to betrey.

Confess thy sinnes, and shame not for to say,
Peccavi Pater, miserere mei.

To grit Jehovah let all glore be gevin,
Vha shupe my saul to his similitude;
And to his Sone, whom he sent down from hevin,
Vhen I wes lost, to buy me with his blude;
And to the Holy Gost, my gyder gude,
Vho must confirme my faith to tak no fray.
In me cor mundum crea -- I conclude:
Peccavi Pater, miserere mei.

The Solsequium

Lyk as the dum
Solsequium,
With cair ouercum,
And sorou, vhen the sun goes out of sight,
Hings doun his head, And droups as dead,
And will not spread,
Bot louks his leavis throu langour of the nicht,
Till folish Phaeton ryse,
With vhip in hand,
To cleir the cristall skyis,
And light the land:
Birds in thair bour
Luiks for that hour,
And to thair prince ane glaid good-morou givis;
Fra thyn, that flour
List not to lour,
But laughis on Phoebus lousing out his leivis:

So fairis with me,
Except I be
Vhair I may se
My lamp of licht, my Lady and my Love.
Fra scho depairts,
Ten thousand dairts,
In sydrie airts,
Thirlis throu my hevvy hart, but rest or rove;
My countenance declairs
My inward grief;
Good hope almaist dispairs
To find relief.
I die -- I duyn --
Play does me pyn --
I loth on eury thing I look -- alace!

Till Titan myne
 Vpon me shyne,
 That I revive throu favour of hir face.

Fra she appeir
 Into hir spheir,
 Begins to cleir
 The dauing of my long desyrit day:
 Then Curage cryis
 On Hope to ryse,
 Fra he espyis
 My noysome nicht of absence worne auay.
 No wo, when I aualk,
 May me impesh;
 Bot, on my staitly stalk,
 I florish fresh.
 I spring -- I sprout --
 My leivis ly out --
 My colour changes in ane hartsum heu.
 No more I lout,
 Bot stands vp stout,
 As glade of hir, for whom I only greu.

O happie day!
 Go not auay.
 Apollo! stay
 Thy chair from going doun into the west:
 Of me thou mak
 Thy zodiak,
 That I may tak
 My plesur, to behold whom I love best,
 Thy presence me restores
 To lyf from death;
 Thy absence also shores
 To cut my breath.
 I wish, in vane,
 Thee to remane,
 Sen primum mobile sayis aluayis nay;
 Al leist thy wane
 Turn soon agane.
 Fareweill, with patience perforce, till day.

Endnotes

Chapter One

1. For brief essays on these poets see R.S.D. Jack, ed. The History of Scottish Literature, Vol. 1 (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1988). Ch.5. "William Dunbar and Gavin Douglas", Priscilla Bawcutt. Ch.6. "Sixteenth-Century Secular Poetry", George Kratzmann.
2. The "Castalians" were so named after the spring on Mount Parnassus, sacred to the Muses and a source of poetic inspiration.
J. Cranstoun, ed., The Poetry of Alexander Montgomerie (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1887), "Introduction".
R.D.S. Jack, ed. The History of Scottish Literature, Vol.1, Ch.8.
H.M. Shire. Song, Dance and Poetry of the Court Under King James VI (Cambridge: University Press, 1969).
3. H.M. Shire, Song, Dance and Poetry..., pp.96-97. Shire also attempts to attach each member of the Band to a specific Muse, but too many of the poets are inspired by a variety of the Muses, leaving Shire's pigeon-holing somewhat forced.
4. King James, The Essaies of a Prentise, in the Divine Art of Poesie (1584; rpt. Amsterdam: De Capo Press, Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1969).
5. Allan F. Westcott, ed., New Poems by James I of England (New York: Ams Press, 1966), xxix.
6. Westcott, *ibid.*, xlvi.
See also, David H. Willson, King James VI and I (London: Jonathan Cape, 1956), p.62.
7. R.D.S. Jack, Alexander Montgomerie (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1985), p.8.
8. Little notice was taken of Scottish poetry outside Scotland's borders (or even inside the borders). However, James' "Lepanta" was translated into French by du Bartas, who called James "the Apollo of our times" (Willson, p.66). This praise was probably a reciprocation of compliment

(James was much influenced by du Bartas and translated his "Uranie") rather than admiration of true genius. Some Scottish poetry was read in England, but little other work seems to have crossed the channel.

9. Shire, Song, Dance and Poetry..., pp.85 and 99.

10. Although Alexander Montgomerie uses seven different forms of the sonnet, the Spenserian is the most frequent. Jack, Alexander Montgomerie, p.39.

11. Perhaps James' choice derives from the same source as Shakespeare's Julius Caesar, who "doth bestride the narrow world/ Like a Colossus, and we petty men/ Walk under his huge legs" (I,ii,135-37).

12. Westcott, New Poems..., liii.

13. Westcott, *ibid.*, notes on pp.88-89.

Chapter Two

1. R.D.S. Jack, Alexander Montgomerie. See chapter entitled "Public and Dramatic Poetry". Works by Montgomerie are from the edition by James Cranstoun, The Poems of Alexander Montgomerie, and will be signified by title and number in the body of the essay. Examples of the poetry can be found at the end of this essay.

