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**"Essex, that could vary himself into all shapes for a time":
The Second Earl of Essex in Jacobean England**

by

Maureen Claire King



**A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and
Research in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree of Doctor of Philosophy**

Department of English

Edmonton, Alberta

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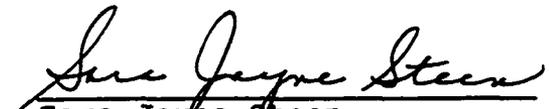
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Abstract

Most major studies of Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex, end with his 25 February 1601 execution for treason. However, assertions that the late Earl enjoyed only a brief literary revival early in the reign of Queen Elizabeth's successor King James are not entirely correct. A study of representations of the 2nd Earl of Essex in Jacobean England (1603-1625) reveals that the memory of Essex was very much alive throughout these years. Representations of the Earl intensify and vary in emphasis in response to and participation in a number of events and crises: the accession itself, the trial and eventual execution of Sir Walter Raleigh, the prospect of peace with Spain, the establishment of the court of the Prince of Wales, and the political crises of the 1620s. This study argues that the heroic tradition exploited by the 3rd Earl of Essex (son of the executed 2nd Earl) in the 1640s when he commanded a Parliamentary army was the product of a lengthy, complex, and sometimes contradictory myth-making process beginning with James's accession in 1603 and achieving its own momentum by the King's death in 1625.

The first chapter, as a necessary prelude to an examination of Jacobean portrayals of Essex, scrutinizes the relationship between Essex and James during the Earl's lifetime, and the King's attitude towards Essex between his execution and James's accession to the English throne. The second and third chapters examine the King's treatment of Essex's family and fellow rebels between 1603 and 1609, as

well as actual representations of Essex during these years. The fourth and fifth chapters consider the influence of the Essex-Raleigh relationship on Jacobean portrayals of Essex, investigating both Raleigh's involvement in the fall of Essex and the late Essex's involvement in the 1603 fall of Raleigh. The sixth chapter focuses upon the portrayal of Essex in an early Jacobean Latin epic, a portrayal which prefigures those examined in the seventh and final chapter, that on later Jacobean representations of Essex. This study considers appearances of Essex in a wide variety of sources, including ballads, poems, plays, trial transcripts, scaffold speeches, political tracts, and correspondence.

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Introduction

Most major studies of Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex, end, quite understandably, at that 25 February 1601 moment when he died a traitor's death within the grounds of the Tower of London, his head "seuered from his bodie by the axe at three stroakes" (Barlow E7r). Lately, however, that has begun to change. Gwyneth June Hutson, studying the role of the military participants in Essex's 8 February 1601 rebellion against Queen Elizabeth, recognizes the importance of investigating the positions of the surviving rebels in the final two years of Elizabeth's reign and in the reign of her successor James I. Paul E.J. Hammer's recent and very thorough work on Essex's political career between 1585 and 1597 provides a much-needed correction to the traditional image of the Earl as "a mere creature of the Court" (The Polarisation of Elizabethan Politics: The Political Career of Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex, 1585-1597 4). Restricting his analysis to these years, he avoids the tendency to interpret the Earl's earlier career from the perspective of his turbulent final years (Polarisation 5). The picture that emerges from this approach, and from Hammer's extensive consultation of primary sources, is one of Essex as "a truly substantial political figure" (Polarisation 7).

Hutson studies the military rebels in the Jacobean period; Hammer studies the Earl himself in select years of the late Elizabethan period. Missing to date is a consideration of the 2nd Earl of Essex in the Jacobean period. Few scholars have recognized the continuing presence and influence of Essex in Jacobean England. Mary Helen Fernald, for example, allows only that "There was one attempt to revive Essex's ghost," in the 1620s (194). Several other historians and literary scholars have briefly acknowledged the "Essex revivalism" (O'Callaghan 184) evident in the early years of James's reign. Simon L. Adams notes the "Essex revival" that accompanied James's 1603 accession to the English throne, but describes it as an "ephemeral phenomenon" ("The Protestant Cause: Religious Alliance With the Western European Calvinist Communities as a Political Issue in England, 1585-1630" 174).

A consideration of scholarship on the 3rd Earl of Essex, son of Elizabeth's executed traitor, reveals inconsistencies in the assertions of Adams and Fernald. J.S.A. Adamson explores the propaganda which surrounded the 3rd Earl of Essex forty years later when he was Lord General of the Parliamentary army. Adamson details the repeated emphasis on the 3rd Earl's connection with his noble and heroic father: "Parliamentarian propaganda syncretised the fame of the rebel earl of 1601 . . . with the name and public image of his son, the parliamentarian 'rebel' of 1642" (187). In a September

1642 public speech, Parliamentarian Lord Robartes declared to the 3rd Earl, "'I need not to commemorate here the noble actions of your worthy father'" (Adamson 187). When the 3rd Earl died in 1646, a "spate of epicedian verses" appeared, commemorating him as the son of the great Elizabethan Essex (Adamson 187).

If the executed 2nd Earl of Essex enjoyed only a brief revival in early Jacobean England, and then vanished from the political landscape, how was it possible forty years later for his son and other Parliamentarians to draw upon a heroic tradition associated with the 2nd Earl? How did the man whom Fernald mistakenly states could never become a "posthumous source of anti-Stuart feeling" (194) become a part of the "romanticised Elizabethan past of knightly heroes and of godly campaigns against the Antichrist" (Adamson 187-88) in which the 3rd Earl of Essex and his fellow Parliamentarians located their cause? This study of representations of the 2nd Earl of Essex in Jacobean England addresses these questions, arguing that the heroic tradition the 3rd Earl of Essex exploited in the 1640s was the product of a lengthy, complex, and sometimes contradictory myth-making process beginning with King James's accession in 1603 and achieving its own momentum by the King's death in 1625. In the intervening years, representations of Essex intensify at certain periods and their emphases vary in response to and participation in a number of events and

crises: the accession itself, the trial and eventual execution of Sir Walter Raleigh, the prospect of peace with Spain, the establishment of the court of the Prince of Wales, and the political crises of the 1620s.

Previous literary scholarship on Essex has illuminated-- and complicated--his connections with figures such as Spenser and Shakespeare. Over the course of twenty years Ray Heffner, Charles E. Mounts, and Kenneth Thorpe Rowe argued over Essex as the inspiration for The Faerie Queene's Sir Calidore, Knight of Courtesy.¹ Heffner and Evelyn May Albright disagreed in the pages of the PMLA in the late 1920s and early 1930s over the identity of the Globe play commissioned by some of the Essex conspirators the night before the rebellion.² Shakespeare scholars earlier this century named Essex as the inspiration for any number of characters: Bolingbroke, Hamlet, Antony, Achilles.

More recent scholars have approached the same texts somewhat differently. Karin S. Coddon, indebted to the work of Louis Montrose, argues in her discussion of madness in Hamlet and Essex for a more complex affinity than a "one-to-one correspondence" (52).³ Eric S. Mallin, similarly indebted, makes a similar argument about Essex's relationship to characters in Troilus and Cressida; "A simple substitution of vehicles for the Essex tenor is inadequate" (168).⁴ The questions surrounding the Globe performance of the play on

Richard II continue to provoke scholarly disagreement. Leeds Barroll carefully examines the documentary evidence to determine exactly how dangerous the authorities believed the performance was, criticizing Stephen Greenblatt and Jonathan Dollimore for being too quick "to build an interpretation that emphasizes the importance of drama as a "'power to subvert'" ("A New History for Shakespeare and His Time" 445).

The relevant sources for this study are very different. Ballads, poems, plays, trial transcripts, scaffold speeches, political tracts, correspondence--anywhere Essex appears in Jacobean England. The first chapter, as a necessary prelude to an examination of Jacobean portrayals of Essex, scrutinizes the relationship between Essex and James during the Earl's lifetime and the King's attitude towards Essex between his execution and James's accession to the English throne. The second and third chapters examine the King's treatment of Essex's family and fellow rebels between 1603 and 1609, as well as actual representations of Essex during these years. The fourth and fifth chapters consider the influence of the Essex-Raleigh relationship on Jacobean portrayals of Essex, dealing with both Raleigh and the fall of Essex and Essex and the fall of Raleigh. The sixth chapter focuses upon the portrayal of Essex in an early Jacobean Latin epic, a portrayal which prefigures those examined in the final chapter, that on later Jacobean representations of Essex.

The process by which Essex emerges at the end of James's reign as a heroic figure is a complicated one. The King himself was partially responsible for promoting an image of Essex which, while serving the King's needs at the time, would ultimately turn back on the Stuarts. Hammer's careful work on Essex reveals the Earl to have been a truly important Elizabethan; this work seeks to reveal him as an important Jacobean.

Notes

¹ In a heated exchange, Heffner advances Essex as the model for Sir Calidore ("Essex, the Ideal Courtier" 7), while Mounts maintains that "Sir Calidore is modeled upon both Sidney and Essex" ("Spenser and the Earl of Essex" 13). According to Rowe, "not one of the arguments advanced in favor of Essex holds up under examination" (136).

² Heffner denies a connection between Shakespeare and Essex ("Shakespeare, Hayward, and Essex" 754). Albright, on the other hand, argues vigorously that the controversial play was indeed Shakespeare's ("Shakespeare's Richard II, Hayward's History of Henry IV, and the Essex Conspiracy" 694).

³ Coddon writes that "Whether Shakespeare's reflections were actually prompted by the ill-fated career of the queen's last favorite is ultimately less important than the pervasive crisis of inwardness and authority, enacted in Hamlet, acted upon by the Earl of Essex" (71).

⁴ Mallin suggests that the image of Essex actually bifurcates in Hector and Achilles (168): "Neither Hector nor Achilles is a monochrome block of separable signification" (167).

Chapter 1: Essex and James, 1587-1603

I. Introduction

The 1603 accession of King James VI of Scotland to the English throne as James I marked a pivotal moment in the life of the Essex myth. James's attitude towards the executed Elizabethan traitor was to prove enormously influential in portrayals of Essex for decades to come. An understanding of the complexities of representations of Essex in Jacobean England, representations crucial to the version of the Earl his son inherited and later exploited as a Parliamentary general in the Civil War, requires first a careful examination of both the relationship between Essex and the King during the Earl's lifetime and James's attitude towards Essex in the period between his execution and James's accession to the English throne. The ambiguity evident in James's attitude towards the late Earl in the early years of his English reign is traceable to his relationship with and attitude towards Essex between 1587 and 1603. Just as James's close relationship with Essex in the decade preceding the Earl's execution influenced the King's later promotion of Essex as a hero, so too did James's doubts about the motives of Essex and his rising make themselves apparent in that same sometimes equivocal promotion.

II. 1587-1601

The first contact between Essex and the Scottish King may date as early as the aftermath of the 8 February 1587 execution of James's mother Mary Stuart. In a letter dated simply from Greenwich "this 18 of Aprill" (Bodleian MS Tanner 79 f. 89r), Essex appeals to James on behalf of the disgraced Secretary William Davison, "the official scapegoat for Elizabeth's wrath, guilt and ambivalence" (McCoy, "Lord of Liberty: Francis Davison and the Cult of Elizabeth" 216) over the execution of the Queen of Scots. The Star Chamber had sentenced Davison to imprisonment and a heavy fine for delivering the warrant for Mary's execution (McCoy, "Lord of Liberty" 216). Essex's 18 April letter, which does not specify the year,¹ implores the King to intercede in Davison's favour. The Earl informs James that the unfortunate man, fallen into Elizabeth's "displeasure & disgrace," is barred from preferment or restoration unless the King, out of the "honor & noblenes" of his royal heart, undertakes Davison's cause (Bodleian MS Tanner 79 f. 89r).

We have no evidence of James's response to this request. Davison was released from prison in November 1588, did not pay his fine, and continued receiving his Secretarial annuity after James's accession (Wernham 632-33). In 1607 James confirmed him as Clerk of the King's Bench (McCoy, "Lord of Liberty" 217). His disgrace thus was not total, but James's

intercession on his behalf seems highly unlikely, at least in April 1587. In a letter of late February that year James had written to Elizabeth to assure her that he believed her innocent in the execution of his mother:

Whereas by your letter and bearer Robert Carey, your servant and ambassador, ye purge yourself of yon unhappy fact, as on the one part considering your rank, sex, consanguinity, and long professed goodwill to the defunct, together with your many and solemn attestations of your innocency, I dare not wrong you so far as not to judge honourably of your unspotted part therein. (Akrigg, Letters of King James VI & I 84)

James would probably not intercede on behalf of the man bearing the blame for Mary's death, either in 1587 or in 1590. His closing remarks in the letter reveal his anxiety about the effect of his mother's execution on his prospects for the English throne.

James, however, did make overtures to Essex about a year and a half after Mary's execution. He sent the Earl two letters following the September 1588 death of Essex's step-father the Earl of Leicester, his mother Lettice Knollys's second husband, whom James had considered "the meetest and only man in England to serve his purpose" (HMC Salisbury 3: 359). Among James's instructions for the Scottish ambassador Archibald Douglas upon his September 1588 trip to England is one "To do his commendations to my Lord of Essex upon two letters written to him by his Majesty . . . and to report unto him my lord's mind towards him" (HMC Salisbury 3: 360). As

the King sought to re-establish support at the English court, he approached the Earl of Essex. Helen Georgia Stafford writes that "Already the man who was to be the central figure in the next decade had secured the attention of the Scottish King" (26).

Essex's mind towards James is apparent in his next known attempts to communicate with the Scottish monarch, in the autumn of 1589. The Earl, in the very early stages of developing an extensive foreign intelligence network in an effort to prove his worth as one of Elizabeth's counsellors (Polarisation 152), sought, along with his sister Lady Penelope Rich, to establish a secret correspondence with the possible heir to the English throne. Thomas Fowler, one of Lord Burghley's agents in Scotland (Hammer, Polarisation 91), informs Burghley of the details of the "secret" correspondence in a 7 October 1589 letter. Each participant had a "nickname," and Richard Douglas, one of the Scottish participants, possessed "a long scroll, as an alphabet of cipher to understand them by" (HMC Salisbury 3: 435). Essex was "Ernestus," Penelope "Ryalta," James "Victor," and Elizabeth "Pallas" (HMC Salisbury 3: 435).² Lady Penelope, Fowler informs Burghley, "writes the most part thereof in her brother's behalf, so as they shall be showed to the King . . . which they were" (HMC Salisbury 3: 435). According to Fowler's 8 November 1589 letter to Burghley, James was not

impressed with their efforts. Fowler writes, "Roger Dalton will be at London shortly, and if Victor return shortly, he thinks to bring new matter from Ernestus, Ricardo, and Rialta The best is, Victor regards not their offers much, and the instruments are worst rewarded of all that ever came here of that nation, which discourages somewhat their proceedings" (HMC Salisbury 3: 443).

Stafford notes that at this time James was preoccupied with his wedding arrangements, and may also have responded coolly to Essex's letters because he was still on good terms with Lord Burghley and not in need of Essex's services in England (48). In March 1589 James considered Elizabeth's Lord Treasurer to be "the first and gravest counsellor of Europe" (CSP Scotland 10: 11). Burghley's 21 March 1589 letter to Fowler demonstrates that the Lord Treasurer was then defending James to the Queen: "The Queen hath conceived a great misliking of the contrarious proceedings of the King, but yet I do require her to hope better of the end, considering the King's devotion in religion, and the diversity of government there, that he hath not so absolute authority as she hath" (CSP Scotland 10: 14). When James sent John Carmichael to London in 1590, he ended his note to Burghley with the words, "He [Carmichael] hes direction to use youre advyce in all my effaire" (CSP Scotland 10: 320).

Elizabeth too was unimpressed with Essex's attempted correspondence of 1589. Fowler's letters to Burghley indicate that the Queen's chief counsellor knew the details of the "secret" communication, and Elizabeth reprimanded Essex for his attempt to establish secret contacts with the Scottish monarch. In a 13 April 1594 letter to Essex, when the two had re-established contact, James tells the Earl, "allthoch I have this long tyme forborne the writting unto you because of the vronge ye receavid thairthrough, suppoise not in my default, but in the default of thaim, that vaire employed betuixt us" (Birch 1: 175). By 1594 Essex, more keen than ever to establish his position with James as the Scottish monarch became "increasingly visible on the English political landscape" (MacCaffrey 532), had learned more discretion as he sought in earnest to consolidate his position with Elizabeth and influence her war policy in part through gathering foreign intelligence. While a number of Privy Councillors had been involved in this activity, in the 1580s Sir Francis Walsingham "had sought to centralise and dominate intelligence gathering" (Hammer, Polarisation 155). After the death of his father-in-law Walsingham in 1590, Essex, with the assistance of Francis Bacon, engaged himself seriously in the pursuit of foreign intelligence (Hammer, "'Sparke'" 101).³

Essex's development of an intelligence network outside England in the early 1590s included a number of Scottish

sources, as well as his Continental contacts. The Earl shared much of his Scottish communication with the Queen. In a letter of about August 1595, he writes to John Maitland, Lord Thirlestane, "I receyve nothing but with my Soveraynes privitie, nor write to you any thing but by her Majesties direction" (HMC Mar and Kellie 37). As Hammer points out, "These were links by which Essex openly sought to further her [the Queen's] service in Scotland, just as he conducted intelligence activities on her behalf in other foreign countries" (Hammer, Polarisation 171).

In addition to these contacts about which he informed the Queen, however, Essex also entered once more into a secret and indirect communication with James (Hammer, Polarisation 171). Such a communication was extremely dangerous at this time, for in the 1590s the Queen severely sanctioned others who declared in favour of James. When Member of Parliament Peter Wentworth attempted to press Elizabeth on the matter of the succession in 1593 and pronounced for the right of James in his 1594 A Discourse Containing the Author's Opinion of the True and Lawful Successor to Her Majesty, the Queen sent him to the Tower, where he died in 1597 (Neale 261-65). Essex, however, considering the future and his own position under the next monarch, risked Elizabeth's anger and assiduously cultivated James's favour. Other politicians, of course, could hardly discount James in their own calculations, but did not risk

making any public gesture towards him (MacCaffrey 532). As Wallace MacCaffrey notes, "in the course of the 1590s, Essex, alone among the great nobles, set out to woo James" (532).

The secret contact between Essex and James in the early 1590s began as a communication between Anthony Bacon in England and David Foulis or James Hudson in Scotland. According to Hammer, whose consideration of Essex's intelligence network at this time is extensive, "By early 1594, Bacon's contacts with Foulis encouraged James to enter into 'une mutuelle intelligence' with him--and hence also with Essex" (Polarisation 168). Foulis or Hudson sent news of Scotland for Essex in England, while Bacon reported on English affairs to the Scottish contacts for delivery to James (Hammer, Polarisation 168). The sensitive issue of the succession necessitated maximum discretion: "Secrecy, deniability and reliance upon the pens of friends and servants . . . characterised the communications between Essex and James" (Hammer, Polarisation 168-69).

By 1594, James considered Essex capable of protecting the King's English interests and influencing the Queen. In his 13 April 1594 letter to Essex, James recommends his ambassadors to the Earl and requests him to protest the secret communication between Lord Zouche, the Queen's ambassador in Scotland, and the treacherous Earl of Bothwell (Birch 2: 175). Telling Essex that no less than "the amitie so long and

happellie contineuid betwixt the tuo crounis" is at stake, he exhorts the Earl to assist the Queen with his "good advyce," not suffering her "to be syled and abused any longer with suche as praeferre thaire particulaire and unhonest affections to the quenis princelie honoure, and peax of both the realmes" (Birch 2: 175).

An undated letter from Essex to James in which Essex praises the King effusively and declares his own loyalty may have been a response to James's April 1594 letter. The Earl writes, he says, to give "a taste of the affections of my heart, which breath only after the properous success of a king of so much worth, whose servant I am born by nature, and by duty am obliged to exercise all the powers both of my mind and body in advancing his designs" (Birch 2: 176). The Earl's closing lines indicate the clandestine nature of his relationship with the probable heir to the English throne: "while I want apt words to reveal the thoughts of my grateful heart, I am determind to shadow them with the veil of silence, untill some happy revolution of time shall turn my inside outward, and give a public demonstration of my loyalty" (Birch 2: 176). The case of Peter Wentworth amply demonstrated the consequences of turning one's inside outward regarding King James and the succession.

The special affection that Essex had cultivated in James by 1594 is particularly evident in a 24 July letter that year

from Foulis to Anthony Bacon. Foulis explains that James, who promises to recompense the Earl in due time, "est bien aise d'avoir recouvert en sa person Sire Philipe Sydnay" (British Library MS Additional 4125 f. 164r). Hammer notes that Essex constantly invoked the memory of Sidney through his own actions after Sidney's death,⁴ and so James intended his compliment to resonate particularly powerfully with the Earl ("Sparke" 112). From Essex's perspective, no other praise could have been higher.⁵

The Earl in return made various demonstrations of his loyalty to James. In January 1597 he refused to aid two Scottish Presbyterian ministers requesting his protection in England. Although the ministers had for some time "plied the earl with intelligence" hoping that he would encourage the Queen to coerce James into an alliance against the Catholics, Essex was not prepared, for their sake, to compromise the relationship he had so carefully developed with James (Hammer, Polarisation 172-73). He replied to the ministers that, although he had drawn as best he could on Elizabeth's "princely and christian compassion," she had answered that he should by no means yield to their appeal, for doing so would "offend the King to the prejudice of the amity between their Majesties" (HMC Salisbury 7: 10). Essex must also have considered that protection for the ministers in England would

offend James to the prejudice of the amity between himself and the King.

The political motivations underlying the Essex-James relationship are clear. Essex supported James partially in order to secure himself against the inevitable death of the aging Elizabeth. Essex found the Scottish King the most palatable choice for the next English monarch. The alternative of the principal foreign rival, the Catholic Spanish Infanta, was abhorrent to Essex, inheritor of the Sidney mantle of militant Protestantism. Equally repugnant to the Earl was the prospect of one of his own countrymen elevated above him as Elizabeth's successor (Hammer, Polarisation 169). Hammer suggests that the Earl's reluctance for a domestic successor to Elizabeth was manifested in his hostility towards Lord Beauchamp, the Earl of Hertford's son and heir (Hammer, Polarisation 169), who, as a Seymour, was a possible claimant to the English throne. In an August 1594 letter to Lord Willoughby, Captain John Buck mentions the Earl's evident dislike of Lord Beauchamp: "'My Lord of Essex will not like anything ill my Lord Becham [Beauchamp] doth'" (HMC Ancaster 315). James McManaway proposes, although without conclusive evidence, that in 1598 Essex may have provided James with "a potent weapon of propaganda" in his campaign to win the English throne. McManaway contends that Essex may have sent James a manuscript of the second part of

Wentworth's A Pithie Exhortation, which was published in Edinburgh in 1598, a year after Wentworth's death (224-25).

The relationship between Essex and James also made sense from the King's perspective. The Scottish monarch required a powerful supporter at the English court, and believed by the mid-1590s that Essex was sufficiently influential to serve in that capacity (Hammer, Polarisation 170). Essex, returning to England in 1592 after the Rouen campaign, realized he would neither advance himself nor promote the cause of substantial aid to France by military action alone, and devoted himself to matters of state (Hammer, Polarisation 112). His elevation to the Privy Council in February 1593 marked his successful transformation from soldier to politician (Hammer, Polarisation 119-20). By 1595 he was a Councillor of eminence in military matters and foreign affairs, and the English politician whom various Continental leaders, including the French King, the Grand Duke of Tuscany, and the Stadtholder of the United Provinces, considered a powerful intermediary with Queen Elizabeth (MacCaffrey 491). Essex was also step-son of Leicester and son-in-law of Walsingham, who before their deaths had been James's strongest supporters in England.

Numerous scholars, however, also register the importance of James's perception of Essex as a rival of the Cecils (Hammer, Polarisation 167; MacCaffrey 533; Stafford 73); the Earl's ascendancy in James's favour was concurrent with the

deteriorating relationship between the Scottish King and Lord Burghley and his son, Sir Robert Cecil. While James still trusted Burghley when he sent Carmichael to England in 1590, by the middle of that decade he had a very unfavourable opinion of the Cecils. In 1594 he actually believed that they favoured the house of Hertford in the matter of the English succession. In a set of instructions written in his own hand in April 1594, probably for an envoy who departed for the Continent at the beginning of May, he writes of Lord Zouche's failed mission to Scotland in 1594,⁶ "Remember Zouchis person, one of my motheris jurie and enemy to my title, being Burlyis dependar who favouris the house of Hartforde" (Cameron 2: 43).

James's dislike of the Cecils, however, arose primarily from their positions as Elizabeth's chief administrators. Theirs was the responsibility to dispatch the Queen's sharp or patronizing letters to James during the years of the gradual growth of trust between Essex and the King, and they were responsible for "implementing her disruptive and contradictory policies towards Scotland" (Hammer, Polarisation 167). James also blamed the Cecils for late payments or reductions of his pension. When the King was unhappy with his English pension in early 1593 Burghley instructed the ambassador Robert Bowes to answer James's objection to his reduced annuity by explaining Elizabeth's financial straits resulting from English expenditures in France and the Low Countries (CSP

Scotland 11: 19-20). When Elizabeth reduced James's pension in 1596 his agent David Foulis ascribed the cut to the Lord Treasurer (Hammer, Polarisation 167). According to Anthony Bacon's letter to Essex at the time, David Foulis maintained James would be displeased if he accepted the Lord Treasurer's deduction of the "accustomed gratuity" as authentic without Elizabeth's approval (Lambeth Palace Library, Papers of Anthony Bacon MS 659 f. 18r). Foulis still resented the Cecils' role in the matter when he left for Scotland in October. According to a letter from Anthony Bacon to Essex, before departing Foulis had written him about Cecil's behaviour, a note which, Bacon says, "made me blush all alone in reading it to see my sovereigne as he well observed so ill served and a king . . . so absurdly scorned w[i]th dangerous and damnable insolency" (LPL MS 659 f. 244r). Upon his return to Scotland, Foulis reported to Roger Aston, who informed Sir Robert Cecil, that Foulis imputed the cause of the pension reduction "to proceed rather from my Lord your father and your Honour's self than of any disposition of her Majesty" (CSP Scotland 12: 349).

James also had cool regard for the Cecils concerning English support for the Earl of Bothwell. In 1592 the English government, unable to prompt James to act against the Catholic nobles in the Spanish blanks affair, considered employing Bothwell against them, and in January 1593 the King, according

to Burghley's letter to Robert Bowes, was offended at "Bothwell's relieving in England" (CSP Scotland 11: 19). He directed his anger at the Cecils, for Bowes writes to Elizabeth that James's "heart is utterly void of any suspicion that your Majesty was Privy to Bothwell's action, yet that he could not acquit so clearly some of your councillors" (CSP Scotland 11: 172). In December 1594, Richard Cockburn observes to Bowes that, following revelations of the Cecils' dealings with Bothwell, "I find a vehement impression in his Majesty of the professed evil will of Burghley and Sir Robert Cecil towards him" (CSP Scotland 11: 493).

James was still incensed over the Cecils' traffic with Bothwell as late as 1598, when Sir Robert Cecil, on embassy to France, met with Bothwell in Rouen (Stafford 201). George Nicolson's 15 April 1598 letter to Lord Burghley informs him that "At the King's going to Stirling (as I am secretly told) he 'regrated' to the Earl of Mar in great anger about Bothwell's meeting with Mr. Secretary, your son, at Rouen (Roan), saying he was advertised that Bothwell had agreed to come to trouble his country and England to aid him" (CSP Scotland 13 [1]: 211). Although James apparently accepted Cecil's denial regarding his dealings with Bothwell--James Hudson assures Cecil in a 29 May 1598 letter that "the King holds himself satisfied with your words to me in the matter of Bothwell" (CSP Scotland 13 [1]: 211)--the issue concerned the

King until at least August 1598 (CSP Scotland 13 [1]: 263, 272). James was indignant as well when Bothwell's former associate John Colville, a man "most odious to the King" (CSP Scotland 13 [1]: 556), met with a cordial reception in London in 1599. George Nicolson, one of Elizabeth's agents in Scotland, tells Cecil in an August letter that the King "blames Mr. Jo: Colville and has heard your Honour was his entertainer" (CSP Scotland 13 [1]: 544). A year earlier James had judged entertainment of Colville as evidence of support for Bothwell; according to one of Nicolson's dispatches to Sir Robert Cecil, the King "was earnest to know of Mr. Jo: Colville," believing that "by Mr. John's being anywhere he may suspect the like of the other [Bothwell]" (CSP Scotland 13 [1]: 272).

James considered support for Colville as a threat to his claim to the English throne. When James received "the thing drawn by Mr. Jo: Colville against the King's title to England" in September 1599, he reportedly raged against it and swore revenge on Colville's "entertainers," of whom he still suspected Cecil to be one (CSP Scotland 13 [1]: 551-52). In the same letter Nicolson elaborates upon James's suspicions about Cecil. If, as James has heard, Cecil indeed "said that he knew her Majesty wished none but the King to succeed her," then Cecil would "sure enter into intelligence with him and

show better good will" (CSP Scotland 13 [1]: 551)--presumably as Essex had done in the previous decade.

Others in Scotland also favoured Essex over the Cecils in Scotland in the late 1590s. A Scottish report of 1597 describes Essex's reputation among the Scottish nobility as honorable, mild, noble, and temperate, while that of Lord Burghley is "bludie, cruell and conscienceles" (HMC Salisbury 14: 22). Someone favouring the claim of the Spanish Infanta observed in England in 1599 that the Scots took Essex to be James's "greatest friend" (PRO SP 12/270 no. 47 f. 76r). When Burghley died in early August 1598 some in Scotland believed, as Nicolson tells Cecil, "their greatest 'unfrende' is gone" (CSP Scotland 13 [1]): 259). As several scholars have observed, the position of the Cecils under the new monarch would have been very different had Elizabeth died in the late 1590s rather than in 1603 (Hammer, "'Sparke'" 114; MacCaffrey 533). So convinced was Essex of his standing with James that as the Earl's favour at the English court declined and he resorted eventually to rebellion, he looked to Scotland and to King James for assistance.

James himself was anxious about Essex's confinement after his return from Ireland. The King inquired of Henry Lee, who reported back to Sir Robert Cecil, about "'the hope of my lord of Essex liberty'" (Bain 2: 654). Immediately after informing Cecil of the inquiry, Lee writes, "'But why should I trouble

your honor with these litle impertinent thinges, which are scarce worth the wrytynge'" (Bain 2: 654). Cecil would not have considered inquiries about Essex from the probable heir to the English throne "scarce worth the wrytynge." The devious Lee, whom Essex supporters employed to approach James during the Earl's confinement, may have known this.

Following Essex's 1599 return from his disastrous Lord Lieutenancy in Ireland in 1599 and his subsequent exclusion from the court, Essex and his confederates considered several schemes involving the Scottish King's aid. According to Southampton's confession, Mountjoy, foreseeing Essex's ruin after his commitment to custody, "desieringe to saue him if it mought bee, had sent a messenger to the King of Skottes to wishe him to bethinke him self, and not suffer, if hee could hinder it, the gouerment of this state to bee wholly in the handes of his ennemies" (Bruce 96). Essex's secretary Henry Cuffe claimed in his confession to have had no knowledge of the particulars of the letter at the time but had learned them later (PRO SP 12/279 no. 5 f. 8r). According to Cuffe, Mountjoy "sent to the king of Scotts by Henry Lea" (PRO SP 12/279 no. 5 f. 8r) to assure the King that Essex himself had no pretensions to the English throne--he was "free from those ambitious conceipts which some of his ennemyes had sought to posses the worlde with all"--and to encourage James to make

some sort of declaration for the throne during Elizabeth's lifetime (Bruce 102).

Mountjoy, who had not yet departed for Ireland to replace Essex, showed Southampton James's response, in which the King replied that he "would think of it, and putt himself in a rediness to take any good occation" (Bruce 96). Although MacCaffrey characterizes James's reply as "generally although rather vaguely encouraging" (534), Mountjoy found the response favourable enough to approach James further about the project. Shortly before his departure for Ireland, Mountjoy sent Henry Lee again to the Scottish monarch, this time with an offer to assist the King with the army in Ireland (Bruce 96, 103). Southampton himself then wrote to James, as he confesses, "professinge myself to be willinge to doe him seruice, as farr as I mought with my alleagance to her Majestie, and by the messenger sent him woord that in this course I would assist him with my endeauors and my person" (Bruce 96). Southampton and Mountjoy received no reply until after the latter had left for Ireland (Bruce 97) in February 1600. The messenger from James eventually "brought for answer that hee lyked the course well, and would prepare for it" (Bruce 97).

Exactly what Essex's supporters requested of James is not entirely clear. Conspirator Charles Danvers testified that Mountjoy's intention was that James "shoulde shew him selfe only vppon the borders, and by his ambassador's assistance

make all men see that the enterprise was for th'establishment of the succession, and not for private ambition" (Bruce 103). James's delayed response sabotaged the plan, whatever it was, for by the time his answer reached Essex's supporters in England, the forces which Mountjoy had intended for the enterprise had already settled at Lough Foyle (Bruce 103). Mountjoy, concentrating on his duties in Ireland and assured of Essex's safety, withdrew from the Scottish negotiations at this time and rejected the plan for a march on London as, according to Southampton, "a thinge which hee could in no way thinke honest" (Bruce 97). Charles Danvers elaborates in his examination:

though he [Mountjoy] had been lead before, out of the oppinion he had to doe his contry good by the establishment of the succession, and to deliuer my Lord of Essex out of the danger he was in, yet now his lyfe apeered to be safe, to restore his fortune only, and saue him selfe from the dainger which hunge over him by discouvery of the former project, and to satisfye my Lord of Essex' priuate ambission, he would not enter into an enterprise of that nature. (Bruce 103-04)

Although in the aftermath of the rebellion Essex himself never admitted any attempted involvement of the Scottish King, he may have sought James's aid even before he left for Ireland in the spring of 1599. His fellow conspirator Sir Christopher Blount confessed after the uprising, "even at his going into Ireland, to have practised with Scotland" (HMC Salisbury 11: 49). Henry Cuffe, too, intimated that Essex had sought James's assistance well before the rebellion. In answer to

the articles proposed by the Privy Council following the rebellion he stated that, although he was unable to affirm the extent of "the intelligence of my Lord of Essex with that King," he was sure "it hath been for at least these two yeares" (Bruce 86). Essex's intentions, as Cuffe understood them, were to assure James of his "good affection" and to hinder the designs of the Spanish Infanta (Bruce 86). Cuffe asserted that he had seen one of Essex's communications to the King, a full page letter in which the Earl denied that he himself sought the throne and requested the King to employ in England "somme well qualified and confident person, well instructed, with whome his Lordship might securely conferre" (Bruce 86).

Although information about Essex's contact with James during the Earl's confinement is rather shadowy, he did attempt to involve James in some kind of action in December 1600, less than two months before the rebellion. Cuffe reports in his examination that he, Essex, Southampton, and Sir Charles Danvers drafted a letter to James asking him to send the Earl of Mar to London by the first of February (PRO SP 12/279 no. 5. f. 8r). This letter, which survives only in a copy transcribed by an unknown person who claims to have taken it "immediatly" from that written in the Earl's own hand, urges James to "be first declared in this busines" and act against those in England who practise against him (BL MS

Additional 31022 f. 107r). The bookseller John Norton carried the letter north to Scotland, and James, in accordance with Essex's request, replied in code.⁷ The King's answer, Cuffe says, "was it which the Earle caried about him in a blacke purse" (PRO SP 12/279 no. 5 f. 8r-v). The Queen's ministers had already searched for this black bag, for on 16 February John Peyton, Lieutenant of the Tower, received an order to inspect Essex's quarters for "some paper in a blacke cover fitte for her Majesty's sight" (Acts of the Privy Council of England 31: 166).⁸ Essex, during a thorough search by Peyton, maintained that he had burned the contents of the bag, "an aduertysment sent vnto him, and not of his owne hande, but wryten by an other man," along with various other papers (Bruce 81).

Essex likewise burned the document he had prepared to give the Earl of Mar upon his anticipated arrival in England (PRO SP 12/279 no. 5 f. 8v). Cuffe, however, related its contents to Cecil, "the verie wordes and methode of the originall it selfe," so far as he could remember them, following the rebellion. Essex urged James to declare his right to the English throne because he had infallible proof that some in the Queen's favour, being "of extraordinary both power and malice," intended to interfere with the succession (CSP Scotland 13 [2]: 785). Essex pointed to the concentration of power in the hands of those "principally

loved" by James's enemy, Sir Robert Cecil--Sir Walter Raleigh, Lord Cobham, Lord Treasurer Buckhurst and Lord Admiral Nottingham, Cecil's brother Lord Burghley--and offered nine arguments supporting the contention that "all their counsels and endeavours tended to the advancement of the Infanta to the succession of this Crown" (CSP Scotland 13 [2]: 786). These instructions, as Cuffe recalls them, bear a close resemblance to the contents of the Christmas 1600 letter.

These allegations, of course, were groundless, fabrications of the desperate Essex as he sought support for his attempt to remove his enemies and restore his own power. Even had the Earl preserved the instructions for the ambassador, Mar would not have received them, for, although James did indeed send him to England, Mar did not reach London until 6 March (Stafford 220), well after the date Essex had specified in his Christmas letter and after the Earl was already dead. While Stafford acknowledges that, due to "the slow transportation of the age and the difficulties of communication in the winter season," James's delay in sending Mar does not necessarily indicate the King's hesitancy, she notes also that James had been cautious and guarded in his responses to the appeals of Essex and his supporters at this time (220).

King James was aware of the rebellion in time to reissue instructions to Mar and his fellow ambassador, Edward Bruce,

Abbot of Kinloss. In early February he had instructed them to "temper and frame all your dealing with the Queen or Council by the advice of my friends there, whose counsel ye shall directly follow in all your behaviour there And if that actually they perform their promises on their part, I give you by these present of my own hand ample power to give them full assurance of my assisting them accordingly" (Akrigg, Letters 169-70). James's revised instructions to Mar and Kinloss, headed "Notes for my ambassadors anent this accident," and thus issued after news of the rebellion reached Edinburgh, advises the ambassadors that, "If turns be remediable," they are to follow the advice of his friends as to whether or not to take action (Akrigg, Letters 170). He instructs them further:

And if they be resolved that they lack nothing but a head to enter in plain action with it, assure them I shall be as willing and ready to supply that place as they can be to desire me, only with that old reservation of the safety of the Queen's person, which ye maun take them sworn t[o]. Akrigg, Letters 170)

James anticipated, however, that the situation might well be beyond saving; in that case, he told Mar and Kinloss to "use then all the means ye can to get me a party there and assure them that I can neither with honour nor surety disguise myself any longer" (Akrigg, Letters 170). By early April Mar and Kinloss were to determine the state of affairs in England and further the King's interests there, assuring Cecil, who was

"king there in effect," of James's favour if Mar and Kinloss receive satisfactory answers (Akrigg, Letters 175). Although James still suspected Cecil of duplicity, he soon entered into the secret correspondence with Cecil which facilitated his peaceful succession, at last convinced that the Secretary supported his claim to the throne.

Discreetly protecting the probable heir to the English throne, Elizabeth's officials never publicized any evidence of Essex's traffic with James. The confessions of Southampton and Cuffe which outlined the communication with James were not published with Bacon's Declaration, although the document included the confessions of a number of other conspirators. According to Cecil's 14 May 1602 letter to the Master of Gray, the Queen, although "infinitely distasted" because Mar and Kinloss "were reserved in confessing the traffic between him [James] and Essex," was willing to drop the matter "and to profess once more a good satisfaction and mutual correspondency" with the King (HMC Salisbury 14: 176). James had involved himself enough with Essex at the time of the rebellion to feel the need to clear himself to Elizabeth. He instructs Mar and Kinloss in an 8 April 1601 letter to "give out a plain declairaitoure, which must be enacted in her own records, that I am untouched in any action of practice that ever hath been intended against her, especially in this last" (Akrigg, Letters 174). George Nicolson notes in a letter to

Cecil on 8 March 1601 that James was anxious to know if his name was in question, and "glad it was not" (CSP Scotland 13 [2]: 784). The Earl's execution, however, was by no means the end of James's association with Essex. It was, in fact, only the beginning.

II. 1601-1603: James's Martyr?

James's public attitude towards Essex following his accession was extremely influential in the development of the Earl's image in the early years of James's English reign. The Essex "legend" might not have grown and flourished--indeed, it might have died entirely--had not James himself publicly fostered it in the early years of his reign, praising the Earl and granting honours to Essex's supporters and young son. Giovanni Carlo Scaramelli, the Venetian Secretary in England, remarked early in James's reign upon the radical change in royal policy toward the traitor. "What is impossible at one period," Scaramelli observes of James's affectionate reception of the late Earl's attainted son, "becomes easy at another" (Calendar of State Papers Venetian 10: 26).

Scaramelli's observation is partially accurate, as an examination of the early Jacobean careers of various Essex rebels and a consideration of numerous early Jacobean representations of Essex will demonstrate. The statement, however, belies the complexity of James's attitude towards the

late Earl. Scholars who quote his public expressions of devotion to Essex neglect other important reports of James's less favourable, or, at the least, more ambiguous attitude towards the Earl following the rebellion.

Numerous critics have commented upon James's professed devotion to the late Earl of Essex. Mary Helen Fernald, for example, writes that James "described Essex as 'my martyr'" (194), while Margot Heinemann states that "King James privately spoke of Essex as his 'martyr'" ("Rebels Lords, Popular Playwrights, and Political Culture: Notes on the Jacobean Patronage of the Earl of Southampton" 70). G.P.V. Akrigg writes in both his edition of James's letters (195) and his biography of Southampton (134) that the King "regarded Essex as his 'martyr.'" Muriel C. Bradbrook writes that James "looked on Essex as a martyr for his own cause" (100).

Some of Essex's contemporaries referred to him as a "martyr," despite the contradiction with the widespread official accounts of the treason. The English authorities carefully emphasized that Essex had not died a martyr. In the "Certaine obseruations" at the end of Barlow's published sermon on the treason he adds information that neglected to include when he preached the sermon at Paul's Cross. Dr. Montford, one of the divines who also attended Essex, has reminded Barlow about a conversation with the Earl in which they spoke of "what conceit the Earle had of his owne purpose

and action" (E2r). Speaking of the "constancie of Martyrs at their death," Essex, "with passion, said that they died in a good cause, but he should dye in a BAD CAUSE" (E2v).

Nonetheless, the issue of Essex's "martyrdom" extended even beyond England. On 6 April 1601, for example, the Earl of Northumberland writes to Dudley Carleton at the Hague of the attitude towards Essex in the Low Countries: "for the loe contry mens oppinions of my Lo: of Essex marterdom, they will know it better one day, or if they will not then must wee of this state give them leave to thinke as they list" (PRO SP 12/279 no. 59 f. 98r).

No contemporary source, however, quotes James explicitly referring to Essex as his "martyr" either before his accession to the English throne or after it. Whether or not James truly believed that the Essex rebels had acted to protect his claim is difficult to say with certainty. Of the approximately 200 people either directly involved in the rebellion or under government scrutiny for possible involvement,⁹ only Essex, Southampton, Mountjoy, Sir Christopher Blount, Sir Charles Danvers, Sir Gelly Meyrick, Henry Cuffe, and John Littleton were aware of the negotiations with James.¹⁰ While Essex claimed in the streets upon the day of the rebellion that his enemies had betrayed the English crown "into the hands of the Infanta" (PRO SP 12/278 no. 45 f. 63v), surviving records of

the post-rebellion examinations and confessions do not specifically mention James's claim to the throne.

By James's accession in 1603, Giovanni Carlo Scaramelli was reporting that after the revolt, in which Cecil and Raleigh were to be killed, the rebels "were immediately to cry 'Long live King James of Scotland, the sole and rightful heir to the English crown,' and in this way to make that declaration of James as heir, with the approval of the popular voice, a declaration which the Queen had always refused to make" (CSP Venetian 10: 25). James's name actually arose only a single time at the Earl's trial, in the discussion of Essex's accusation that Cecil favoured the Spanish Infanta's claim (Howell 1: 1351). Cecil, defending himself against the charge, replied that he had merely said that "the King of Scots is a competitor, and the king of Spain a competitor" (Howell 1: 1351). The issue of Essex's rebellion as a defence of James's claim does not appear in the surviving records.

We have little evidence that, following the rebellion and subsequent executions, the surviving Essex rebels expressed support for James's claim to the throne. As Hutson suggests, those who were prominent enough in Elizabethan society to attract James's notice, apart from Mountjoy in Ireland and Southampton in the Tower, were probably occupied reconciling themselves with the Queen and would not have jeopardized their precarious positions by making overtures to the Scottish

monarch (228). However, according to a letter from the Abbot of Kinloss to Lord Henry Howard, Southampton did write to James during his imprisonment requesting "an earnest letter for a warrant of his libertie immediatelie upon 24 (Elizabeth's) death," which James refused to provide without consent and authority of the Privy Council (Stopes 251-52). The King did enjoin Howard to ask Cecil to see "if he find it expedient to enlarge him" (Stopes 252). Not everyone considered Southampton a supporter of James's claim. Immediately following the Queen's death a false rumour circulated that Southampton was free and supported Lord Beauchamp's claim to the throne (Hutson 230).

Surviving evidence indicates that some of the other rebels supported James's claim to the throne, while others were hostile towards the Scottish monarch. The Essex rebel John Vaughan expressed support for James after Elizabeth's death, and even before the Council's proclamation of James as the legitimate heir. Vaughan dissuaded the sheriff of Carmarthanshire, who had "'intended to have proclaimed another'" (Dodd, "Wales and the Scottish Succession" 213).¹¹ While Vaughan expressed support for James, the English authorities suspected at least one rebel, a Catholic, of opposing James's accession. The Earl of Northumberland, writing to James a week before Elizabeth's death and reassuring him of both the support of the Privy Council and of

the general populace, informs the King that only one man, Sir Edmund Baynham, has stirred against him (Bruce 70-71, 73). Baynham, who was imprisoned for his words, had allegedly protested that "he wold loose his lyfe, and so wold 40,000 Catholickes more" before James should come to the English throne (Bruce 74).¹² Baynham was still in prison in the Marshalsea three days before Elizabeth's death, writing to Sir Robert Cecil and expressing his gratitude for the Secretary's favour (HMC Salisbury 16: 42). By the end of the month he was free, for John Chamberlain informs Dudley Carleton in a 30 March 1603 letter that "Sir Edmund Bainham was committed to the Marshalsea for some desperat speaches (they say) against the Kinge: but yt shold seeme there was no great matter, for I heare he is now at libertie again" (McClure, The Letters of John Chamberlain 1: 190).

Several other Catholic Essex conspirators later involved in the Gunpowder Plot made overtures to Spain between Essex's execution and Elizabeth's death. In his confession following the events of 5 November 1605, Thomas Winter maintained that Robert Catesby and Francis Tresham had entreated him in 1602 to travel to Spain "for the good of the Catholic cause" and to encourage King Philip III to provide pensions for those soldiers and young gentlemen discontented by Essex's death, and by relieving their need "have them all at his devotion" (HMC Salisbury 17: 512). The Catholic Lord Monteagle, by

contrast, had distanced himself from plots against James by the time of Elizabeth's death. He told Thomas Winter after the Queen's death that "he had done with all former plots . . . for he was resolved to stand wholly for the King" (HMC Salisbury 17: 513).¹³ Tresham, according to Thomas Winter, felt the same, although Catesby sent Christopher Wright into Spain to continue the attempt to elicit money from the Spanish king (HMC Salisbury 17: 513).

The Essex rebels who had been Catholic soldiers once in the employ of Spain, such as Edward Hanmer and the Welsh Captain Peter Wynn,¹⁴ did not necessarily favour a Spanish succession. They may have believed that James, as the son of the Catholic Mary Stuart, might favour religious toleration (Hutson 231). A.H. Dodd notes that the Welsh Catholics in general favoured James because, unlike Elizabeth, he was not under Church ban ("Wales and the Scottish Succession" 211). The Catholicism of James's wife Anne may also have encouraged Welsh Catholic support for James's claim (Dodd, "Wales and the Scottish Succession" 211).

Although Hutson writes that we do not know how much information about the examinations and trials reached James in Scotland (227), surviving evidence actually indicates that the English authorities made a concerted effort to inform James of these matters. The King's apprehension about whether or not his name was in question suggests he was anxious for

information concerning the actions of Essex and his fellow rebels, and probably considered these reports very carefully. Shortly after the rebellion, Sir Robert Cecil instructed George Nicolson in Scotland to "stop untrue reports if any should be" and to inform the King of the truth about "the stirs to be made by my Lord of Essex and others" (CSP Scotland 13 [2]: 774-75).¹⁵ The speed with which unauthorized versions of the 8 February events reached Scotland is apparent in the opening lines of Nicolson's 15 February letter to Cecil: "by Scots letters and a Scottish man report came hither this day and yesternight to the King of the matter of the Earl of Essex" (CSP Scotland 13 [2]: 775). Cecil, in an attempt to forestall such news of the rebellion, sent Nicolson a letter on the subject and the English agent, who gained access to the King, read him Cecil's letter (CSP Scotland 13 [2]: 775). Although Nicolson's reply to Cecil reveals little of the content of the Secretary's account, it nonetheless provides valuable information. Nicolson, who studied the King's countenance carefully for his reaction, reports that James marvelled at the letter, inquired curiously about its date, and questioned Nicolson about the rebels' plan to "ransom the City" (CSP Scotland 13 [2]: 775).

Nicolson mentions that Cecil's letter was dated 9 February, and it is possible to deduce the contents of Cecil's letter based upon the information distributed in England at

the time. The 9 February proclamation issued by Elizabeth even before the examinations of the prisoners began declares that Essex, Southampton, and their accomplices, after imprisoning the officials sent to Essex House to persuade the Earl to "disperse his disordered company" and lay open his complaints for the Queen's gracious consideration, "did . . . traitourously issue into our City of London in armes" and there break out "into open action of rebellion" (PRO SP 12/278 no. 35 f. 39r). The proclamation further states that Essex and his company, pretending that their lives were in danger, continued in arms and killed various subjects¹⁶ even after the "many Proclamations of rebellion made by our King of Heralds" (PRO SP 12/278 no. 35 f. 39r).

Such, then, was probably the general content of Cecil's first dispatch to Nicolson in Scotland about the Essex rebellion. Nicolson, in his 15 February response to Cecil, indicates the necessity for more information, aware of the potential for suspicion that matters are not as he advertises them: "So as it will be very necessary that there be daily and particular information made here of the truth as it is and shall proceed to discredit contrary reports, of which then I shall do as I shall be directed either in publishing it as from your Honour or otherways as you shall appoint" (CSP Scotland 13 [2]: 776).

During the period in which he supplied information to Nicolson in Scotland, Cecil had considerable influence over the dissemination of rebellion-related material in England. William Barlow, who preached the official 1 March 1601 sermon at Paul's Cross, the outdoor pulpit at St. Paul's Cathedral, carefully scripted his sermon according to Cecil's written instructions. At times Barlow quotes these instructions very directly. Acting upon the suggestion to "remember that his [Essex's] purpose of taking the Tower was only to haue bin a brydale to the citty if happely the cytty should haue myslyked his other attempt" (PRO SP 12/278 no. 126 f. 251r), Barlow writes that Essex meant the Tower "should haue beene a bridle, to your cittie . . . if happely the Citie should haue misliked his other attempt, then you should taste of the Bit" (D7r).¹⁷ This information was probably that which James had received when he queried Nicolson further about the rebels' plans to ransom the City of London.

In the month following the rebellion, Cecil continued to update Nicolson on the various punishments of the traitors, and Nicolson continued to relay the information to King James and to report to Cecil any other Essex-related information reaching the King. This is evident in the opening paragraph of Nicolson's 5 March 1601 letter to Cecil:

Yesterday Mr. James Hamilton came hither to the King with full and very honest report of the arraignment and execution of my Lord of Essex and of the quietness of that state. The day before Thomas Tyry

returned with like declaration of the settled and quietness of the state of England to the clearing of the truth and dashing down of innumerable false reports going here before. So now as those false rumours have lost their credit here and all almost satisfied with the truth. (CSP Scotland 13 [2]: 770)

Three days later, Nicolson writes to Cecil that he is pleased to hear in Cecil's late February letter of the quietness of England, the loyalty of the City of London, and Essex's penitent and godly end, and promises to "make known here as shall appertain to the discredit of the contrary" (CSP Scotland 13 [2]: 782). In mid-March, Nicolson was still receiving information and devising methods to present it to the King. He specifically wanted James to see information about Essex's arraignment, condemnation, repentance of denials and "invented pretexts and imputations," reconciliation with his alleged enemies (Cecil in particular), request for forgiveness, and godly end (CSP Scotland 13 [2]: 787). This outline of information accords almost exactly with the contents of one of Cecil's March 1601 letters to Ralph Winwood in France. In this letter Cecil recounts Essex's arguments at his trial, his later confession of his obstinacy in denying the charges at his arraignment, his desire to "reconcile himself to his Enemies (and especially to me)," his request for forgiveness from the Lord Keeper and the others imprisoned at Essex House, and his "christianly" end (Sawyer 1: 301).

Nicolson's letter also reveals that he edited Cecil's information, withholding details he felt his audience would

ill receive. He writes to Cecil that he has conveyed facts "agreeable to the contents of your advertisement, saving that through the conflict between the flesh and the soul he was helped in saying Our Father and the Creed, which I have no way yet touched, knowing here they would yet take it to be said upon displeasure" (CSP Scotland 13 [2]: 787). Cecil had thus given Nicolson instructions similar to those he had issued to Ralph Winwood in France, for he tells Winwood, "The 25th of February he suffered in the Tower, with very great Patience and Humillity. Only (notwithstanding his Resolution that he must dye,) the Conflict between the Flesh and the Soul did appear thus far, that in his Prayers he was feign to be helped" (Sawyer 1: 301). The letter also indicates that James and his closest advisors were still concerned that the investigations following the rebellion might have revealed Essex's Scottish negotiations, for Nicolson recounts to Cecil that "Some of the very best, as I have told them the matter, were very curious to know of me if in the examination of the matter anything was said of them here or no. To which I answer nothing at all, no not any suspicion at all that I hear" (CSP Scotland 13 [2]: 787). Nicolson himself may not have been aware of the information about James obtained during the examinations and confessions of the rebels. Cecil's letters to Winwood, which appear to have been very similar in content, do not mention Essex's negotiations with James.

On 21 March Cecil was still relaying details of the plot to Nicolson in Scotland, including in this letter a brief of the confession of Sir Christopher Blount, which detailed Essex's dealings with Tyrone. Cecil also encloses Blount's scaffold speech "by which it now appeareth, if it [the rebellion] had gone forward, what would have become of the state of England, which must have been made a prey for his [Essex's] 'Catelyn' army, and have only sought the destruction (not only) of the possessor (but of the successor to whomsoever God shall dispose it)" (HMC Salisbury 11: 138). This must have been the purpose for which Cecil requested of Attorney General Edward Coke a copy of Blount's last confession and of Southampton's information "concerninge the late Erle of Essex purpose to bringe over an Army out of Ireland," writing to Coke that he had occasion to use it in the Queen's service (PRO SP 12/279 no. 27 f. 27r). Bacon's Declaration contains both an account of Blount's confession and a transcript of his scaffold speech (Spedding 2: 313-19).

The information English officials dispatched to James, then, accords with the official accounts of the treason published in Bacon's Declaration and Barlow's sermon and disseminated to English agents on the Continent. Nicolson's reports to James on the Essex rebellion may eventually have included copies of these documents. The Declaration and sermon are unambiguous about the intentions of Essex and his

associates. The Declaration emphasizes that the Earl "had long ago plotted it in his heart to become a dangerous supplanter" of the Queen's seat (Spedding 2: 248); Essex, contrary to his assurances of support to James, had plotted to interfere with the succession. If James truly considered Essex a martyr in the cause of his succession, he must have discounted entirely the information Nicolson, Hamilton, and others presented to him, and particularly Cecil's contention that the revolt, had it been successful, would have destroyed both Elizabeth and her successor.

Clearly, then, Cecil carefully informed James of the official version of the events of 8 February and their aftermath. We have less evidence, however, about how much information James possessed on the identities and actions of the dozens of rebels not mentioned in Bacon's Declaration, Barlow's sermon, and other official accounts. These texts focus primarily upon the noble and other prominent participants, and particularly upon the prominent Catholic participants. Bacon's Declaration and the accompanying confessions and examinations mention the Earls of Essex, Southampton, and Rutland, the Lords Monteagle, Cromwell, Sandys, and Chandos, Sir Christopher Blount, Sir Henry Neville, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Sir Charles Danvers, Sir John Davies, Sir Gelly Meyrick, Sir John Heydon, Henry Cuffe, Owen Salisbury, John Littleton, Edmund Wiseman, and Francis

Tresham. Barlow's sermon is less specific, adding no new rebel names. Thus it is difficult to determine if James was aware that the Edmund Baynham who apparently opposed his succession had been involved in the Essex revolt, a fact which Northumberland does not mention in his March 1603 letter to the King.

What did James think of Essex himself, then, in the aftermath of the rebellion? Certainly news of the Earl's fall seems to have distressed him. The Master of Gray writes in a 20 February 1601 letter to Sir Robert Cecil that "The King of Scotland is much grieved with the uproar of our English lords, fearing their fall, accounting them his good friends as I am most credibly informed" (CSP Scotland 13 [2]: 776). Another comment prior to Essex's execution, this one by George Nicolson in a letter to Cecil, similarly indicates James's melancholy at the Earl's fall. Both King and Court, Nicolson writes, are "in dumps" over the recent events in England (CSP Scotland 13 [2]: 775). Those defending the actions of the English authorities in response to the rebellion faced displeasure at the Scottish Court. Nicolson, in an 8 March 1601 dispatch to Cecil, writes that Roger Aston, one of James's trusted servants whom he had on occasion used as a courier to deliver letters to Elizabeth (Akrigg, Letters 108), "deserves good thanks" for his defence of Elizabeth and Cecil about the matter of Essex, for "it does him no good here" (CSP

Scotland 13 [2]: 784). Some in England believed James harboured a continuing affection for the fallen English Earl. In April 1601 Henry Clinton, the Earl of Lincoln, apparently directed a servant to deliver to the Scottish King's agent James Hudson "a picture which was of the Erle of Essex stitched vp in a curtaine" (PRO SP 12/284 no. 82 f. 145r). Lincoln, declaring his affection for Elizabeth's probable heir, sent "foure great horses," letters, and the picture of the Earl of Essex into Scotland (PRO SP 12/284 no. 82, f. 145r).¹⁸

Some of James's own correspondence in the period following Essex's death also suggests he had a high opinion of the late Earl. In a 1601 Latin letter to Shah Abbas, the Persian ruler, James describes the executed Earl of Essex as a "hero."¹⁹ He writes that the Christian princes of Europe can expect no English help in trampling the Turks underfoot, for "Herois etenim Comitibus Essexii, qui ad omnes bellicas expeditiones fulminis instar paratus esse solebat, violenta ac inopinata mors, Regni illius incolas adeo obstupefecit, vt interna potius timere, quam externa sperare, malint" (Letters and State Papers During the Reign of King James the Sixth 42): "the violent and unexpected death of that hero the Earl of Essex, who was wont to be ready, like a thunderbolt, for every warlike expedition, has so confounded the inhabitants of that

Kingdom, that they are more inclined to fear internal troubles than to undertake foreign enterprises."

On other occasions, however, the King's comments on Essex between the Earl's death and James's accession to the English throne suggest that he may not have been entirely favourably inclined towards Essex, and perhaps even somewhat relieved at his execution. The Dean of Limerick, writing to Cecil from Edinburgh at the end of March 1601, informs him that although there is "a great show of displeasure for Essex his execution," he gathers that "there is greater show than sorrow" (CSP Ireland 10: 243). James Hamilton had told James that the Earl's execution was to his advantage, for "it was added that though Essex were then free from any competitory conceit, yet what could not ambition, applause of people, and opportunity procure him to attempt in time" (CSP Ireland 10: 243). Hamilton's words suggest that Essex's ambition and popular favour may have been an earlier subject of concern.

James, in fact, had previously expressed concern for Essex's ambition and may have suspected a "competitory conceit" at the time of the rebellion. According to Henry Lee's April 1600 report to Cecil, the King had spoken to him of Essex, saying he "held him to be a very gallant nobleman, but he suspected him somewhat ambitious" (Bain 2: 649). Essex's brother-in-law the Earl of Northumberland, writing to James in the secret correspondence before the death of

Elizabeth, refers to the King's judgment of Essex as a "noble gentelman," but one in whose death he lost no friend (Bruce 65). James's response to Northumberland's letter, which also contains a long diatribe against Essex and the conclusion that "yet was his losse the happiest chance for yowr maiestie and england that could befawle ws" (Bruce 65), does not dispute Northumberland's harsh conclusions about Essex.²⁰ Once James had entered into his secret correspondence with Cecil, he commended the Secretary for mistrusting "the aspiring mind of Essex," writing that it indicated that Cecil "would never allow that a subject should climb to so high a room" (Akrigg, Letters 179).

James's other comments on the subject of Essex in this same letter, the first in the correspondence, naturally betray no hint of the notion that Essex was a martyr in the cause of his succession. James refers merely to the late Earl's "misbehaviour" in England, and, in reassuring Cecil that Essex has not prejudiced James against him, implies that the motive behind Essex's misbehaviour was a "quarrel" rather than an attempt to secure for James the uncertain succession (Akrigg, Letters 179). Cecil himself had been suspicious of James's attachment to Essex, referring to the Earl in a May 1601 letter to the Master of Gray as one "whom it seemed the King did either believe to be his friend, or thought it wisdom to seem so" (HMC Salisbury 14: 176). William Camden records that

Essex actually lost much of his credit with James when the late Earl's enemies showed the King the written confession (323) in which the Earl accused his friends and relatives of inciting him to rebellion.²¹

IV. Conclusion

King James's attitude towards Essex between 1587 and 1603 was crucial to the development of the Earl's image in Jacobean England. Previous scholarship on both Essex and James, however, oversimplifies the King's disposition towards Elizabeth's traitor, neglecting to account for evidence that suggests James may not have believed the Earl acted to protect James's claim. A more balanced consideration of available evidence indicates that at the time of the rebellion and after, James, who had earlier formed a political alliance with Essex, entertained doubts about the Earl's commitment to James's claim to the English throne. In 1588 James had wondered about Essex's "mind towards him" (HMC Salisbury 3: 360); James's mind towards Essex in the decade and a half to follow would prove vitally important in early Jacobean representations of Essex.

Notes

1 Several Essex biographers assume the letter's date is 18 April 1587, just over two months after Mary's execution (Devereux 2: 184; Harrison 27). Davison's biographer, reprinting the letter from a manuscript I have not seen, believes it belongs to 18 April 1590, when Essex, following the death of Sir Francis Walsingham, sought to have Davison replace Walsingham as principal Secretary of State (Nicolas, Life of William Davison, Secretary of State and Privy Counsellor to Queen Elizabeth 181). Richard McCoy, writing more recently, implies that such a letter probably dates from the 1590s. Without mentioning any prior efforts of Essex on behalf of Davison, he writes, "Shortly after Walsingham's death, Davison and his son were taken up by the earl of Essex" ("Lord of Liberty" 217). Hammer, noting that some of the documents relating to Essex's interventions on Davison's behalf probably belong to 1590, implies a 1587 date for the 18 April letter, describing Essex's "naive attempts" to defend the disgraced Secretary (Polarisation 60).

Essex himself had only minimal involvement with Mary Stuart during her imprisonment, and nothing at all to do with her execution. In September 1585 he had written to his grandfather, Sir Francis Knollys, to object to the relocation of Mary to the Devereux estate of Chartley in Staffordshire. Although he protested to Knollys that Mary's presence would lead to "the spoil of my woods, the marring of my little furniture, [and] the undoing of my poor Tenants" (Bodleian MS Tanner 76 f. 82r), Mary arrived at Chartley in December 1585 (Hammer, Polarisation 16).

2 Other participants in the secret correspondence were Jean Hotman ("Orlando") and Penelope's husband Lord Rich ("Richardo") (HMC Salisbury 3: 435). Hotman had been one of the Earl of Leicester's secretaries, and his wife, a young Frenchwoman, was "dame de compagnie" to Lady Penelope Rich (Smith 150, 152).

3 Essex had married Sir Francis Walsingham's daughter Frances, widow of Sir Philip Sidney, in 1590, probably before Walsingham's April death (Hammer, Polarisation 54).

Under Walsingham, Bacon, who interrogated suspects, had had gained considerable experience and contacts in the intelligence field (Hammer, Polarisation 154).

4 The most obvious evidence of this, of course, is Essex's secret marriage in about 1590 to Sidney's widow. Essex connected himself with Sidney in other ways as well. His 1587 New Year's gift to Elizabeth was "A faire Juell of golde like A Raynbowe, garnished w[i]th Rubyes having therein ii Pillers th'one broken, garnished on the one side with

Dyamonds and Oppals vnder them, iiii table Dyamonds" (BL MS Sloane 814 f. 33r). Hammer proposes that Essex intended the cracked pillar "in token of the dead Sidney"; the intact pillar stood for Essex himself (Hammer, Polarisation 54).

5 While Sidney and James probably never met, Sidney admired James as a poet, mentioning him in his Defence of Poesie as one of the recent rulers who not only favoured poets but was himself a poet (Feuillerat 35). Sidney's interest in the Scottish King, however, extended beyond their common interest in a Christian poetics, for Sidney, at about the time of the Catholic Alencon's courtship of Elizabeth, writes to George Buchanan, James's Calvinist tutor, "I haif nocht bene without desire to see you, and kiss the hand of the young king, in quhome mony have layd their hopes" (Baker-Smith 93). In a letter toward the end of his life, Sidney asks his friend the Master of Gray (then on good terms with James) to "hold me I beseech yow in the graciows remembrance of yowr King whom indeed I love" (Feuillerat 175).

James contributed several poems to the Lachrymae, the Cambridge volume of verse commemorating Sidney's death. His sonnet "Epitaphe," the first poem in the volume, celebrates Sidney's "Scipionic resolution of conflicting talents" (Baker-Smith 97). It opens,

Thou mightie Mars the God of souldiours braue
And thou Minerue that does in witt excell
And thou Apollo that does knowledge haue
Of euerie art that from Parnassus fell. (Craigie 2:
104)

According to Henry Lee in an April 1600 declaration of his activities in Scotland, written for Sir Robert Cecil, the King "comended Sir Philip Sydney for the best and swetest wryter that ever he knewe--surely it semeth he loved him much" (Bain 2: 649). James's praise of Sidney here and in the Lachrymae contrasts with his later opinion of Sidney as reported by Ben Jonson to William Drummond of Hawthornden when Jonson visited Drummond in Scotland in 1619. According to Drummond, Jonson observed that "the King said Sir P. Sidney was no poet" (Herford and Simpson 143). Dominic Baker-Smith sees James's contribution to the commemorative Sidney volume as "a chance to commend his own name to those, in England and abroad, who looked for a fit successor to Elizabeth, one equipped to serve the Protestant interest" (94).

6 Elizabeth had dispatched Edward, Lord Zouche, to Scotland in December 1593 after the passing of "an act of Abolition" for the offences of the Catholic Earls of Angus, Huntly, and Errol in the Spanish blanks affair (CSP Scotland 11: 239, 232). Zouche, who carried a letter of sharp rebuke from Elizabeth to James, was to protest against the lenient treatment of the three earls, "notable traitors, with whom the

Spanish King's forces have practised how they might invade our realm by way of Scotland" (CSP Scotland 11: 248, 241). In a letter for the English ambassador Robert Bowes to impart to Maitland, Burghley suggested that the Scottish King intended to deal with Spain, potentially converting to Catholicism to obtain assistance for his claim to the English throne (CSP Scotland 11: 251). Zouche and Bowes, ordered to press James to act against the Earls, had a turbulent audience with the King in which James, according to Zouche's report to Lord Burghley, "'burst out with me' into some passion and denied . . . that he should account himself as if he were not a sole prince but the Queen's lieutenant, who must render account of his dealings to her" (CSP Scotland 11: 289). After Bothwell's failed action against James on 3 April 1594, Zouche returned to England (CSP Scotland 11: 305).

7 The letter closes with the following instruction:

This bearer knows not what he carrieth; therefore, for answer, if your Majesty grant the demand, it shall be sufficient that with your own hand in a loose paper you write these words, Send hither to your correspondent these books, in Spanish the chronicles of Caribay and Ambrosio Moralis, and in English Stowe's Chronicle which I hear is newly reprinted and enlarged. (Stafford 224)

8 The 16 February confession of Lord Sandys evidently prompted the search. Sandys said that Essex, upon his return to Essex House after the unsuccessful attempt to raise assistance in the City, burned a book, as well as a number of papers contained in a casket (PRO SP 12/278 no. 75 f. 126r). Sandys also revealed that Essex "had a blacke bagge about his necke that shuld tell no tales" (PRO SP 12/278 no. 75 f. 126v).

9 I base this figure upon the research of G.J. Hutson, who counts 152 "rebels" and 44 people "implicated" (ie. examined by the government for potential involvement in or knowledge of the rebellion) (292-97). Mary Helen Fernald, working from largely the same lists of prisoners, arrives at a number of 138 rebels (205-331).

10 I have written earlier of the involvement of Essex, Southampton, Mountjoy, Danvers, and Cuffe in the Scottish negotiations. Sir Christopher Blount, although not named by Cuffe as present at the Christmas 1600 meeting at which the conspirators debated the matter of writing to James, was, according to his own confession, aware of Essex's plan to involve James in some kind of action (Bruce 108). Meyrick was also aware of the communication with James, for Cuffe learned from Meyrick that, "long before" the Christmas 1600 letter,

Mountjoy had written to the Scottish King (Bruce 90). John Littleton, whom Meyrick and Cuffe had sent to the Low Countries to retrieve Southampton, was acquainted with the results of the Christmas 1600 meeting (PRO SP 12/279 no. 5 f. 8r).

11 Vaughan, son-in-law to Sir Gelly Meyrick (Dodd, "Scottish Succession" 213), was implicated by Sir John Davies, who named him as one of those who accompanied Essex on the morning of the rebellion (PRO SP 12/278 no. 46 f. 65r). Vaughan, who was imprisoned at the White Lion in Southwark (HMC Rutland 1: 368), was "to be discharged upon bond" (HMC Salisbury 11: 87).

12 Little is known of Baynham's actions on the day of the revolt. According to the report of the Lieutenant of the Tower, he was one of those in whose presence Essex burned incriminating papers (Bruce 81). He was imprisoned in the Fleet after the rebellion, arraigned, and condemned (PRO SP 12/278 no. 103, f. 206r). Although John Chamberlain indicated in his 24 February 1601 letter to Dudley Carleton at the Hague that it was only a matter of time until Baynham was executed, he was still alive in King's Bench prison in July 1601 (PRO SP 12/278 no. 110 f. 216v; PRO SP 12/281 no. 67 f. 126r). He was free in August after paying a possible bribe to Raleigh (Sprott 99-100).

13 Robert Catesby, implicated by Sir John Davies (PRO SP 12/278 no. 46 f. 65r), was wounded in the fighting which followed Lord Burghley's proclamation of Essex as a traitor (Fernald 225). He was imprisoned at the Counter in the Poultry, indicted, and fined 4000 marks (HMC Rutland 1: 368; HMC Salisbury 11: 86; HMC Salisbury 11: 214).

Francis Tresham, along with Sir John Davies and Owen Salisbury, guarded the chamber in Essex House in which Lord Keeper Egerton, the Earl of Worcester, Sir William Knollys (Essex's uncle and Comptroller of the Household), and Lord Chief Justice Popham were confined (PRO SP 12/278 no. 97 f. 157v). Imprisoned in the White Lion and fined 3000 marks Tresham purchased his freedom with bribes (HMC Rutland 1: 369; HMC Salisbury 11: 214; Fernald 312).

Sir William Parker, called Lord Monteagle (his mother was the daughter of William Stanley, 3rd Baron Monteagle, who died in 1581), admitted in his 16 February examination to being at Essex House when Elizabeth's emissaries were confined, and accompanying Essex into the City (PRO SP 12/278 no. 76 f. 128r). Although Essex at his trial absolved Monteagle of knowledge of the plots leading up to the rebellion (Stephen 3: 80), he was imprisoned in the Tower, his initial fine of 8000 pounds eventually mitigated to 4000 (HMC Rutland 1: 367; PRO SP 12/281 no. 67 f. 125v; HMC Salisbury 11: 214). He was

released from the Tower in August 1601 and sent into Hertfordshire (PRO SP 12/281 no. 67 f. 125v).

14 Captain Peter Wynn had enlisted with Sir William Stanley to fight the Dutch and with him deserted to Spain after the execution of Mary Stuart (Dodd, "Scottish Succession" 203). Little is known of the actions of Wynn and Hanmer in the revolt, and of how much they knew of the various plots. Wynn apparently escaped imprisonment, for the Privy Council sent orders to Wales for his capture (APC 31: 167). Prior to the revolt, Wynn had lodged near Essex House with Captain John Salisbury, another of the Welsh rebels (PRO SP 12/279 no. 23 f. 33r). According to Salisbury's examination, he himself had escaped in the confusion that followed the yielding of Essex House to the government forces (PRO SP 12/279 no. 23 f. 33r), and it may be that Wynn likewise evaded immediate capture. Both were listed as of 26 February among those "Such as were in the action and not yet taken" (HMC Salisbury 11: 88).

Edward Hanmer was imprisoned in the Counter at the Poultry, but was eventually released as innocent (HMC Rutland 1: 368; Fernald 254).

15 The English authorities had good reason to be concerned about "false and corrupt" (Spedding 2: 247) accounts of the trial of Essex and Southampton. A very prejudicial version quickly found its way to France. According to an anonymous 4 March 1601 letter, "pendant que le Conte & lest Advocatz playdoient, Messieurs bauffroyent comme s'ilz n'eussent mange de 15 jours, prenant aussy force Tabac . . . puis, s'en allerent en une Salle pour donner leur voix; ou, bien saouls & bien yvres de Tabac, condemnarent les deux Contes . . . les appenlans Traitres & Rebelles" (Sawyer 1: 229): "while the Earl and the lawyers pleaded, the gentleman ate as if they had not eaten in 15 days, also taking strong tobacco . . . then, they went into a room to give their voice; where, very drunk and very drunk with tobacco, they condemned the two Earls . . . calling them traitors and rebels." Sir Ralph Winwood, attempting to determine the authorship of the letter for Cecil, heard that the French Ambassador de Boissise had written it, although the Ambassador "openly disavow'd it" (Sawyer 1: 316, 296). The letter circulated widely on the Continent, for Cecil writes in a 9 May 1601 letter that "the same Coppies have been sent to the Palsgrave, and to divers other parts of the world, much to the Scandall of all the Peers in the Kingdome" (Sawyer 1: 324).

It is not surprising that someone would send such an account to the French Court. Although in 1596 Essex opposed Henri IV as the King sought to have Elizabeth redeploy the Cadiz forces to France after the 14 April fall of Calais to the Spanish (MacCaffrey 15), the two had long been close.

They became firm friends in 1591-92 when Essex commanded troops in France to aid the embattled Protestant Henry against the French Catholics and the invading Spanish; the Earl's "aristocratic bearing and martial zeal had a considerable impact" upon the French monarch ("Hammer, "'Sparke'" 59-60).

16 I am not certain exactly how many people died in the uprising. While a number of rebels, including Sir Christopher Blount ("sore hurt in the head," according to one account [HMC Longleat 5: 278]), were wounded in the fight between Essex's company and a hastily-assembled force under John Leveson at the Ludgate Chain, only one of Essex's men, his young page Tracy, was slain (HMC Salisbury 11: 61). William Camden tells us that Sir Christopher Blount, "manfully" assaulting Leveson's force, slew "one Wayte" (307). According to Bacon's Declaration, the rebel Owen Salisbury, as well as several other rebels, died in the siege and eventual surrender of Essex House, as did several on the Queen's side (Spedding 2: 273). Camden concurs: "In this assault there died onely Owen Salisbury, and one or two slaine within with the Muskets, and as many of the Assaulters without" (309). When Burghley and his force broke down the gate and entered the courtyard, "twoe common souldiers onely" were slain (HMC Longleat 5: 278). A 29 July 1602 entry in the Acts of the Privy Council mentions "A letter to the Lord Chiefe Justice of England and the rest of the Justices of her Majesties Benche signifying her Majesties pleasure that present order should be taken to stay an appeale brought by one widow Thwaites (whose husbände was slaine in the action of the Earl of Essex) against some gentlemen pardoned by her Majestie under the Great Seale" (Acts of the Privy Council of England 32: 490). Perhaps this is the "Wayte" Camden mentions.

17 George Leonard Bird asserts, based upon Elizabeth's later rejection of Barlow as a painful reminder of Essex, that he "was not preaching an official sermon" (96). Bird refers here to an incident recorded by Middle Temple student John Manningham. Manningham reports in April 1602 that Henry Parry, one of Elizabeth's chief chaplains, "told how Dr. Barlowe, now one of hir Majesties chapleins, received a checke at hir Majesties, because he presumed to come into hir presence when shee had given speciall charge to the contrary, because shee would not have the memory of the late Earl of Essex renewed by him, who had preached against him at Paules" (Sorlien 87). Bird interprets this as evidence that Barlow's sermon was an unofficial one, an interpretation surely incorrect in light of the sermon's resemblance to Cecil's written instructions. The unauthorized delivery of a Paul's Cross sermon on such an important topic is highly unlikely. See Thomas S. Nowak for a discussion of the government's use

of Paul's Cross as a "means of spreading news and/or propoganda" (35).

Bird, asserting that Barlow preached the sermon of his own accord simply because he "did not approve of Essex's posthumous popularity" (96), also overlooks Barlow's own indication that the authorities compelled him to deliver the sermon. Barlow writes that he is "subiect to offence . . . to them of authoritie if I should renounce this dutie" (A3r).

The choice of Barlow to deliver the sermon was a careful one, for in 1596 he had preached a laudatory but controversial Paul's Cross sermon on Essex's victory at Cadiz (see Chapter 6 for details of this sermon). The intended message was clear: if a man who had once fulsomely praised the Earl could now see the egregiousness of his actions and condemn him, so too could Barlow's audience.

18 Although Lincoln professed affection for Essex to James, he was eager to benefit from the fall of some of the Earl's associates. This is apparent in the opening lines of his 10 February 1601 letter to Sir Robert Cecil:

I know where two stones brought from Cales [Cadiz] were left by Sir Gyllam Merrick to make pillars for a tomb. They are too fair for a traitor's tomb; they are within your liberties, and therefore I pray you let me have them to finish a piece of work that I have begun for myself, and give me order to seize them for you and detain them for your further direction. (HMC Salisbury 11: 38)

19 James writes following the mission of Sir Anthony Sherley to Persia. Sherley, a client of Essex, had travelled to Persia in 1599 with his brother Robert and twenty-five other gentlemen, "determined to contact the Persian sultan, establish trade, and persuade him to join Christian Europe in its war against the Turk" (Cormack 48). Shah Abbas, as is evident in James's letter, received Sherley favourably, and employed him in 1601 to negotiate an alliance of the Christian powers against the Turks.

20 Northumberland was apparently unaware of Essex's own long-term correspondence with James. He accuses the Earl of only offering James his service "in his declyning time" (Bruce 66).

21 Although the written confession itself, unfortunately, has not survived, several sources, such as the Earl of Nottingham's March 1601 letter to Mountjoy in Ireland, summarize its content. According to Nottingham, Essex, the day after his arraignment, requested that the Queen send some of her Council to him (Bodleian MS Tanner 76 f. 97r). In the presence of Nottingham and Cecil, Essex, calling himself "the

greatest, the most vilest, & most unthankfull Traitor that ever was born in the land," admitted that at his trial he "maintained all Falshood," and went on to "lay open" the details of the Drury House conferences (Bodleian MS Tanner 76 f. 97r). He identified the principal conspirators as the Earl of Southampton, Sir Charles Danvers, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Sir John Davies, Sir Henry Neville, Sir Christopher Blount, and his secretary Henry Cuffe (Bodleian MS Tanner 76 f. 97r). He accused in particular his sister Lady Penelope Rich, claiming that she continually urged him to rebellion by telling him that his family and followers thought him a coward (Bodleian MS Tanner 76 f. 97r).

Cecil's account of the confession in a letter to Ralph Winwood in France reveals the confession to be "done in four Sheets of Paper, all under his own Hand" (Sawyer 1: 300). According to Cecil, Essex provided details of the Drury House articles, which concurred with the confessions of Davies, Gorges, Charles Danvers, and John Littleton (Sawyer 1: 300). Essex asked forgiveness of the officials he had imprisoned in Essex House when he went into the City, professed no malice towards those he had named his adversaries as a pretext for coming to Court in force, and humbly requested that he might die privately in the Tower (Sawyer 1: 301). Barlow, also noting that "the confession it selfe filles four sheetes of paper, euery worde in his owne hand," quotes the opening sentence in his sermon:

Since that God of his mercie hath opened mine eyes, and made me see my sinne, my offence, and so touched my hart as I hate it both in my selfe and others, I will as God shall inable my memorie, set down how far we all are guiltie, and where, and by what degrees our sinne, this offence grew. (Dlr-Dlv)

Barlow also provides a very brief sketch of the plan to surprise the Court (Dlv).

The content of Essex's confession clearly had wider circulation than Barlow's sermon. According to one account of Henry Cuffe's execution speech, an onlooker interrupted Cuffe to say that "the Earle of Essex in his confession saith that you were a principall instigator of him" in his action (PRO SP 12/279 no. 25 f. 35r).

Chapter 2: Early Jacobean Essex: The Rebels and the Essex Family Under James, 1603-1609

I. Introduction

The early years of James I's reign were critical in the development of Essex's heroic image. Had James not expressed admiration for the Earl and shown favour to surviving Essex rebels and family members, the life of the Essex myth in Jacobean England might have been very short indeed. The King's public attitude towards Essex associates suggested that his reign represented a political climate considerably more agreeable to favourable portrayals of Essex than the final years of Elizabeth's reign. With the publication ban on unofficial and sympathetic representations of the Earl no longer in effect, a number of works appeared which challenged the verdict of treason and rewrote many of the events of the final years of the Earl's life. These early Jacobean portrayals of Essex provided a crucial link in the chain of representations which would allow the 3rd Earl of Essex to invoke the heroic memory of his father forty years later during the Civil War.

A thorough examination of these early Jacobean representations, and the controversies which surrounded several of them, requires scrutiny of James's early post-accession treatment of Essex's surviving family members and

fellow rebels. Such scrutiny reveals that, on the whole, the King treated surviving Essex associates favourably. Some evidence, however, suggests that the new King may have mistrusted the rebels, evidence which further supports the contention that James's private attitude towards the Earl after his execution--and possibly before--was ambivalent, regardless of his public demonstrations of affection for Essex's friends and family. The following consideration of the improved but sometimes still uneasy position of the rebels and the Essex family in early Jacobean England provides the foundation for subsequent examination of early Jacobean representations of Essex.