2. Cranstoun, *ibid.*, xxxv.

3. Historical information is an amalgamation of all I've read. See Shire, Jack and Willson.

4. H.H. Wood, ed., The Cherrie and the Slae (London: Faber and Faber, 1937), p.11. "Questioni d'amore" are poems in which the lover must choose to aspire to a lady of lofty heights, or be contented with one of a lower station, easily attained.

5. See Shire, p.126, notes 1 and 3.

6. The King's "staitlie style" is used both in poems of praise and rebuke (LXX) by Montgomerie.

7. The "Bairns of Beath" were a small group of poets which

formed around Montgomerie in his exile in South West Scotland, approximately 1593.

8. In 1580, Montgomerie, Richard Ramsay and Andro Martyne bought the "James Bonaventor" in England for £300. It was suspected that the boat was to be used in a Catholic plot.

9. Cranstoun's "Introduction" and "Appendices" give detailed information of the complexity surrounding the pension.

10. For Virgil's inappropriateness in this list, see notes to sonnet in Cranstoun and Shire. Virgil was restored to favour; Montgomerie was not. Perhaps the reference was a hopeful one, and is only ill-chosen when one has hindsight.

11. "To seek one's father's sword" was a colloquialism for going about one's business. The martial imagery is interesting, however.

12. a) Mark Dilworth, "New Light on Alexander Montgomerie", The Bibliothek (Glasgow: The University Library, 1965), Vol.4, No.6.

b) H.M. Shire, "Alexander Montgomerie: The opposition of court to conscience...", Studies in Scottish Literature (South Carolina: University of South Carolina Press, 1966), Vol.3, No.3.

13. Most of the Psalms can be found in the collection entitled The Mind's Melody, 1605.

14. R.D.S. Jack, Alexander Montgomerie. Section entitled "Religious Lyrics".

Chapter Three

1. Mausoleum is the volume which includes the epitaph by Drummond. There are other collections, one of which, Lachrymae Lachrymarum includes Donne's poem on Prince Henry.

2. French Rowe Fogle, A Critical Study of William Drummond of Hawthornden (Columbia University: King's Crown Press, 1952), p.92.

3. This is the opinion of both Fogle, p.176, and L.E. Kastner, ed., The Poetical Works of William Drummond

of Hawthornden (1913; rpt. New York: Haskell House Publishers, 1968), lxiii.

4. Two examples of Drummond's writing can be found in the appendices at the end of this paper.

5. "Conversations", Ben Jonson: The Complete Poems (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973), ll.96-97.

6. "Forth Feasting" had also been published with the 1616 edition of Drummond's Poems which, if not written in anticipation of the King's visit, makes it less of an "occasional" piece.

7. The use of the macrocosmic "All" and its microcosmic parallels is one aspect of what is called Drummond's "metaphysical" tendency. In his Cypresse Grove (1613), there are phrases extremely reminiscent of Donne's "Anniversary" poems (1611/1612). Drummond's library records him as having read "Jhone Done's lyriques" in 1613. Perhaps there was an influence. For example, lines 347-54 of Cypresse Grove:

But wee haue not yet attained to a perfect
Vnderstanding of the smallest Flower, and why the
Grasse should rather bee greene than red. The element
of Fire is quite put out...the Sunne is lost...

Compare Donne's First Anniversary, ll.205-207:

And new Philosophy cal's all in doubt,
The element of fire is quite put out;
The Sunne is lost, and th'earth...

and his Second Anniversary, ll.288-89:

Why grasse is greene, or why our blood is red,
Are mysteries which none haue reach'd vnto.

8. Perhaps Fogle's comment that "Forth Feasting", as an example of nauseous praise, is worth little merit or comment (pp.142-43), results from such sickly passages as the following:

By Wonder borne, by Wonder first enstall'd,
By Wonder after to new Kingdomes call'd,
Young kept by Wonder near home-bred Alarmes,
Old sau'd by Wonder from pale Traitors Harmes,

To be for this Thy Raigne which Wonders brings,
A King of Wonder, Wonder vnto Kings. (ll.289-94)

It is only a wonder that such a wonderful King need fear
"Alarmes" or "Traiteurs".

9. As well as Drummond's collection, 1616 saw the publication of the works of Shakespeare, Jonson and King James.

10. David Masson, Drummond of Hawthornden: The Story of his Life and Writings (London: MacMillan and Co., 1873), p.44.

Chapter Four

1. John Nichols, The Progresses of King James I... (1828; rpt. New York, 196). Volume 1 of this 4-volume set includes Sorrowes Ioy.
2. Ri. Parker in Sorrowes Ioy, p.4.
3. Thomas Goodrich in Sorrowes Ioy, p.6.
4. All from Sorrowes Ioy: i) I.G., p.10; ii) Henrie Campion, p.12; iii) Tho. Byng, p.8.
5. Plin. Fletcher in Sorrowes Ioy, p.22.
6. Ben Jonson's Plays and Masques, ed. Robert M. Adams (New York: W.W. Norton, 1979), vii.
7. James offered Jonson a knighthood which was either refused, or never materialized.
8. All poems of Jonson refer to Ben Jonson: The Complete Poems, ed. George Parfitt. They are organized under the titles: Epigrammes (Ep.); Underwoods (UW); Miscellaneous Poems (MP); Discoveries and Conversations.
9. Queen Anne's contribution to the masque was not so subtle: "Because her majesty...had commanded me to think on some dance or show that might precede hers, and have the place of a foil or false masque" (H/S, v.7, p.282), Jonson devised the hags which precede the Masque of Queens proper.