II. The Rebels and the Essex Family Under James, 1603-1609

Francis Bacon, writing to the Earl of Northumberland in the spring of 1603, detected an ulterior motive in James's favourable treatment of the survivors of the Essex faction. He tells Essex's brother-in-law that James "affecteth Popularity by gracing such as he hath heard to be popular, and not by any fashions of his own" (Bacon 14). And grace them James did, at least partially for the opportunistic reason Bacon suggests. The King, whose private opinion of Essex was ambivalent at the time, was probably amenable to strengthening his position with his new subjects by proclaiming his affection for one who, as the Elizabethan ballads and other

poems on Essex indicate, was already a "folk hero" (Kinney 172) by the time James arrived in London.¹ James, as a new monarch, was probably anxious not to alienate any potentially powerful group. Cecil's attitude towards the rebels would also have influenced James, who had recognized in spring 1601 that Cecil wielded immense power in England after Essex's fall. Cecil, who had used the rebels for his own purposes in the years between Essex's death and James's accession, was not necessarily hostile towards his old enemy's partisans.

James made it apparent even before his accession to the English throne that he sympathized with at least some of the surviving Essex rebels. He writes to the Earl of Northumberland of "poor southamtoune, who liwes in hardest cais," and says that pity provokes him to request that the Earl, if possible, "helpe to procure hem forder libertie or easier ward" (Bruce 71). One of James's first acts as English sovereign was to write to the Lieutenant of the Tower to deliver Southampton and Sir Henry Neville out of prison (Bodleian MS Tanner 76 f. 96v). James writes of Southampton in this 1 April 1603 letter, "Whereof we know the Comfort will be great to him, so will it be Contentment to us to have opportunity to declare our estimacion of him" (Bodleian MS Tanner 76 f. 96v). In a letter to the Privy Council and the nobility of England, he expresses his desire for Southampton's

presence when the "body of our state, now assembled, shall come unto us" (Bodleian MS Tanner 75 f. 63r).

In the same letter, James promises Southampton "further favours" when he beholds him with his own eyes (Bodleian MS Tanner 75 f. 63r). A 10 April 1603 letter from Lord Keeper Egerton, Lord Treasurer Buckhurst, Lord Admiral Nottingham, and Secretary Cecil to Thomas Lake, Lieutenant of the Tower, indicates that "This day . . . the Erle of Southampton is delivered, and Sir Henry Nevill, to their owne private houses" (PRO SP 14/1 no. 18 f. 36v). Diarist John Manningham heard on 11 April that "the E[arl] of Southampton and Sir H[enry] Nevil were sett at large yesterday from the Tower" (Sorlien 235). Although scholars disagree about where Southampton met James as the new King journeyed south to England--Huntingdon (Stopes 265; Hutson 234), Burghley-by-Stamford (Akrigg, Southampton 134), York (Devereux 2: 221)--he was definitely in the new King's presence soon after his release from the Tower. Manningham's diary entry for 13 April 1603 contains the news that "The E[arl] of Southampton must present him selfe with the nobles, and Sir H[enry] Nevill with the Counsellors; like either shall be one of their rankes" (Sorlien 246).²

Cecil's employment of various Essex rebels in announcing the accession demonstrates further the improved status of the rebels in the very earliest days of James's reign. Hutson notes that Cecil, with his knowledge of Essex's Scottish

negotiations and in order to strengthen his own ties with the Essex group, "tactfully used rebels in announcing the accession" (232). The Council dispatched Sir Charles Percy and Thomas Somerset with the proclamation and letters to James in Scotland (McClure, Chamberlain 1: 189). Roger Manners, Earl of Rutland, along with other officials, proclaimed James in Nottingham "to be now James the First, King of England Fraunce and Ireland, our true lawfull and undoubted king" (HMC Rutland 1: 389), while Rutland's rebel brother George Manners and others made a similar proclamation in Chesterfield at the end of March (HMC Rutland 1: 390).³ James spent 21-22 April at Belvoir Castle, Rutland's Leicestershire seat, one of his first stops in England after he met Cecil at York and received his itinerary (Hutson 233-34).

Cecil, however, may not have trusted some of the Essex rebels in the matter of the succession. Although Monteagle entreats James in a March 1603 letter to "have use of your friends amongst whom I beseech you place me" if Elizabeth dies (HMC Salisbury 12: 703), he was not among those sent to declare the new King. Monteagle himself may supply the reason for this, appealing to Cecil later in the letter to suspend judgment if "any reports are brought to you that I have misbehaved myself" (HMC Salisbury 12: 703). As in the case of Baynham, Monteagle's Catholicism may have been cause for concern.

Significantly, several of Essex's most bitter enemies were quickly in disfavour. John Chamberlain reports in a 30 March 1603 letter to Dudley Carleton that Cobham "is even now taking poste to go toward the kinge . . . but the Lordes do so little like his going that I thincke his errand wilbe there before him" (McClure, Chamberlain 1: 191). Chamberlain was right, informing Carleton less than two weeks later that "The Lord Henry Howard was sent thither to possesse the Kinge's eare and countermine Lord Cobham" (McClure, Chamberlain 1: 192). Raleigh too found himself rapidly out of favour with the new King and Council; Cecil and Edward Bruce, Lord Kinloss, indicate in a 9 April letter to Lord Henry Howard that they have stayed the Captain of the Guard--Raleigh--in his journey conducting suitors to the King (PRO SP 14/1 no. 16 f. 30r).⁴

Fortunes were shifting for Essex's family and supporters as well. Giovanni Carlo Scaramelli describes James's 27 April 1603 reception of the late Earl's young son near the home of Sir Oliver Cromwell (Snow 20), writing that James "has received the twelve-year-old son of the Earl of Essex and taken him in his arms and kissed him, openly and loudly declaring him the son of the most noble knight that English land has ever begotten" (CSP Venetian 10: 26). In July 1603, shortly before the coronation, James restored the disinherited youth's titles and landed inheritance (Snow 22). In the first session of Parliament, the House of Lords passed a bill

granting "'complete restitution of the Son and two Daughters of Robert late Earl of Essex'" (Snow 22).⁵

The new King bestowed further favour upon the late Earl's son, appointing young Robert to bear the sword before him on his entry into London, and designating him "the eternal companion of his eldest son, the Prince of Wales" (CSP Venetian 10: 26). Essex's son, whose mother had entreated Cecil after her husband's death to "have a care of his poor orphans, which are left to her without one penny for their education and maintenance" (HMC Salisbury 11: 546), was now the companion of James's heir. Robert Peake the Elder, in a close copy of his own 1603 hunting portrait of Prince Henry with Sir John Harington, substitutes the young Earl of Essex for Harington,⁶ visual evidence of the Essex family's improving fortunes early in James's reign. When the King dissolved the Prince's household in 1604 and sent most of the youths about the Prince to university, the 3rd Earl of Essex was one of the few to remain with Henry at Court (Lodge 3: 96; HMC De L'Isle and Dudley 3: 138). The surviving correspondence between the two, which includes four letters over the course of about four years (between Essex's summer 1607 departure for his grand tour on the Continent and the Prince's death in 1612), reveals a fond relationship.⁷

James conferred various honours on young Essex in the early years of the reign. The Earl attended the King and

Queen upon their visit to Oxford in the summer of 1605, and Essex, by special request of the King, was there created Master of Arts (Snow 25). In late November of the same year, James granted the 3rd Earl remission from a substantial fine he had inherited (PRO SP 14/16 no. 87 ff. 158-160). An even more marked sign of favour, however, was James's personal interest in the 3rd Earl's marriage and the accompanying attempt to reconcile old enmities. In a 5 January 1606 ceremony solemnized in Whitehall's Royal Chapel, Essex, in the presence of the King, married Lady Frances Howard, daughter of Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk. The accompanying lavish festivities included the performance of the Ben Jonson/Inigo Jones masque Hymenaei, and James's wedding gift to Essex was gold and silver valued at nearly a thousand pounds (Snow 29).

Contemporary observers understood the marriage, and the rumoured upcoming union of Robert Cecil's son Lord Cranborne and another of Suffolk's daughters, as an attempt to reconcile the Cecil and Essex families.⁸ A dispatch of Nicolo Molin, Venetian Ambassador in England at this time, reveals a detailed and intriguing perception of the two unions. According to Molin, the purpose of the marriages was "to reconcile the young Earl to Lord Salisbury if possible" (CSP Venetian 10: 308). Molin understood that the young Essex was "little the friend of Salisbury, who was the sole and governing cause of the late Earl's execution" (CSP Venetian

10: 308). Salisbury did not want his son to inherit "this legacy of hatred," for, although the young Earl was neither rich nor influential, if Salisbury were to die, "his son would not succeed to the influence and authority which his father possesses, whereas Essex has an infinite number of friends all devoted to the memory of his father, all of whom are ready to attempt anything to avenge the death of so noble a gentleman" (CSP Venetian 10: 308). Molin believed that when the 3rd Earl of Essex was older, supporters of his father would urge him to seek revenge against the Cecils (CSP Venetian 10: 308). According to the Ambassador's sources, however, Salisbury's plan to "cancel the memory of these ancient enmities" by "creating ties of relationship" was "too feeble a medicine for so great an ill" (CSP Venetian 10: 308).

Despite Cecil's patronage of the Essex rebels, and his attempt to shift the majority of the responsibility for the 2nd Earl's death onto Raleigh and others, Molin still detected considerable animosity towards Cecil. Reconciliation between the two families, however, was already in progress, since Cecil's eldest son had also been one of Prince Henry's companions, and he and the young Earl became good friends. In September 1605, the 3rd Earl of Essex writes to Cranborne's father from Chesterford to apologize that Cranborne was unable to come to Court as requested, and asks permission for himself and the young lord "to kepe companie together until the next

weke," when they will be happy to come and do service to the King (PRO SP 14/15 no. 51 f. 81r).

Following his marriage, Essex continued to enjoy the royal approval. A little more than a month after the wedding, an order of the Court of the Exchequer directed customers or farmers of the Port of London to pay an annuity out of the port's customs, and the Sheriff of Herefordshire out of the issues of that county, to the 3rd Earl of Essex, along with all arrears due him since his restoration to the earldom (HMC Salisbury 18: 53). The annuities were formerly allowed to the 2nd Earl of Essex "as creation money for the maintenance of the honours and dignities of the said Earl as Earl of Essex and Viscount Hereford respectively" (HMC Salisbury 18: 53). On 30 June 1606, the young Earl, along with his brother-in-law Lord Theophilus Howard, received a joint stewardship "of divers Lordships, &c., in Wales, for life" (CSPD James 1603-1610 322). Upon Essex's return from his 1608-1609 Continental tour, in which such important figures as King Henri IV of France (friend and political ally of his executed father) and Prince Maurice of Nassau received and entertained him (Stoye 46; Snow 37), James still regarded him favourably, granting the Earl 3000 pounds "in lieu of claims made by his late father, notwithstanding his father's attainder" (CSPD James 1603-1610: 654).

The situations of other members of the 2nd Earl of Essex's immediate family also improved with the accession of James. The King excused Essex's mother Lettice, whose third husband Sir Christopher Blount was executed for his part in his step-son's rebellion, from paying the remainder of the considerable debts her late second husband, the Earl of Leicester, owed to the Crown (CSPD James 1603-1610 32). Essex's widow Frances, who had frequently appealed to Sir Robert Cecil for relief from her financial distress following the Earl's execution, was very much in favour with Queen Anne in the early days of the reign (Lee 35). She remained in England only a short time following James's accession, however, marrying Richard Bourke, 4th Earl of Clanricarde in 1603, and moving shortly thereafter to Ireland. The marriage evidently was not a popular one in England, for, according to Chamberlain, many who wished her well were "nothing pleased" with the match (McClure, Chamberlain 1: 194). Chamberlain says further that "the speach goes that the King hath taken order and sent her word that her son shalbe brought up with the younge prince" (McClure, Chamberlain 1: 194), suggesting that James's decision to appoint Essex companion to the Prince may have been the result of displeasure at his mother's marriage.⁹

The late Earl's sister Dorothy also found favour early in the new reign. Lady Anne Clifford records in her diary that

when the King and Queen visited Grafton on their progress towards London, Dorothy, Countess of Northumberland, was among the great ladies present to kiss Queen Anne's hand (Clifford 24). The Countess's status, of course, was not necessarily the result of her relationship to Essex. Her husband the Earl of Northumberland, although later implicated in the Gunpowder Plot, was at this time in the new King's good graces, accompanying James upon his ceremonial entry into the Tower of London (Nichols 1: 118) and receiving an appointment to the Privy Council (APC 32: 495). The Countess had been an ardent supporter of King James, reportedly saying before the accession that she would "rather eat . . . in salt" the hearts of those who opposed his claim, though she were "brought to the gallows instantly" for it (Dalrymple 21-33).

Apart from the 3rd Earl of Essex, the man most closely associated with the executed 2nd Earl in early Jacobean England was surely the Earl of Southampton, whom James continued to favour following his release from the Tower. The Venetian ambassador Scaramelli noted in a 15 May 1603 dispatch to the Doge and Senate that as James journeyed south to England he had "destined great rewards to the Earl of Southampton" (CSP Venetian 10: 25). The "great rewards" appeared immediately thereafter, for the following day Southampton received a royal pardon for his offence and restitution to him and his heirs (CSPD James 1603-1610 8). On

7 July the King granted him the Keepership of the Isle of Wight for life (CSPD James 1603-1610 19). Two days later, Southampton was installed as a Knight of the Garter, only the fourth of the new reign (Akrigg, Southampton 134).¹⁰ Robert Cecil, architect of James's peaceful succession, who became in rapid order a baron (Essendon), a viscount (Cranborne), and an earl (Salisbury), did not become a Knight of the Garter until 1606 (Croft, "Robert Cecil and the Early Jacobean Court" 140). Upon James's 21 July 1603 creation of his first English earls, Henry Wriothsesley--for such Southampton had been since his attainder--was formally made Earl of Southampton once again (CSPD James 1603-1610 23), but with the precedence of his former creation (Akrigg, Southampton 135). Possibly as early as July 1603, Southampton's name appears in a list of "'Noblemen allowed in the Privy Chamber'" (HMC Salisbury 16: 220).

One of the newly-restored Earl's most financially and symbolically significant rewards was the 23 August 1603 grant of the farm of the customs of sweet wines (CSPD James 1603-1610 34). Elizabeth had granted this lucrative farm to Essex in 1589 after his step-father the Earl of Leicester surrendered it to the Crown to meet his debts, and, twice renewed, it "was to provide a vital support for Essex's finances throughout the next decade" (Hammer, Polarisation 77). Elizabeth's refusal in late 1600 to renew the patent,

which Essex in a pleading letter described as "both my chiefest maintenance, and myne only meanes of compounding with the merchants to whom I am indetted" (PRO SP 12/275 no. 67 f. 112r), was a severe financial blow to Essex and proof that his disgrace was complete. John Chamberlain recognized the symbolic importance of the farm, writing in a 10 October 1600 letter to Dudley Carleton that "his [Essex's] frends . . . are very confident to see him shortly in favour: you may beleve as much of yt as you list but I nere a whit: for till I see his licence for sweet wines renewed (that expired now at Michaelmas) or some other substantiall favour aunswerable to yt, I shall esteem words as winde and holy water of court" (McClure, Chamberlain 1: 107). As Chamberlain understood the significance of Elizabeth's refusal to renew Essex's patent, so surely must early Jacobean observers have understood the significance of James's bestowal of this "substantiall favour" upon Southampton.

In the first few years of James's reign Southampton received a number of offices and land grants. He shared with the Earl of Devonshire the Lieutenancy of the county and town of Southampton and city of Winchester, and became Keeper of the New Forest for life (CSPD James 1603-1610 89; CSPD James 1601-1603 344). He received land grants in 1604, 1605, and 1608 (CSPD James 1603-1610 137, 162; HMC Salisbury 16: 187; (CSPD James 1601-1603 227; CSPD James 1603-1610 405).

Southampton was also the beneficiary of assorted financial rewards. In about 1604, for example, he was one of a number of people receiving money from recusant fines, and in 1608 received a 500-pound annuity (PRO SP 14/11 no. 25 f. 57v; HMC Salisbury 20: 149). By June 1603 suitors to the King regarded Southampton as a possible intermediary (HMC Salisbury 16: 131).

Southampton also shared a cordial relationship with the new Queen, and when she established her own court in 1603 Southampton became Master of the Queen's Game (Heinemann, "Rebel Lords" 71). According to a July 1603 letter from Dudley Carleton to Sir Thomas Parry, Southampton and Queen Anne actually discussed the subject of Essex's rebellion, a discussion which prompted a quarrel between Southampton and Lord Grey.¹¹ In Carleton's words, Southampton and Grey "fell flatly out in her presence" (Nichols 3: 197). Carleton reports the incident, which took place at Windsor, in some detail:

She [Queen Anne] was in discourse with the L. Southampton, touching the L. of Essex action, and wondered, as she said, so many great men did so little for themselves; to which L^d Southampton answered, that the Q. being made a party agst them they were forced to yeald; but if that course had not been taken, there was none of they private ennemys, with whom only their quarrel was, that durst have opposed themselves. This being overheard by the L. Grey, he would maintain the contrary party durst have done more than they The Q. bad them remember where they were, and soon after sent them to their lodgings, to which they were committed, with guard upon them. They next day were

brought and heard before the council, and condemned to be sent back to the Tower. (Nichols 1: 197-98)

At this point, however, James intervened, forgave them for "the wrong and disgrace done to her majesty," reconciled the two, and set them at liberty (Nichols 1: 198). The event is a significant one, for it is our single recorded glimpse into anything Southampton may have said to James concerning the purpose of the rebellion. Southampton seems to have indicated to the Queen that the purpose of the rebellion was a private quarrel; Carleton records no mention of protecting James's claim to the throne.

The incident did not damage Southampton's relationship with the new King and Queen, and in subsequent years he was frequently in their presence and participated in numerous ceremonial occasions. He figured prominently in the lavish ceremonies with which the English received the Constable of Castile when he visited England in August 1604 for the formal ratification of the peace treaty with Spain (Akrigg, Southampton 142; Rye 118-19, 123). On the second anniversary of James's accession, Southampton was among the runners at tilt (HMC Salisbury 17: 107), and on a festival day in August of the same year was in attendance on the King (HMC Salisbury 19: 207). In early autumn 1606 "his Majesty dined with the Earl of Southampton of whom he received great entertainment" (HMC Salisbury 18: 270).

Southampton's friendly relationship with both King and Queen at this time is also apparent in the births of his children. His daughter Anna was baptized in the Chapel Royal in April 1604, and his son and heir, James, the 26 March 1605 (Rimbault 173). Queen Anne stood godmother to little Anna, while King James personally attended the baptism of James and stood as godfather (Stopes 281, 291).

In the early years of his reign in England, then, King James rehabilitated the fortunes of Southampton, principal survivor of the Essex revolt. It is important to note, however, that James did not appoint him to any position of significant political power. Soon after his accession, James named a number of men to the Privy Council--the Earls of Cumberland and Northumberland, Lord Thomas Howard, Mountjoy (APC 32: 495)--but Southampton was not among them. James did not appoint him to the Privy Council until 1619 (CSPD James 1619-1623 41). Several scholars suggest that Cecil was responsible for the policy of granting Southampton titles and money, but excluding him from power. Akrigg writes that "It was probably on Cecil's advice that King James established his policy of giving Southampton honours and money but not political power" (Southampton 153), while Heinemann observes that "Former Essexians were not appointed to key positions in James's own entourage (since the all-powerful Cecil remained suspicious)" ("Rebel Lords" 71). Akrigg and Heinemann arrive

at such a conclusion, however, by accepting the position that James genuinely considered Essex to be his martyr. As we have seen, however, some evidence suggests that James himself may have been suspicious of the intentions of Essex and his associates, and his exclusion of Southampton from key political positions and military commands may well have been a policy of his own devising. James did not hurry to appoint Southampton to the Privy Council after Cecil's death in 1612. While Cecil was undoubtedly, in the words of one suitor in March 1603, "a principal steersman" (HMC Salisbury 15: 22) in the early days of James's reign, probably a combination of James's recognition of Southampton's popularity and his wariness about the intentions of the Essex rebels accounts for the King's policy towards Southampton early in the reign.

One Essex associate upon whom James bestowed titles, money, and political power was the Earl's friend Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy. Mountjoy was Lord Deputy in Ireland when the rebellion actually occurred, but had participated earlier in potentially treasonous discussions and had been involved in some of the negotiations with James. While the English authorities carefully suppressed evidence of Mountjoy's involvement in the earlier schemes and did not discipline him for his actions, James, of course, knew of Mountjoy's implication in plans to use the army in Ireland for some sort of action in England. Only a month after James's

accession, Mountjoy, then still in Ireland subduing the rebels, joined the ranks of the Privy Council, the position of political power which was to elude Southampton for many years. Mountjoy became a Privy Councillor before even meeting the new King. By an express royal order, he was hence "to be holden and reputed as one of the Councill and his Lordship to bee qualified accordingly in the dispatches which in the meane time are to be made unto him" (APC 32: 495). Mountjoy sailed for England with the defeated Tyrone in late May 1603, and took the oath of a Privy Councillor on 7 June 1603 (APC 32: 499).

In the three years between James's accession and Mountjoy's death, he received various other honours and offices. On 21 July 1603, the same day that James restored Southampton to his earldom, he created Mountjoy the Earl of Devonshire (CSPD James 1603-1610 23). Devonshire became Master of the Ordnance in August 1603, Captain of the town and castle of Portsmouth in January 1604, and joint Lieutenant of Southampton and Winchester with his friend the Earl of Southampton in March 1604 (CSPD James 1603-1610 31; PRO SP 14/8 no. 12 f. 22r; CSPD James 1603-1610 89). He was also Deputy to Lord Admiral Nottingham and one of seven men who shared the office of Earl Marshal of England (Hutson 243; (CSPD James 1603-1610 192). Devonshire was one of four commissioners designated to negotiate with the French

ambassador in 1603, and, as the Lord Deputy whose army had defeated the Irish and their Spanish reinforcements at Kinsale in 1601, he figured prominently in the 1604 peace conference in which England and Spain finally came to terms (Frederick M. Jones 177). He also served on the commission of enquiry investigating the Gunpowder Plot and bringing the participants to justice (Frederick M. Jones 178). Devonshire received land grants in June 1603, February 1604, and February 1605 (CSPD James 1603-1610 16; CSPD James 1603-1610 83; CSPD James 1603-1610 195). According to his biographer Frederick M. Jones, at the time of his death Devonshire was one of the wealthiest landowners in England (177).

While James's restoration of the fortunes of Southampton and the young 3rd Earl of Essex was quite clearly related to their affiliation with the executed 2nd Earl of Essex, the King's favour towards Devonshire was largely the result of something else. Devonshire, or Mountjoy as he had then been, was not imprisoned, disinherited, or disgraced following the Essex rebellion. Although he was in some danger following the revelations of Essex and his fellow conspirators, Elizabeth had not recalled him from Ireland and he had continued to distinguish himself as Lord Deputy, particularly in his repulse of the Spanish at Kinsale in September 1601. The Earl of Tyrone surrendered to Mountjoy in the final days of Elizabeth's reign, and his earldom and appointment to the

Privy Council recognized and rewarded his service in Ireland, rather than his implication in Essex's rising. Rowland Whyte heard as early as January 1600 that Mountjoy was to be appointed to the Privy Council, although Elizabeth was reserving the appointment until his return from Ireland (Collins 2: 164). In the popular imagination, however, Mountjoy was assuredly linked with the late Earl, and various poets and playwrights appealed to him as a comrade of Essex. John Ford's Fames Memoriall, or the Earle of Devonshire Deceased (1606), for example, describes Essex and Devonshire as "two heart-vnited brothers" (C3r). While rewarding Devonshire for his service to the Crown, James perhaps coincidentally derived the benefits of, to borrow Bacon's phrasing, gracing one he had heard to be popular.

By the time of Devonshire's death in April 1606, however, he was in disgrace for his marriage to one of the most remarkable figures in the Essex rebellion, the late Earl's sister Lady Penelope Rich. Although the Lord Admiral, as he instructed Robert Sidney on the negotiations with the rebels at the siege of Essex House, considered the women in the house to be "innocent" (HMC Longleat 5: 280), Lady Rich, who had passionately defended her brother during his confinement upon his return from Ireland,¹² played a prominent role in her brother's 1601 rising. On the night before and the morning of the rebellion she visited some of the Earl's friends and

attempted to secure their support. Edward Bushell identified Lady Rich as one of those who dined at Essex House the night before the revolt, when the conspirators resolved upon their course of action (PRO SP 12/278 no. 69 f. 119r). According to the testimony of Edward Bromley, later that night Lady Rich sent a message to his brother Sir Henry Bromley, rousing him from sleep and having him brought to her for "secrete conference" (PRO SP 12/279 no. 10 f. 13r).¹³ The morning of the rebellion she travelled to the Earl of Bedford's home and, "telling him in what danger he [Essex] was," persuaded him to accompany her (PRO SP 12/278 no. 50, f. 72r).¹⁴

In his confession, Essex accused her of even greater complicity. According to Nottingham's account of the Earl's confession, Essex said, "I must accuse One, who is most nearest unto me, my Sister; who did continually urge me on with tell[in]g me, how all my Friends, & Followers thought me a Coward, & that I had lost all my Valor" (Bodleian MS Tanner 76 f. 97r). Lady Rich, who was confined immediately after the rebellion (PRO SP 12/278 no. 40 f. 40r; no. 41 f. 58r), excused her part in the action in a letter to Nottingham following her brother's execution: "For my desartes towards him that is gon, it is knowen that I have bine more like a slave to him then a sister, which proceeded out of my exseeding love, rather then his authority" (Bodleian MS Tanner 114 f. 139r). She denies foreknowledge of the treason, and

maintains that she is free from the knowledge of "these unruly counsells" (Bodleian MS Tanner 114 f. 139r).

Lady Rich, although deeply implicated in her brother's action, was the only major participant to escape with no punishment at all beyond her initial confinement. Sylvia Freedman offers an explanation for Rich's good fortune, writing that, as well as her own self-possession and wisdom, "Penelope had to thank for her freedom the absent figure of Mountjoy" (146). Freedman proposes that the Queen and her advisors were concerned that Mountjoy, who had previously considered using the army to support her brother, might indeed do so to defend Penelope herself, with whom he had been in a devoted relationship for almost ten years (146).¹⁵ Nottingham assured Mountjoy that, while Essex's confession of Penelope's role had prompted the Queen to order Nottingham and Cecil to question her, she was released after her wise and modest answers (Bodleian MS Tanner 76 f. 97r).

The Queen and her advisors were definitely concerned about the loyalties of many in the English army in Ireland, including Mountjoy. They did not necessarily fear, however, that he might bring part of the Irish army to England in defence of Penelope. They had decided not to punish Mountjoy, nor even reveal evidence of his involvement, as he continued to succeed in Ireland. The English authorities may have believed releasing Penelope would free Mountjoy from personal

concerns preventing his total concentration upon the problems in Ireland. The Lord Deputy did not consider utilizing the army to secure his own freedom when he learned that the conspirators' confessions had implicated him. Mountjoy was aware, despite suppression of his name in public information on the rebellion, that the authorities knew of his involvement in the earlier plots. Fynes Moryson, the secretary who was with Mountjoy in Ireland, writes that the Lord Deputy "had good cause to be wary in his words and actions, since by some confessions in England, himselfe was tainted with priuity to the Earles practises" (89). Mountjoy, Moryson claims, was prepared to flee to the Continent rather than, in the Lord Deputy's own words, "put his necke vnder the fyle of the Queenes Atturnies tongue" (89). If the Queen summoned him to England, he "was purposed with his said friends [supporters of Essex] to saile into France, they having priuately fitted themselues with money and necessaries thereunto" (89). Moryson, at least, was not aware of any plans Mountjoy might have to use the English army in Ireland to protect himself, let alone Lady Rich.

Although the authorities did not punish Lady Rich for her involvement in Essex's rising, her life between her brother's death and the accession of the new King was undoubtedly very difficult. Lord Rich abandoned her, and she consequently suffered severe financial problems (Freedman 155). Almost two

years after the rebellion, association with Penelope was still dangerous, for in a 28 December 1602 letter to Sir Robert Sidney, Rowland Whyte reports that "The storme continewes now and then, but all depends upon my Lady Riches being or not being amongst you" (HMC De L'Isle and Dudley 2: 618).

Penelope's situation changed dramatically, however, upon the accession of James. A letter of late April 1603 observes that the Lady Rich is among the "divers ladies" sent to attend upon Queen Anne at Berwick (HMC Salisbury 15: 56). Dudley Carlton too noted Lady Rich's closeness with Queen Anne, writing in a 4 July letter to John Chamberlain that "Our great ladies and the maids of honor are all sworn of the privy chamber, but the ladies of Bedford, Rich, and Essex especially in favour" (Lee 35). Following the 25 July coronation, Lady Anne Clifford mentions that "Now was my Lady Rich grown great with the Queen" (Clifford 26). During the first few years of James's reign, Penelope figured prominently in numerous court festivities; she was one of the court ladies who, face and arms painted black, participated in Ben Jonson's Masque of Blackness (Lee 68). The greatest sign of James's favour in these early days of the reign was his 17 August 1603 proclamation granting Lady Rich extraordinary precedence:

Whereas wee for the especiall favor and respect wee beare to our Right trusty and welbeloved the Lady Rich are resolved to grant her in her dayly service and attendance uppon our dearest bedfellow the Queene our will and pleasure is that she shall take place and ranke of the daughter of the auncientest

Earle of Essex called Bourcher whose heir her father was. (PRO SP 14/3 no. 25 f. 25r)¹⁶

The proclamation, explaining that upon her marriage to Lord Rich, "according to the custome of the law of honour she lost her place by byrth and was to rank her selfe according to her husbands Barony," grants her precedence over the daughters of all Earls except those of Arundel, Oxford, Northumberland, and Shrewsbury (PRO SP 14/3 no. 25 f. 25r). Leeds Barroll describes the proclamation as part of James's "general lionization of the Earl of Essex's family" ("The Court of the First Stuart Queen" 204).

Shortly after James's accession, then, the stars of Lady Rich and the Earl of Devonshire were on the rise. Their favour in the new reign, however, was short-lived. The two, who now lived openly together without censure, attempted to legalize their relationship, with disastrous results. After Penelope's ecclesiastical divorce from Lord Rich in November 1605, she and Devonshire wed in a 26 December 1605 ceremony performed by Devonshire's private chaplain William Laud, later Archbishop of Canterbury (Frederick M. Jones 180).¹⁷ In granting the divorce, however, the judges had strongly forbidden either party to remarry, ordering them to live "chastely and celibately in the future" (Freedman 164). By an Act of 1604, James had made remarriage such as Devonshire's and Penelope's a felony; to secure the legality of their marriage, "Devonshire would have required an Act of

Parliament" (Frederick M. Jones 180). Although the King did not deprive the Earl of his offices, Devonshire and Penelope did not appear at Court again (Frederick M. Jones 180-181). Public opinion weighed heavily against the couple, and when Devonshire died in April 1606 and Penelope died little more than a year later, engaged since Devonshire's death in a fierce legal battle to protect that which he had willed to her and to their children (Freedman 192, 177-89). Her grave, due to the scandal, is virtually anonymous (Freedman 196). If James was prepared to reward those associated with Essex and his rebellion, clearly those rewards had limits. The King's treatment of Essex's sister and friend at the end of their lives supports the contention that he did not necessarily believe that the Essex rebellion had been in support of his claim to the throne.

Other prominent figures involved in Essex's action include the Earls of Bedford and Rutland. Upon James's accession Bedford quickly received relief from the remainder of his 10 000 fine "for joining with the Earl of Essex" (CSPD James 1603-1610 15). Bedford's wife Lucy was, along with Lady Rich, rapidly in the favour of the new Queen. In mid-June 1603, the Countess of Bedford was the first woman sworn to the new Queen's Privy Chamber (Lodge 3: 12). She was also among the women Dudley Carleton noticed to be in particular favour with the Queen in early July, and she too participated in

Jonson's Masque of Blackness in January 1605 (Lee 35, 67). Leeds Barroll notes that the Countess of Bedford was also close to Lady Penelope Rich, as well as to Essex's other sister Dorothy, Countess of Northumberland (200). In June 1603, James dispatched the Earl of Rutland into Denmark to represent him at the christening of the Danish King's daughter (Lodge 3: 12). Upon his return, Rutland was among the noblemen allowed in the Privy Chamber (HMC Salisbury 15: 220). In 1603 he became Keeper of the Park of Beskwood and Clipston in Nottinghamshire for life, High Steward of Grantham, and Lord Lieutenant of Lincolnshire (CSPD James 1603-1610 14; Fernald 275). In 1605, James bestowed upon him "the benefit of ten recusants for their offence of recusancy" (HMC Salisbury 17:194-95).

The most involved of the various Lords in the action was probably William, 3rd Lord Sandys.¹⁸ His situation improved considerably under the new monarch. Shortly after James's accession, Sandys appealed to Cecil for the discharge of his 5000-pound fine, of which he had already paid 1000 pounds (HMC Salisbury 15: 89). Within a day of his appeal to Cecil, the King pardoned him the remaining 4000 pounds. Sandys also spent some time in attendance upon the new King. In May 1605 he writes regretfully to James that, due to "infirmities," he cannot perform the office of his calling by attending the King in person (PRO SP 14/14 no. 26 f. 72r). In August 1607 Sandys

was in better health and able to perform his office, as he and Southampton, among others, attended the King in Winchester upon a festival day (HMC Salisbury 19: 207).

Lord Monteagle also found favour under James, although his rewards after 1605 were probably more the result of his betrayal of the Gunpowder Plot than his association with the 2nd Earl of Essex. After the Gunpowder Plot, Monteagle received a pension from James for, as the preamble to the grant terms it, being "so happy an instrument of our preservation" (PRO SP 14/20 no. 56 f. 56r). Even before the events of November 1605, however, James had bestowed honours upon Monteagle, in April 1604 granting him the title he had been using illegally (HMC Salisbury 16: 62). Monteagle also participated in various ceremonial occasions, being present on Accession Day 1605 as one of the runners at tilt (HMC Salisbury 17: 107).

Edward, 3rd Lord Cromwell, also experienced some advancement under James.¹⁹ During the new reign he became a Privy Councillor for Ireland, and, as a Justice of the Peace in Leicestershire at the time of the Gunpowder Plot, examined various witnesses (Fernald 233). He remained in dire financial straits, however, having sold much of his land to meet his fine. He petitioned Robert Cecil for relief of his financial problems in April 1604 (HMC Salisbury 15: 46), unsuccessfully, it seems, for in November of the same year

some his lands were seized to be sold for payment of his debt (CSPD James 1603-1610 169). In 1605 he did receive a grant of lands in Kent, and in that same year moved to Ireland, where he became Governor of Lecale (CSPD James 1603-1610 193; Fernald 233).

Evidence also suggests that the less socially prominent rebels, initially at least, received some advancement under James. A number of them, for example, received knighthoods shortly after the King's accession. Sir George Manners was among those knighted by James at Belvoir Castle as the King travelled south to London (Nichols 1: 91), and Francis Smith received a knighthood two days before James's 25 July 1603 coronation (Shaw 2: 117). Edward Bushell was knighted in December 1604, and John Selby in May 1605 (Shaw 2: 136-37). Francis Manners was among those, "all of the king's choice," created a Knight of the Bath in a 6 January 1605 ceremony (Lee 67).²⁰ Lady Anne Clifford observed that the knights James created as he travelled from Scotland to England were "innumerable" (Clifford 22), so these knighthoods do not necessarily designate special favour. Hutson notes that rebel recipients such as Bushell and Selby were members of "gentry families who would naturally be included" (238).

The Manners brothers, Bushell, and Selby did obtain advancement and employment early in James's reign. Sir George Manners, later 7th Earl of Rutland, began a long parliamentary

career in 1604 (Fernald 273), and his brother Francis, who became 6th Earl of Rutland in 1612, was "much honored in the new reign," eventually becoming both a Knight of the Garter and a Privy Councillor (Fernald 271-72). By March 1606 Bushell was one of James's household servants (HMC Salisbury 24: 62), and was also equery to Queen Anne (Fernald 221). Selby, a professional soldier, continued his military career in the Low Countries (McClure, Chamberlain 1: 314).

G.J. Hutson, whose study of the Essex rebels focuses upon the group's military members, writes that "Grants and offices were liberally showered upon the military rebels" (239). Among these military rebels was Richard Lovelace, who received both office and land grant. In November 1608, the King selected Lovelace as a sheriff for Berkshire (McClure, Chamberlain 1: 270-71), and less than a year later granted him and his heirs the manor of Gunthorpe (CSPD James 1603-1610 512). In April 1605, James recommended Sir William Constable be named officer for the measuring of coal in the port of Newcastle-Upon-Tyne, and by March 1606, Constable, like Bushell, was among James's household servants (HMC Salisbury 24: 62; HMC Salisbury 17: 133). In October 1607 Constable received a new grant of the fee farm of the manor of Chopwell (HMC Salisbury 19: 296). He was also a justice of the peace in York early in James's reign (APC 33: 298-99). Another of the military rebels, Sir Robert Vernon, was renewed in

December 1607 as a Deputy Lieutenant within the government in Wales (HMC Salisbury 19: 375), and in 1609 he was named to the Council in the Welsh Marches (Fernald 317). Vernon, who in August 1603 became Surveyor of Victuals at Berwick (CPSD James 1603-1610 32), was also Cofferer of the royal household until 1615 (Fernald 317).²¹

Other military rebels who found some advancement early in James's reign include Sir Ferdinando Gorges, George Orrell, Ellis Jones, and Edward Michelbourne. In September 1603, James restored Gorges to his post of Captain of the New Fort at Plymouth (CSPD James 1603-1610 39), a position which he had lost following the 1601 rebellion. Gorges had apparently been financially destitute a year after the rebellion, writing Cecil to thank Elizabeth for his pardon but also complaining of the "Extremety of my owne present wantes" (PRO SP 12/283A no. 33 f. 62r). The rebel George Orrell received a grant of lands and tenements in Holborn, Middlesex in April 1607 (CSPD James 1603-1610 355). Ellis Jones, who had served under Essex in Ireland, returned there after his release, and received a knighthood in 1604 (Shaw 2: 129). Jones progressed rapidly from his position as a captain to Munster Provost Marshal (Hutson 249). In October 1604 Edward Michelbourne was among five men granted money towards ship-building (CSPD James 1603-1610 162).²²

Civilians implicated in the revolt, such as Edmund Wiseman and Edward Reynolds, also made progress early in the new reign, as did the relatives of some executed and deceased rebels. In July 1604 Wiseman, Essex's secretary, received a pardon "for treasons in the matter of the Earl of Essex" (CSPD James 1603-1610 130). Reynolds, another secretary, had asked Elizabeth in August 1597 for the reversion of the office of Clerk of the Privy Seal or the Court of Requests (HMC Salisbury 7: 332), but was unsuccessful in his bid; in 1608 he became Clerk of the Privy Seal (HMC Salisbury 20: 30). In June 1603 the wife of John Littleton, a rebel who died in King's Bench Prison in Southwark in late July 1601 (PRO SP 12/281 no. 67 f. 126r), received a grant of lands and goods belonging to her late husband (CSPD James 1603-1610 17). Attorney General Edward Coke, in a 4 May 1603 letter to Sir Robert Cecil, writes that "I thought good to acquaint you how his Majesty of his bounty has restored . . . Mr. Littleton's children also to their father's lands and goods" (HMC Salisbury 15: 72).²³

The improved status of some of the Essex rebels early in James's reign is apparent in the efforts of those who had most eagerly confessed under government pressure to establish that they had not behaved treacherously towards the Earl. Sir John Davies, whose confession implicated many men, was anxious early in James's reign to clear himself of accusations about

his carriage in the Earl of Essex's "trouble" (HMC Salisbury 15: 84). Very shortly after Elizabeth's death, and before Southampton was even released from the Tower, Davies approached that Earl in an effort to free himself from charges of malice and falsehood towards Essex. When he still detected Southampton's disfavour, Davies spoke with the Earl again, and, making no progress, appealed to Cecil to affirm that the confession of Sir Ferdinando Gorges had in fact been the first (HMC Salisbury 15: 84-85). William Udall, who was not involved in Essex's rebellion but had after the Earl's return from Ireland claimed that Essex and Tyrone "confederated against the King" (HMC Salisbury 15: 326), complained bitterly in late 1603 and early 1604 about those who censured him for his behaviour concerning the late Earl: "The malice against me especially rises for the late Earl of Essex in that it is reported that I dealt against him" (HMC Salisbury 15: 326).

In early Jacobean England, then, perceived betrayal of Essex provoked hostility. And certainly a number of the Essex rebels, frustrated in their ambitions for advancement under Elizabeth, received a degree of favour in the early Jacobean period; James did not exclude them from the "bonanza" (Hutson 238) of his first decade. The numerous grants and offices contained little real power for the majority of the rebels, although the grants and offices did recognize the social

status of the rebels in a way which Elizabeth had refused to do (Hutson 242).

Some survivors of the Essex rebellion, however, did not flourish under James at all. Between 1604 and 1606 Sir Christopher Heydon repeatedly sued Cecil, Coke, and King James, unsuccessfully, for a farm of the customs of Norfolk (HMC Salisbury 16: 335; 15: 17: 68), complaining bitterly of his poverty and disgrace (Fernald 257-58). Early in James's reign Coke described Heydon's younger brother Sir John, also a rebel, as very poor and "confined to his poor Mother's house" (HMC Salisbury 15: 72).²⁴ Robert Vernon, whose condition did improve under James, was not always successful in his suits to the King. In May 1604 he launched a failed attempt to establish himself as the rightful heir to lands of the barony of Powis descended to the Vernon family (HMC Salisbury 20: 155).²⁵

III. Conclusion

Just as James expressed equivocal opinions about Essex himself, so too was his treatment of the rebels, though largely favourable, also equivocal in the early years of his reign. He promoted many of the prominent Essex rebels, but, as in the case of Southampton, denied them positions of significant power. During this period he negotiated a fine line between rewarding the participants of a popular rebellion

and promoting men whom he not only believed may have acted to interfere with his succession to the English throne, but whose own policies, inherited from the Earl of Essex, would eventually clash with his own. The King's attitude towards Essex and the survivors of his revolt influenced not only his treatment of those survivors, but also the numerous dramatic and verse portrayals of Essex in the early years of James's English reign.

Notes

¹ Frederic Gerschow, tutor to Philip Julius, the young Duke of Stettin-Pomerania, accompanied the Duke on his 1602 trip to England and recorded the events of the visit. His description of their 16 September visit to the Tower, when Elizabeth was not in London, demonstrates the popular Earl's status as folk hero:

On descending to the courtyard, the spot was shown to us where the brave hero the Earl of Essex was beheaded, and lay buried in the chapel close by. How beloved and admired this Earl was throughout the kingdom, may be judged from the circumstance that his song, in which he takes leave of the Queen and the whole country, and in which he also shows the reason of his unlucky fate, is sung and played on musical instruments all over the country, even in our presence at the royal court, though his memory is condemned as that of a man having committed high treason. (von Bulow 15)

The identity of this "song" is uncertain, and scholars have been too quick to assume it is the "Lamentable New Ballad Upon the Earl of Essex His Death," whose earliest extant printed versions date from the 1620s but which probably circulated in manuscript shortly after the Earl's death. Some of the information Gerschow provides about the content of the song is consistent with the content of the "Lamentable New Ballad" (in Ebsworth and Chappell 1: 571-74). Essex in stanza 8 "takes leave of the Queen and the whole country" in his speech from the scaffold:

Farewell Elizabeth my gracious Queene
 God blesse thee and thy counsell all:
 Farewell my Knights of Chiuallrie,
 farewell my soldiers stout and tall:
 Farewell the Commons great and small,
 into the hands of men I light,
 My life shall make amends for all,
 for Essex bids the world good-night.

The ballad portrays less obviously, however, "the reason of his unlucky fate," eliding altogether the matter of the treason and the events leading up to it, saying simply, in stanza 6, "Would God he had ne're Ireland knowne," and then proceeding to a description of the execution.

Gerschow's description, in fact, is sufficiently vague to permit other possibilities. Steven W. May assumes that the "his song" refers to a poem apparently written by Essex himself, and suggests "The buzzeinge Bees complaynt" (The Poems of Edward De Vere, Seventeenth Earl of Oxford and of Robert Devereux, Second Earl of Essex" 19), which Essex may have written during a period of royal disfavour. Again, the poem is not a perfect match for Gerschow's description, for,

although it shows "the reason of his unlucky fate"--the actions of his rivals--Essex does not really take leave of Queen and country. The poem does have a musical history which supports the argument that it is indeed the song which Gerschow heard; John Dowland set the first three stanzas of the 15-stanza poem to music in his The Third and Last Booke of Songs or Aires, published in 1603.

Attempting to determine the identity of the song based upon Gerschow's description may be an exercise in futility, considering the circumstances under which he produced his account. Instructed by the Duke to make a daily record of their visit, Gerschow simply made notes, intending to order them later. Before he could do so, however, he gave away part of his manuscript and another part sustained rain damage. He had to reconstruct the account from memory, dictating what he could recall to an amanuensis (von Bulow 2). Gerschow did not actually complete the account until 1605 (von Bulow 2), so it may demonstrate some lapses in memory.

2 For more detailed discussion of Neville's part in the rebellion, his punishment, and James's treatment of him after the accession, see Chapter 6.

3 Charles Percy, brother of Essex's brother-in-law the Earl of Northumberland, was present at the Saturday 7 February 1601 Globe Theatre performance by the Lord Chamberlain's Men of a play on the deposing of Richard II. Various people examined in the wake of the rebellion accused Percy of procuring the play (PRO SP 12/278 no. 78 f. 130r; PRO SP 12/278 no. 85 f. 139r). He was imprisoned in the Fleet and fined 500 pounds (HMC Salisbury 11: 214).

Roger Manners, 5th Earl of Rutland, was not aware of the plans formulated prior to the morning of 8 February, for, according to Henry Neville, the Essex conspirators "said they could not trust him above two hours before they attempted it" (PRO SP 12/279 no. 11 f. 17v). When he arrived at Essex House on the morning of the rebellion and heard that Essex intended to revenge himself on his enemies, Rutland, according to his examination, "resolved to live and die with the Earl of Essex" (PRO SP 12/278 no. 51 f. 75r). He was imprisoned in the Tower and fined either 20 000 or 30 000 pounds, later mitigated to 10 000 pounds (HMC Salisbury 11: 214; PRO SP 12/281 no. 67 f. 125v). He was released from the Tower in August and confined to the house of his uncle Roger Manners (PRO SP 12/281 no. 67 f. 125v). Rutland was married to Elizabeth, daughter of Essex's wife Frances by her first husband Sir Philip Sidney.

I am unsure of the actions of Rutland's younger brother Sir George Manners on the day of the revolt. He was fined 400 marks for his involvement (HMC Salisbury 11: 214).

⁴ See Chapter 5 for a detailed discussion of Raleigh's position with the King at this time.

⁵ Essex's daughters were Frances, born in September 1599 only a few days after her father's desperate return from Ireland, and Dorothy, born in December 1600 shortly before the rebellion. I know few details of the little girls' lives immediately after James's accession, but in 1617 Frances married William Seymour, later Earl of Hertford and then Duke of Somerset; Seymour had previously been married to Arbella Stuart (Locke 121). Dorothy married Henry Shirley in 1615 (Snow 84), but sued for divorce after her husband, imprisoned in 1627 for disparaging the honour of the 3rd Earl of Essex's political ally the Earl of Huntingdon, was accused of adultery before the Court of High Commission (Snow 189). After "complicated legal maneuvers," she eventually separated from him, and in 1635 married Anthony Stafford (Snow 190).

⁶ For the original painting see Strong, Henry, Prince of Wales and England's Lost Renaissance 36, and Williamson 28; for the copy see Snow 238.

⁷ Their relationship cooled in the later years of the young Prince's life. See Chapter 7 for further details.

⁸ Cecil himself had become Earl of Salisbury in May 1605, whereupon his eldest son, William, became Viscount Cranborne, a title conferred upon Robert Cecil in 1604. John Chamberlain, too, had heard the rumours that the two youths would marry daughters of the Earl of Suffolk, writing to Dudley Carleton in October 1605 that "The Earle of Essex and the younge Lord Crambourne shall marry two of the Lord Chamberlaines daughters at court very shortly" (McClure, Chamberlain 1: 211-12). Cranborne did not marry Suffolk's daughter Catherine until 1608.

⁹ Manningham describes him as "a goodly personable gent[leman] something resembling the late E[arl] of Essex" (Sorlien 231). Although Irish by birth, he was educated at Oxford through the means of Sir Francis Walsingham (Hammer, Polarisation 287-88). Lord Bourke, as he was prior to inheriting the Clanricarde title, had close connections with the Earl of Essex (Hammer, Polarisation 287). Essex mentions in a 1597 letter to Sir Robert Cecil that he had raised the future Earl of Clanricarde "from a boy" (HMC Salisbury 7: 345-46).

Essex's sister Lady Penelope Rich did not protest her former sister-in-law's marriage, for Frances and her husband the Earl of Clanricarde visited Lady Penelope at Wanstead in September 1606 (Freedman 191). The two women had been together in Essex House on the day of the revolt. In

September 1605 the Countess of Clanricarde was apparently soon to arrive at Court for her son's wedding (HMC Rutland 4: 395).

10 The first three were Prince Henry, Queen Anne's brother King Christian IV of Denmark, and the Scottish Duke of Lennox (Akrigg, Southampton 134).

11 The relationship of Southampton and Thomas, Lord Grey of Wilton, had long been contentious. The hostilities began in 1599 during the campaign in Ireland, when Essex disciplined Grey for an act of insubordination to Southampton, then still General of the Horse. Lord Grey later challenged Southampton to a duel, and various surviving letters document their efforts to agree upon a time and place (HMC Salisbury 10: 34-35, 262-63; Collins 2: 164, 192). Forbidden by the Privy Council to duel, the two may nonetheless have fought while in the Low Countries, for Lord Grey writes to the Privy Council in August 1600 that they will shortly hear of his "disobedience" (HMC Salisbury 10: 273). On 9 January 1601, when both were back in England, Grey and a number of his followers attacked Southampton, an offence for which the Queen committed Lord Grey to the Fleet. Grey remained in prison until the 2 February. Essex and his followers considered Grey's attack on Southampton evidence that Essex's enemies sought to kill him and his supporters, and thus used the attack as justification for the rebellion. Grey was a member of the jury that convicted Essex and Southampton of treason. Several weeks after the incident in which Southampton and Grey fell out before Queen Anne, however, officials arrested Grey himself for involvement in the Bye Plot, and Southampton sat as juror at Grey's 7 December 1603 treason trial. Convicted of the crime and sentenced to death, Grey died in the Tower ten years after James's last-minute commutation of his death sentence. For further details of the rivalry between Southampton and Grey, see Stopes 163-171.

12 At some time between the Earl's return from Ireland in September 1599 and his hearing at York House in June 1600, his sister, Penelope Rich, who had been forbidden to visit her brother during his imprisonment, wrote a letter to the Queen protesting her treatment of Essex and urging her to check the course of the "vnbridled hate" of Essex's enemies, who sought to ruin him and "rise by his ouerthrowe" (A2v). The letter was printed by May of 1600 along with Essex's own controversial Apologie of the Earl of Essex (HMC De L'Isle and Dudley 2: 461). Both the Apologie and the letter were suppressed, and Rich "sent for and come up to aunswer and interpret her riddles" (McClure, Chamberlain 1: 96).

Rich was summoned before the Privy Council to explain her letter even before the offensive printing. Rowland Whyte tells Sir Robert Sidney in a 2 February 1600 letter, "'I hard

that my Lady Rich was called before my Lord Treasurer or Mr. Secretary, for a letter she had wrytten to her Majestie'" (HMC De L'Isle and Dudley 435). Rich was commanded to keep to her house and was still in trouble at the end of March, when, summoned again to answer for the letter, "excused her selfe by sickness and is now stolen into the countrie to be further out of harmes way" (PRO SP 12/274 no. 86 f. 154r). The letter received further attention at Essex's 6 June York House tribunal (Spedding 2: 178), and the matter was not satisfactorily resolved and Rich acquitted of wrongdoing until the end of the summer. As late as 13 August Lord Treasurer Buckhurst, whom Cecil had instructed about how to conduct the questioning, writes to the Secretary that, after some difficulty locating Rich, he has elicited from her the proper acknowledgement of her folly and assurances that the like will not happen again (CSP Ireland Elizabeth 1600 March-October 346).

13 The following morning Henry Bromley sent his brother Edward to Essex with the message that he, Sir John Scott, and Thomas Smythe, Sheriff of London, were ready to do Essex service. Essex entreated them to repair to Sheriff Smythe's house, and Henry Bromley and Scott, who had been in church when he received the message, agreed to dine with the Sheriff. Edward Bromley met with Essex as the Earl was leaving Essex House and, delivering his message, "went in his companie to Sheriffe Smythes house". When the promised support of Sheriff Smythe failed to materialize and Essex's company was repulsed at Ludgate, Edward Bromley returned with the company to Essex House and escaped when the Earl yielded (PRO SP 12/279 no. 10 f. 13r). Although Edward was imprisoned he was not proceeded against (Fernald 215). His brother Henry was fined (HMC Salisbury 11: 214).

14 Although the several accounts of the actions of Edward Russell, 3rd Earl of Bedford, differ at times, he was no longer with Essex's company during the siege of Essex House. According to one account, Bedford followed Essex into London, but he "sliptt fro[m] the company" upon the proclamation declaring Essex a traitor, and went to the Court (PRO SP 12/278 no. 50 f. 72r). Henry Woodrington maintains in his declaration that he and his uncle (Bedford's kinsman and servant) followed Essex's group into London to attempt to draw Bedford away, and "as soone as they were gott an fitt opportunitie without danger to themselves, they got him away from that companie, and carried him away by water" (PRO SP 12/278 no. 56, f. 56v). Bedford was committed to the custody of Alderman Holiday (HMC Townshend 11; HMC Rutland 1: 369). Although he retained his estates, he was fined 10 000 pounds (HMC Salisbury 11: 214).

15 Penelope, unhappily married to Robert, Lord Rich, bore the first of her five children by Mountjoy in 1590, although they gave the child, and subsequent ones, the surname Rich (Freedman 85).

16 Queen Elizabeth had created Penelope's father, Walter, Earl of Essex in 1572 by virtue of a female descent from the Bouchier Earls of Essex of the mid-sixteenth century (Hammer, Polarisation 18-19). Camden provides a detailed account of the Devereux lineage (326).

17 Laud's biographer Charles Carlton writes that his involvement in the marriage left his reputation "in ruins"; Laud "could never completely escape the stigma of the Mountjoy marriage, about which he had nightmares" (10-11). He observed St. Stephen's Day, the anniversary of the marriage, as a day of penance, and composed a special prayer of contrition (Carlton 11). James remembered the event years later when Buckingham first suggested granting Laud a bishopric (Carlton 26). "'But was there not a certain Lady that forsook her husband,'" James asked, "'and married a Lord that was her paramour? Who knit that knot? Shall I make a man a prelate, or one of the angels of my Church, who hath a flagrant crime upon him?'" (Freedman 168).

18 Although according to his examination he did not know that Essex "did meane to stand uppon his strength till Sundaye in the morninge," Sandys went to Essex house when summoned by the Earl and accompanied him into the City (PRO SP 12/278 no. 75 f. 126r). He was "hurt in the legge" in the skirmish at the Ludgate Chain and was present when Essex burned various papers, including those in the black bag he carried around his neck (PRO SP 12/278 no. 75 f. 126v). According to Essex, Sandys was among the most enthusiastic of the rebels: no man "shewde himselfe more forward in the strete, nor readier to fight and defend the house after there returne agaynst the Quenes force nor more earnest that they shuld not have submitted themselves then the lord Sandis for when they all resolved to submitt themselves onlie the erle of Essex and the lord Sandis were resolved to have ended their lives with a salley" (PRO SP 12/278 no. 74 f. 125r). He was imprisoned in the Tower and fined 5000 pounds (HMC Rutland 1: 367; HMC Longleat 5: 281; HMC Salisbury 11: 214).

19 Cromwell was apparently among the rebels outside Sheriff Thomas Smythe's house and told Smythe that Essex "was like to have bene slaine that night and he was comminge vnto his house for his saftie" (PRO SP 12/ 278 no. 57 f. 94r). He left at the proclamation of Essex and his company as traitors (HMC Longleat 4: 278). Cromwell was fined 3000 pounds and

imprisoned in the Tower until August 1601 (HMC Salisbury 11: 214; PRO SP 12/281 no. 67 f. 125v).

20 Francis Smith joined Essex's company after the sermon at St. Paul's. He accompanied them "vntill he came to the lower ende of the Cheape," and then went to Walsingham House, thinking the Earl would repair there. Hearing the report that Essex was to be slain by Cobham and Raleigh, Smith said that soon Essex's would again possess the Queen's favour and that two or three of his greatest enemies "should be hanged or putt to death" (PRO SP 12/278 no. 47 f. 67r). Smith was imprisoned in the Counter at the Poultry (HMC Rutland 1: 368; HMC Salisbury 14: 244).

Edward Bushell was among those who attended the 7 February play at the Globe (PRO SP 12/278 no. 72 f. 122r). He carried a message from Essex to Sir John Leveson asking for passage at the Ludgate Chain, and fought fiercely against Lord Burghley and his force (HMC Salisbury 11: 60, 46). Bushell was imprisoned in the Marshalsea and fined 100 marks (HMC Rutland 1: 368; HMC Salisbury 11: 214).

I am unsure of the actions of John Selby in the revolt. In an 18 February 1601 letter to Cecil, Selby's brother William writes only that "my infortunate yett most beloved brother haith bene in companie with the Earle of Essex when he attempted his late rebellious enterprize" (Bain 2: 734). Selby apparently escaped into Scotland (Bain 2: 735). He was fined 100 marks (HMC Salisbury 11: 212).

Francis Manners, younger brother of the Earl of Rutland and older brother of George Manners, confessed that, having gone to Essex House to find his brother on the morning of the revolt, he "was carried with this sway into London" and withdrew from the company when he heard the proclamation. He claims, however, that he was captured on the water, suggesting that he may have stayed with Essex through the fighting in the City and attempted to return to Essex House (HMC Salisbury 11: 35). He was imprisoned in the Counter in the Poultry (HMC Rutland 1: 368) and fined 400 marks (HMC Salisbury 11: 214).

21 According to his declaration, Lovelace arrived at Essex House with the members of the Council. Although Monteagle and Sir John Davies assured him that "there would be no resistance against them," he refused to accompany Essex and his supporters into the city. He claims to have then been a prisoner with the officials, and to have returned with them to Court (HMC Salisbury 11: 97). Sir Charles Danvers confessed that although Lovelace's name appeared on a Drury House list of possible Essex supporters he "did not openly appear in this action" (HMC Salisbury 11: 103).

Constable, according to his own confession, was more directly involved. He attended the Globe play and then spent the night at Essex House. The following morning, he guarded

the gate and admitted the Lord Keeper and the other officials. He accompanied Essex to Sheriff Smythe's house and back toward Ludgate, and, in the fighting there, was "thrust thorough the doublet" in three places. He yielded himself to an alderman's deputy before he was able to return to Essex House (PRO SP 12/278 no. 72, ff. 122r-v). Constable was imprisoned in the Counter at the Poultry and fined 100 pounds (HMC Rutland 1: 368; HMC Salisbury 11: 214).

Both Edward Bushell and William Constable implicated Sir Robert Vernon as one of the group who dined at Essex House the night before the revolt (PRO SP 12/278 no. 69 f. 119r; PRO SP 12/278 no. 72 f. 122r), and Sir John Davies named him as one who accompanied Essex the following morning (PRO SP 12/278 no. 46 f. 65r). Vernon was imprisoned in the Gatehouse (HMC Rutland 1: 368) and fined 100 pounds (HMC Salisbury 11: 214).

22 The confession of Sir John Davies implicated all four of these men (PRO SP 12/278 no. 46 f. 65r). Gorges, by his own admission, was present at the Drury House meetings in the months prior to the revolt. He believed the Earl's supporters were not sufficient in number to attempt both the Tower and the Court, and thus advised Essex to seek supporters in the City (PRO SP 12/278 no. 84 ff. 137r-v). On the day of the rebellion, Gorges accompanied Essex into London, but "in pollicy to save his owne lief came with a fayned message from the Earl of Essex to Sir Gilly Merrick whereby they [the officials sent by Elizabeth and subsequently confined in Essex House] were set at libertye" (HMC Longleat 5: 278). The released officials took Gorges with them to Court (HMC Longleat 5: 278). Gorges, who testified against Essex at the Earl's trial, received a fine of an unspecified amount (HMC Salisbury 11: 214).

Captain George Orrell, according to one witness, was a member of the troop which charged Lord Burghley's force in London; he "did run and leap in the forefront with Sir Christopher Blunt and Mr. Busshell, their weapons drawn" (HMC Salisbury 11: 46). Orrell, whose name does not appear among those fined, was out of prison by the end of July 1601 (PRO SP 12/281 no. 67 f. 126r).

Captain Ellis Jones was among those attending the play at the Globe the night before the revolt (PRO SP 12/278 no. 72 f. 122r). The following morning he accompanied Essex to Sheriff Smythe's house in the City, but left the company after the repulse at Ludgate and the proclamation of treason (PRO SP 12/278 no. 47, f. 68r). Jones was fined 40 pounds (HMC Salisbury 11: 214).

Edward Michelbourne said he arrived at Essex House on the morning of the revolt for a sermon, and followed Essex and his company to Sheriff Smythe's house. Upon hearing a rumour that Lord Burghley "was come to town w[i]th force" he returned to his own lodgings (PRO SP 12/279 no. 24 f. 34r). Michelbourne,

who was imprisoned at the Marshalsea, was fined 200 pounds (HMC Rutland 1: 368; HMC Townshend 10; HMC Salisbury 11: 214).

23 Edmund Wiseman was implicated by Sir John Davies (PRO SP 12/278 no. 46 f. 65r). In a 10 February 1601 letter to Cecil he writes that, on the morning of the rebellion, he, "not being acquainted with any secret purpose that he [Essex] had," accompanied the Earl into the City, but forsook him at the Queen's proclamation (HMC Salisbury 11: 38). Wiseman was fined 100 marks (HMC Salisbury 11: 214).

The confession of Sir John Davies also implicated Edward Reynolds. Reynolds was imprisoned at the White Lion in Southwark (HMC Rutland 1: 368), but does not appear to have received a fine.

John Littleton was present at the first Drury House meeting when the conspirators debated what action to take (PRO SP 12/278 no. 89 f. 149v), and was aware of the results of the Christmas 1600 meeting and Essex's resolution to write once more to James.

24 According to one testimony, John and Christopher Heydon were both involved in the fighting at Ludgate (PRO SP 12/279 no. 31 f. 41r). While Essex entered Sheriff Smythe's house Sir John stood outside with his rapier drawn, and then advised the Earl "to kepe the house, as there was no going out for the lo: Burleighe was cominge w[it]h greate forces and had made proclamation" (PRO SP 12/282 no. 17 f. 32r; PRO SP 12/279 no. 31 f. 41r). While Sir Christopher was fined 2000 pounds (HMC Salisbury 11: 214), his brother John, who was not captured after the action and escaped to the Continent (Fernald 259), appears to have escaped a fine.

25 I have, for reasons of space, discussed the early Jacobean fortunes of a limited number of Essex rebels. For more information see Hutson's Chapter 5, "The Accession of James I and Onwards," and Fernald's Appendix II, brief biographies of the participants.

Chapter 3: Early Jacobean Essex:
Representations, 1603-1609

I. Introduction

James's public display of affection for the late Earl's young son and his rewards to others involved in the Essex rebellion encouraged the appearance of a great number of pro-Essex texts. The only works on the rebellion printed between Essex's execution and Elizabeth's death were the two 1601 official treatises on the treason, William Barlow's A Sermon Preached at Paules Crosse . . . With a Short Discourse of the Late Earle of Essex and Francis Bacon's Declaration of the Practices and Treasons Attempted and Committed by Robert Late Earl of Essex.¹ The "Lamentable Ditty Composed Upon the Death of Robert Lord Devereux, Late Earle of Essex," a ballad presumably in circulation before Elizabeth's death, was published very soon after James's accession, according to its 18 May 1603 entry in the Stationers' Register (Rollins 122). A spate of favourable portrayals of Essex followed, in both verse and drama, in both print and manuscript, in the works of anonymous and established authors alike. Many of these works were crucial in the early Jacobean rehabilitation of Essex, and their very positive portrayals of the Earl would have been impossible in the last two years of Queen Elizabeth's reign.

Even during this early period in James's reign, however, positive portrayals of Essex could be problematic, and some representations belie the simple assertion that James considered Essex a martyr in the cause of his succession. Although Essex still emerged from the early Jacobean period as a hero, and actually proved to be politically useful in several respects, his position early in James's reign was nonetheless a complicated one. An examination of the controversies surrounding several early Jacobean pro-Essex works uncovers the same uneasiness about the Earl apparent in James's wariness about Essex's intentions and his cautious treatment of the Earl's fellow rebels.

II. Representations of Essex, 1603-1609

The grain of truth in Giovanni Carlo Scaramelli's observation upon James's reception of Essex's young son that "what is impossible at one period becomes easy at another" (CSP Venetian 10: 26) is perhaps most apparent in Richard Williams's sympathetic 66-stanza biographical poem "The Life and Death of Essex" (Furnivall and Morfill 2: 23-37). Williams, about whom we know nothing beyond the three poems in his manuscript A Poore Mans Pittance,² portrays Essex, "bright Honors sonne" (l. 246), as a lamb led to the slaughter (l. 242) by "enviose men" (l. 150). Williams dedicates the poem to James and indicates that it circulated among friends during

Elizabeth's lifetime: "This booke--my gratiouse Soveraygne--of the life and death of my lorde of Essex, I did write presentlie vppon his deathe, and did bestowe on some of my honorable and worshipfull frends, whoe thought well of the same nowe [I] haue revived the same, and make presente of it to your princelie maiestie" (23). What a poet could say only privately about Essex in 1601 he could apparently present to the King in 1603.

Elizabeth and her ministers had attempted to suppress such sympathetic representations of Essex. The scrutiny of unauthorized discussions, however seemingly insignificant, of Essex's actions is apparent even in the very short time between the rebellion and the trial. A letter written the day before Essex's 19 February trial and a mere ten days after the rebellion reports that

A foolish prognostication of one Woodhouse considers this tumult [the rebellion] the effect of an eclipse last year. He set down that its influence would begin 20 Jan. 1601 and continue slight till 18 Nov. following, when it would be most felt, and last till 14 Sept. 1602, and then gradually decrease until 1603. This eclipse, he says, shows the unfortunate state of sundry great persons This book is called in, though it be but a toy. (CSPD Elizabeth 1598-1601 585)

The recall of this prognostication may have been wholly successful, for the Short Title Catalogue lists no prognostication by a Woodhouse in the year of Essex's rebellion.³

Richard Williams, more secure in referring to the Essex rebellion than Woodhouse, had taken careful note of James's recent treatment of Southampton and the 3rd Earl of Essex. He refers directly to James's "love" of Essex and his friends:

And daylie more his fame is raysde,
 Synce our kinge came to swaye this lande;
 nowe is hee myste, nowe is hee praysde,
 Which our good kinge well vnderstands;
 His maiestie hym selfe is sadd,
 Whereat his foes are nothingse gladd.
 Oure kinge dothe countenance his frends,
 suche as in life tyme helde hym dere;
 on them Riche Honors daylie spends,
 for love to them and this greate peere;
 His Sonne attendante on the prince,
 Whiche envyes spite maye well convyne.
 (ll. 319-330)

James's "great show of displeasure" at Essex's execution, as the Dean of Limerick called it, made the intended impression upon Williams, as did the King's public appointment of the late Earl's son as companion to Prince Henry. The "Riche Honors" may refer specifically to Southampton's grant of the lucrative sweet wines monopoly.

Although longer and more detailed, Williams's poem is similar in content to the ballads which circulated during Elizabeth's reign and appeared in print near the beginning of James's. It recounts Essex's brave and chivalrous deeds on the 1589 Portugal expedition (stanzas 8-10), his valor at Rouen and the death in France of his brother Walter (stanzas 11-13), the 1596 capture of Cadiz (stanzas 14-23), the 1597 Islands Voyage (stanza 24), and the Earl's 1599 Irish command

(stanzas 26-28). Williams's accounts are highly romanticized, omitting many of the controversial elements of these various campaigns. The version of the treason is a familiar one: the noble Earl was the victim of influential men who "sought his ruine and decaye" (l. 174). The only such man Williams specifically identifies is Sir Walter Raleigh, clearly the referent of "Raw-bones" (l. 189), whom Williams accuses of lying to the Queen to dissuade her from showing mercy to Essex.

The "synon" charged with secretly plotting to spill the Earl's blood (ll. 184-85) might refer to Sir Robert Cecil.⁴ Accusers of Cecil were necessarily circumspect, for, as the engineer of James's peaceful succession to the English throne, he had survived the transition "virtually unscathed" and was still in a position of considerable power (Croft, "Robert Cecil and the Early Jacobean Court" 136). Animosity towards Cecil did exist, as Molin's comments about the marriages of Viscount Cranborne and the 3rd Earl of Essex suggest. In the early years of the reign Cecil himself received several reports of hostility towards him for his role in the fall of Essex. William Atkinson informs Cecil in a 1603 letter that he has intercepted "one Browne who expressly threatened violence to your person, affirming there were three who once belonged to [the Earl of] Essex which had vowed your death, and that they were maintained by great personages" (HMC

Salisbury 15: 349). Another letter, undated but addressed to Cecil as Viscount Cranborne and thus belonging to some date between August 1604 and May 1605, reports that "Upon the Earl of Essex's death he chanced to meet one that had vowed to cut off Cranborne's head" (HMC Salisbury 16: 403).

Hostility towards Cecil was very apparent in the immediate aftermath of Essex's execution. The bitter verse diatribe beginning "Chamberlin, Chamberlin" (PRO SP 12/278 no. 23 ff. 31-32) criticizes Cecil as one of those involved the Earl's fall. Charlotte Carmichael Stopes dates this "remarkable metrical effusion" May 1601 (235), although the slighting reference to Raleigh's defense of his tin monopoly in the September 1601 Parliament ("hee seekes taxes in the tinne/hee powles the poor to the skinne/yet hee swears tis no sin" [f. 32r]) dates it somewhat later. Several months later, about Christmas 1601, one Thomas Carr of Northumberland was overheard to say that he wished "'that he had Secretori Cecill, that deformed body, that he might teare him in peeces! . . . that he might save the Erle of Essex lyfe, whose overthrowe he was'" (Bain 2: 778).

Significantly, the only Jacobean poems which criticize Cecil by name for his role in Essex's downfall are those which appeared after his death in 1612. A "song" beginning "O, Ladies, ladies howle & cry,/For you have lost your Salisbury" (Bodleian MS Tanner 299 ff. 11v-13r), which claims that Cecil

died from "the pockes," identifies him and his friends at Court as those "W[hi]ch plotted worthy Essex fall" (Bodleian MS Tanner 299 f. 12r). The lines "The man, from whom alive he fledd/With mosse he strove to cover dead" (Bodleian MS Tanner f. 13r) seem to echo the proverb Barlow quoted in his sermon as he denied treating Essex basely once the Earl was dead: "Mortuo Leoni timidi insultant Lepores" ("if the Lion be deade, euey dastardly hare will be treading vpon him whose looke they feared while he liued") (C1v-C2r). Although Pauline Croft writes that "Cecil was blamed for the death sentence" ("The Reputation of Robert Cecil" 48), and Michael Brennan concurs (Literary Patronage in the English Renaissance 116), Williams's poem accuses only Raleigh by name:

But Rawe-bones layde on lies at large,
and howrelie sought to see his fall;
whoe never stayde, till they got synde [signed]
His doome of deathe, to please there mynde.
(ll. 189-192)

References later in the poem to Essex's disgraced but unnamed enemies probably refer to Raleigh, Cobham, and Grey.

The poem draws extensively upon accounts of the Earl's final night and execution. One of the most detailed versions relates that "On Tuesdaye night betwene xi & xii of the clocke he [Essex] opened the casment of his windowe and spake to the gaurde these wordes my good friendes pray for me, And to morrowe you shall see in me a strong god in a weake man: I have nothing to give you, for I have nothing left but that

w[hi]ch I must paye to the Queene to morrowe in the morninge"
 (PRO SP 12/278 no. 112 f. 220r). Williams was obviously aware
 of either this account, or another very similar (PRO SP 12/278
 no. 117 f. 229r), for he paraphrases it in stanza 35 (ll. 205-
 210):

'To-morrowe morninge I shall paye
 the debte that I doe owe her grace.
 my life to her I downe will laye
 most willinglie, within this place;
 Then my frends, that my Gardiants bee,
 Shall see my god moste stronge in mee.'

This information appears in only two other contemporary
 narratives of the Earl's final night, and not in Barlow's
 published sermon, which could have been Williams's source for
 other details he includes in the poem: Essex's words to the
 executioner, his positioning of himself upon the block, the
 three strokes of the headsman's axe. In several places, in
 fact, Williams's words very closely parallel Barlow's account
 of the execution. Barlow writes that the Earl "lyeng flatte
 along on the bordes, and laying downe his head, and fitting it
 vpon the blocke, stretched out his armes" (A7r); Williams
 writes that Essex "Then layde his bodye flatt alonge,/His head
 likewise vppon the blocke" (ll. 271-72).

Although Williams probably draws upon Barlow for his
 description of the execution itself, he provides his own
 interpretation of the executioner's three blows, an
 interpretation intended to generate sympathy for the Earl.
 According to Barlow's sermon, Essex's "head was seuered from

his bodie by the axe at three stroakes. But the first deadly, and absolutely depriuing all sence and motion" (E7r). "But the Headsman did threfolde wronge," writes Williams, "whoe tooke at hym three severall stroakes/Er head from bodye went a-waye" (ll. 271-275). The poem's next line, "yet as a lambe hee quyett laye" (l. 276), suggests that the Earl did not lie still after the first blow because it deprived him of sense and motion, but rather suffered through two more painful blows of the axe with the quiet of a sacrificial lamb. None of the nine State Papers accounts of the execution provides a like interpretation for the executioner's actions, and neither does William Camden's account. Two of the State Papers accounts allow that the executioner erred in requiring three strokes of the axe, but both emphasize that Essex was motionless after the first blow (PRO SP 12/278 no. 115 f. 225v; no. 116 f. 228r). Most of the accounts agree with Barlow's, indicating that the first blow was deadly and deprived the Earl of both sense and motion (PRO 12/278 no. 119 f. 232r; no. 120 f. 234v; no. 121 f. 236r; no. 122 f. 239r). Camden, too, notes that the first blow "tooke away both sence and motion" (325). None of these accounts suggests the comparison to a sacrificial lamb.

Williams, then, obviously aware of the improving fortunes of some of the Essex rebels under James, felt his embroidered version of the execution, probably present too in his illicit

late Elizabethan version of the poem, appropriate for presentation to the King. The poem also suggests, as Molin did, that the Earl's son, upon reaching an appropriate age, may be revenged upon his father's foes (ll. 374-78).⁵ Again, Williams may refer obliquely to Cecil, for at the time of the poem's revision, Essex's other well-known enemies, Cobham and Raleigh, were already in disgrace, "scandalde with defame/for treason agaynste our good kinge" (ll. 339-40).

A consideration of Williams's "Life and Death of Essex" in the context of the other poems with which it appears in his A Poore Mans Pittance reveals an intriguing feature of the Jacobean portrayals of Essex and his rebellion--the minimization of the "popish" elements of the Earl's action, elements which Elizabeth's government took considerable pains to emphasize. The poem following "The Life and Death of Essex" in Williams's manuscript is "Acclamatio Patrie, or the Powder Treasons," one of the numerous poems appearing in the years immediately following the Gunpowder Plot of November 1605. The lengthy poem mentions "there/ names that thus had plotted our general fall" (ll. 127-28), including Robert Catesby and the Wright brothers, John and Christopher. All three of these men had participated in Essex's rebellion,⁶ but Williams does not mention their connection with the subject of his previous poem. Catesby, although eventually eclipsed by Guy Fawkes as the instigator of the Gunpowder Plot, claimed at

Holbeach House, where the plotters fled following the discovery of their plans, to have been the prime mover of the plot (CSP Venetian 10: 295). He had sent Christopher Wright into Spain to attempt to elicit money from King Phillip III (HMC Salisbury 17: 513). Christopher was also present when Monteagle received the famous letter, apparently from Frances Tresham, warning him to stay away from Parliament (Hutson 270; Fernald 325). Catesby and the Wright brothers all died in the 8 November fight against the government forces at Holbeach House (Fernald 226, 325).

Although Williams does not name them in "Acclamatio Patrie," several other Essex rebels were also implicated in the Gunpowder Plot. Frances Tresham sent his brother-in-law Monteagle the letter which ultimately betrayed the Plot. Tresham, whom Richard Williams would most probably have remembered as an Essex rebel because Tresham's name actually appears in the confessions published with Bacon's Declaration, died in the Tower in late November 1605 (Fernald 313). Sir Edmund Baynham, likewise an Essex rebel, travelled to Rome to "acquaint the confederates there" of the Plot (HMC Salisbury 17: 546). Following the events of 5 November 1605, Baynham spent the remainder of his life in Spain (Fernald 209).

Clearly, the conception of Essex as staunch Protestant and protector of James's claim to the throne was problematic in light of the involvement of some Essex rebels in the

Gunpowder Plot. Williams, aware of James's favour to Essex's surviving supporters, carefully avoids reminding the King of the connection between the two plots when he enumerates the participants of the 1605 plot in his "Acclamatio Patrie." Williams may have acted upon the official model, which sought in James's reign to minimize the Catholic element of Essex's rebellion. B.N. de Luna notes that at Henry Garnet's trial in 1606, Attorney General Coke, while enumerating the various Romish plots to depose Queen Elizabeth, alluded "only very delicately" to the "popish" character of Essex's rebellion (Jonson's Romish Plot: A Study of Catiline and its Historical Context 248). Coke had demanded of Essex at his 1601 trial, "Well, my lord, what can you devise to say for Sir John Davis, another of your adherents, that Papist?" (Howell 1: 1344), and accused the Earl of consorting with priests, "entertaining them to deal with the king of Spain and the pope, to make himself king of England" (Howell 1: 1407). At Garnet's 1606 trial Coke said only of Essex's rebellion that "In the year 1601, when practices failed, then was foreign force again attempted" (Howell 2: 225). Coke had listed in considerably more detail other Catholic plots against the Queen in 1597 (Howell 2: 225). At the arraignment of Thomas Lee in 1601,⁷ Lord Chief Justice Popham specifically identified Catesby and Tresham as "known Papists" (Howell 1: 1407).

The only official reference to Essex during the Gunpowder examinations does not even connect the two plots. According to one of Molin's December 1605 dispatches to Venice, Salisbury invoked the example of Essex in an attempt to extract answers from Northumberland about his involvement in the Gunpowder Plot. Northumberland refused to answer questions, maintaining that as an Earl he was "not bound to answer" (CSP Venetian 10: 305). Salisbury replied, "'My Lord, you ought not to refuse to do what other your Peers have done,'" and named the Earl of Essex, who "submitted to interrogatories, and always replied'" (CSP Venetian 10: 305).

Another work which illustrates the complexity of references to Essex in early Jacobean England and complicates the notion that praise of Essex, impossible late in Elizabeth's reign, was easy early in that of her successor is Robert Pricket's 1604 poem Honors Fame in Triumph Riding. Or, the Life and Death of the Late Honorable Earle of Essex. Simon L. Adams describes the poem as "the first major apologetic for Essex" ("Protestant Cause" 174), while Mervyn James calls it "a key document in the refurbishment of Essex's image" (462). Pricket, a soldier who had served under Essex, dedicates his long elegiac poem to the Earls of Southampton and Devonshire and to Essex's uncle, William Knollys. In the dedication Pricket refers to the late Elizabethan ban on published praise of Essex, complaining that "It were inhumane

tyranny, to forbid the vertues of the dead to be comended: and no less cruelty to charge the deceased with uncommitted offences" (A2r). The poem, celebrating Essex's military glories and ascribing his downfall to the conspiracies of envious rivals, contains curious echoes of Antony's "Was this ambition?" speech in Shakespeare's Julius Caesar (3.2.74-106). "He was not proud, but humble, courteous, meeke:/Ambitious then, who rightly terme him can?" writes Pricket (C4v), recalling Antony's words on Caesar to the Roman citizenry. Pricket, it is clear, has come to praise Essex and not to bury him.⁸

Pricket's poem defies the official late Elizabethan accounts of the Earl's uprising. The directions to preachers issued between Essex's rebellion and trial called his uprising "more desperate and daungerous" than any by a domestic traitor since the time of Richard II, and of greater threat than any attempt against the kingdom by a foreign enemy: "The rebellion in the North was far of, and thereby not so p[er]ilous. The great Armado of Spayne was but a thunderclap, the noise being greater than the daunger" (PRO SP 12/278 no. 63 f. 109r). The Declaration portrays Essex's every move after his departure for Ireland as preparation for "his last actual and open treasons" (Spedding 2: 248), and Barlow's sermon calls Essex's action "the most daungerous plotte that euer was hatched within this land" (Elr). Pricket's poem, on the contrary,

openly questions the verdict of treason: "He dyde for treason; yet no Traytor" (C1r).

The poem also offers a highly imaginative version of the Earl's last military campaign and of his execution. Verna Ann and Stephen Foster note that by the 1630s Mountjoy was primarily remembered for the conquest of Ireland, "although after thirty years a large share of the glory had gradually been transferred to Essex" (310). The beginnings of this transferral are apparent in John Ford's 1606 Fames Memoriall, or the Earle of Devonshire Deceased, in which Ireland is already "half-conquered" (C3v) by the time Mountjoy arrives. Pricket's poem does not actually proclaim Essex's Irish campaign a victory--it acknowledges that "ill successe vpon his Troopes did wait" (B2r)--but nonetheless offers an interesting and elliptical interpretation of the Earl's actions there. The poem omits the Earl's delinquencies in Ireland as outlined in the 5 June 1600 tribunal at York House. The charges against Essex concerned his forbidden appointment of Southampton as General of the Horse, the wasteful eight weeks spent in Munster when his orders were to march to Ulster and engage Tyrone, his excessive granting of knighthoods when Elizabeth had warned him to use the reward sparingly, his dishonourable conference with Tyrone, and his unauthorized return to England (HMC Longleat 5: 269-71).⁹ Pricket writes

simply that "Harmelesse in thought when he a peace had made,/He backe returnes to his beloued Queene" (B2r).

Pricket admits only the unauthorized return, but implies that it was a minor transgression and the malice of Essex's enemies fuelled Elizabeth's anger (B2r). He neglects to mention that Elizabeth considered the truce with Tyrone "most intollerable without comission" (HMC Longleat 5: 271), and that the Earl, as became apparent at his trial in 1601, had considered bringing part of the army from Ireland to Wales in preparation for a march on London. Pricket's account of Essex's Irish campaign completely contradicts those in both official interpretations of the treason. Bacon's Declaration maintains that the Earl "carried into Ireland a heart corrupted in his allegiance, and pregnant of those or the like treasons which afterwards came to light" (Spedding 2: 249). Barlow's sermon also condemns Essex's actions in Ireland, mentioning among his transgressions "the exhausting of her maiesties treasury in Ireland" (C4r).