For the Masque of Blackness, "(because it was her Maiesties will, to haue them Black-mores at first) the inuention was deriued by me" (H/S, v.7, p.169).

10. Nichols, Progresses.... Hymen's Triumph is found in Vol.2. This comment is in Vol.2, p.754.

11. Herford and Simpson, eds., Ben Jonson, eds. C.H. Herford and P.E. Simpson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), Vol.2, p.2. Hymenaie. These volumes will be understood by references to H/S.

12. Meagher's statement that "the accuracy of historical correspondence is essentially irrelevant" is itself essentially irrelevant. Jonson's historical and topical allusions provide the needed balance to the otherwise "timeless" flattery of writing in praise of Kings.

John C. Meagher, Method and Meaning in Jonson's Masques (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1966), p.161.

13. Leah S. Marcus, "'Present Occasions' and the Shaping of Ben Jonson's Masques", ELH45 (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978), p.209.

14. Leah S. Marcus, "The Occasion of Ben Jonson's Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue" in SEL19 (Houston: Rice University, 1979).

15. Stephen Orgel, The Jonsonian Masque (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1965), p.175.

16. Jonson writes in his Discoveries: "The excess of feasts, and apparel, are the notes of a sick state" (ll.1182-3).

17. Robert Ashton, ed., James I By His Contemporaries (London: Hutchinson & Co., 1969), p.241. Cited from a letter by Horatio Busino to the Venetian Ambassador in London.

18. Ben Jonson, Bartholomew Fair, ed. G.H. Hibbard (London: New Mermaids, 1977), xxx.

19. Another example of Jonson's disapproval of royal policy can be seen in his comic attack on monopolies in The Devil is an Ass (H/S, Vol.6, p.143).

Chapter Five

1. John Donne. From a letter cited in R.C. Bald, John Donne: A Life (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970), p.299.
2. This woodcut is mentioned for its appropriateness to James' popular epithet as "the wisest fool in Christendom" (coined by to Henry IV, King of France). The woodcut is found in John Dreyfus, "The Invention of Spectacles and the Advent of Printing", The Bibliographical Society's The Library, Vol.10, No.2 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), p.99.
3. This is very similar to a statement made about the Puritans in Basilikon Doron: "I was oft calumniated in their populare Sermons, not for any euill or vice in me, but because I was a King, which they thought the highest euill" (Workes, p.160). It is interesting to note that for the very reason James was praised by courtiers -- not for any goodness in him, but because he was King -- he was perjured by the Puritans.
4. This tract was an answer to Cardinal du Perron, the spokesman for the French Clergy who were against an Oath similar to that of the English (Willson, p.241).
5. It is nice to know that James and his favourite, Buckingham, were not always swayed by money when it came to preferences for Church positions. Money and plate offered them by Bishop Goodman was refused by both (Willson, pp.198-99).
6. This is one selfish reason why James chose George Abbot over Lancelot Andrewes as the Archbishop in 1611. Andrewes saw the appointment as a divine gift, while Abbot remembered it was the King's.
7. Donne had received an M.A. from Oxford soon after his Pseudo Martyr appeared.
8. "It looks as if he was employed to correspond with agents abroad on affairs affecting the Church" (Bald, p.315).

9. George R. Potter and Evelyn M. Simpson, eds., The Sermons of John Donne (Berkley: University of California Press, 1953), vol.4, p.26, n.76.

10. Or, as the Lord Keeper wrote to the Earl of Arran (September, 1622): "that gracious Prince, who by word, writting, exercise of religion, Actes of Parliament, late direccions for Catechising & preaching, & all professions & indevours in the world hath demonstrated himselfe so resolu'd a Protestant" (Ashton, pp.197-98).

11. For the Union, see Sermons, I, p.227: "to give us a stronger body, and safer from all Changes... he hath made us a Kingdom of Kingdoms, and given us many Kingdoms to our Kingdom" and compare James 1603 Speech, Workes, p.489.

For the preferment of English laws, see Sermons, I, p.219: "he came to be a King by his obedience, his obedience to the laws of Nature, and the laws of this Kingdom" and compare James 1616 speech, Workes, p. 553: "my desire was to conforme the Lawes of Scotland to the Lawes of England, and not the Law of England to the Law of Scotland".

12. See Potter and Simpson, Sermons, vol.1.

13. Ironically, Chamberlain thought it "a very goode sermon" (cited on p.31 of Willson).

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