Some evidence suggests that Pricket may have served under Essex during the Irish campaign, as well as during his earlier command in France. He occasionally provides exceptional detail absent from more formulaic celebrations such as the earlier ballads. Pricket identifies the Earl's mount in France, for example, as a bay named "Trace," and tells of the horse's injury in battle (A4r). I am not aware of any

contemporary source mentioning this detail, and, although Prickett may simply have fabricated the name, external evidence suggests that the soldier poet was with Essex in Ireland. Prickett writes that Essex's enemies poisoned the Queen's mind against him after his return from Ireland and when he was "shut vp in disgrace" and barred from the Queen's presence, claiming that "Molehills were to mountaines raisde,/Each little fault was much dispraisde" (B2r). These words recall those in an anonymous letter written in Ireland at some point during Essex's confinement in England. The letter specifically objects to the exaggeration of the Earl's errors in Ireland. The unknown writer, to a similarly anonymous correspondent in England, writes that they understand in Ireland that Essex remains detained and that his enemies, "wantinge substantiall matter to p[er]form agaynst him to worke their wills doe seke to make mountaynes of mouhills and crimenall faulte where is none at all" (PRO SP 12/275 no. 149 f. 245r). The language is highly suggestive of Prickett's, and perhaps reflects his own experience of what soldiers in the army in Ireland said between Essex's return to England and his rebellion and execution.

Prickett's poem also contains a detailed and, at some points, considerably embroidered account of Essex's execution. His version of the Earl's scaffold speech departs at least once from both that in Barlow's sermon and those preserved in

the State Papers. Pricket's Essex, while making statements similar to those quoted in Barlow regarding the justice of the Earl's trial and his final prayer, does not mention the Earl's scaffold confession, incorporated into earlier poems such as "Essex Last Voyage to the Haven of Happiness": "I am a most wretched sinner, and . . . my sinnes are more in number than the hayres of my head, I confesse that I haue bestowed my youth in wantonnesse, lust, and vncleanenesse, that I haue been puffed vp with pride, vanitie, and loue of this worlds pleasures" (Barlow E4r).¹⁰ Instead of such a speech, a standard component of the Tudor "art of dying" (Langston 109) to which Essex carefully adhered in his final moments, Pricket includes a speech which the English authorities would never have allowed the Earl. In Barlow's account, as well as those in the State Papers and Camden, Essex's only comment on his intentions in the rebellion is that he did not intend to kill or harm the Queen. Pricket's Essex elaborates, however, saying,

Against the state I neuer bent my might,
 nor gainst my soueraigne reard a traitors hand,
 Some priuate foes my sword would haue displast,
 By whom I thought my honour was disgrast:
 From that intent grew my amis,
 For which offence death welcome is. (Dlv)

Pricket, aware of the disgrace of Essex's enemies Raleigh, Cobham, and Grey, takes the opportunity of the Earl's scaffold speech to suggest again that the Earl was not a traitor, and that, as Essex had maintained at his trial, he intended only

to defend himself in a private quarrel. The only mention of Essex's enemies in Barlow's account appears when Dr. Montford, one of the divines who attended Essex on the scaffold, reminds him "to pray to God to forgiue all his enemies if he had any" (E5r).

Pricket also provides a very graphic account of the execution itself, exceeding even Williams in portraying the execution as an act of butchery. Although A.B. Grosart concludes that Pricket was present at the Earl's execution (Occasional Issues of Unique or Very Rare Books vi), a number of the less gruesome details are very similar to information in Barlow's account, and Pricket may thus have merely read the official account and then provided some material of his own invention. In Barlow's sermon, for example, Essex has his eyes "fixed on heaven" as he prays just before the execution (E5r), while in Pricket's poem, too, the Earl looks heavenward (D3r). Barlow's Essex tells the executioner "he woulde onely stretch forth his Arms, and spread them abroade, for then he was ready" (E6v), while Pricket's Essex "to his deaths man say he did,/Strike when thou seest my armes are spred" (D2v). Pricket, like Williams, also includes the well-known information of the executioner's three blows, but elaborates upon them in an unprecedented manner, actually describing the first blow as it misses its mark: "deaths axe did first into his shoulder strike" (D3r). Pricket too mentions that the

Earl never moved, but does not claim that the first blow was deadly and deprived the Earl of sense and motion. "Honor ne're moou'd," he writes simply (D3r), as though the Earl waits patiently as the inept executioner mutilates him. Pricket elaborates further, with a graphic description of the gushing streams of blood (D3r), another detail mentioned nowhere else. The official accounts, of course, would not include a description of the wounds which might imply extraordinary cruelty.

Pricket was probably not present at the Earl's execution, and has either fabricated the details or learned them from one who was present. The execution was closed to the general public, for the Earl, according to Cecil's 26 February 1601 letter to Mountjoy in Ireland, had "made an humble suite to the Queen that he might have the favour, to dye privately in the Tower, w[hi]ch her Ma[jes]ty granted" (PRO SP 12/278 no. 125 f. 247v).¹¹ Although some scholars have suggested that Essex did not actually request the semi-private execution, the fact remains that he did not die in public, as did Sir Christopher Blount and Sir Charles Danvers on Tower Hill and Sir Gelly Meyrick and Henry Cuffe at Tyburn, but more privately within the Tower. Contemporary accounts are not very specific about who attended the event, although Camden mentions that the Earls of Cumberland and Hertford, Viscount Howard of Binden, Lord Howard of Walden, the Lords Darcy and

Compton, Sir Walter Raleigh, some London aldermen, and several knights sat upon the scaffold (324). Barlow mentions that, along with the Lieutenant of the Tower, "some sixteen partizans of the garde" brought the prisoner, who was accompanied by the three divines, Montford, Essex's chaplain Ashton, and Barlow himself (E3v). Fritz Levy writes that, in addition to these men, "The witnesses consisted of a hundred knights, gentlemen, and aldermen, there to judge the earl's demeanor and to authenticate the news of his death" (287). It is highly unlikely that, for the execution of a popular general, one-third of whose fellow rebels had been soldiers (Hutson 5), the English authorities would have allowed a common soldier such as Pricket, clearly a devotee of the Earl, to witness the event. Even with the presumably very select audience, the executioner, John Speed tells us, "was in danger of his life at his returne, had not the Sheriffes assisted him to his home" (1234). John Stow likewise mentions in his Summarie of the Chronicles of England (1604) that the executioner was beaten as he left, and the Sheriffs of London were sent to rescue him from those who would have murdered him (433).

Pricket, like Williams, was conscious of the continuing popularity of Essex in James's reign and of the King's favour towards the dead Earl's family and friends. Like Williams, Pricket mentions the King's regard for Essex's young son

(C3r). Ironically, Pricket writes that the young 3rd Earl will "grow an honour to his king" (C3r); the boy actually grows up to lead a Parliamentary army against Charles I. In 1604, however, Pricket believed that a laudatory poem about Essex would be welcome: "a priuate consideration made me thinke, that it might now be a time in which the praise of honours worthines might haue his place, and not any longer by a violent imposition be taxed with undeserved euill" (A2r).

The publication of Pricket's complimentary poem on Essex would not have been possible between Essex's execution and Queen Elizabeth's death. The poem bears striking resemblance to a 1601 declamation which resulted in the imprisonment of the orator. In late April 1601, George Abbot, Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University, and Thomas Ravis, Dean of Christ Church, wrote to Lord Treasurer Buckhurst, Chancellor of the University, that he had committed Colfe "to safe custodie" after he "did publickly in the hall before a greate parte of that house make a very offensive declamation" (PRO SP 12/279 no. 67 f. 119r) in Latin in which he commended Essex ("a Greate Generall of the warres lately deade"), extolled his virtue and martial prowess, and blamed his overthrow upon "the envy of great personages" (PRO SP 12/279 no. 67 f. 120r). Colfe, instructed by Abbot to deliver a copy of the offensive oration the following morning, tore up his written copy and burned the pieces, staying up all night to transcribe a

different declamation (PRO SP 12/279 no. 67 f. 119r). The university officials were forced to reconstruct Colfe's oration from the testimony of those present at its delivery (PRO SP 12/279 no. 67 f. 119r).

Colfe's declamation, like Pricket's later poem, praised Essex extravagantly. He "commended in this General his infancy, younge yeeres, mans age, extolling all most highly," and detailed his journey to Cadiz, his campaign in Ireland, and his rebellion, imprisonment, and execution (PRO SP 12/279 no. 67 f. 120r). Colfe bitterly accused Essex's enemies of his downfall:

He inveighed against his enemyes who brought him to this end, & these hee insisted on three, some of whome were a publicis consiliis ["public counsel"]. One hee called pestem Reipublicae ["ruin of the state"], hominem ex faece oriundum ["man rising from the dregs"], errore populi dignitatem consecutum ["one who achieves rank by the error of the people"]. Another, Charybdis, si modo ulla sit Charbydis, hoc animal est ["Charybdis, if now there be any Charybdis, this is the animal"]. The third Semen omnium malorum ["Seed of all evils"]. (PRO SP 12/279 no. 67 f. 120r)

The referents of these insults were probably Raleigh, Cecil, and Cobham.

Colfe's oration has further links with Pricket's poem. The Christ Church student, apart from lauding Essex's "forwardness" at Cadiz, also said that the Earl "beggared himselfe to maintaine his souldiers" (PRO SP 12/279 no. 67 f. 120r). Colfe particularly commended Essex's camaraderie with his soldiers. "He did call his soldiers," Colfe said, "not

milites, but commilitones mei" (PRO SP 12/279 no. 67 f. 120r), "not soldiers, but my fellow soldiers." Pricket too had commended the Earl's devotion to his soldiers.

Colfe's 21 May 1601 letter to Sir Robert Cecil from Newgate prison indicates the severity with which the authorities punished him. Colfe, complaining of his misery, seeks Cecil's "great mercy," and specifically addresses the matter of his accusations against Essex's enemies (PRO SP 12/279 no. 89 f. 167r). Colfe, according to this letter, had called Essex's enemies "Piso, Cateline & Antony" (PRO SP 12/279 no. 89 f. 167r). Cecil may have suspected that Colfe intended one of these men to refer to him, for Colfe insists to Cecil that he meant no one in particular; the names were simply fresh in his memory, he claims, because he had recently read some of them in Tully's orations on the enemies of Cicero (PRO SP 12/279 no. 89 f. 167r).

Colfe's offensive oration has much in common with Pricket's poem, although Pricket's verses would never have appeared in print between Essex's execution and Elizabeth's death. Even in the rather more Essex-friendly political climate of James's reign, however, Pricket's Honors Fame occasioned considerable trouble, as the poem was called in, its publisher interrogated, and Pricket himself imprisoned. On 7 June 1604 Francis Morice writes to Sir Bassingbourne Gawdy that he sends a recently published poem "'concerning the

whole life and death of the late Earl of Essex, . . . well and feelingly written and I think will not hereafter to be had as they are already called in and the printer called in question'" (HMC Gawdy 92). The poem to which Morice refers is almost certainly Pricket's, which both fits Morice's description (although the poem is probably more "feelingly" than "well" written) and which was entered in the Stationers' Register in June of 1604 (Arber 3: 111). Pricket's next published work, Times Anotomie (1606), establishes that part of his offence lay in blaming Essex's enemies and suggesting that the Earl was not a traitor. In the preface to Times Anotomie, dedicated to the Privy Council, Pricket apologizes for daring in his previous work to "call in question, things formerly determined, by the iustice of the Law, iudgment of the honoured Peeres, and prudent wisedome of a kingdomes most honourable Councillors." Pricket, we learn, had spent time in prison, probably for bold comments such as "He dyde for treason; yet no Traytor" (Clr).

Exactly whom the earlier poem had offended is unclear. Salisbury appears to have secured Pricket's release, for, also in the preface to Times Anotomie, the poet thanks him, "by whose loue and bountie, my cause was fauourably censured, my liberty procured, and my wants relieued." G.P.V. Akrigg suggests that Pricket's comment in the preface to Honors Fame upon the "grosse engendred flux" of a "rhetoricall politician"

who draws credit to himself by discrediting Essex (A3r) might be an insulting reference to Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton (Southampton 142). Although Northampton later treated Essex's son venomously in the unpleasant divorce of the 3rd Earl and Northampton's great-niece, Frances Howard, Northampton's attitude towards Essex at the time of Pricket's poem was not particularly hostile. Northampton, as Lord Henry Howard, had been a follower of Essex in 1596, when he described himself as "a sponge from which Essex was able to wring the details of courtly intrigues against him" (Hammer, Polarisation 287). Later that same year he ascribed to malice those who distinguished between the "savegarde" of Essex's person and the life of his country (LPL MS 660 f. 275r).

Although by late 1599 the Essex circle considered Howard a "newter" (HMC De L'Isle and Dudley 2: 397), Linda Levy Peck notes that, at the beginning of James's reign, Northampton was still loyal to the memory of the late Earl: "Howard's attachment to Essex was emotional; he never forgot those who had victimised Essex as he felt his father and brother had been [victimised]" (Northampton: Patronage and Policy at the Court of James I 20).¹² At his death Northampton owned a miniature of the Earl of Essex set in a gold tablet, as well as paintings of Essex and his children (Peck, "The Mentality of a Jacobean Grandee" 165-66). In a letter responding to the charges of Raleigh's wife that he had behaved maliciously

towards her husband, Northampton alludes to the malice Raleigh had shown towards Essex (Peck, Northampton 20).

If the poem itself refers insultingly to anyone in particular, it is probably Sir Francis Bacon. Prickett must surely allude to Bacon in his account of the June 1600 tribunal at York House, where he accuses one who by Essex's "helpe was made aloft to stand" of lending a powerful hand to cast the Earl down (B3r). Bacon, also in 1604 and also with a dedication to the Earl of Devonshire, published a defence of his actions towards Essex, answering particularly the charges that he had behaved maliciously towards his former patron at the York House hearing. Prickett's accusation that an "vndermining wit" worked against Essex in the period preceding the hearing (B2v) correlates with Bacon's denial to the Earl of Devonshire in his Apologie, In Certaine Imputations Concerning the Late Earle of Essex that during this period he was "one of them that incensed the Queen against my Lord of Essex" (Spedding 3: 148).

Bacon's suggestion in the dedication to Devonshire that he is wronged in "common speech" suggests verbal reproach rather than the appearance of an offensive publication. Prickett's poem, however, does allude to an objectionable printed work: "Some could in print his honored Bounty scorne,/That largely bare fro[m] him great sheaves of corne" (C3v). Certain phrases suggest that Prickett refers not to

Bacon's work, but to William Barlow's 1601 sermon. Pricket's reference to "Time-seruers" (C3v) in the next line recalls Barlow's response in his sermon to "a slanderous obloquy, That I was a time seruer" (A5v). Several pages later, Barlow uses the same term again, saying that he "was no time seruer nor preacher for rewardes" (A6r-A6v). Other material in Pricket's poem, however, indicates that Bacon is the more likely target of the accusation. Barlow claims in his sermon that he did not benefit from the Earl's "honored Bounty" (Pricket C3v), writing that although he celebrated Essex's Cadiz victory at Paul's Cross, "I was not a penny richer, nor a steppe the higher for him" (A5r). Bacon's work, on the other hand, contains information which an Essex supporter such as Pricket might read as scorn for the Earl's bounty. Bacon writes that, when the Queen denied him the position of Solicitor General, which Essex had vigorously sought to obtain for him, the Earl said, "I die . . . if I do not somewhat towards your fortune," and bestowed a piece of land upon him (Spedding 3: 144). This would be Pricket's example of Essex's "honored Bounty"; the scorn would be Bacon's subsequent explanation to Essex of the conditions of his acceptance of the gift:

My Lord, I see I must be your homager, and hold land your gift; but do you know the manner of doing homage in law? always it is with a saving of his faith to the King and his other Lords; and therefore my Lord . . . I can be no more yours than I was.
(Spedding 3: 144)

Bacon's work, which appears in the Stationers' Register in May 1604, more than a month earlier than Pricket's (Arber 3: 109, 111), responds, if not necessarily to Pricket's poem itself, at least to verbal allegations which Pricket's poem soon put into print.

James Spedding, who infers from the second impression of the Apologie in 1605 that the text circulated widely, writes that "It would have been very interesting to know what was thought and said of it then, but I can find no news of its reception. I do not remember to have met with a single allusion to it by any one living and forming his impressions at the time" (3: 161). Pricket's Honors Fame, registered after Bacon's Apologie and possibly published after it as well, might contain the allusion for which Spedding searched. The poem indicates that, among the military at least, the reception was not positive.

Other evidence, perhaps related to the suppression of the poem and Pricket's imprisonment, indicates that praise of Essex in early Jacobean England was not guaranteed a trouble-free reception. The poem may actually have cast some suspicion upon Southampton, one of the dedicatees, for the same June 1604 letter in which Francis Morice mentions Pricket's poem also indicates that Southampton and others were recently "called in question" (HMC Gawdy 92). Southampton, fellow Essex sympathizer Sir Henry Neville, and several others

were, according to a report from Molin, the Venetian Ambassador, "arrested, and each one confined in a separate house" (CSP Venetian 10: 165). They were soon released after having undergone "several examinations" (CSP Venetian 10: 165). In a mid-July dispatch Molin mentions one rumour about the cause of Southampton's arrest, as well as the Earl's ignorance about the identity of his accuser:

The reason for Southampton's arrest was the slanderous charge preferred against him by unknown enemies, that he plotted to slay several Scots who were much about the person of the King. On his release he went to the King and declared that if he knew who the slanderer was he would challenge him to combat, but as he did not he could only appeal to his Majesty. The King gave him fair words, but nothing else as yet. (CSP Venetian 10: 168)

According to G.P.V. Akrigg, whose chief source for the account is a report sent by the French Ambassador Beaumont to Henri IV, various rumours about the arrests spread through the Court (Southampton 141). The intended victims were variously the King and the Prince, Scottish men who had come south with the King, and the Howard family, certain members of whom were to be slain by survivors of the Essex faction (Akrigg, Southampton 141). One rumour had Cecil as the eventual victim; a devious pro-Spaniard faction sought to weaken the peace negotiations between England and Spain by striking at Cecil through Southampton, now Cecil's friend (Akrigg, Southampton 141). Anthony Weldon, to the contrary, hints that Cecil himself may have been the accuser, seeking to diminish

Southampton's favour with the King by "putting some jealousy into the Kings head" about Southampton and Queen Anne (38).

Whoever the accuser and whatever the accusation, James quickly restored Southampton to favour. The incident, however, illustrates the precarious position of Essex supporters early in James's reign, and the possible connection to Pricket's poem suggests the danger still inherent in representations of the executed Earl of Essex. The actions of the Essex rebels in the Gunpowder Plot also complicate Pricket's celebration of Essex as Protestant hero and supporter of James's claim to the throne. At the end of his 1606 Times Anotomie, Pricket includes a six-stanza "Song of Reioycing" for the recent deliverance from the Gunpowder Plot. Like Williams, Pricket does not mention the connection between the two plots in his condemnation of "Romes proude Antichristian force" (Hlv). Although the song's identification of Great Britain as "worlds wonder" (Hlv) echoes the Honors Fame epitaph which calls Essex "the whole worlds wonder" (Elr), Pricket makes no effort to resolve the contradiction between Essex as defender of James's throne and Essex as leader of a rebellion some of whose members would later attempt to destroy James.¹³

The Jacobean work most famously related to the Essex rebellion, and most prominent among those which created controversy, was Samuel Daniel's play The Tragedy of Philotas.

The Children of the Queen's Revels probably staged the play in early 1605 when Daniel himself was licenser to the company. The Privy Council interrogated Daniel on the suspicion that the play, although relating the ancient story of Alexander the Great's executed general Philotas, commented sympathetically upon the Essex affair. Although the entries in the Acts of the Privy Council are fragmentary at this time, evidence of the controversy surrounding Philotas exists in the form of two of Samuel Daniel's letters, one to Devonshire and one to Salisbury, and the "Apology" appended to a later printed version of the play.¹⁴ These documents confirm that the Privy Council questioned Daniel about Philotas because of its recognizable similarities to the Essex affair of 1601. Daniel writes in the letter to Devonshire of the play's connection, or, as he claims, lack thereof, to "my L. of Essex troubles" (PRO SP 14/11 no. 4 f. 7r), and says in the "Apology" that it is through the "ignorance of the History" that any might apply resemblance "to the late Earle of Essex" (ll. 73-74).

Daniel was, by his own admission in the "Apology," sympathetic towards the late Earl, identifying himself as "particularly beholding to his bounty" and pleading for kindness towards his memory (l. 77). "I would to God his errors and disobedience to his Souereigne, might be so deepe buried vnderneath the earth, and in so low a tombe from his other parts," Daniel writes, "that he might neuer be remembred

among the examples of disloyalty in this Kingdome" (ll. 77-83). External evidence, too, suggests Daniel had a favourable opinion of Essex. He had links with Southampton, Essex's chief co-conspirator, and addressed a poem of admiration and sympathy to the Earl upon his release from the Tower (Grosart, The Complete Works in Verse and Prose of Samuel Daniel 1: 217-10). Daniel had also praised Essex's martial prowess in his 1595 First Fowre Bookes of the Civile Wars.

Despite various scholarly attempts to explicate the play's connection with Essex, key questions remain unanswered. The implication of Devonshire in the controversy surrounding the performance of Philotas has never been satisfactorily explained; attempts to interpret Devonshire's involvement rest upon misreadings of the Earl's reaction or explanations with contradictory premises. A careful consideration of not only the subject of the play's attack but of Devonshire's relationship with key figures early in James's reign uncovers the real reason for Devonshire's discomfiture with his own connection to the play. Thorough examination of various documents relating to Essex's rebellion also provides previously undetected evidence that further strengthens the argument that Daniel, for all his explanations and protestations to the contrary, did intend to refer to the Earl of Essex. Exploration of these issues demands a brief summary

of the events of Daniel's play and of the similarities between Essex and Daniel's Philotas.

In Daniel's retelling of the story, Philotas, Alexander's general and onetime close companion, begins to doubt Alexander and to believe that his king scorns those, such as Philotas's father (also a military man), who were the "authors of his good" (l. 313). Philotas speaks indiscreetly of this to the courtesan Antigona. She reveals the speeches to someone who relates them to Craterus, one of Alexander's counsellors, leaving Philotas vulnerable to jealous competitors. When he fails to inform Alexander of a conspiracy against him, he faces charges as the ringleader of the plot to supplant Alexander. At his trial, Philotas steadfastly denies his involvement in the conspiracy, but later, under torture, confesses to treason. He is stoned to death as a traitor.

Laurence Michel has extensively detailed both Daniel's faithfulness to and departure from his avowed sources in Plutarch's life of Alexander and the lengthier account of Quintius Curtius in Book 6 of his Historiarum Alexandri Magni. Daniel admitted to having written the final two acts of the play, which include the trial, torture, confession, and execution of Philotas, after the fall of Essex (PRO SP 14/11 no. 4 f. 7r). The emphasis in these acts is less upon the preservation of the state through the uncovering of the conspiracy and more upon the machinations of the ministers

attempting to bring Philotas down (Michel 63). In his examination of Daniel's adherence to his sources in these scenes, Michel identifies a number of elements common to the narratives of Curtius, Philotas, and the trial of Essex. Besides the "general outline of the trial procedure," he includes the fearless bearing and composure of the defendant, his plea of "past good conduct in extenuation" (51), and the position of the defendant as Master of the Horse (52). Michel also finds common ground in the sovereign's absence from the trial, the defendant's accusation that the prosecutors abuse the sovereign's ear (52), and the defendant's collapse under duress and accusation of innocent people (53). Michel notes these parallels "in the interests of avoiding too great enthusiasm in seeing parallels between Daniel's trial of Philotas and that of Essex" (54).

Even excepting embellishments which might indicate that Daniel drew specifically upon the case of Essex, the application to Essex's trial and death would have been abundantly clear to a contemporary audience. Daniel must have been aware of the tendency of his audience to search for allusions to Essex in plays on ancient subjects. His close friend Fulke Greville, to whom he dedicated his Musophilus, consigned to the flames his own tragedy in the classical manner, Antony and Cleopatra, for fear that the world might construe it as a comment on the fall of Essex (Caldwell).

Fritz Levy has recently provided further information which challenges Daniel's claim in the "Apology" that he believed the matter of Philotas to be "so remote a stranger from the climate of our present courses, I could not imagine that Enuy of ignorance could possibly haue made it, to take any particular acquaintance with vs" (ll. 34-38). Levy notes that in a 1597 letter from Lord Henry Howard to Essex, Howard quotes in Latin from Philotas's final speech, that in which the condemned general laments that "the dangerous freedom of true counsel, which love and fidelity had persuaded him to offer Alexander, now has betrayed him" (299). The Philotas story was thus "going the rounds" of the Essex circle as early as 1597, and Daniel, as a friend of Fulke Greville and Mountjoy, probably encountered it in that context (Levy 299).

As Michel demonstrates, however, the parallels between Essex and Daniel's Philotas exceed the similarities attributable to the playwright's faithfulness to his primary source in Curtius. Michel includes among these similarities certain points of law (54), as well as "the personal animus of the prosecutors, and their court-room demagoguery" (55). The hostility of Craterus, for example, bears suspicious resemblance to Essex's perception of the hostility of Sir Robert Cecil. Michel also notes that "The technical charge of treason is discussed in both trials--though not at all in Curtius" (56). Similarly, Philotas's speech in which he

refuses to beg for his life recalls Essex's refusal at his trial to speak to save his life (Michel 59). One deviation on a more general point, which Michel neglects to identify, is Daniel's removal of the action from the military encampment of the sources to a courtroom, a setting parallel with that of key events in the fall of Essex (Stirling 591).

Daniel would have had easy access to the government-disseminated information about Essex's rebellion--the Proclamation, Barlow's sermon, and Bacon's Declaration. He probably also had ready access to details of the trial, for he was a close friend of William Camden (Fuller 3: 104), who attended the trial of Essex and Southampton and later wrote his own account of it in his history of Elizabeth's reign. Camden may have provided Daniel with information about the trial.

Previously undetected evidence suggests that Daniel may have had another source of information about Essex's trial. The Nuntius in Daniel's play, relating Philotas's confession obtained under torture, says, "When, whatsoeuer secret of his heart/Which had beene fore-conceiu'd but in a thought,/What friend soeuer had but tooke his part,/In common loue h'accus'd; and so forgot/Himselfe that now he was more forward to/Confesse, than they to vrge him thereunto" (ll. 2033-38). Michel rightly identifies this speech with the confession of Essex. When the divines came to Essex following the

ministrations of his chaplain Abdie Ashton, whom Essex said had "plowed vp my hart [and] . . . hath brought me down and humbled me" (Barlow C8r), they found him "more open to reueale, then became vs [the divines] to inquire" (Barlow C7v).

The connection between the Nuntius's speech and Essex's confession, however, may be even stronger. Following the lines quoted above, the Nuntius reports the words of Alexander when he heard of Philotas's confession and his implication of his friends: "I neuer thought, a man that had a mind/T'attempt so much, had had a heart so weake!" (ll. 2047-48). The Nuntius's account of Alexander's words seems to echo the words of the Earl of Nottingham to Mountjoy immediately after Nottingham's account of Essex's confession and his implication of his friends and sister. "Would your Lo[rdshi]p have thought this Weakness, & this Un[n]aturalness in this Man?" Nottingham asks of Mountjoy (Bodleian MS Tanner 76, f. 97r), the future Earl of Devonshire to whom Daniel appeals in the matter of Philotas. Daniel admitted to having read parts of his play to Devonshire, and the possible echo of Nottingham's words suggests that Devonshire and Daniel may have had closer contact over the play--and discussion about the late Earl of Essex--than its author was willing to admit.

The implication of the Earl of Devonshire in the controversy surrounding the performance of Samuel Daniel's

Philotas has never been satisfactorily explained. One of Devonshire's biographers mentions the incident in an attempt to demonstrate the Earl's continuing loyalty to the dead Essex: "As late as 1605, when Samuel Daniel the poet and dramatist denied that the fate of Essex had been the inspiration of one of his plays, such infidelity evoked a strong reprimand from Mountjoy" (Frederick M. Jones 42). Certainly Devonshire reprimanded Daniel, but, as is evident from the playwright's letter to the Earl, it was not for a show of infidelity to Essex. Devonshire is displeased with Daniel for having implicated him in the matter. "I did not say you encouraged me vnto the p[re]senting of it," Daniel assures the Earl, intimating that this is the "imputation" which Devonshire has laid upon him (PRO SP 14/11 no. 4 f. 7r). Richard Dutton contends that it is actually Devonshire who is attempting to distance himself from Essex, writing that the Earl "was not happy to have Daniel rehearse his former associations in front of his fellow Privy Councillors" (165).

If, however, as Dutton states, James promoted Essex as a martyr in his cause (168, 169), why would Devonshire object to an association with such a figure? The explanation for Devonshire's discomfort lies in the play's portrayal of Craterus, possibly an unflattering representation of Robert Cecil, and, more importantly, in the Earl of Devonshire's relationship with Robert Cecil, then Lord Cranborne, at the

time of the play. Dutton writes that, while Daniel does not shadow Devonshire in the text, even so the Earl "took exception to having been dragged into the business" (168). He then states that Cecil "very possibly saw himself 'shadowed' there and objected to that" (Dutton 168). Cecil indeed saw himself shadowed offensively in the text, and Devonshire, probably indebted to Cecil for escaping punishment in 1601 and certainly friendly with him in 1605, objected to Daniel's associating him with a text that specifically portrayed Cecil in a negative light.

Fritz Levy poses the question which the audience of Daniel's play would certainly have posed: "If Philotas stood for Essex, did the odious Craterus stand for Robert Cecil?" (298). Craterus, who is a general in Daniel's sources, becomes simply a bureaucrat in the play, an alteration which supports the contention that Daniel may have intended Craterus to represent Cecil. The Chorus's consistent representation of Craterus as a one who clothes private hate "In those faire colours of the publike good" (ll. 1110-11) parallels the opinion of Essex about Cecil's part in the prosecution. Daniel, besides his letter to Devonshire attempting to clear himself of dishonourable behaviour towards him, also wrote a letter to Robert Cecil, then Viscount Cranborne, pleading that "For this tragedy of Philotas . . . I protest I have taken no other form in personating the actors that performed it, than

the very idea of those times as they appeared to me" (HMC Salisbury 17: 185).

Daniel's plea to Cecil does not, of course, indicate absolutely that Cecil himself found the play offensive. As Principal Secretary, Cecil was naturally the Privy Councillor to whom one would address Council business (Dutton 170). When Daniel assures Devonshire that he has "fully satisfyde my L. of Cranborne" (PRO SP 14/11 no. 4 f. 7r), he may be substituting Cecil, as the most important individual on the Council, for the body as a whole (Dutton 170). Daniel's appeals to Cecil seem more significant, however, when one considers them in conjunction with certain passages in the "Apology." Here Daniel writes that Craterus "who so wisely pursued this business is deemed to haue been one of the most honest men that euer followed Alexander in all his actions" (ll. 70-72), a statement very much at odds with Daniel's actual portrayal of Craterus as envious, scheming, and manipulative. Daniel makes a similarly contradictory reference to Craterus elsewhere in the "Apology," naming him as one of "the most graue and worthy Councillors of Alexander" (ll. 52-53). This emphasis upon Craterus's wisdom in his pursuit of the prosecution of Philotas, which does not accord with the events in the play, suggests Daniel's need to satisfy a particular person who objected to the portrayal of the character.

Michel and Dutton agree that the character of Craterus is an unflattering portrayal of Cecil, but Michel, like Dutton, offers little explanation for Devonshire's displeasure with Daniel for involving him in the matter. The answer lies in the friendly relationship between Cecil and Devonshire at the time of the play, and in Cecil's discretion and possible intervention in 1601 when the confessions of Essex and others implicated Mountjoy in treason. In a 17 July 1601 letter from Mountjoy at the Blackwater Fort in Ireland to Sir Robert Cecil, Mountjoy writes that he has learned that "all that were apprehended about the Earl of Essex his rebellion were examined about me, and had confessed that I was as far in as any of the rest, and that I was but spared till I had made an end of these wars" (CSP Ireland 10: 433). Cecil, however, in his 26 February 1601 letter apprising Mountjoy of the recent events in England, had made no mention of the implication of Mountjoy, and similarly omitted the information from accounts sent to Scotland and France--although James in Scotland was already aware of the extent of Mountjoy's involvement.

Cecil exerted extraordinary influence in the punishment of the rebels, and may well have been responsible for Mountjoy's good fortune in escaping punishment completely. Wallace T. MacCaffrey writes that "Some kind of crisis had clearly arisen out of the revelations following Essex's uprising that had threatened Mountjoy's career, and he had

reason to thank Cecil for support at this dangerous time" (438). Between Mountjoy's return from Ireland and his death in 1606, he and Cecil maintained a friendly relationship, as numerous surviving letters testify. June 1603 finds Mountjoy writing to Cecil that "Next to the comfort I take that, since we must serve, we shall serve such a king, I protest I am not more glad or proud of anything than of your love, and I will deserve it if possible" (HMC Salisbury 15: 123). He concludes this letter to Cecil with the vow "I am desirous to be directed by you in all things" (HMC Salisbury 15: 123).¹⁵

Attempting to deserve the powerful Cecil's love would surely not include the encouragement less than two years later of a play which criticized the role of Cecil in the fall of Essex, and identified him with a character who is a "manipulative bureaucrat eager to aggrandize his own power" (Levy 298). Philotas's attack upon Cecil, then, explains Devonshire's reaction when Daniel told the Privy Council that he had read "some parte of it" to the Earl (PRO SP 14/11 no. 4 f. 7r). No surviving evidence indicates that Devonshire objected to Pricket's poem, of which Devonshire was a dedicatee. Cecil, having worked to secure Pricket's release from prison, does not seem to have found that poem, whose criticisms of the enemies of Essex are either more general or clearly aimed at other parties, particularly offensive. Devonshire reacted angrily to Daniel's mention of his name in

conjunction with the offending play because he feared it might jeopardize his political relationship with Cecil.

The experience seems to have made Daniel wary about references to Essex in future works. His 1606 Funerall Poeme Upon the Death of the Late Noble Earle of Devonshire (Grosart, Complete Works 1: 171-88) does not mention the Earl's relationship with Essex at all. He may actually disavow a connection between Devonshire and the Essex rebellion when he writes of Devonshire as one in whom "passion did no suddaine tumults raise" (l. 50). John Ford refers much more directly and critically to the fall of Essex, writing of "Renowned Deuoreux, whose aukward fate,/Was misconceited by fowle enuies hate" (C3r). Ford, however, does not name names, probably wary as a popular dramatist of the inflammatory nature of the subject.

Perhaps a safer course in defense of Essex in early Jacobean England was that chosen by the Welsh poet William Herbert of Glamorgan the following year in his 1606 Englands Sorrowe or, a Farewell to Essex. The English authorities do not seem to have challenged Englands Sorrowe, perhaps because of its rather different and politically unthreatening explanation of the Earl's downfall. Herbert, probably "distantly related" to the Herbert Earls of Pembroke (Woolf, The Idea of History in Early Stuart England 62), portrays Essex not as the victim of the machinations of his enemies,

but of the evil counsel of those who pretended to be his friends.

Further exploration of Herbert's poem on Essex requires a brief consideration of the Earl's connections with Wales during his lifetime. A Welsh lament for the Earl's fall is unsurprising, for Essex had significant connections with Wales, and Welsh bards had sung the Earl's praises during his lifetime. Howell A. Lloyd notes that by the mid-sixteenth century the Devereux family, who claimed descent from the ancient Princes of Wales, emerged as the leading family of south-west Wales (The Gentry of South-West Wales, 1540-1640 113). Although the opinion of one historian that if anyone might have considered himself prince in Pembrokeshire in the late sixteenth century, "the second Earl was he" (Howell A. Lloyd, Gentry 113), may be an exaggeration, Essex's local political influence in Pembrokeshire was strong (Hammer, Polarisation 274). The Earl had spent considerable time there in his youth, and while he attended Cambridge Gelly Meyrick, native of that region, entered his service (Malden 21). By the time of Essex's rebellion in 1601, Meyrick, who played a leading role in the action and was subsequently executed, had risen to the rank of steward of the Earl's household. Meyrick began recruiting Welsh support for the Earl as early as 1595 (Howell A. Lloyd, Gentry 114), and attempted to involve some of his countrymen in the Earl's revolt (Fernald 153).

Contemporaries believed Essex had influence in various regions in Wales, including Carmarthenshire, Pembrokeshire, and "others adjoining, as far as the sea-coast" (HMC Salisbury 11: 134). According to a 25 February 1601 letter from Sir Richard Lewkenor to Robert Cecil, "The Earl of Essex was greatest in South Wales" (HMC Salisbury 11: 82). Hammer notes that in Wales "Essex had a solid power-base in the neighbouring counties of Carmarthenshire and Pembrokeshire, in the south-west of the principality, and varying degrees of influence in the other counties of south Wales" (Polarisation 274). He succeeded to the Constablership of Carmarthen Castle, and various other offices which his father had held in south Wales, when he was only eleven years old, and also held extensive estates in Pembrokeshire (Hammer, Polarisation 274). His sister Dorothy's 1583 marriage to Sir Thomas Perrot, most of whose family's lands were in Pembrokeshire, further strengthened his position in south-west Wales (Howell A. Lloyd, Gentry 114).¹⁶ The Earl also had some influence in the north. His support here, in Breconshire, Radnor, and Denbighshire, however, "clearly represented an ardent following rather than a power-base, for Essex himself had few ties there as landlord, master or kinsman" (Hammer, Polarisation 219). Many of Essex's ties in north Wales were related to the service of various Welshmen in the Earl's military campaigns (Dodd, "North Wales in the Essex Revolt of

1601" 361), and Meyrick apparently schemed to further Essex's military ascendancy there (Dodd, "The Earl of Essex's Faction in North Wales" 190).

A number of Welshmen participated in Essex's rising of 1601, although Lloyd observes that "when the die was cast in London in February 1601 the men of south-west Wales were conspicuously absent"; only John Vaughan and Philip Williams joined Meyrick among those imprisoned (Gentry 116-17). Natives of north Wales were rather more in evidence, for the two Salisburys, Owen and John, as well as Peter Wynn, were "in the thick of it," as was Ellis Jones (Dodd, "North Wales" 363). Sir John Lloyd of Denbighshire was implicated although not proceeded against for his entertaining of Wynn and the Salisburys shortly before the rebellion (HMC Salisbury 11: 96). Edward Hanmer of Flintshire was arrested, and several other natives of Caernarvonshire and Anglesey were also detained (Dodd, "North Wales" 365).

Essex's 1599 campaign in Ireland had prompted several works by Welsh poets. The Earl's passage through Wales on his way to Ireland actually marked his first visit to "his distant heart-land" since he determined to base himself at Court in 1585, rather than in the counties as did the "great regional magnates" such as Pembroke, Shrewsbury, Derby, and Northumberland (Hammer, Polarisation 277). The passage in the spring of 1599 definitely made an impression on the Welsh, for

Evan Lloyd Jeffrey composed a long poem in the Earl's honour, celebrating Essex as the "famous reined deer" (the symbol on his coat of arms), mentioning his military experience at Cadiz and on the Islands Voyage, and predicting his conquest of Ireland (E.D. Jones 156). When John Tudur composed a poem for Sir Thomas Mostyn, who had entertained Essex and been knighted by him when the Earl passed through Wales on his journey to Ireland, he specifically mentioned the honour of the Earl's visit:

Some dignitaries go to Ireland
and no one will pass by the house of Nonn.
Many a feast for earls, lords
of double estate, in thy mansion,
many a fair course from thy kitchen
and the wild flow of tuns of wine . . .
The Earl of Essex, a well-attended man,
this will remain long in his memory.
There were earls and the whole muster
with him and their men with them . . .
Honourable knights ten
splendid there, and more . . . (E.D. Jones 23)

Over twenty years earlier Hugh Leyn had written a poem upon the death of Essex's father, mourning his loss for both England and Wales (E.D. Jones 227).

Following Essex's 1601 rebellion and execution, Sir Richard Lewkenor assured Cecil that "the fall of the Earl, in those parts where he was the greatest, is not grieved at, because I do generally hear that he was (and the rather by Sir Gelly Meyrick his means) very often chargeable and burdensome to them" (HMC Salisbury 11: 118). By 1606, however, when it was somewhat safer to express a favourable opinion of the late

Earl, William Herbert of Glamorgan, portrayed an Essex--and an England--whose fall he most bitterly lamented.

The poem, which Michael Brennan calls "a product of the literary revival of Essex's reputation in the first four years of James' reign" ("The Literary Patronage of the Herbert Family, Earls of Pembroke, 1550-1630" 199), praises "The forraigne spoiles and conquests which he wan" (B2v)--the journey to Lisbon, Rouen, Cadiz, the Islands Voyage--much as do previous laments for Essex. Like Pricket in his Honors Fame, Herbert apparently also had in mind Shakespeare's Julius Caesar as he composed his farewell to Essex, although his comparison is to Brutus and not to Caesar. Herbert's conclusion after his praise of the Earl's honour, his courage in war, and his defence of Protestantism, recalls that of Antony about Brutus near the end of Julius Caesar. "This was a man," writes Herbert (B3r), unmistakably echoing Antony's words on Brutus: "His life was gentle, and the elements/So mixed in him that Nature might stand up/And say to all the world 'This was a man'" (5.5.73-75).

Herbert's explanation of Essex's fall, however, departs from that of Pricket and numerous other works on the life and death of Essex. The poem hints in the lines "they are not wise,/Who counsell great men Princes to surprise" (C1v) that the fault lay not in Essex nor in his enemies, but in his followers and their ill advice. What the poet often heard, he

grieved to see in the case of Essex: "Great men trust knaves, and will not honest men:/He that would learne the truth, shoulde him beleeve,/Who not for gaine, but love, doth counsell give" (Clv). These words evoke contemporary perceptions of Essex's secretary Henry Cuffe, whom the Earl himself accused in his confession as one of those who continually urged him to rebellion (Bodleian MS Tanner 76 f. 97r), calling the secretary "the first that brought'st me to this treachery" (Camden 323). Cuffe paid for his part in the action with his life and with "the vilification of his memory" (Hammer, "The Uses of Scholarship: The Secretariat of Robert Devereux, Second Earl of Essex, c. 1585-1601" 42). According to Camden, Essex's troubles really began when the Queen released him from custody in August 1600, for "hee was neuer freer (to wit) from euill counceles, then when he was at custody" (293). Camden then accuses Cuffe, who had always persuaded the Earl "not to impaire his honour with a submission" in the matter of his actions in Ireland, of vehemently "nipping" Essex "for a pusillanimous Earle" (293).

Cuffe may have become the Earl's most vilified advisor because he repeatedly refused to confess and to admit to an offense. While at least three surviving accounts of Cuffe's execution speech differ on a number of points, and one bears little resemblance to the others, on one point they all agree: Cuffe, unlike other rebels, resolutely refused to admit that

he had been justly condemned.¹⁷ According to one account of the speech, as Cuffe sought to explain by what logic he was not a traitor, a spectator interrupted him: "O how doe you decline from the good example of the penitent death your Lord made, that now goe about to iustifie your seife. You must confesse your sinne & make satisfaction to the world that you are iustly condemynd" (PRO SP 12/279 no. 25 f. 35r). Mervyn James writes of Essex that "his repentance, self-condemnation, and edifying death effected his own reincorporation into the body of the realm from which as a traitor he had been ejected" (461). Cuffe, refusing to repent, disallows such reincorporation. Beach Langston notes that the Tudor sovereigns considered rebellion, or treason, not merely as a political crime punishable by death, but also "a religious sin punishable by eternal damnation" unless the guilty party repented (116). Essex the hero knows how to repent; Cuffe the mere man does not. While Cuffe allowed that "it was wicked & vngodlie, & no way warrented for a subiect, beinge in disgrace and debard from her p[re]sense, to make accesse for himselfe by force w[i]thout her licence," it was by "our law," and not "gods law," that he was guilty (PRO SP 12/279 no. 25 f. 35r).

At the same time as Englands Sorrowe accuses Essex's "friends" rather than his enemies of engineering his fall, it praises some of those traditionally blamed for the Earl's troubles. Although William Cecil, Lord Burghley, had died in

1598, Essex's supporters regarded him as an enemy long before then. Pauline Croft notes that criticism of Lord Burghley and his son Robert Cecil, particularly after son joined father on the Privy Council, accused the two of establishing a "regnum Cecilianum," conspiring to thwart the careers of other talented men. Such critics particularly named Essex as the "the most prominent victim of the policy of exclusion" ("The Reputation of Robert Cecil" 47).¹⁸ Herbert, however, includes the former Lord Burghley in his "Honours Epitaphs," as well as a reference to his son:

Not long ere this there was a reverent man,
Whose issue lives, live brave, and ever good,
He treasur'd vertue and bright honour wan
In midst of Envy, and as Oake in woode,
With age he fell, and falling, raisde his blood:
Blood worthy praise, live faire and flourish
long,
Who firmly builds, must lay foundation strong.
(Dlv)

Poems praising both Essex and the Cecils in this period are very rare, and Herbert's work may represent the only example. Although this might seem like the poet's attempt to reap the benefits of praising both one for whom the King professed affection and another who was in a position of considerable power in the new reign, Herbert does not intend his praise of Essex and the Cecils to win favour with James.

Herbert's 1606 poem, blaming the Earl's fall on the bad counsel of his friends rather than the plotting of his enemies, differs from other early Jacobean portrayals of Essex

in another significant respect. Prior to Herbert's poem, praise of Essex and his conquests in battle in no way implied criticism of the policies of the new King. On the contrary, praise of Essex frequently incorporated praise of James. Even Carleton, in his vociferously anti-Spanish and anti-Catholic "Devoraxeidōs Liber Unus" (see Chapter 6), was not criticizing James's policies--the peace with Spain had not yet been signed--but rather trying to influence them. Michael Brennan, however, detects in Herbert's Englands Sorrowe a "specific tone of political disquiet" (Literary Patronage 116). Indeed, Herbert produces his celebration of Essex, which also includes praise of the Protestant soldiers Leicester and Sir Philip Sidney, with a somewhat different agenda than his poetic predecessors.

While Elizabethan nostalgia during the early Jacobean period is not inherently critical of James, and a number of early Jacobean works endorse Elizabethan anti-Spanish sentiment and militant Protestantism without criticizing the policies of the new "Rex Pacificus" (Perry 100), Herbert's rhapsody on the Earl's "Spanish overthrow" (B4r) seems more pointed in its emphasis when combined with his comment on the "grave advise," rather than "ignoble ease," with which Elizabeth's chief counsellors secured England (D2r). Herbert, after presenting his list of late, great Elizabethans, writes, "Peace be with thee faire Queene, with these, & them/Which

faine would haue old Brittainē live agen" (D2r). Englands Sorrowe represents an early stage in the appropriation of Essex's image for oppositional purposes, although poets and other writers would not fully realize the oppositional potential in the image for another decade and a half.

Herbert's poem also exemplifies the attention paid to the memory of Essex and Sidney during the first decade of King James's reign, and the increasingly strong association between the two men (Brennan, Literary Patronage 116-17). Carleton had included a copy of his previously-published funeral poem upon Sidney with his "Devoraxeidōs Liber Unus" in his 1603 Heroici Characteres. Herbert extends the connection by including laments upon both men in Englands Sorrowe. Herbert has possible ties to Fulke Greville, who would later offer critical comment upon James in a work dedicated to praising Sir Philip Sidney and containing long complimentary passages on the Earl of Essex. Norman Farmer, Jr. suggests that William Herbert of Glamorgan may be the "Harbert" to whom Sir Fulke Greville refers in a 1615 letter to Sir John Coke discussing possible candidates for a history lectureship at Cambridge (228). Farmer notes that the patriotic theme of Herbert's A Prophecie of Cadwallader, Last King of the Brittaines, a poem commemorating illustrious figures of English history, would not have been inimical to Fulke Greville's own views on history, "nor would the propaganda value of the poem

run counter to the attitudes toward the responsibilities of the historian" Greville expresses in letters to Sir John Coke (228). Herbert may have caught Greville's attention through the latter's business with the Court of the Marches of Wales (Farmer 228).

Although Farmer does not mention Englands Sorrowe, the poem strengthens the likely connection between the two men. The poem, like Greville's own famous Life of Sidney, praises both Essex and Sidney. Greville would not have been averse to Herbert's implied criticism of James, for Greville's long digression on Elizabeth in his Life of Sidney, probably written during his years of exile from Court, implies criticism of the current monarch.¹⁹ Even D.R. Woolf, who argues against Ronald A. Rebholz's assertion that the passages on Elizabeth attack "the short-sighted megalomania of James and Cecil" (Rebholz 183), admits that they do express Greville's disillusionment with certain aspects of royal policy, and particularly the peace with Spain ("Two Elizabeths?" 188-89)--exactly the element of Jacobean policy with which Englands Sorrowe seems discontented.

Greville, judging from his affectionate words about Essex in the Life of Sidney, would not have objected to Herbert's praise of Essex. In his own assessment of the Earl's fall Greville may even assign some of the blame, like Herbert, to the bad counsel of his advisors. Although he clearly refers

to Essex's known enemies, such as Cecil and Raleigh, when he mentions "Pluto's thunderworkers," who so surrounded the Queen that "it was impossible for her to see any light, that might tend to grace, or mercy" (Caldwell 99), other criticism is more ambiguous, and might refer to the Earl's advisors. His observance of "how long that noble mans birth, worth, and favour had been flattered, tempted, and stunge by a swarme of sect-Animalls, whose property was to wound, and to flee away" (Caldwell 98), may refer, as Caldwell believes (269), to Henry Cuffe.

Greville, although some thirteen years older than Essex, had been the Earl's protege when Essex inherited the role of leader of the Protestant faction after the deaths of Greville's dear friend Sidney, the Earl of Leicester, and Sir Francis Walsingham (Rebholz 94). Greville had once been involved in attempting to secure scholars to compile information for the Earl (Hammer, Polarisation 248). He had also helped Anthony Bacon circulate the Earl's account of the Cadiz voyage after the Queen's prohibition of its printing, even allowing the Earl to blame him publicly for the document's circulation (Rebholz 99). Greville had moved into lodgings in Essex House in 1596, and remained there until 1600, when the Queen ordered Greville, Anthony Bacon, Southampton, and Essex's mother to vacate the premises in preparation for the Earl's return (HMC De L'Isle and Dudley 2:

448). While Greville was among the government forces who besieged Essex House on 8 February 1601 (Camden 308), he did all within his power, according to his passages on Essex in the Life of Sidney, to incline the Queen towards mercy (Caldwell 99). Camden confirms Greville's claim. At the arraignment of Vernon, Constable, Baynham, Littleton, and Cuffe, a letter arrived from Elizabeth, who, acting on information from Greville that most of these men "were deceitfully enticed to this villany," declared that only Littleton, Baynham, and Orrell should stand trial (Camden 322). Cuffe, returned to prison at this point, was, of course, executed, and Greville, if he includes Cuffe among the "sect-Animalls" who destroyed the Earl, eventually reconsidered his position that Cuffe was deceitfully enticed into the rebellion.

Although in his passages on Essex's military campaigns Greville appears to be more concerned with exonerating the Earl from charges of ambition than making invidious comparisons to the policies of King James, at times his remarks upon the Earl seem rather more pointed. Greville compares the Earl favourably to French favourites of the time, writing that at least he did not sell "orders of honours, till they became Colliers pour tout beste" (Caldwell 101). Caldwell glosses this line as "'collars (in the sense of ceremonial collars for knightly orders) for every animal'"

(271-72). This defense of Essex's controversial knighthoods implies that at least the Earl did not sell the honour, and the target of the comparison may be, rather than the named French favourites, the unnamed English King. He might likewise aim his claim that Essex was "soe far from affecting the absolute power of Henry the thirds favourites . . . in createing and deposing Chauncellors, Treasurours, and Secretaries of estate" (Caldwell 100) not at the favourites of King Henri III, but at those of King James I.

Greville's praise of Essex, however, belongs to a later period in the development of the Earl's image in Jacobean England. Herbert's earlier complimentary stanzas on the Earl, while embedded in a work whose tone and agenda are rather different from those in a work such as Pricket's Honors Fame, nonetheless do not overtly deploy Essex against James, a feature more common in later works. In numerous texts produced in the early years of James's reign, celebrations of Elizabethan military glory and the pacific policies of James do not necessarily favour one over the other (Perry 105).

Essex does, however, occupy an awkward position in works attempting to both cultivate favour with the new King but also minimize friction between James and Elizabeth. Curtis Perry writes that in the "apparently naive association of nostalgic Elizabethan patriotism and Jacobean panegyric" in Thomas Heywood's 1609 Troia Britanica, Heywood, describing

Elizabeth's reign in the final canto, pointedly ignores both the execution of Mary, Queen of Scots and the Essex rebellion (106-07). Perry is partially correct, for James's mother the Queen of Scots is conspicuously absent. Heywood does, however, refer to Essex's uprising in his account of "A sudden insurrection, for which some/Suffred, some Finde, some set at Liberty,/Supprest without the clamour of a Drum" (16.133). Heywood could hardly have any other insurrection in mind, considering his situation of this event chronologically between "Peace betwixt Spaine and France" and the arrival in England of the Scottish "Earle of Marre." The first reference is surely to the January 1601 peace between France and Savoy (a client of Spain) which removed the threat of a Franco-Spanish war (MacCaffrey 440). The Earl of Marr arrived in England in on 6 March 1601. Heywood's allusion to an insurrection in England between January and early March 1601 can only refer to the Essex rebellion. As Perry correctly notes, however, Heywood's commemoration of Elizabethan military glories (including a comparison of Essex's and Drake's Spanish triumphs to the Greek conquest of Troy [7.87]) and pacific Jacobean policies indicates no awareness of the "contradictions built into his encomiastic scheme" (107).

III. Conclusion

Later writers would find praise of both the warlike Essex and the pacific James irreconcilable, and even pro-Essex works produced early in James's reign, a relatively receptive period for positive portrayals of the Earl, might engender controversy. This early period, however, was crucial in the formation of the myth which Essex's son would draw upon decades later to gain support for his Parliamentary army. Upon James's accession to the English throne, he had the power to influence representations of Essex one way or the other, advance him as hero or traitor. Despite his personal ambivalence about the Earl's "aspiring mind," and evidence that some Catholic Essex rebels sought to destroy him, the King perpetuated the image of Essex as hero. He remained wary of the Essex conspirators, however, as is apparent in the controversies surrounding some early Jacobean pro-Essex works, works which appeared because of James's public proclamation of affection for Essex.

Very early in James's reign he enlisted Essex in a cause far more specific than gaining popularity with his new subjects: the fall of Sir Walter Raleigh. The heroic image of Essex that emerged in early Jacobean England gained lustre and impetus from the enlistment of Essex in the cause of toppling his old rival. The linking of Essex and Raleigh against James was yet decades in the future, and Essex was to first prove useful in the disposal of Raleigh.

Notes

¹ Bacon, like Barlow, prepared his account under careful official scrutiny. In his 1604 Apologie, in Certaine Imputations, Concerning the Late Earl of Essex, a defence of his actions towards his former patron at the Earl's trial, Bacon reports of the Declaration that "after I had made a first draught thereof, and propounded it to certain principal counsellors, by her Majesty's appointment, it was perused, weighed, censured, altered, and made almost a new writing, according to their Lordships' better consideration," and that "after it had passed their allowance, it was again exactly perused by the Queen herself, and some alterations made again by her appointment" (Spedding 3: 159).

² Furnivall notes that "There are no published productions by an author so styled in any catalogues of seventeenth century literature" (Furnivall and Morfill 2: xxxviii). Various men of the same name occasionally appear in the State Papers, but none may be identified with any certainty as the author in question (Furnivall and Morfill 2: xxxix).

³ Although B.N. de Luna suggests that "This Woodhouse may be same as the 'Mr. Woodhouse of Beccles, Norfolk,' who seems to have been involved in Edward Squier's Plot of 1598" (The Mortal Shakespeare vol. 6 ch. 33 p.37), he is more probably one of the two Woodhouses writing prognostications at about this time. While a John Woodhouse calculated almanacs for various areas of England during the early decades of the seventeenth century (Pantzer 1: 29-30), the more likely author is William Woodhouse. William was a "student in Astronomy" and author in 1602 of a prognostication for London in which he predicts the continuing effects of a solar eclipse whose dates of influence accord exactly with those reported in the 18 February letter, but does not mention the Essex "tumult." Woodhouse may make oblique reference to the Essex revolt when he writes that the coming year, because of the enduring effects of the eclipse, will not differ greatly in inclination from the previous one, and thus "it shall be meet for all men, to pray to God to holde his holy hand over us, & to save and keep our most gracious Queene, in health and prosperity, and defend her Realme in peace and tranquillity."

⁴ Sinon was the Greek "captive" who, by clever lies, persuaded the Trojans to take the wooden horse into their city, and later released the Greek warriors hiding within.

⁵ Williams's poem is unique in its tribute to Essex in that, proclaiming that the Earl's offspring will revenge his

death, it includes, in addition to the restored 3rd Earl, mention of the 2nd Earl's illegitimate son:

Well! hee is gone! that is to trewe!
yet ins posteritie dothe live;
Two gallante Impes, that doe renewe
the fame that Essex dothe vs give;
Twoe gallante sonnes of Deverox race,

Whiche hardlie can broke his disgrace. (ll. 367-72)

The other "gallant imp," besides young Robert, must be Essex's illegitimate son Walter, born in late 1591 to Elizabeth Southwell (Hammer, Polarisation 255). Essex acknowledged his illegitimate son, who died in about 1641, and made financial provisions for him (Hammer, Polarisation 96). Camden mentions him among the Earl's offspring: "Walter by the Lady Southwell" (327). I am not aware of this child's fortunes following his father's execution.

Essex's other legitimate sons died in infancy, Walter a month after his birth in January 1592 and Henry sometime after his birth in March 1595 (Hammer, Polarisation 105, 320).

⁶ John and Christopher Wright were both imprisoned in the White Lion in Southwark following the revolt (HMC Rutland 1: 368), and fined 40 pounds each (HMC Salisbury 11: 214).

⁷ Thomas Lee was the first Essex associate to be executed. Although he was not involved in the 8 February action, Lee formulated his own plan, shortly after the rebellion and during the imprisonment of Essex and Southampton, to seize Elizabeth in order to effect the Earls' release. According to his 13 February examination, Lee "confesseth that he was mightily discontented w[i]th the noblemens imprisonm[en]t," and would have ventured his life for their deliverance; he intended to reach the Queen in her presence chamber, bar the door, and cause her to sign a warrant for the delivery of Essex and Southampton (PRO SP 12/278 no. 61 f. 102r). Lee, armed with a dagger, was arrested in the lobby near Elizabeth's private chamber, and executed at Tyburn about the middle of February (PRO SP 12/278 no. 61 f. 102v; PRO SP 12/281 no. 67 f. 125r).

⁸ For a discussion of Essex and Julius Caesar see Wayne A. Rebhorn, "The Crisis of the Aristocracy in Julius Caesar." Rebhorn suggests that in the summer of 1599, as Essex continued his disastrous campaign in Ireland and Shakespeare's company prepared to stage Julius Caesar, Shakespeare, "on the periphery of the Essex circle," may have drawn upon the Earl's situation for the action of his play (101-02). Rebhorn identifies a number of instances in which others, and even Essex himself, drew comparisons between the Earl and Julius Caesar (102-04).

⁹ Sir John Harington, who accompanied Essex to Ireland and was there knighted by the Earl, wrote of the second and third of these offences. He addressed the matter of Essex's southern journey in an epigram presumably circulated at the time of the event:

Great Essex, now of late incurred hath
His mistress indignation and her wrath:
And that in him she chiefly dissalouth,
She sent him North, he bent him to the South:
Then what shall Essex do? Let him henceforth,
Bend all his wits, his power and courage North.
(McClure, The Letters and Epigrams of Sir John Harington 242)

R. H. Miller writes of the southern journey that "Essex's achievements were minimal: the taking of a castle at Cahir, the submission of some rebels, skirmishes here and there; but apparently, in spite of his determination, the campaign accomplished little" (97). Harington observed of his controversial knighthood in 1603 that it "had been better bestowed by hir that sente me, and better sparede by him that gave it" (McClure, Harington 108).

¹⁰ Although the 12-stanza penitential poem "Essex Laste Voyage to the Hauen of Happines" (Bodleian MS Tanner 306 ff. 64r-65v) is in the first person, internal evidence suggests it was written after the Earl's death. Several lines echo the Earl's last words upon the scaffold, as recorded in Barlow's sermon: "Vaine worldly pleasures haue my youth misled/I haue inclynd to lust and wantonnesse/My synns are more then the haire vpon my head" (Bodleian MS Tanner 306 f. 64r).

Other evidence within the poem also suggests post-execution composition. The first line contains the lines "Vnto the Queene I haue a debt to paye/This Febrewarye's fiue and twenty day" (Bodleian MS Tanner 306 f. 64r). Essex did not actually know he was to die on the morning of 25 February until that very morning: "On wensdaie commonlie called Ashwensdaie in the morninge about one of the clock, the Lieutenant of the tower gave warninge to the Earle of Essex . . . to prepare himself for death" (PRO SP 12/278 no. 114 f. 223r). The Earl spent the approximately seven hours between then and the execution occupied with the ministrations of Drs. Barlow and Montford and his chaplain Abdie Ashton (PRO SP 12/278 no. 114 f. 223r), and it seems unlikely that he spent part of that time in the composition of the "Laste Voyage." The unknown author probably composed the poem shortly after Essex's death, probably following the publication of Barlow's sermon.

¹¹ Cecil emphasized that it was Essex's own wish. In a letter to Ralph Winwood in France, after already once stating that the Earl requested of Elizabeth that he might die

privately in the Tower, he includes a postscript reinforcing the claim: "You must understand, that he was an exceeding earnest Suiter, to be executed privately in the Tower" (Sawyer 1: 302).

12 Northampton's father Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey and his grandfather Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk were convicted of treason in 1546, and Surrey was executed in 1547. Norfolk escaped execution only because Henry VIII died the night before the scheduled execution (Peck, Northampton 7).

13 The epitaph is by Charles Best in his brief poem "Vpon the Author and his subiect" (Elr). Although Best's DNB biographer writes that "Best's name is only known in connection with the 'Poetical Rhapsody,'" the Francis Davison anthology which, in its various editions, contains three of Best's poems (2: 415), his name appears again here. The poem also appears, without the attribution to Best, in Bodleian MS Ashmole 781 f. 150.

14 It seems that the "Apology" did not appear in print until a posthumous edition of Daniel's works in 1623 (Michel 40). It is missing from all known copies before then, although numerous scholars have, based upon its information, assigned it an earlier publication date (Michel 40). Laurence Michel surmises that it was written in the autumn of 1604 for publication in 1605, although it seems not to have been printed at the time (40). Fritz Levy similarly believes Daniel to have written the "Apology" "in the immediate wake of the controversy" (298).

15 For further evidence of the amicable relationship between Devonshire and Salisbury, see PRO SP 14/11 no. 3 f. 5r, a letter from Devonshire to Cecil, then Viscount Cranborne, mentioning that he sends him six rabbits he has caught. See also HMC Salisbury 16: 221-22, and 17: 285-86.

16 Dorothy married Sir Thomas Perrot clandestinely at Broxbourne in Hertfordshire in 1583. Following the attainder of Thomas's father Sir John Perrot, once Lord Deputy in Ireland and reputed son of Henry VIII (Morgan 109), in 1592, Essex sought to recover the forfeited Perrot property for his sister (Hammer, Polarisation 274). Sir Thomas died in 1594 and Dorothy married Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, possibly later that year (Hammer, Polarisation 281).

17 In the various accounts of Cuffe's execution speech I have consulted he denies involvement in the revolt. In one account, he insists that his part on the day of the revolt was that of child, "the p[ar]tie of mourninge and weepinge. I was kept w[i]thin doores and shut vp all daye longe" (PRO SP 12/279

no. 25 f. 35r). Camden similarly records that in his speech Cuffe maintained "that I was not guilty of it, but that all that day I shut my selfe vp, mourning and lamenting" (333). In Howell's version of the speech in the State Trials, Cuffe speaks similarly: "I was not in the least concerned therein, but was shut up that whole day within the house, where I spent the time in very melancholy reflections" (2: 1412). One contemporary rather mockingly claimed Cuffe had a more active role. In a verse letter written to his friend Sir Nicholas Smyth in about 1604, Sir John Roe comments upon the ill-kept secret of the rebellion: "They told it all the world; where was their wit?/Cuffs putting on a sword, might have told it" (Grierson 1: 405).

18 For a critique of the notion of a "regnum Cecilianum" in the 1590s, see Natalie Mears, "Regnum Cecilianum? A Cecilian Perspective of the Court." Mears argues that "So strong have been the notions of a regnum Cecilianum that they have mythologized the more prosaic yet more complex relations between [Robert] Cecil and Essex" (48). The regnum Cecilianum, she maintains, was a "rhetorical device of criticism," founded upon the paranoia of Essex supporters who believed themselves at a political disadvantage to William and Robert Cecil and their supporters, a "term of abuse to define what the Essexians were not," and not the reality of the 1590s (63).

19 Scholars are uncertain of the exact dates of Greville's composition of the Life. Curtis Perry writes that Greville wrote the Life between 1610 and 1612 (110), and D.R. Woolf contends that the work was written in about 1610 and revised in 1612 ("Two Elizabeths? James I and the Late Queen's Famous Memory" 188). Mark Caldwell maintains that Greville wrote the three surviving versions after 1610, "But there is nothing in any of the surviving texts which absolutely precludes their having been written any time between 1610 and Fulke Greville's death in 1628" (viii).

Chapter 4: Essex and Raleigh, 1587-1601

I. Introduction

A discussion of Essex's role in the 1603 fall of Raleigh and the resultant effect upon the Earl's image in early Jacobean England must begin with an examination of the relationship between the two men during the Earl's lifetime. Just as King James's relationship with Essex between 1587 and 1601 had considerable impact upon the Earl's post-1603 reputation, so too did the Earl's relationship with Sir Walter Raleigh in exactly the same period also leave its mark on Essex--and Raleigh--after 1603. Although any substantial biographical work on Essex or Raleigh in the last 400 years inevitably contains considerable material about the other, no thorough examination of the relationship between the two men, with its famous rivalries and its less famous and more subtle intimacies, has yet been undertaken. Hammer's recent work on Essex's political career between 1585 and 1597 has partially redressed this inadequacy. Hammer, however, choosing his dates carefully to avoid examining the Earl's earlier career from the perspective of his turbulent final years, does not consider the Essex-Raleigh relationship at its nadir in the final years of the Earl's life.

The Essex-Raleigh relationship between their earliest recorded clash in 1587 and the Earl's death as a traitor in

1601 resolves itself into two distinct periods: 1587-1598 and 1599-1601. Between 1587 and 1598, the Earl's swift ascent occasioned the well-known rivalry with Raleigh, a rivalry played out partially in verse generated by both the Essex and Raleigh circles. The period of the Earl's ascent, however, also saw the two men cooperating on numerous occasions as they sought to achieve mutual goals. Between 1599 and 1601, as Essex's star declined and the two found little common ground, the relationship deteriorated into extreme mutual animosity. This animosity, and the perceived role of Raleigh in the fall of Essex, was to have profound consequences for Raleigh early in the next reign.

II. Essex, Raleigh, and the Poetry of Propaganda: 1587-1598

The Essex-Raleigh rivalry seems to have begun virtually from the first visits of the young Earl to Court in the mid-1580s,¹ and, if we are to believe some of Essex's contemporaries, competition between the two men may have been the very reason for Essex's introduction at Court. The Earl's secretary Sir Henry Wotton suggests that some believed that Leicester introduced Essex because, weary of the "assiduous attending, & intensive circumspection" of a favourite, he hoped to bestow some measure of the pain and envy of his position on another (Bodleian MS Tanner 76 f. 76r). Others, however, conceived that, having for the same ends "either

brought in or lett in" Raleigh, Leicester "found him such an apprentice, as knew well enough to sett vp for himselfe," and decided to allay Raleigh's popularity by advancing his young step-son the Earl of Essex (Bodleian MS Tanner ff. 76r-76v). The perception may contain an element of truth, for Raleigh, at one time dedicated to Leicester, was by the mid-1580s at odds with the Earl.

Whatever the reason for his introduction at Court, Essex's rise was rapid, for as early as 1587 he was in regular attendance upon the Queen. Essex's boyhood friend Anthony Bagot informs his father in a May 1587 letter that "'When she [the queen] is . . . abroade, noboddy [is] neere but my lord of Essex. At night my lord is at cardes or one game or an other with her, [so] that he commeth not to his owne lodginge tyll the birdes singe in the morning'" (Hammer, Polarisation 56-57). The letter is also particularly revealing of the incipient rivalry with Raleigh, whom Bagot goes on to tell his father is "'the hated man of the world, in court, city, and country'" (Devereux 1: 186). In June of that year, when Elizabeth appointed Leicester Lord Steward and he relinquished his post as Master of the Horse, she promoted Essex to the important and newly-vacated office (Hammer, Polarisation 60).

Although Bagot's letter only implies friction between Essex and Raleigh, one need look no further than the summer of 1587, not long after Essex's elevation to the Mastership of

the Horse and Leicester's late June return to the Low Countries, for recorded evidence of actual hostility between the two. Essex describes the incident, in which he quarrelled violently with Elizabeth about Raleigh, in an emotional 21 July 1587 letter to Edward Dyer (Bodleian MS Tanner 76 ff. 29r-29v; 77 f. 178r). Elizabeth, on progress, was about to proceed to the North Hall home of the Earl and Countess of Warwick, where one of Essex's sisters was a guest of the Countess. Essex, aware that this particular sister was out of favour with Elizabeth, worriedly sent word to the Queen so "this matter might not seeme straunge to her" (Bodleian MS Tanner 76 f. 29r). Although Essex does not specify which sister, it was probably Dorothy, whose 1583 clandestine marriage to Thomas Perrot may have provoked Elizabeth's anger. Elizabeth "seemed to be well pleased and well contented with it," and promised to treat Essex's sister graciously, but when Queen and Court arrived at North Hall, she commanded the Earl's sister to keep to her chamber (Bodleian MS Tanner 76 f. 29r). Elizabeth offered Essex only "bad excuses" for her behaviour, and Essex, as he tells Dyer, informed the Queen of her true motive for disgracing his family: "to please that k[nav]e Rawly" (Bodleian MS Tanner 76 f. 29r). Although Elizabeth refused to hear Essex's criticisms of Raleigh, he continued still more angrily, speaking, as he reports to Dyer, "what of greefe and coller as much against him as I could and I thinke he

standinge at the doore might very well heare the worst that I spoke of himself" (Bodleian MS Tanner 76 f. 29v).

Essex's criticism of Raleigh, based, so he tells Elizabeth, upon "what he [Raleigh] had been and what he was" (Bodleian MS 76 f. 29v) indicates that Essex, like his step-father, believed that Raleigh had betrayed Leicester. In 1581 Raleigh was a follower of Leicester, and had been offended when he perceived that Leicester had "utterly forgotten" him (Edwards 2: 17). By 1586, however, when Leicester and Essex were in the Low Countries, Leicester believed Raleigh was, according to one of his own letters to the Earl, a "drawer bake" of the war effort (Edwards 2: 33). Relations between Leicester and Raleigh, and thus between Raleigh and Essex, cooled still more in September 1587 when Raleigh supported Sir John Norris on the latter's return from the Low Countries to face charges of misconduct towards Leicester (Hammer, Polarisation 68). When Leicester returned to London two months later, "Even Sir Walter Raleigh did not escape suspicion of ill done to the Earl, from which cause grew his sudden departure to the west country, the day before the Earl came to court" (HMC Rutland 1: 234).

Although Elizabeth's recent biographer Alison Weir asserts that Raleigh had indeed insinuated to Elizabeth "that Essex had brought his sister because he thought he could get away with showing disrespect towards his sovereign" (386), we

have little evidence of such ill-will beyond Essex's claim that Raleigh had done this. Raleigh and Dorothy's husband, however, were long-standing enemies, their brawl some years earlier landing them both in Fleet Prison (Edwards 1: 139). The argument ended when Essex, stung by the Queen's defense of "such a wretche as Rawley," ordered his sister to leave North Hall and himself left at "that late houre" (Bodleian MS Tanner 76 f. 29v), vowing to join the defense of the besieged town of Sluys in the Netherlands (Bodleian MS Tanner 77 f. 178r). Although Captain Martin Frobisher reported to Lord Willoughby that Essex "was gone in a feume frome the courte as fare as Margete" (HMC Ancaster 49), Robert Carey, dispatched by Elizabeth to persuade Essex to return, overtook him at Sandwich and "with much ado" convinced him to return to Court (Mares 5).

By July 1587, then, the seeds of Essex and Raleigh's sometimes acrimonious relationship were already sown. Word in Spain less than a month later was that the Queen's handsome young Master of the Horse had boxed Raleigh's ears in a dispute over "something about the Queen," and that Elizabeth had reconciled them and ordered them to drop the matter (CSP Spanish 4: 127). With the September 1588 death of Leicester and Raleigh's subsequent return to Court, their rivalry, which had abated after Raleigh departed to avoid Leicester's wrath, quickly became "white-hot" (Hammer, "A Reckoning Reframed: The

'Murder' of Christopher Marlowe Revisited" 236). Two days before Christmas 1588 Elizabeth reportedly travelled from Greenwich to Richmond to pacify a quarrel between Essex and Raleigh, and the two were still on bad terms in February 1589 (CSP Spanish 4: 504, 513). Essex at this point apparently had the upper hand, for one supporter wrote later that the Earl's rivals were unable to gain ground against him when he was away from Court on the 1589 Portugal expedition because the Earl was "mightelie back't by the greatest in opposition" to Raleigh, who "had offended manie, and was maligned of most" (BL MS Egerton 2026 f. 32r).² Later that year Essex's followers boasted that he had "'chassed Mr Raully from the Coart'" and "'confined him in to Irland'" (Hammer, Polarisation 86), although Raleigh claimed that he had legitimate reasons for travelling there (Edwards 2: 41).

The rivalry between Essex and Raleigh during this period is evident in the various portraits the two men commissioned at the time (Hammer, Polarisation 68). In the mid- to late 1580s, the rivalry also became apparent in poetry, both their own and that of their supporters. As Steven W. May notes, "After 1586 nearly all of Raleigh's poems reflect in some way his bitter struggle with the earl of Essex for the Queen's affections" (Sir Walter Raleigh 31). Three of these poems are particularly significant in a consideration of the Essex-Raleigh rivalry. Raleigh's poem beginning "Fortune hath taken

thee away, my love" is a symbolic treatment of the rivalry and an attempt to influence the Queen. His second commendatory sonnet to The Faerie Queene has apparent, if obscure, connections to a poem written by Essex himself, that beginning "Muses no more but mazes be your names." Essex or a member of his circle directed a poetic attack at Raleigh as author of the poem "The Lie," only possibly a Raleigh poem.

Lily B. Campbell complained over half a century ago of the "great chorus of political identifiers" who search for topical significance in Shakespeare's plays, "shouting in volumes thick and thin their scholarly equivalent of 'That's him!' 'That's Essex!' 'That's Mary!' 'That's Elizabeth!' 'That's Sir Walter Raleigh!'--but most often, 'That's Essex!'" (136). At the risk of adding to this exuberant chorus (Campbell 136) in the study of poetry, I say of "Fortune" in the Raleigh poem beginning "Fortune hath taken thee away, my love"³: that's Essex. As May points out, both context and content argue that Raleigh composed the poem to counteract the Queen's growing preference for Essex (Courtier Poets 119), possibly in the same year as Essex's quarrel with the Queen at North Hall. The very latest date of composition would be 1589, in which year George Puttenham in The Arte of English Poesie quoted four lines from the poem and identified them as Raleigh's "most excellent verses" upon "his greatest mistress" (198). Walter Oakeshott, who first discovered the full text

of the poem in manuscript, notes that no other entry in the same manuscript is dated later than 1587, and consequently determines that year as the latest possible year of composition. The poem's content, a lament for the apparent loss of the Queen's favour, also places it in approximately 1587. Although Raleigh was not the only courtier in the Queen's favour prior to 1587--Leicester and Sir Christopher Hatton were alive at the time--before Essex's establishment as a favourite in that same year, Raleigh enjoyed status as foremost among the younger generation of favourites.

One may make the identification of Essex with Fortune, who "now becomes my fancies foe" (l. 8), on other grounds as well. Leonard Tennenhouse notes that the lover in the poem has lost favour not by error on his part, but "through an accident of birth or class" (240). The foe who has supplanted him in the Queen's affection is his social superior. Although Hammer has observed that the Devereux, who had only been Lords Ferrers since the mid-fifteenth century and Viscounts Hereford since the mid-sixteenth century, "had never been one of the great aristocratic families" (Polarisation 19), Essex's social superiority over Raleigh nevertheless was considerable. A nobleman who traced his bloodlines to royalty through the marriage of an ancestor to the niece of Edward IV (Howell A. Lloyd, "The Essex Inheritance" 17), the Earl was of a stock "very ancient, and Noble" in the view of the historian William

Camden (326). Allied by strategic marriages to some of the premiere families in fifteenth-century England, by the early years of Elizabeth's reign the Devereux family had risen considerably in formal status in the peerage, social elevation their reward for political activity (Lloyd, "Inheritance" 17, 19, 22). Although the young Essex inherited, along with his earldom, a depleted estate and heavy debt (Lloyd, "Inheritance" 30), the consequences of his father's disastrous venture in Ireland, his noble status granted him significant advantage over Raleigh, who, although of an ancient family, was the youngest son of a country gentleman. In his angry confrontation with Elizabeth in the summer of 1587, Essex's references to what Raleigh "had been and what he was" (Bodleian MS Tanner 76 f. 29v) was, in addition to an allusion to Raleigh's betrayal of Leicester, a condemnation of Raleigh's lower birth.

The poem, however, is more than simply a lament for diminished favour. Tennenhouse maintains that only in cultural myth could courtiers win and maintain Elizabeth's favour by "elaborate fictions of poetic compliment"; in reality the disgraced courtier recovered favour through "political service and economic punishment" (235). But Raleigh at the time of this composition was not out of favour; this much is evident in the Queen's firm but affectionate poetic response, "Ah silly pugge, wert thou so sore afraid" (May,

Courtier Poets 319). While the poem contains its share of poetic compliment, such as the description of Elizabeth in line 4 as "My world's delight," the composition is actually much more aggressive, a calculated effort to persuade the Queen to "free herself from bondage to Fortune/Essex" (May, Raleigh 33). Hammer calls Raleigh's reference to Essex as "fortune base" (l. 24) a "stinging blow" (Polarisation 67-68). Essex believed passionately in the cultivation of noble virtues; "For him, the pursuit of virtue was a moral, indeed religious imperative" (Hammer, Polarisation 20). Raleigh, well aware of the assumptions about nobility which were the foundation of Essex's life-long and conspicuous display of the noble virtues, attacked Essex on a matter about which the Earl was especially sensitive.⁴

Essex too participated in this rivalrous use of poetry as a "propaganda medium" (May, Courtier Poets 125). He directs his earliest known poem to the Queen in defense of his favoured position, and this poem is related to Raleigh's second commendatory sonnet to The Faerie Queene. Several factors identify Raleigh as the object of attack in the poem beginning "Muses no more but mazes be your names" (May, "Poems" 43-45). One manuscript version actually carries the title "Robert Earle of Essex against Sir Walter Rawleigh" (May, "Poems" 123), but the poem's attack on Raleigh's alleged malice is apparent even without the title. The poem obviously aims its

slighting references to "That filthy water" (l. 24) and "puddle water" (l. 36) at Raleigh. In 1582, Elizabeth reassured Sir Christopher Hatton, who was apparently anxious about Raleigh's rise in Elizabeth's favour, that "she had bounded her banks so sure as no water or floods could be able to overthrow them," and informed him that he "should fear no drowning" (Nicolas, Memoirs of the Life and Times of Sir Christopher Hatton, K.G. 277). The Walter/water pun would also appear in later verse attacks upon Raleigh. The poem, which "seems to be couched in terms which only she [the Queen], Raleigh, and those on the innermost circles of court intrigue would be likely to understand" (May, "Poems" 85), refers to the poetic rivalry itself. Raleigh by some manipulation of the muses--his "conceite" (l. 16) or "wretched skill" (l. 15)--has alienated the Queen from Essex. "Favour must die," the poem complains, "and fancies weare away" (l. 28).

Attempting to date the poem merely on the evidence of Essex's apparent disfavour with the Queen and his accusation of Raleigh's involvement is difficult, for several such periods existed in the final fifteen years of the Earl's life. The poem's emphasis upon Raleigh's influence with the Queen suggests that its composition date does not fall between 1592 and 1597, the period of Raleigh's banishment from Court following his marriage to Elizabeth Throckmorton. Although

Essex was in disgrace and Raleigh in favour later than 1597, manuscript evidence, although ultimately inconclusive, suggests that Essex composed the poem no later than the winter of 1590-91 (May, "Poems" 86). Evidence within the poem itself, however, links it to the Essex-Raleigh rivalry, and corroborates a composition date of late 1590.

Raleigh's second commendatory poem in the 1590 edition of The Faerie Queene begins, "The prayse of meaner wits this worke like profit brings,/As doth the Cuckoes song delight when Philumena sings." Essex was obviously familiar with these lines when composing "Muses no more," for, while he inverts their associations, he nonetheless employs exactly the same bird imagery: "But fowle befale that cursed cuckowe's throat,/That so hath crossed sweete Philomela's note" (ll. 5-6). As May observes, Essex likely did not employ the same bird imagery in his attack on Raleigh purely by coincidence ("Poems" 86). The Earl's familiarity with Raleigh's lines of 1590 helps to place the Earl's poem within a particular period of royal disfavour, that between the Queen's discovery, in October of 1590, of his secret marriage to Sir Philip Sidney's widow, and her forgiveness of Essex late that year. Essex may have found a poetic attempt to malign Raleigh and undermine his influence with the Queen particularly urgent at this time. Hammer suggests, however, that the rapprochement between Essex and Raleigh readily apparent by 1592 and continuing through to

the preparations for the Cadiz expedition in 1596, may actually have begun during this period of disfavour ("Sparke" 42).

Beyond Essex's obvious attack upon Raleigh in "Muses no more" and its apparent link to Raleigh's commendatory poem, the relationship of the two poems to the rivalry is uncertain. May elaborates a theory whereby Raleigh's poem responds to a lost poem of Essex's in which the Earl, one of the "meaner wits" (l. 1) of Raleigh's poem, praises Elizabeth and The Faerie Queene ("Poems" 86-87). Spenser himself was more directly involved in the rivalry in 1590 when he lauded his patron and friend Raleigh at Essex's expense in his revised Mother Hubberds Tale (Mounts "The Raleigh-Essex Rivalry and Mother Hubberds Tale" 513). May also suggests that Raleigh incurred Essex's anger by informing the Queen of the Earl's secret marriage, a marriage to which Spenser, unkindly and tactlessly according to Charles E. Mounts, refers in Mother Hubberds Tale (512). "Muses no more" does imply that Raleigh has said something to damage Essex's relationship with Elizabeth, apart from the offending verses. "But most untimely spoken was that word,/That brought the world in such a wofull state," complains the poet (ll. 10-11), who later laments that Elizabeth credits "foolish tales" (l. 22).

If Raleigh did indeed relate to the Queen the news of Essex's clandestine marriage, it would not be the last time he

hastened to inform the Queen of damaging information about the Earl. While Essex's excessive granting of knighthoods would become even more notorious later in his career, he initially incurred Elizabeth's displeasure about this practice after knighting twenty-one men during the siege of Rouen in the fall of 1591. Raleigh, eager to exploit situations which might undermine Essex's favoured position with Elizabeth, was the first to inform the Queen (Hammer, Polarisation 115). "It is not hard," Hammer writes, "to imagine the glee with which Raleigh imparted this news to Elizabeth" (Polarisation 115). The suggestion that Raleigh performed a similar act regarding Essex's secret marriage is plausible. The poem's description of the Earl's disfavour, the "darkesome mists" that "doe overrunne the day" (l. 26), evokes the Queen's storm of displeasure at the Earl's marriage, a union which she believed "debased Essexes family," according to Camden (327). Without concrete evidence that Raleigh did impart to the Queen news of Essex's marriage, however, the circumstances which prompted the composition of "Muses no more" remain obscure.

The next significant poetic exchange between the rival camps, which may or may not have included verses by the two principals themselves, begins with the manuscript circulation, by 1595, of the satiric poem "The Lie." The poem, a bitter condemnation of, among many other things, the institutions of church and court, is of uncertain authorship, for none of its

various texts identified Raleigh as the author during his lifetime (May, Raleigh 61). While scholars frequently cite the poem to exemplify Raleigh's "characteristic mood of disillusionment and contempt" (Greenblatt 171), others have challenged its inclusion in the Raleigh canon. Agnes Latham includes it in The Poems of Sir Walter Raleigh, but Pierre Lefranc argues emphatically against its inclusion in the canon.⁵ While the uncertainty of authorship creates problems for scholars attempting to identify Raleigh's works, this uncertainty does not affect the poem's importance in a study of the poetic exchanges of the Essex-Raleigh rivalry, for the fact remains that we can trace two poetic attacks upon Raleigh as the author of "The Lie" to the Essex circle, and possibly to Essex himself.

The earliest of these attacks, in circulation by 1595 and attributed hesitantly in several manuscripts to Essex himself (May, "Poems" 107), is the satiric poem beginning "Courte's skorne, state's disgracing." The strategy is not a sophisticated one, as the "Courte's skorne" poet chooses subjects under attack in "The Lie" and accuses that poet of debasing those subjects. While accusations such as "Witte's excrement, wisdom's vommet" (l. 7) are merely insulting, the charge of "Churche's unhallowinge" (l. 3) is more serious, for accusations of atheism were to follow Raleigh for much of his life. The final line contains the probable reference to

Raleigh as the author of the verses to which "Courte's skorne" responds: "Such is the song, such is the author,/Worthy to be rewarded with a halter" (ll. 11-12). Agnes Latham's suggestion that the word "halter" glances at Raleigh as the author of the original poem (132) may be correct, for why the author should otherwise choose that particular image is unclear.

The period of Raleigh's disgrace in the mid-1590s also prompted poems of quite a different sort from Essex supporters. The Poem "The Robin" (Collier 21-22) gloats that, while Essex, the robin, "takith bred upon the boarde" (l. 45), the "nyghttingale" (l. 37) "dare not shewe his face for shame" (l. 39). "Robin" was Elizabeth's nickname for Essex's stepfather the Earl of Leicester and later for Essex himself, while the nightingale clearly refers to Raleigh, whom Spenser addresses in a dedicatory sonnet to The Faerie Queene as "the sommers Nightingale." An early Jacobean poem about Raleigh in his disgrace, echoing Spenser, calls him the "Sommers Nightingale" (BL MS Additional 22601 f. 64v).

These poems hostile to Raleigh actually appear at a time when Essex himself displayed "remarkable magnanimity" towards Raleigh (Hammer, "Reckoning" 237). Between 1591 and 1595 Essex on occasion not only cooperated with Raleigh, but even sought to advance him and to support him in his disgrace. In the same year that Raleigh attempted to embarrass Essex about his

Rouen knights, he worked with the Earl to protect the godly from Whitgift, joining Essex as "an instrument from them [the godly] to the Queen upon any particular occasion of relieving them" (Edwards 1: 132). Raleigh's 1591 A Report of the Truth of the Fight About the Iles of the Acores [sic], published anonymously late that year, contains a laudatory reference to Essex's involvement in the Portugal expedition of 1589, including the Earl among the "valiant Gentlemen" who "braued the Cittie of Lisbon" (A4v).

Hammer marshals considerable evidence of Essex's good will towards Raleigh in the early 1590s in order to refute Charles Nicholl's contention in The Reckoning: The Murder of Christopher Marlowe that Essex targeted Marlowe in order to destroy Raleigh. Two striking examples of this good will are apparent in 1592. Shortly before the Queen sent Raleigh to the Tower for his marriage to Elizabeth Throckmorton, Essex stood as godfather at the christening of the son born of the illicit union (Rowse, Raleigh and the Throckmortons 161).⁶ Not long after the christening, Essex advanced Raleigh's name as a possible Knight of the Garter (BL MS Additional 36768 f. 31v), the only Knight to nominate him that year (Hammer, "Reckoning" 236). While some of Raleigh's enemies delighted in the rumours of his disgrace (Rowse, Throckmortons 162), Essex does not appear to have been among them. He was favourably inclined towards Raleigh as late as 1595, when he intended to praise him

in his Accession Day entertainment (Hammer, "Reckoning" 237). Hammer notes that Essex's last-minute deletion of the laudatory scene does not necessarily indicate animosity, but rather the Earl's need to focus attention on himself following his brief period of royal disfavour over the controversial dedication of R. Doleman's A Conference About the Next Succession to the Crowne of Inghland ("Reckoning" 237).⁷ He concludes that during this period Essex and Raleigh, far from having a continually bitter rivalry, even became rather friendly (Hammer, "Reckoning" 237).

If the Essex-Raleigh rivalry was dormant in the early to mid-1590s, why then might poems connected with the Essex circle attack Raleigh at this time? The answer lies, perhaps, in the behaviour of some of the Earl's followers, whose own attitudes towards Raleigh, and Essex's adversaries in general, were not always consonant with that of Essex. Several examples are apparent in later years. On the 1597 Islands Voyage, Essex's decision to consider court-martialling Raleigh, his Rear Admiral, for his unauthorized attack upon Fayal was largely the work of some of the Earl's followers. L.W. Henry astutely observes that the quarrel at Fayal was not between Essex and Raleigh but "rather between their followers" ("The Earl of Essex as Strategist and Military Organizer [1596-7]" 386). Essex himself was inclined to accept Raleigh's explanation of his actions and his defence that as a

"successive commander" he was exempt from the jurisdiction of court-martial. Some of Essex's most zealous followers, however, such as Sir Gelly Meyrick and Sir Christopher Blount, persuaded the Earl that Raleigh had damaged his reputation (Corbett 198-200). Only the mediation of Lord Thomas Howard prevented a major confrontation between Essex and Raleigh (Corbett 200). The Earl's capitulation to the persuasions of his followers must surely have had consequences for his relationship with Raleigh when the two returned to Court. Elizabeth, we learn from Rowland Whyte's 5 November 1597 letter to Sidney, was displeased with Essex's proceedings towards Raleigh "in calling his Actions to publiq Question befor a Cownsell of Warre" (Collins 2: 74).

The attitudes of Essex's followers again departed from the Earl's own inclinations, much to his detriment, during his confinement upon his return from Ireland. Although informed Court observers believed in October 1599 that Essex had given "good satisfaction to all things objected against him" and might soon have liberty (HMC De L'Isle and Dudley 2: 402), the rash behaviour of some of his followers impaired his chances for freedom. Essex himself, Whyte tells Sidney, behaved patiently and discreetly (Collins 2: 133), but when his followers continued to accuse the Earl's rivals and to threaten violence towards them, Elizabeth delayed his release (Collins 2: 136). It comes as no surprise, then, that earlier

in the decade the Essex circle might generate anti-Raleigh verses when the Earl himself was not actually in conflict with Raleigh.

Although the rivalry between Essex and Raleigh flared up again in 1596 on the Cadiz expedition,⁸ and the Islands Voyage ended in considerable acrimony and the threat of court-martial, the period between the two expeditions was one of remarkable cooperation among Essex, Raleigh, and Sir Robert Cecil. During this cessation of hostilities Essex actually helped restore Raleigh to favour. In late 1596, Essex, whom Elizabeth had asked for the names of additional men to advise her on the threat of Spanish invasion, made a conciliatory gesture in recommending both Raleigh and George Carew, Cecil's friend (HMC Salisbury 6: 469). In March and April 1597, Essex, Raleigh, and Cecil were in frequent consultation. The subjects of discussion were apparently the distribution of vacant offices and the need for an expedition against Spain to prevent the launch of another armada, a threat with which they had been concerned as early as October 1596 (Henry, "Strategist" 372). In early March Essex was "very often very private" with Raleigh, and Raleigh even mediated a peace between Essex and Cecil (Collins 2: 24). A month later Raleigh still resorted to Essex (HMC De L'Isle and Dudley 2: 259), and soon Whyte was able to report to Sidney that, when Essex, Raleigh, and Cecil dined together at Essex House, "the Treaty of a

Peace was confirmed"; Essex and Raleigh would have their expedition against Spain, and Cecil would be Chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster (Collins 2: 42).

One remarkable outcome of the truce was Essex's assistance in Raleigh's restoration to favour and his post as Captain of the Guard.⁹ Although Stephen Coote maintains that Elizabeth restored Raleigh to his post to humiliate Essex (262), the Earl evidently approved of the act. In a 2 June letter to Sidney, Whyte writes that, while Essex was in Chatham, Raleigh

was brought to the Queen by 200 [Sir Rob. Cecil] who vsed hym very graciously, and gaue hym full Autoryty to execute his Place, as Capt. of the Gard In the Euening he rid Abroade with the Queen, and had priuat Conference with her; and now he comes boldly to the Priuy Chamber, as he was wont. Though this was done in the Absence of the Earle, yet is yt known that yt was don with his Liking and Furtherance. (Collins 2: 54).

Whyte had observed several months earlier that, as Raleigh sought admission to the Queen to execute his office, Essex, occupied with plans for an expedition against Spain, offered no opposition (Collins 2: 37).

The cordial relations between Essex and Raleigh continued through the preparations for the expedition and the fleet's July departure. In a 6 July letter to Cecil, Raleigh expressed his satisfaction with the continuing cooperation of the three men, telling him he hoped it would never alter, their amity being "the trew way to all our good, quiett & advancement, and

most of all for her sake whose affaires shall therby find better p[ro]gression" (PRO SP 12/264 no. 10 f. 12r). Raleigh beseeched the Secretary to have Elizabeth offer Essex some comfort when a storm forced part of the fleet back to Plymouth in disarray, reporting to Cecil that Essex was "dismayd by thes mischances yeven to death, although ther could not be more dun by any man uppon the yearth, god havinge turned the heavens w[i]th t[ha]t fury agaynst us, a matter beyond the power or valour or witt of man to resiste, & such accidents as the warr draweth with it sealf" (PRO SP 12/264 no. 40 f. 56r). Although Essex and Raleigh would clash later in the expedition, when Essex's inconsistent sailing orders and his failure to adhere to his own stated plan resulted in Raleigh's unauthorized attack upon Fayal and the subsequent demands for a court-martial, Elizabeth nonetheless appointed Raleigh to resolve a dispute between Essex and the newly-created Earl of Nottingham (Collins 2: 77) upon the fleet's return from the Azores.¹⁰ In January 1598 Essex, Raleigh, and Cecil were again in frequent consultation. Whyte observes to Sidney that the world wonders at the "great Familiarity" between the three, noting that Cecil and Raleigh carry Essex away "as they list" (Collins 2: 79).

Although the beginning of 1598 found Essex and Raleigh on civil terms, perhaps discussing in their January consultations

the possibility of another strike against Spain, it was the last year in which their relationship maintained any veneer of civility. As Hammer notes, factionalism by this time was "endemic," and although Essex collaborated with his sometime enemies in response to such crises as the looming disaster in Ireland, "the battle lines were nevertheless indelibly drawn," each eruption of conflict more acrimonious and each suspension of hostilities more superficial and strained ("Patronage at Court, Faction and the Earl of Essex" 84). Although Raleigh still attempted in January to maintain connections with both Essex and Cecil, importuning Essex for advancement even as Cecil prepared to depart for his diplomatic mission to France (Collins 2: 82), it became increasingly difficult for Raleigh, as for other courtiers, to maintain fluid alliances with the most powerful figures at Court. A letter from Lord Grey to Lord Cobham in July 1598 provides evidence of Essex's insistence at this time that courtiers declare themselves for one side or the other. Essex, Grey informs Cobham, "has forced me to declare myself either his only, or friend to Mr. Secretary and his enemy: protesting that there could be no neutrality" (HMC Salisbury 8: 269). Essex's words to Cobham seem to echo the Earl's own words to Edward Dyer more than a decade earlier, when, explaining to Dyer his confrontation with Elizabeth about his sister, and the Queen's defense of Raleigh, he saw that Elizabeth "was resolved to defend him and

to crosse me" (Bodleian MS Tanner 76 f. 29v). By the late 1590s, to defend Cecil was to cross Essex, and, as the decade drew to a close, Raleigh, who had been an adherent of Cecil throughout the 1590s, was firmly in the Cecil camp.¹¹

At about this time, another verse attack upon Raleigh as the author of "The Lie" appeared, an attack also traceable, by various attributions, to Essex and his circle (May, "Poems" 107). The pun "so raw a lye" in the second line of the poem suggests the connection to the earlier poem. The increasingly bitter rivalry between Essex and Raleigh is apparent in the late 1590s too in the verses beginning "It was a time when sillie Bees could speake," composed by either Essex himself or his secretary Henry Cuffe in 1598 or 1599 (May, "Poems" 112-13).¹² The poem, whose speaker is clearly Essex, belongs either to the slightly later period of Essex's disgrace after his return from Ireland, or the earlier period of his two-month withdrawal from Court in the summer of 1598. This withdrawal from Court followed the famous instance, related by Camden (218-19), when during an argument concerning the appointment of a deputy in Ireland, Essex scornfully turned his back on the Queen, whereupon she boxed his ears and the Earl in fury reached for his sword. While the poem's complaint of "some Caterpillars bred of late,/Croppinge the flowers that should sustaine the Bee" (ll. 63-64) is not directed solely at Raleigh, but surely Cecil as well, the final

line of the poem, with its reference to "Tobacco" stupefying the brain, might well be a more direct reference to Raleigh. Essex was to employ the image of the caterpillar again a few short years later, with a more specific connection to Raleigh. Following his rebellion, throughout which he had repeatedly attempted to gain support by insisting that Raleigh plotted to murder him, he told government negotiator Sir Robert Sidney that he hoped to have performed God and the Queen "good service, by rooting such Atheists & Caterpillars from the Earth" (Bodleian MS Tanner 76 f. 45v). Among Raleigh's last civil relations with Essex were his requests for the Earl's support in January 1598. Although in the early to mid-1590s their rivalry was not continuous (Hammer, "Reckoning" 236), by the time of the Earl's return from Ireland in September 1599, their relationship was one of mutual and unrelenting hostility.

III. Raleigh and the Fall of Essex: 1599-1601

Essex had scarcely arrived in Ireland in the spring of 1599 when he began writing to the Queen and accusing Raleigh, among others, of undermining him at Court. "'Is it not lamented of your Majesty's faithfulest subjects, both there and here,'" he writes to Elizabeth, "'that a Cobham and a Raleigh . . . should have such credit and favour with your Majesty when they wish the ill success of your Majesty's most

important action, the decay of your greatest strength, and the destruction of your faithfullest servants?'" (Edwards 1: 253-54). During Essex's confinement following his return, several manuscript poems included Raleigh among those accused of malicious intent in sending Essex to Ireland, and of conspiring against him while he was there. One such poem is the anonymous "A dreame alludinge to my L. of Essex, and his adversaries" (Bodleian MS Don. c.54 ff. 19r-20r), which relates the fall of Essex using animals to represent the various Court figures, whose identities appear in the margin. The poem apparently dates from the period between Essex's return from Ireland and his rebellion, the reference to "dampie doungeon" (f. 19v) a rather exaggerated portrayal of his confinement in various locations in 1599 and early 1600.

As Katherine Duncan-Jones notes, the poem appears in a manuscript containing "a number of fairly widely circulated pro-Essex, anti-Raleigh poems," as well as Essex's correspondence with Lord Keeper Egerton in 1600 and Penelope Rich's letter to the Queen on the Earl's behalf (142). The poem describes how the devious camel, Sir Robert Cecil, "crookbackt," as the marginal note elaborates (f. 19r), and his "uglie broode" (f. 19r), become jealous of Essex, the noble hart who fortifies the lion Elizabeth's throne against the "Romish wolfe" and "Spanish beare" (f. 19r), and conspire to destroy him.¹³

Although no marginal note identifies Raleigh with one of the animals in the poem, he appears as the "stalke of bitter REWE" (f. 19v) which the camel adds to the potion given the lion to persuade her that she must look to the growing power of the hart: "The HART is all too great, he beares the swaye/The peoples love he hathe, your Loves decay" (f. 19r). The bitter rue of this potion recalls the "filthy water" which is an "unholosome broth" (l. 24) in Essex's earlier "Muses no more." The lion dispatches the hart to Hibernia, and, although welcoming him upon his return, sends him away in anger after the camel administers "a poison in a Glass" (f. 19v). The poem possibly pre-dates the dispatch of Mountjoy to Ireland as Lord Deputy in February 1600, for it bitterly suggests various commanders for the post, such as Cecil himself, whose "backe will beare Tirone and never bend" (f. 19v). Although the camel Cecil masterminds the scheme to destroy Essex in Ireland, the poem attacks Raleigh with some vitriol in the final fifteen lines, accusing him of, among other transgressions, sexual misconduct and devil-worship, and suggesting him for the perilous command in Ireland.

According to William Camden, certain of Essex's enemies at Court did consider his Irish command an opportunity to destroy him; they practised their "old hatred an enuy against him" by raising unrealistic expectations for his success, "well knowing that the fiercenesse of his youth, would quickly

runne it selfe to destruction" (238). One unidentified Essex supporter also believed that the Irish employment involved a scheme of the "contrary Faction" to ruin the Earl (BL MS Egerton 2026 f. 33r). Certainly service outside of England might mean the advance of one's adversaries at home. In February 1598 Cecil was reluctant to absent himself from Court for his diplomatic mission to France until Essex assured him that nothing disagreeable to the Secretary would take place during his absence (Collins 2: 89). Cecil was determined "not to stir one Foote," according to Whyte, until Essex assured him "that nothing shuld pass here in his Absence, that might be a Preiudice or offensiue to hym" (Collins 2: 89).

Elizabeth's servants evidently had considerable concern about the actions of their rivals when they themselves were absent from Court. While we have no evidence that Essex reneged on his promise to Cecil, who had persuaded Elizabeth to make Essex a large monetary grant (Collins 2: 89), the Earl definitely sought to make himself indispensable in Cecil's absence. A week after Rowland Whyte's report to Sir Robert Sidney of the Earl's promise to Cecil, Whyte informs Sidney that Essex attends diligently upon Elizabeth, "and in some sort takes vpon hym the dispatching of all Buisnes in the absence of Mr. Secretary" (Collins 2: 91).

The Earl had learned early, from his step-father, to be wary of his adversaries at Court when he was on campaign.

When Leicester was still in the Low Countries in late July 1587, Essex informed him in a letter that he had asked Elizabeth not to credit the reports of Leicester's enemies, and to "suspend her iudgement" about any charges against him until he could speak to her in person (BL MS Cotton Galba D.I. f. .136r). Essex's own experience on his expeditions against Spain in 1596 and 1597 had taught him that foreign service diminished his position at home. On 6 July 1596, while the Earl was still on the Cadiz voyage, Elizabeth formally appointed Sir Robert Cecil as Secretary of State, despite her promise that she would not make the appointment until the Earl had returned (Hammer, Polarisation 368). According to a partisan of Essex who delivered the news to the Earl at sea, Essex was "vexed to the Soule" by the news, "exceedinglie delected in countenance, and bitterlie passionate in speech" (BL MS Egerton 2026 f. 32r). He told the bearer of the bad news that he had, "to the vttermost of his power" withstood the appointment for over a year, and Elizabeth had promised, both verbally and in writing, not to make the appointment while he was away (BL MS Egerton 2026 f. 32r).

Essex suffered a similar setback at Court in 1597 when, as he was still on the Islands Voyage, Elizabeth created Lord Admiral Charles Howard the Earl of Nottingham, thereby granting him precedence over Essex in Parliament. Even more infuriating to Essex were the terms of the patent, which gave

Nottingham the primary credit for the success at Cadiz in 1596 (Hammer, Polarisation 386). The Essex supporter who delivered the news about Cecil's appointment as Secretary also describes the Earl's dismay at this development: "This was a double blowe vnto the Earle of Essex for it derogated from, or obscur'd his desert, and honour in that action, and gave precedence to my Lord of Nottingham . . . before him" (BL MS Egerton 2026 f. 32v). Essex was not satisfied that he had regained his lost honour until Elizabeth re-established his preeminence by appointing him Earl Marshal of England, and altering the terms of Nottingham's patent of creation (Collins 2: 77).

Essex's concern about his own absence from Court two years later for the Irish campaign is apparent in his anxiety over the appointment of the Deputy in the summer of 1598. While scholars commenting upon the incident emphasize its admittedly spectacular conclusion, an examination of the conversation preceding Essex's confrontation with the Queen reveals something of his concern about the hazards of service away from the Court. When the Queen suggested William Knollys, Essex's uncle, as most qualified for the post of Lord Deputy in Ireland, the Earl, according to Camden, stoutly maintained that Sir George Carew, a friend of Cecil's was "farre fitter" (218). Essex's reason for suggesting Carew, Camden tells us, was to "remove him from the Court" (218). If

Essex perceived that sending his uncle would undermine his own position at home, and that sending Carew would weaken the Cecil party, then he must surely have worried about his position at Court when he himself left for Ireland. Although we have only Camden's account of the incident, and his interpretation of Essex's motive for rejecting Knollys and suggesting Carew, such behaviour on the part of Essex seems consistent with his attitude expressed elsewhere, and with the attitude of many of the Earl's followers. The man who brought him the news of Cecil's appointment as Secretary believed each of the Earl's journeys was "a stepp for his adversaries to rise, first to counterpoise him, and at last to overweighe him" (BL MS Egerton 2026 f. 33r). The title of his treatise about his master's downfall, "Obseruac[i]ons in the Earle of Essex's Example That it is exceeding dangerous to a Favourite to bee long absent fro[m] his Prince" (BL MS Egerton 2026 f. 32r), makes abundantly clear this Essexian's opinion on the hazards of the favourite's absence from the monarch.

Essex, then, was not alone, and was quite probably justified, in his belief that service such as the Irish command might reduce his strength at home. If some at Court did conspire against the Earl during his Irish lieutenancy, was Sir Walter Raleigh among them? Surely Raleigh had little to gain in wishing the "ill success" of the Irish campaign, and much to lose if the English lost their hold there. In 1599

Raleigh, who had been involved in military activity in Ireland as early as 1580, still owned a large estate in the southwest district of Munster, and was head of a mercantile enterprise for converting woods from his Irish lands into wine-butts and pipe-staves (Edwards 1: 254; 2: 1). He had been deeply engaged in the population of Munster in the late 1580s, when those inhabiting his lands there included "freeholders, fee farmers, lessees for years, copyholders, and cottagers" (CSP Ireland 1588-1592: 170). The Earl of Tyrone's rebellion, as it spread south from Ulster, threatened these Irish estates and enterprises. Any action of Raleigh's to undermine Essex's campaign in Ireland would not only have sabotaged his own interests there, but contradicted his own aggressive policies regarding the subduing of Irish rebels. As early as 1582, Raleigh consulted with Lord Burghley about the subjugation of rebels in Munster (Edwards 2: 3-4). Writing to Sir Robert Cecil in 1598, several months after Tyrone's defeat of Sir Henry Bagenal's forces at Yellow Ford, Raleigh tells the Secretary, "It can be no disgrace if it were knowen that the killinge of a rebel weare practised," and reminds him that "we have always in Ireland geven head money for the killinge of rebels" (Edwards 2: 198).

Raleigh, then, had much at stake in Ireland, and advocated strong action against the rebels. The author of the "Obseruac[i]ons in the Earle of Essex's Example" believed that

the Earl's enemies so cleverly plotted against him that, "howsoever the action succeeded," they would still have "assured matter against him of reprehension" (BL MS Egerton 2026 f. 33r). While this might, following the breakdown of civil relations between Essex and Raleigh, be the best of both worlds for Raleigh--his Irish interests safe but Essex not in the highest of favour--such an allegation is difficult to prove.

As Essex's campaign in Ireland foundered, however, and he returned to England at the end of September 1599 after his controversial truce with Tyrone and apparently in violation of the Queen's order that he was not to return without her permission,¹⁴ Raleigh unquestionably aligned himself with those whom Essex and his partisans regarded as their enemies. The evening of 29 September, the day after Essex's return and after his defense of his actions to the Council that afternoon, the Court divided into two parties for dinner. Rowland Whyte, writing to Sir Robert Sidney, describes the situation thus:

Now if you were here shold you see the 2 factions florish, and who are of the faction. Yesterday Mr. Secretary went to dinner, accompanied by the Earles of Shrosbery and Nottingham, the Lordes Tho. Howard and Cobham, the Lord Gray and Sir Walter Rawleigh and Sir George Carew. And these accompany the Earle; the Earle of Worcester, Rutland, Montjoy, Rich . . . Dier, Lord Lumley, Mr. Controller, with many knights. (HMC De L'Isle and Dudley 2: 397)

Whyte's letters to Sidney during 1599 and 1600 provide a detailed record of the waxing of Raleigh's favour and the waning of Essex's following the Earl's return from Ireland, with Sidney anxious for news of his erstwhile patron's position.¹⁵ In a letter of 2 February 1600, Whyte informs Sidney that, while he hears rumours that the Queen will appoint Raleigh to the Privy Council, "'smale hope of grace or liberty'" appears for the disgraced Essex (HMC De L'Isle and Dudley 2: 435). At the beginning of March 1600, Whyte notes that, while the Queen's displeasure towards Essex continues, she has appointed Raleigh to entertain Archduke Albert's envoy Vereken (Collins 2: 174). A week later, as Raleigh escorted Vereken to his coach upon the envoy's departure, Essex could do no more than hope for liberty (HMC De L'Isle and Dudley 2: 446). The same 23 August 1600 letter in which Whyte informs Sidney that Raleigh is to be the Governor of Jersey contains the news that "My Lord of Essex writes now and then to the Queen There is great Hope he shall haue Liberty to goe to the Cowntrey at his Pleasure, but his Return to the Court, or her Majesties Presence, is very doubtfull (Collins 2: 212). Although Raleigh himself was at times discontented with his position (Collins 2: 179), and the rumours of his imminent appointment to the Privy Council came to nothing (Collins 2: 178), his star during Essex's decline was definitely on the rise; as Whyte tells Sidney in a mid-August

1600 letter, Raleigh's "Creditt with the Queen is of late growen good, and he cannot want the Assistaunce of his Friends whose Autority is greatest" (Collins 2: 210).

Although the Queen restricted Essex's contacts during the period of confinement, he did receive some correspondence and hence some news of affairs at Court.¹⁶ Particularly irksome to Essex and his partisans must have been news of Raleigh's involvement in the Irish campaign. While as late as August 1600 Whyte speculated to Sidney that the Queen might yet send Essex back to Ireland (HMC De L'Isle and Dudley 2: 481), and Mountjoy allegedly hesitated to accept the command because he felt a return to Ireland was Essex's only hope for regaining the Queen's favour (Collins 2: 134), the Earl's September 1599 return marked the end of his involvement in Irish affairs. Once the Queen resolved to replace Essex with Mountjoy as Lord Deputy, the Lords conferred at length with the Earl "About the State of Yreland" (Collins 2: 137), but he participated no more in the Irish campaign. According to Rowland Whyte, Essex, in the weeks immediately following his return, refused to receive the "many Packets" directed to him from Ireland (Collins 2: 133). Before long, he would have no choice. Perhaps the Queen's attention to Raleigh's mid-January 1600 advice on the victualling and manning of Ireland (Collins 2: 159) prompted the "Dreame" poet's caustic suggestion that the Queen send Raleigh to Ireland.

At least some of the malice that Essex's biographers ascribe to Raleigh during this period may be an exaggeration. Walter Bouchier Devereux, for example, writes that the spring 1600 printing of Essex's controversial Apologie, written in 1598, "was a scheme of his enemies to keep alive the Queen's anger--Sir Walter Raleigh's probably, who always appears the most active among them" (2: 97). The publication may actually have originated within the Essex circle, many of whose members, like their leader, did not always fully understand the subtle diplomacy necessary to reinstate Essex in the Queen's favour. Hammer suggests that the original unauthorized publication of this document in 1598 may have been the result of Essex's supporters distributing the document too widely, sparking the interest of printers "eager for a scoop" ("The Earl of Essex, Fulke Greville, and the Employment of Scholars" 174). The provocative 1600 publication of Essex's Apologie detailing his opposition to peace with Spain may well have been the misguided effort of some of his followers to elicit sympathy for the plight of the popular anti-Spanish crusader.

The aggressive actions of some of Essex's followers during his 1599-1600 confinement further damaged his already precarious standing with the Queen. In late October 1599, Rowland Whyte heard that Elizabeth had delayed Essex's release after hearing that some of his friends and followers would

say, if she released him, "That he was wrongfully imprisoned" (Collins 2: 136). Essex's own followers were certainly responsible for some of his troubles with Elizabeth following his return from Ireland.

Evidence unmistakably demonstrates, however, that at some time during the Earl's confinement, Raleigh sought his destruction. In an undated letter belonging to the period of the Earl's confinement in 1599 or 1600, Raleigh encourages Sir Robert Cecil not to "relent towards this tirant" (Edwards 2: 222). He reassures Cecil, by providing relevant examples, that should the Secretary seek to destroy the Earl, he need not fear "after-revenges" of Essex's son against Cecil's own young son (Edwards 2: 222).¹⁷ Raleigh's language is ambiguous, and whether he sought Essex's death rather than his utter exile from Court is not entirely clear, although the two states were equivalent for an Elizabethan courtier.

Apologists for Essex tend toward the former interpretation, while apologists for Raleigh favour the latter. In his biography of Raleigh, Robert Lacey contends that the letter is "susceptible to only one interpretation," that Raleigh sought "the judicious murder or execution of Essex" (291-92). According to J.H. Adamson and H.F. Folland, the letter, while "a masterpiece of ambiguity," strongly hinted that Cecil should seek the Earl's death (310-11). Raleigh, they believe, "had not forgotten that morning aboard the Earl's

ship off Fayal harbour" (311), when Essex's followers persuaded him to consider court-martialing Raleigh. Coote regards the letter as Raleigh's attempt to hone the edge of Cecil's malice against Essex, and comments upon the "murderous implication" of the letter (281). According to Greenblatt, the letter urged Cecil "in effect, to be merciless and to press for the execution of their dangerous enemy" (19).

The most thorough examination of the matter is that of Peter R. Moore. As Moore writes in his interpretation of the letter, those acquitting Raleigh of urging Essex's death cite the more ambiguous passages, while those convicting him note that the paragraph on the "after-revenges" mentions only that if Cecil heeds his advice Essex's son will be the second-youngest Earl in England, and no threat to Cecil's own son (464). Moore argues that Raleigh "would have had to have been seriously out of touch with reality" to suppose that, at a time when Essex had committed no capital offence, he might induce Cecil to persuade Elizabeth to execute the Earle (464).

Moore argues further, and convincingly, that if Essex died attainted for treason, his titles would have been forfeit and his son would not have inherited the Essex earldom; thus young Robert would not have been the youngest earl, save one, in England (464). Examining the ages and precedences of the various earls at the time of Raleigh's letter, Moore notes that had Essex died in 1600 and his son inherited the earldom of

Essex, he would actually have been by far the youngest earl in England, the second youngest being the Earl of Rutland, born in 1576 (465). Raleigh, then, uses the word "youngest" to mean "'most junior in rank'" (Moore 465). The position of Earl Marshall, which, in combination with his earldom, made Essex second most senior peer in the realm (after only the Earl of Oxford, hereditary Lord Great Chamberlain) was not hereditary. Thus, were Essex to die and his young son to inherit the earldom, the new Earl of Essex would outrank only the Earl of Lincoln (Moore 465). Raleigh's intent, then, was not to persuade Cecil to press for the disgraced Earl's execution, but to encourage the Queen to ruin him through prolonged confinement, financial penalty, suspension from his offices, and perpetual disgrace: "Raleigh was not calling for Essex's death" (Moore 466). The letter, in Raleigh's own hand, nevertheless indicates his considerable hostility towards Essex at this time, and does corroborate Whyte's 4 November 1599 assertion that Raleigh was "fallen sicke" upon any suggestion that Elizabeth's wrath towards the Earl had lessened (Collins 2: 139).

Just as biographers of both Essex and Raleigh have, based upon Raleigh's letter to Cecil, mistakenly assumed that prior to the revolt Raleigh wanted Essex dead, so too have they at times exaggerated Raleigh's danger on the day of the revolt. Undeniably, Essex was extremely hostile towards Raleigh by 8

February 1601. Many of the men questioned for their involvement in the rebellion joined the Earl, they said, because Essex claimed that Raleigh sought to murder him.¹⁸ In his 25 February 1601 letter to Mountjoy in Ireland, Cecil informs the Lord Deputy that Essex, at his arraignment, sought to extenuate his fault by denying that he meant harm to the Queen and maintaining that he took up arms principally to protect himself against Cobham and Raleigh (PRO SP 12/278 no. 125 f. 246r).

Some Essex and Raleigh biographers, however, have exaggerated Essex's hostility towards Raleigh on the day of the revolt. Misreading documents relating to the morning of the rebellion, they assert that one of Essex's followers actually attempted to kill Raleigh. Edward Edwards (1: 257), A.L. Rowse (Sir Walter Raleigh: His Family and Private Life 220), J.H. Adamson and H.F. Folland (312), Robert Lacey (Sir Walter Raleigh 295), John Winton (222), and, most recently, Stephen Coote (284), assert that, when the Essex rebel Sir Ferdinando Gorges met with his kinsman Sir Walter Raleigh upon the Thames the morning of the rebellion, someone, Essex's step-father Sir Christopher Blount in several of the accounts, fired a number of shots at Raleigh. The source for this assertion is the first confession Gorges made in the aftermath of the rebellion, on 16 February 1601. Describing his meeting with Raleigh upon the water, Gorges maintained that Raleigh had

warned him to leave London "or else he would be laid up in the Fleet," to which Gorges responded, "get you back to the Court, and that w[i]th speed; for you are like to have a bloody day of it" (Bodleian MS Tanner 76 f. 64r). Sir Christopher Blount, according to Gorges's confession, then "sent four shot after him in a boat" (Spedding 2: 296).

Moore demonstrates, by reference to a particular definition of "shot" in the OED and further examples in Shakespeare and in military writings of the period, that Blount actually sent out four musketeers, the four "shot" of the Gorges confession (466). Although we do not know with certainty that the musketeers fired any shots, Moore argues compellingly that the musketeers probably did not fire upon Raleigh. The published Declaration of the treason, which included Gorges's several confessions, does not mention the supposed attack on Raleigh. The English authorities took care to persuade the people of the bloodthirsty nature of the uprising, and, if Blount, or anyone else, had indeed fired upon Raleigh at this time, surely the attack would have featured prominently in official accounts of the revolt (Moore 466-67). The portion of Gorges's confession read at Essex and Southampton's trial does not state that anyone fired shots at Raleigh; it says only that, when Raleigh again advised Gorges to leave his dangerous company, "then S[ir] Ferd[inando] Gorges shoved off the Boat wherein S[i]r Walter was, and bad him hy

him thence: w[hi]ch he did, perceiving a Boat come off at Essex House Stairs; wherein neare 3, or 4 of the Earl of Essex's serv[ant]s, who had in charge either to take, or kill S[i]r Walter Raleigh" (Bodleian MS Tanner 76 f. 64r). At the trial Raleigh, in his description of the incident, said nothing about any shots fired at him as he met with Gorges on the Thames and warned him to refuse the company of Essex and his adherents (Bodleian MS Tanner 76 f. 64r).

Biographers of Raleigh have also consistently misread the relationship between the two men in the final moments of the Earl's life, influenced, perhaps, by knowledge of Raleigh's comments about Essex many years later at his own execution, as well as by a desire to imbue Essex's death with a further tragic element. In his biography of Raleigh, Robert Lacey writes that in the moments before Essex's execution the Earl tried to make amends to Raleigh and Cobham (296). Raleigh, according to Lacey, initially stood near the scaffold, anticipating that Essex, like Sir Christopher Blount before him, might wish to be reconciled before his death. Raleigh withdrew, however, because of hostile rumours that he stood nearby to gloat over his enemy's demise: "So he did not hear, and he had no chance to respond to the condemned man's desire to be reconciled with him" (296). Stephen Coote, too, maintains that Essex in his final moments desired reconciliation with Raleigh, but the latter did not hear,

withdrawing to the armoury at the "murmurings that no man should stand so close to a mortal enemy at the point of death" (285).

These assertions are misleading in several respects. Blount had, indeed, desired reconciliation with Raleigh as he addressed the spectators from the scaffold. "I entreat you Sir Walter Rawleigh of whom I also aske pardon" are among the last words Blount spoke from the scaffold (Camden 335-36). Raleigh, however, could not have stood near Essex's scaffold anticipating that the Earl might entreat him as Blount had done, for Blount was executed nearly a month after Essex's execution (Spedding 2: 316). Indeed, at the time of Essex's death his step-father had not yet even stood trial. Adamson and Folland are similarly mistaken, suggesting that Blount's execution preceded that of Essex (314).

Lacey's assertion, agreed upon by Rowse (Raleigh 220), Norman Lloyd Williams (156), Adamson and Folland, and Coote (285), that Essex in his final moments declared Raleigh a true servant of the state, is also questionable. In the ten accounts of the Earl's scaffold speech preserved in the State Papers, Raleigh's name never appears. Another account specifically mentions that the Earl "neither accused, nor excused any man by Name, nor seemed to think of any worldly thing" (Bodleian MS Tanner 76 f. 96r). When prompted by Dr. Montford to forgive his enemies, he answered only, "I desire

all the World to forgive me, even as I do forgive all the World, freely, & from my Heart, and as I would be forgiven at Gods hands" (Bodleian MS Tanner 76 f. 81r). Still another account of the execution (BL MS Additional 4155 ff. 98r-98v) likewise makes no mention of Raleigh. Biographers claiming that Essex desired at his execution to be reconciled with Raleigh are too much influenced by Raleigh's own scaffold speech more than fifteen years later, in which he alleged that after the Earl's execution he was told that the condemned man had asked to speak with him in order that they might be reconciled (Bodleian MS Tanner 74 f. 150v).

Certainly the story makes for a sad final parting between the two men, but it is not of an origin contemporary with Essex's death. No document dating from the time of the Earl's execution suggests that he made a last-minute attempt to make peace with his oldest adversary. The single source for this theory, Raleigh's execution speech, is of a considerably later date, and has been subject to its own misinterpretations. In his confession, Essex apparently did profess to bear no malice towards Raleigh and Cobham. Cecil's account of the confession in his letter to Ralph Winwood in France states that Essex retracted his accusation of Cobham and Raleigh, saying he knew them to be "true Servants to the Queen and State" (Sawyer 1: 301). Rowse, among many others, transplants these words into the Earl's scaffold speech, writing that, in the final

moments of his life, Essex "acquitted Raleigh and Cobham of his imputations of supporting the Infanta's claim to the English throne, and said that they were true servants of the State" (Raleigh 220). Other accounts of the confession, and specifically the Barlow sermon intended for public consumption, do not mention Essex's particular exoneration of Raleigh and Cobham, and certainly this exoneration did not appear in his scaffold speech.

IV. Conclusion

The frequently turbulent relationship between Essex and Raleigh between 1587 and 1601 had considerable impact upon later portrayals of Essex. The Earl's connections with King James in Scotland during this same period, as we have already seen, also influenced subsequent representations of the Earl. With James's 1603 accession to the English throne, the two strands meet. Essex's long and complex relationships with both James and Raleigh come together, with profound consequences for the image of Essex in Jacobean England. Although Essex may not have spoken of Raleigh at his death upon the scaffold in 1601, the lives--and deaths--of the two men continued to be intertwined in the twilight of Elizabeth's reign and in the dawn of James's.

Notes

¹ Essex had first visited Court during Christmas 1577, when he was a ward of Lord Burghley (Devereux 1: 168). While some confusion attends his birth date, he would at that time have been between the ages of ten and twelve. Several of the Earl's biographers favour a birth date of 10 November 1567 (Harrison 1: Lacey 6), although more recent scholarship has challenged that date. Michele Margetts, studying documents of the Court of Chancery and the Court of Wards and Liveries, concludes that "it seems certain that Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, was born 10 November 1565" (35). Hammer, whose biographical information on Essex is most reliable, agrees that the Earl was born 10 November 1565 (Polarisation 13).

² Essex's anonymous defender does not mention that Raleigh himself, as Charles E. Mounts argues ("The Essex-Raleigh Rivalry" 509-11), may actually have sailed with this expedition as well. The participation in this venture of his rival Raleigh may explain Essex's own eagerness to join.

³ I quote from Steven W. May's edition of the the poem in The Elizabethan Courtier Poets: The Poems and Their Context (318). All other quotations from Raleigh's poetry are from Agnes Latham's The Poems of Sir Walter Raleigh. All quotations from the certain or possible poems of the Earl of Essex are from Steven W. May's "The Poems of Edward De Vere, Seventeenth Earl of Oxford and of Robert Devereux, Second Earl of Essex."

⁴ In other poems of the period, Raleigh himself appears as Fortune, probably a reference to his rapid rise from obscurity to favour (May, "Poems" 87). Essex himself more usually appears as Honour (May, "Poems" 85).

⁵ Lefranc, maintaining that Raleigh is not the author, offers the explanation that between 1599 and 1603 supporters of Essex attributed the poem, Puritan in origin but which might be read as atheistic, to Raleigh in order to discredit him: "ce poem d'un puritain devint, entre 1599 et 1603, une arme que les partisans d'Essex utilisèrent contre Raleigh" (Sir Walter Raleigh, Ecrivain: L'Oeuvre et les Idees 665). See Greenblatt (171-76) for the most thorough rebuttal of Lefranc's argument. Greenblatt argues that it is improbable that the Essex faction, a significant portion of which was Puritan, would use a Puritan poem as slander, and points out that other poems falsely attributed to Raleigh in order to damage his reputation follow his arrest for treason, and are of a very different character from "The Lie" (171-72). May's argument is perhaps more convincing still; between 1599 and 1603 the Essex faction had "more immediate" grievances against

Raleigh, such as his part in the Earl's disgrace and execution (Raleigh 61).

6 This child was born 29 March 1592, and the christening took place on 10 April (Rowse, Throckmortons 160-61). When Elizabeth learned of the birth, she committed Raleigh to Sir Robert Cecil's custody, and in early August sent both Raleigh and his wife to the Tower (Rowse, Throckmortons 161-62).

7 "R. Doleman" was probably a pseudonym of the Jesuit Robert Parsons. In early November 1595 Essex was in some danger over this book's dedication to him. Rowland Whyte informs Sir Robert Sidney in a 5 November letter that Essex was "wan and pale" returning from a meeting with Elizabeth about the matter (Collins 1: 357). Essex had cause to be concerned about his connection to the text, for Whyte goes on to tell Sidney that "tis thought to be Treason to haue it" (Collins 1: 358). Although the Earl was still "infinitely troubled" about the book two days later (Collins 1: 359), Whyte reports to Sidney in a 12 November letter that Essex has recovered from his melancholy over the matter: "the Harme [which] was meant hym, by her Majesties gracious Faur and Wisdom, is turned to his good, and strengthens her Loue vnto hym" (Collins 1: 360). Hammer proposes that those who hoped to harm Essex with the dedication were English Catholics who aligned themselves with Spain, and thus were threatened by Essex's pro-toleration stance, which would have hindered their objective of the full restoration of Catholicism by Spanish force ("Sparke" 142-43).

8 See Chapter 6 for discussion of the relationship between Essex and Raleigh on this expedition.

9 Although Raleigh retained his Captaincy of the Guard during the years of his disgrace, he could only perform his principal duties by deputy (Edwards 1: 141).

10 Those Raleigh biographers who assume that the ultimate resolution of the conflict (however unsatisfactory to Nottingham), the creation of Essex as Earl Marshal, was Raleigh's idea (Edwards 1: 250; Cote 272), are perhaps overestimating his role as mediator. Although Whyte mentions to Sidney that Essex is to be made Earl Marshal in the same letter that he informs his friend that Elizabeth has employed Raleigh to end the dispute (Collins 2: 77), he does not specifically credit Raleigh with the idea. From Hammer's investigation of the circumstances surrounding the dispute ("Sparke" 318-20), it seems that the idea originated with Essex himself.

11 Raleigh and Cecil had cooperated in late 1592 in the distribution of goods from the Madre de Dios, and Cecil was one of the dedicatees of Raleigh's account of the 1595 Guiana voyage (Hammer, Polarisation 363). When Cecil's wife, who had been a friend of Raleigh's, died in January 1597, he wrote Cecil a very personal letter, telling him, "I had rather be with yow now then att any other tyme, if I could therby ether take of frome yow the burden of your sorrowe, or lay the greater part therof on myne owne hart" (Edwards 2: 161). After Lady Cecil's death, Raleigh took Cecil's young son Willian to Sherborne. William wrote affectionate letters to Raleigh at Court beseeching him to return to Sherborne, and Raleigh updated Cecil on his son's improving health (HMC Salisbury 10: 84, 459).

12 While some copies attribute the poem to Essex himself, others, such as the copy in Bodleian MS Tanner 76 ff. 93r-94r, attribute it to Henry Cuffe: "Henry Cuff made these following Verses, his Lord, and Master the Earl of Essex being then in some Disgrace."

13 Arthur F. Marotti prints this poem in Manuscript, Print, and the English Renaissance Lyric (95-97), although with some inaccuracies in the transcription.

14 Although most scholars assert that Essex's return was a clear contravention of Elizabeth's orders, L.W. Henry, studying previously unconsidered documents such as an unused first draft of Cecil's 29 November 1599 Star Chamber speech, concludes that "it was no unqualified act of disobedience" ("The Earl of Essex and Ireland, 1599" 18). Although in a 30 July letter Elizabeth had certainly revoked his permission to return for personal consultations, she had also sent Essex a letter just a few days before that of 30 July reaffirming his license to return for consultation with her (Henry, "Ireland" 18). Considered in light of this information, Elizabeth's prohibition seems "less absolute"; the Earl merely used her vacillation on the matter of his permission to return as "a loophole for disobedience" (Henry, "Ireland" 19).

15 Sir Robert Sidney, brother of Sir Philip, had long been an adherent of Essex. The Earl lobbied unsuccessfully on Sidney's behalf for the posts of Vice-Chamberlain and Warden of the Cinque-Ports in 1597 and 1598. Sidney became wary of his association with the increasingly isolated and desperate Earl, learning from Whyte shortly before Essex's return from Ireland that Sidney could rely on no one at Court in matters of honour or preferment because he had "bene for many Yeares most inward and great" with Essex and thus was not to be trusted (Collins 2: 121). By late October 1599 Sidney was appealing to Cecil as he sought relief from his command in

Flushing (Collins 2: 88). On the day of the rebellion, Sidney was among the government forces besieging Essex House from the side facing the water, and he negotiated the rebels' surrender (HMC Longleat 5: 278; Bodleian MS Tanner 76 ff. 44v-46v).

16 In November 1599, while the Earl was still in Lord Keeper Egerton's custody at York House, for example, he received a letter from Sir Robert Sidney delivered "to his own hands," and sent the bearer of the letter away with his response (HMC De L'Isle and Dudley 2: 412).

17 For details on the dating of this letter, and an explication of Raleigh's various references to heirs of ruined or executed men who did not inherit the feuds of their fathers, see Edwards 2: 213-21. Only Walter Bouchier Devereux assigns the letter to the brief period between Essex's rebellion and execution. He maintains, without explaining why, that Raleigh's comparison between Essex and James VI's troublesome Earl of Bothwell precludes a date of 1600 (2: 177). Contrary to Devereux's assertion, the reference to Bothwell does not establish the date as February 1601.

18 One Dr. Fletcher told Cecil that he had "been abused by those fables and foolish lies of the Earl's danger and fear of murder by Sir Walter Raleigh" (HMC Salisbury 11: 128). William Masham stated in his declaration that "the rumour in the streets was that my L[ord] of Essex should have bene murdered on Saturday night" by Cobham and Raleigh (PRO SP 12/278 no. 45 f. 63r). According to the examination of the Earl of Rutland, Essex told Rutland "that his life was practysed to be taken away . . . by the lord cobham & S[i]r walter Rawley" (PRO SP 12/278 no. 51, f. 73r). Francis Smith, John Bargar, and the Lords Sandys and Monteagle, among others, also stated that Essex had complained that Raleigh intended to kill him (PRO SP 12/278 no. 47 f. 67r; no. 60 f. 100v; no. 75 f. 126r; no. 76 f. 128r).

Chapter 5: Essex and Raleigh, 1601-1625

I. Introduction

Examinations of the relationship between Essex and Raleigh usually conclude with some discussion of Raleigh's involvement in the fall of Essex. Popular and academic historians alike neglect to consider in detail, if at all, one of most fascinating elements of the relationship: the role of Essex in the fall of Raleigh. Even before James's accession to the English throne, certain parties in England were endeavouring to turn Elizabeth's probable successor against Raleigh, and one of their tactics involved emphasis upon the supposed involvement of Raleigh in the death of Essex. An examination of texts relating to Raleigh's 1603 arrests and trial demonstrates the importance of Essex in the fall of Raleigh. From the machinations of Cecil and Lord Henry Howard to the vitriolic attacks of anonymous writers to the harsh words of the Attorney-General at Raleigh's treason trial, Essex appears again and again in the ruin of Raleigh's career under James. Although the King harboured his own doubts about Essex's loyalty, the Earl proved useful in the condemnation of Raleigh. The post-accession officially-sanctioned condemnation of Raleigh as Essex's chief persecutor was crucial to the heroic portrayal of Essex emerging in early Jacobean England.

II. Essex and the Fall of Raleigh: 1601-1603

In the two years between Essex's execution and Queen Elizabeth's death, major figures at the English Court looked north to Scotland and attempted to secure their positions in the new reign. Sir Robert Cecil entered into the secret correspondence with James in Scotland not long after Essex's execution. While Cecil himself actually wrote some letters directly to King James, Lord Henry Howard, an intermediary whom James suggested and Cecil agreed upon, conducted much of the correspondence with the Scottish King, or, rather, with the Scottish intermediaries Edward Bruce and the Earl of Mar (Peck, Northampton 18-19). Peck suggests that Howard, who had been a follower of Essex and continued to advise and associate with him during the Earl's period of disgrace in 1599 and 1600 but stopped short of rebellion, may have been involved in Essex's secret correspondence with James in the 1590s (Northampton 19). Howard seems to have managed, despite Essex's insistence that courtiers declare themselves either for him or for Cecil, to remain on friendly terms with Cecil while still supporting Essex in his disgrace, a feat which demonstrates both Howard's "own already slippery reputation" as well as his success at negotiating the patronage system (Peck, Northampton 17). In August 1600, Cecil reports to Sir George Carew that Essex's position--free but still under the Queen's indignation--"makes verie feaw resort to him but those

whoe are of his blood, amongst which I imagyne the Lord Henry Howard will not be longe from him" (Maclean 23). In October 1599, Howard reportedly attempted to mediate a peace between Essex and Cecil (HMC De L'Isle and Dudley 2: 404). Cecil had long been friends with Howard's nephew Sir Thomas Howard, and, probably for this reason, performed several kindnesses towards Lord Henry in the 1590s when the latter was clearly a devotee of Essex (Peck, Northampton 17).¹ Howard, then, is a credible choice as intermediary between Cecil and James, having an amicable relationship with James's old supporter Essex but also links with the most powerful man in England.

Part of Cecil and Howard's strategy to reinforce the King's growing conviction that Cecil provided his surest means to the English throne was to vilify courtiers who might represent an alternative source of influence (Peck, Northampton 19). Although Cecil and Raleigh remained on friendly terms for some time after Essex's execution, Cecil's letters to Sir George Carew from mid-1601 illustrate the cooling of Cecil's affection towards Raleigh and his increasing concern about Raleigh's association with Cecil's brother-in-law Lord Cobham. In a late June letter to Carew, Lord President in Munster, Cecil writes that, although Raleigh is "the better man," Cobham "always sways him" (Maclean 85), and closes the letter with a promise to Carew that Raleigh "shall neuer haue my consent to be a Counsaillor without he surrender to you the

captainship of the gard" (86). By June 1602 Cecil was merely feigning cordiality towards Raleigh and Cobham, writing to Carew that, although Cobham and Raleigh use him unkindly, "I haue couenanted with my Hart not to know it, for in shew we are great, and all my revenge shalbe to heape coales on their hedds" (Maclean 116). Raleigh and Cobham, who had attempted to approach James through the Duke of Lennox, thus became Howard's specific targets (Peck, Northampton 19-20), and the death of Essex, whose enemy they had been, became one of his specific weapons. Informing the King, through Edward Bruce, that Cobham and Raleigh tried to poison Elizabeth against Cecil, whom the Queen reputed "a pillar and supporting of her state," he refers to his two enemies and their companion the Earl of Northumberland, famously, as a "diabolical triplicity" which daily meet and plot at Raleigh's Durham House (Dalrymple 29).

Among these venomous writings, with their "convoluted insinuations" about Raleigh and Cobham (Peck, Northampton 21), are frequent references to the fate of Essex. Howard tells Bruce in the same long letter of 1 December 1601, that the "wicked villains" Raleigh and Cobham convinced Northumberland to temporarily reconcile with his wife, Essex's sister Dorothy, in order to "fish out the secrets of the Essex faction, which way they inclined, and who among them were affected to the part of Scotland" (Dalrymple 33). Apparently

discovering that "all Essexians were Scottish" and that the Earl's widow prayed daily for the Scottish King, Northumberland was to report to Elizabeth that the remnants of the Essex faction, resorting freely to Southampton in the Tower, were planning some evil enterprise, and that Cecil himself was involved (Dalrymple 34-35). Cobham and Raleigh hoped, according to Howard, that, with Essex dead, King James would "neglect the remnant of his confederates" and receive courtesies from another party (Dalrymple 41-42).

Although Howard's directions to Bruce are at times convoluted,² his ultimate message is abundantly clear: "The thing which Cecil would have me print in the King's mind, is the miserable state of Cobham and Raleigh" (Dalrymple 52). He portrays the two men as persecutors of the imprisoned Southampton, seeking to "scant the scope of his liberty" and encouraging the Queen to ruin him financially; they cannot kill him, since "Cecil guards his life" (Dalrymple 59). Howard considers their alleged treatment of Essex's friend Southampton as evidence that the two, that "accursed duality," are "void both of instinct of honour, and of all regard of faith" (Dalrymple 66, 59). In a letter of early autumn 1602, Howard portrays Cecil as the man who strove to save Essex in his disgrace. Referring to Essex's disgrace and rebellion as "our late unlucky tragedies," he tells Bruce that, if Essex's friends had not been so willing to undertake desperate

attempts more suited to their humours than his, he might have been saved by the faith and industry of Cecil, "who, of all men living, in case he had found subjectum bene dispositum, would have dealt best with, and perfected the work of his deliverance" (Dalrymple 219).

The efficacy of Howard's poisonous letters, authorized by Raleigh's one-time friend Cecil and containing numerous references to the executed Earl and the survivors of his rebellion, is apparent immediately upon James's accession to the English throne. Raleigh was stayed as he travelled north to greet the new King (PRO SP 14/1 no. 16 f. 30r), and Howard met James in Newcastle "to possesse the Kinges eare and countermine the Lord Cobham" (McClure, Chamberlain 1: 192). Thomas Lake's 25 April 1603 letter to Cecil from Burghley indicates that Raleigh's first approach to the King there was not promising. Raleigh's reason for coming, he explained to Lake, was to deliver letters to the King and the Lord Treasurer about the duchy of Cornwall (HMC Salisbury 15: 57), of which Raleigh was Lord Lieutenant. From Lake's description of the event to Cecil, it appears that Raleigh did not actually meet with the King, but simply gave the letters to Lake and willed him to speedily deliver them to James (HMC Salisbury 15: 57). Lake tells the Secretary, "to my seeming he [Raleigh] hath taken no great root here" (HMC Salisbury 15: 57).³

Southampton, on the other hand, had, according to Lake, been "well used" (HMC Salisbury 15: 58).

Raleigh's eclipse under James was swift, for in rapid succession he lost his lucrative wine licenses patent, his post as Captain of the Guard, and his use of Durham House (May, Raleigh 18-19), the scene of his diabolical "consultations and canons" with Cobham (Dalrymple 49). Raleigh's attempt to regain some favour by offering James advice on strategies for pursuing the war with Spain was, not surprisingly considering James's almost immediate pursuit of peace with Spain, unsuccessful (May, Raleigh 19). Within a few short months of James's accession to the English throne, Raleigh was under arrest for treason.

Mark Nicholls succinctly summarizes the puzzling issues surrounding the nature, purpose, and even existence of the "Main Plot" of 1603, allegedly hatched by Cobham and Raleigh against King James and in favour of Lady Arbella Stuart. Were the investigations into the supposed conspiracy "the hasty over-reaction of a nervous new king and administration to the merest expression of grumbling discontent," or, more sinisterly, "a settling of scores between court factions, the final triumph of Sir Robert Cecil and the Howard family over increasingly isolated opponents?" (902). The extent of Raleigh's involvement is unclear, for the authorities' representation of him as the instigator of the plot is based

upon the problematic testimony of Lord Cobham (Nicholls 902). One element that is clear, although seldom discussed, is the frequent association of the fall of Essex with the fall of Raleigh. Throughout Raleigh's disgrace, trial, and eventual execution, Essex is always there.

The executed Earl appears very early on in the proceedings against Raleigh. The Venetian ambassador Scaramelli, who had earlier reported James's warm reception of Essex's son, mentions in early August 1603, about three weeks after Raleigh's arrest for treason, that "The conspirators are all lodged in the Tower. The reason why his Majesty has never looked favourably on any of them is because they had a hand in the death of Essex, who was in secret understanding with the King and working for his cause" (CSP Venetian 10: 74).

Scaramelli's observation indicates that by the time of James's accession his earlier contact with Essex, which the official accounts of the treason do not mention, had become more widely known. Both Cecil and, of course, James himself, were aware of the earlier correspondence, and perhaps disseminated information about it when it might prove useful against Raleigh and Cobham. Only a very few Essex conspirators knew of the secret contact, and several of those who did, such as Henry Cuffe, died in the executions which followed that of Essex. Such security limits the knowledge to James himself and some of his Scottish ministers, Southampton and Mountjoy, Sir

Robert Cecil, and a select few officials involved in interrogating the Essex rebels. Although enough people knew of the communication that it may have reached a wider audience without any authorization, James or Cecil may also have released the information when it would prove useful for inflaming public opinion against Raleigh.

Steven W. May suggests that the secret correspondence of Essex and James loomed large in the treason charges against Raleigh. "The charges against Raleigh and Cobham," he writes, "are suspiciously similar to those set forth in a letter written by the earl of Essex that Cecil acquired at the time of Essex's death" (Raleigh 19). May refers here to Essex's Christmas 1600 letter to James in which he accuses Raleigh and Cobham, among others, of plotting to place the Spanish Infanta on the English throne. We have no solid evidence, however, beyond the similarity of the charges, that this document was actually in the possession of Cecil after Essex's death. The original letter does not survive or has not been found, and I am aware of no particular connection between BL MS Additonal 31022, where the letter appears, and Sir Robert Cecil. Certainly the document may have reached his hands by other channels. If James indeed received Essex's letter, and kept it in mind as his officials drafted their charges against Raleigh, he read selectively, for the letter accused not only Raleigh, but also Cecil, of a pro-Infanta plot. Cecil,

according to the letter, was leader of the "rainging faction" (BL MS Additional 31022 f. 107v) hostile to James's claim. James himself may have been suspicious of Essex's loyalty, but found the Earl's popularity useful in condemning Raleigh.

The disgrace of Raleigh, always a deeply unpopular figure and particularly so in comparison to Essex, prompted a number of vitriolic attacks with a strong pro-Essex orientation. Some poems, such as Williams's "The Life and Death of Essex," briefly accuse Raleigh of malice towards Essex in the larger context of a description of his life and death. Williams holds Raleigh responsible not only for Essex's conviction, but also for the Queen's failure to pardon him. Other poems produced at the time of Raleigh's arrest and trial accuse him of complicity in Essex's death and decry his excessive pride. The poem beginning "Wilye watt, wylie wat" (BL MS Additional 22601 f. 63r) appears from the reference to "Captainshippe newly sped" (l. 10) to date from that period following Raleigh's loss of the Captaincy of the Guard in May 1603. The poem is one of the most acrimonious condemnations of Raleigh; Pierre Lefranc describes it as a poem of "extreme violence" (Sir Walter Raleigh 667). The anonymous poem curses Raleigh for Essex's death and keenly anticipates his downfall: "Essex for vengeance cries/his bloud upon thee lies/mountinge aboue the skies/damnabable fiend of hell/mischieuous matchiuell" (ll. 21-25).

Another anonymous pro-Essex poem beginning "Watt I wot well they ouerweeninge witt" (BL MS Additional 22601 ff. 64r-65v), although "exceptionnel par sa moderation" (Lefranc, Sir Walter Raleigh 671), and particularly so when compared with "Wilye watt," contrasts Essex's supposed humility with Raleigh's infamous pride:

Renowned Essex as he past the streets
 would vaile his Bonnett to an Oyster wife
 And with a kinde of humble Congie [bow] greet
 the vulgar sort that did admire his life
 And now sith he hath spent his liuinge breath
 they will not cease yet to lament his death. (ll.
 55-60)

The first two lines contain a Shakespearean echo, one which recalls the Essex conspirators' commission of a play on Richard II the night before the rebellion. Shakespeare's Richard observes of Bolingbroke's efforts to gain the love of the people that "Off goes his bonnet to an oyster-wench" (1.4.31). The next stanza suggests that Essex's angry spirit pursues Raleigh and demands vengeance, and the heavens, on his behalf, enact this tragedy (ll. 67-70).

Lefranc notes (Sir Walter Raleigh 674) that other anti-Raleigh poems of this period, such as that beginning "Water thy plaints w[ith] grace diuine" (BL MS Additional 22601 f. 63v) are too little politically oriented to identify with the Essex faction or the Cecil faction.⁴ Considering Cecil's assistance to the Essex rebels, his distancing of himself from Raleigh in the matter of the Earl's execution, and his portrayal of

himself to James as the protector of the imprisoned Southampton and the imperilled Mountjoy, a distinction between poems originating with the Essex and Cecil factions is perhaps a false one. Pro-Essex anti-Raleigh poems also served Cecil's purposes at the time. The complexity of the relationships between James, Essex, Cecil, and Raleigh in 1603 considerably complicates interpretation of the anti-Raleigh invective of the period.

One poem which treats the supposed role of Raleigh in the fall of Essex in considerable detail is the remarkable anonymous 39-stanza poem entitled "The dispairinge Complainte of wretched Rawleigh for his Trecheries wrought against the Worthy Essex" (Bodleian MS Ashmole 36, 37 ff. 11r-14r).⁵ The poem is rare in the period for its subtle condemnation of Cecil. The author of "The dispairinge Complainte" appears to have been quite closely associated with Essex, both at the time of his rebellion and in the two years leading up to it. Although initially offering through Raleigh's first person confession the usual proclamations of his great wrongs against the "Worthy Essex," the poem proceeds to a rather more informed, if exceptionally creative, version of events culminating in the rebellion itself. The account of careful and cunning conspiracy sounds remarkably like the Earl's own version of events towards the end of his life.

The poem appears to date from the first investigations of Raleigh in the summer of 1603, when his condemnation was not yet a certainty. The "Complainte" provides not a chronicle of Essex's life and description of his death, but rather a detailed account of the controversial final two years of his life and of Raleigh's supposed part in his ruin. Raleigh "confesses" his malicious and conspiratorial role in, among other events, Essex's unfortunate lieutenancy in Ireland (ff. 12v-13r), the decision against a Star Chamber trial after his 1599 return (f. 13r), the removal of the Earl from his offices (f. 13r), and the "forged instigation" to rebellion by which Raleigh and his associates wrought Essex's "vtter desolution" (f. 13v). While the poem principally accuses Sir Walter Raleigh, it also subtly condemns Cecil, acknowledging his role--or what the Earl's supporters considered his role--in Essex's disgrace and execution, and also his later attempt to distance himself from his old ally Raleigh. Raleigh's words "I also had assistance in this worke/whose helping handes were in as deepe as mine/though some of them aloofe now slylie lurke/as if their consciences were sole diuine" (f. 11v) surely allude to Cecil's involvement in the fate of Essex. The words do not apply to Cobham, whom the next stanza must include in those fallen with Raleigh in his current trouble (f. 11v). Writing to Elizabeth from Ireland in 1599 and accusing Raleigh of sabotaging his campaign, Essex tells her he will forbear

accusing others "for their places' sakes" (Edwards 1: 254). Just as Essex in 1599 did not accuse Cecil because of his "place's sake," so too did the anonymous poet of the early Jacobean "Complainte" forbear, because of Cecil's powerful position, to name him. The poem's warning that God, "the Remedier of wronge," may suddenly strike down those who "florish for a tyme/in Grace Authoritie and honors great," ascending to "the highest stepp of fortunes seate" (f. 12r), may refer to Cecil's continuing favour under James. The poem is a combination, rather rare for this period, of pro-Essex anti-Raleigh anti-Cecil sentiment, and demonstrates that Cecil's efforts to extricate himself from blame in the Essex affair were not entirely successful.

The "Complainte" is similar in many respects to other anti-Raleigh material produced at this time. Raleigh is a "wrongfull wicked wretch" (f. 11v), full of "scorne and pride" (f. 11r), who confesses to wronging the honourable Essex and turning the Queen against him through falsehood and treachery. Like "Wilye watt" and "Watt I wot well," the poem portrays Raleigh's own treason as revenge for Essex. Raleigh acknowledges that God has used "the meanes of my owne fowle offense/to giue me a righteous recompense" (f. 12r). At times the charges against Raleigh in the poem contain a grain of truth. He confesses to Essex that when Elizabeth "causeleslie relected" him--probably a reference to his disgrace upon his

return from the Irish campaign--he, Raleigh, omitted nothing "w[hi]ch might thee more offend" (f. 11v). Judging from Raleigh's controversial letter to Cecil, and Whyte's observation that Raleigh sickened at indications that Elizabeth might relent, he probably did urge the Queen against restoring Essex to favour.

The poem strives particularly to develop parallels between Raleigh's machinations against Essex and his own present situation. As Lefranc demonstrates with reference to other anti-Raleigh poems appearing at this time, "le gout populaire etait friand ce ces symetries" (Sir Walter Raleigh 670). Raleigh confesses in the poem to having spared no cost to procure damning letters from Essex to his wife, telling the Earl that "by letters I procurde thy bane" (f. 12r). Raleigh now recognizes justice in his own incrimination by letters.⁶ The parallel requires some manipulation of the facts. While the incidents of theft and then forgery of certain letters to his wife did occur, the letters themselves were of little importance in damning Essex at his trial, and Raleigh's connection to the letters remains unproven.

The Countess of Essex, fearing upon her husband's confinement after his return from Ireland in 1599 that his papers would be seized, had entrusted a number of letters to Jane Daniel, "that had sometimes served her as a gentlewoman," asking that she keep them safe until the Countess sent for

them (PRO SP 12/279 no. 124 f. 236r). According to the Star Chamber proceedings against him in June 1601, Jane Daniel's husband John, once in the employ of Essex, took the letters to a scrivener, Peter Bales, and had him make copies (PRO SP 12/279 no. 126 f. 228r). When the Countess requested the return of the letters, John Daniel refused to deliver them, insinuating that they contained incriminating matter against Essex and demanding, as he "was become verely muche ymperished of late," that she pay him 3000 pounds for the return of the letters (PRO SP 12/279 no. 126 ff. 229v-230r). Daniel, finding the Countess reluctant, told her that Raleigh would give him 3000 pounds for the letters (PRO SP 12/279 no. 126 f. 230 r). When asked in Star Chamber if Cobham and Raleigh had indeed made such an offer, Daniel admitted "his reporte in that behalfe to be moste false and slanderous for that they never offered anie money or dealt w[i]th him to anie suche purpose" (PRO SP 12/279 no. 126 f. 230r). The Court fined Daniel 3000 pounds and committed him to the Fleet Prison (PRO SP 12/279 no. 126, f. 231v). The legal wrangling over the payment of the fine, of which the Countess was to receive a portion, lasted at least until 1610, when Daniel appealed to James from "the depth of all miserie" for relief from the ruin caused by the collection of the fine (PRO SP 14/52 no. 31, f. 44r).⁷

The "Complainte" poet overestimates both the role of the letters in the Earl's condemnation and Raleigh's involvement in the matter. When Essex maintained at his trial that the scrivener Peter Bales "practized to counterfeit his hand in manie letters being subbourned thereunto," the Attorney General pointed out that it was the Earl's own man, his former servant John Daniel, who procured it (Stephen 3: 41). Essex offered no proof for his claim that Daniel was merely an "instrument" (Stephen 3: 41), and the trial quickly proceeded to other matters. The specific mention of Raleigh in connection with the letters does not appear until Daniel's Star Chamber trial in June 1601. Daniel maintained as late as April 1603 that the rumours that Raleigh and Cobham bribed him to betray the contents of the letters to Elizabeth were false (CSPD James 1603-1610 6).

The anonymous poet of the "Complainte" also exaggerates the innocence of the letters. Emphasizing the contrast between Essex's letters to his wife and those which now damn Raleigh, the Raleigh of the poem admits that the Earl's letters contained "nought but Truth and Modestie" (f. 12r), the opposite of the matter contained in Raleigh's allegedly treasonous correspondence of 1603. The fact that Daniel decided to blackmail the Countess with the contents of the letters suggests that they were not merely "longe and passionate" love letters which the Earl would not want spread

abroad (PRO SP 12/279 no. 126 f. 229v). Bales maintained in a 31 July 1601 declaration that he suspected treasonous matter in one of the letters (PRO SP 12/281 no. 34 f. 73r). In a letter written to his wife from Ireland in August 1599, Essex, according to Bales's recollection, wrote "The Queenes com[m]aundem[en]t may breake my neck; but my enemies at home shall neuer breake my harte" (PRO SP 12/281 no. 34 f. 73). Essex's prosecutors apparently did not consider the letters significant enough to enter as evidence of the Earl's treasonous intent in Ireland, so the truth of the matter is probably that these ambivalent letters expressed the same increasingly desperate and paranoid sentiments in Essex's other correspondence from Ireland.

The poem itself is much concerned with Essex's absence during the Irish campaign and Raleigh's alleged machinations in his absence. The accusations the poet levels at Raleigh are reminiscent of those the anonymous author of the "Obseruac[i]ons in the Earl of Essex's Example" levels against the Earl's enemies. His cunning foes, in both "Complainte" and "Obseruac[i]ons," suborn men to destroy him. According to the "Complainte," Raleigh and his allies convinced Elizabeth to employ the Earl in Ireland, that they might work against him in his absence (f. 12v). Raleigh and his accomplices even devised a plan to induce Essex's premature return from Ireland: "Then did we blow abroad the Prince is dead/thinking

thereby to further our intente/for then we hope thou sure wouldst gather head/and come w[i]th speed inuasion to preuente" (f. 13r). Francis Osborne, writing more than half a century later, repeats both the accusation that the Earl's enemies suborned his advisors in order to destroy him and that his adversaries in England hoped to motivate his untimely return by "a false report raised of her Majesties Death" (609).

The dispairinge "Complainte" also has connections with other pro-Essex anti-Raleigh material dating from the early years of James's reign. His arrest for treason prompted the production of another Raleigh "confession," this time in a letter he supposedly wrote to James from the Tower in August 1603. Raleigh admits in this document to "the Truth of this Bloodye ffacte," confessing that he had always opposed James's succession (Deedes 64). In his catalogue of crimes, he acknowledges that he was "the maine Piller of Essex's overthrowe" (Deedes 64).

Internal evidence reveals the document to be a forgery. "Raleigh" admits that at his last "being upon the Racke" he, his mind not yet "moved wth the true Sorrowe of this my Cryme," denied the charges against him (Deedes 64). Towards the end of the letter he begs James that he "maye no more goe to the Racke" (Deedes 64). We have no evidence, in fact, that Raleigh's interrogators ever tortured him to extract a

confession. It is apparent that the poem dates from a somewhat later period than August 1603, for Raleigh towards the end of the letter asks that James "be good to my wyfe and children" (Deedes 64). Raleigh's son Carew was not born until 1605, and prior to Carew's birth Raleigh had only one child, his son Walter. The letter's reference to "children" indicates a later date of composition than 1603.

Another pro-Essex document vilifying Raleigh at the time of his disgrace is the anonymous prose work "Sir Walter Rauleigh's stabb." Raleigh's attempt to kill himself in the Tower in late July 1603 occasioned this most absurdly flattering piece on Essex. Pierre Lefranc's observation of "L'orientation favorable a Essex" (Sir Walter Raleigh 669) is an understatement, for the piece grants Essex the status of a martyr: "at this hower a certayne man weares a litell neck-bone of his, which the giddie executioner at the first unluckie stroake forest from the rebound of his valiant and hardie neck" (Hutchins 219). The author also claims that upon the spot where Essex died is a bloody circle in which the grass, loathe to disturb the blood of one who had suffered so already, refuses to grow (Hutchins 218-19). The piece specifically compares Raleigh unfavourably with Essex, finding significance in Essex's Ash Wednesday death; Raleigh, had his suicide attempt succeeded, would also have died on Wednesday, but "dog-Wednesday, or Wednesdaie in the dayes of dogges; and

these maie well be cald the dog-dayes, because they are the daies of traitors that barke against the crowne, and fayne would byte the King" (Hutchins 218).

In elevating the executed Earl to the status of a saint or martyr, claiming that people carry small pieces of timber stained with Essex's blood (Hutchins 219), the anonymous author of "Sir Walter Rauleigh's stabb" takes to its logical conclusion an idea apparent in the early stanzas of "The dispairinge Complainte." As Raleigh in the "Complainte" seeks one of the "Celestiall sorte" who might take pity upon his wretched state, he turns to Essex, who "liues remote from fleshie kinde/In perfecte ioy to blessed Saintes assignde" (Bodleian MS Ashmole 36, 37 f. 11r). The English authorities feared in 1601 that Essex's death might prove a martyrdom. By the time of Raleigh's disgrace in 1603, the "martyrdom" of Essex proved useful in condemning Raleigh.

These vitriolic anonymous condemnations of Raleigh were not merely wishful thinking, for the use of Essex to condemn Raleigh is also apparent in the official proceedings of November 1603. Essex figures prominently in Coke's attempt to redefine and reposition Raleigh "from courtier to conspirator and from advisor of the monarch to his enemy" (Cunningham 329). Steven W. May notes that Raleigh's conviction for treason was "a foregone conclusion" in part because prosecutors, justices, and jury considered the trial an

opportunity to demonstrate their loyalty to the new sovereign by condemning a man who was "notoriously non grata" (Raleigh 19). The references to Essex at Raleigh's trial indicate a desire, particularly that of Attorney General Edward Coke, to demonstrate loyalty to the new sovereign by praising a man who was, publicly at least, "persona grata." Coke, who had prosecuted Essex at his trial and accused him of "hipocrisie in Religion" and of countenancing "all sortes of Religion" (Stephen 3: 61), now called Raleigh a "damnable atheist" and contrasted him with Essex, who, he said, "died the child of God, God honoured him at his death" (Howell 2: 28). Coke also repeated the common charge, which Raleigh would answer at his execution fifteen years later, that he had gloated nearby when Essex died, adding, "Et lupus et turpes instant morientibus Ursae" (Howell 2: 28): "Both the wolfe and the foul she bears press upon those dying."

Raleigh's trial, however, also demonstrates the uneasiness accompanying official uses of Essex as hero rather than traitor. Coke, producing a letter from Cobham in which Cobham accused Raleigh of masterminding the plot against James and of advising him "not to be overtaken with preachers, as Essex was" (Stephen 3: 111-12), admits the letter as evidence of Raleigh's atheism. The comment on being "overtaken with preachers, as Essex was" refers to the Earl's controversial confession after the ministrations of his chaplain Abdias

Ashton. Coke hastens to clarify that Essex's confession was voluntary, and not, as some believed, a confession obtained because Elizabeth's ministers suborned Ashton "to undermine his master's spirit and extort the public confession that the government wanted" (Levy 292). Coke's discomfort--and James's--with the version of Essex as hero is apparent in Coke's words to Raleigh: "He [Essex] died indeed for his offence. The king himself spake these words; 'He that shall say, Essex died not for Treason, is punishable'" (Howell 2: 28). Raleigh's own use of Essex fifteen years later demonstrates that James's officials were not entirely successful in appropriating the late Earl for their own purposes.

IV. Essex and the Death of Raleigh: 1618

In the long years of Raleigh's imprisonment following his 1603 conviction for treason, the bitter accusations against him for his role in the death of Essex gradually abated, although the Essex "myth" continued to thrive. And when Raleigh went to the scaffold himself on 29 October 1618 on the old charge of treason, Essex was there. Just as various writers had portrayed Raleigh's fall in 1603 as revenge for Essex, so did they consider his execution in 1618 the Earl's final vengeance. John T. Shawcross notes that poems on Raleigh's death frequently allude to Essex (132). The

anonymous "On S[i]r Rawleigh" begins, "Essex, thy death's reveng'd; Lo here I lie/Att whose blood shed thy innocence may cry/Now Rawleigh quitts, I died not (as all see)/So much to satisfy the law, as thee" (Bodleian MS English Poetical e.14 f. 95v).

But Essex was present in a more remarkable way at his old enemy's execution. Among Raleigh's last words from the scaffold were denials of the predatory behaviour towards Essex of which Coke had accused him at his trial in 1603. Previous explanations of Raleigh's invocation of Essex at this time neglect the complexities involved in Raleigh's decision to speak of Essex at this time. Just as biographers have misinterpreted the relationship between the two men at the moment of Essex's death, so too have they misread that same relationship at Raleigh's death.

Although various biographical works on Essex and Raleigh incorrectly assert that Essex sought reconciliation with Raleigh in the moments before his death in 1601, they are correct in their assertion that Raleigh spoke of Essex at his own execution. As certainly as Essex did not speak of Raleigh, Raleigh did speak of Essex. All the versions of Raleigh's scaffold speech which I have consulted agree that his last words, before he implored his audience to join him in prayer, were of Essex. Thomas Hariot, in his notes on Raleigh's address from the scaffold, includes "The E. of Essex" as the

twelfth and final item before Raleigh "desired the company to ioyne with him in prayer" (BL MS Additional 6789 f. 533r).

R.H. Bowers, examining various copies of Raleigh's scaffold speech, concludes that, while they demonstrate some variation in content, phrasing, and orthography, they retain "the main tenor of the speech" (211). This observation is certainly true of the passage about the Earl of Essex. Raleigh denies having behaved disdainfully at the Earl's execution, and expresses regret that he was not nearer the scaffold where the Earl died because he understood Essex desired reconciliation with him. He then confesses that, although he was of the opposing faction, he grieved at the Earl's death because he knew that those who had turned him against Essex would now turn against him.

An anonymous copy of Raleigh's scaffold speech which demonstrates "the main tenor" of the Essex passage begins with Raleigh begging leave of the Sheriff to address one more matter that "doth make my heart bleed, to heare such an imputation layd upon me" (Bodleian MS Tanner 299 f. 28r). He then denies that he was a persecutor of Essex and "puffed Tobacco out in disdaine of him" when the Earl died (Bodleian MS Tanner 299 f. 28r). The subsequent information in this account generally concurs with that in many others:

God I take to wittnesse, my eyes shed teares for him w[he]n he dyed. & as I hope to looke god in the face heereafter, my L[or]d of Essex did not see my face, when he suffered, for I was a farre of in the

Armory, where I saw him, but he saw not me. And my soule hath bin many times greived, that I was not neerer vnto him, w[he]n he dyed, because I vnderstood, that he asked for me at his death to be reconciled to me. I confess I was of a contrary faction; but I knew, that my L[or]d of Essex was a noble gent[leman], & that it would be worse with me, when he was gone; for those, thatt sett me vpp against him, did afterwards sett themselues against me. (Bodleian MS Tanner 299 f. 28r).⁸

Other accounts have Raleigh calling the charge that he laughed at Essex's downfall "a moste false & slanderous reporte" (Bodleian MS Tanner 74 f. 150r). He knew, he says, that Essex's fall presaged his own destruction (Bodleian MS Tanner 74 f. 150v). In another version he avows that the Earl's death grieved him, "for they that made vse of me, & respected me before, little regarded me afterwards" (PRO SP 14/103 no. 53, f. 82r). In the same account he denies "making myself merry when I sawe him perrishe" (PRO SP 14/103 no. 53, f. 81v). John Pory's description of Raleigh's speech in a 31 October 1618 letter to his master Sir Dudley Carleton at the Hague says that Raleigh "protested, that although he were of the Contrary faction to my lord of Essex, and had helped to plucke him downe, yet never had he a hande in his bloud, that is to saye, he was none of them that procured his death; nor (as he had long time bene accused) did he reioice or smyle at it" (Powell 536). In a letter to Carleton a week later, Pory provides further information on Raleigh's scaffold speech, writing that the condemned man said that he had not so little wit "as not to perceive that when my lord of Essex was gone,

he sholde be little sett by" (Powell 537). Pory's is the only account I have seen which does not mention that Raleigh had heard Essex asked for him at his 1601 execution.

Accounts of Raleigh's scaffold speech appeared far beyond English borders. In a Dutch account published in 1619 Raleigh denies that he rejoiced in Essex's death and refutes rumours that he had "taken tobacco in his presence," maintaining that, although he was "one of the other faction," he wept over the Earl's execution (Parker and Johnson 50). In this version Raleigh, as in the English accounts, expresses sorrow that he was not nearby when Essex died, and thus did not hear the Earl's final request for reconciliation (Parker and Johnson 50).⁹

Raleigh's claim at his execution that he heard Essex had asked for him at his own death has influenced biographers to mistakenly assert that Essex desired reconciliation with Raleigh on the scaffold. If Essex did not ask to speak to Raleigh just before his execution, why did Raleigh say he heard that Essex did? The malice towards Raleigh after Essex's execution was extreme. Hoping to inspire guilt in Raleigh for Essex's execution, someone may have told Raleigh that the dying Earl had wanted to be reconciled with him. Or perhaps the idea originated with Raleigh himself who, carefully calculating his words upon the scaffold for maximum effect, attempted to associate himself with the popular Earl. As the Spanish

policies of James, and later Charles, became increasingly unpopular, some anti-Spanish writers would link Essex and Raleigh in a "thoroughly incongruous Elizabethan popular front" (Foster 313). Perhaps Raleigh's words about Essex in 1618, which received wide manuscript circulation in England, made that later Elizabethan popular front less incongruous. Raleigh's scaffold speech certainly contains other matter which was not necessarily true. His comment that he lamented the Earl's death because he knew that those who had set him up against Essex would now set themselves up against him seems coloured by later events.

Biographers of Raleigh have, based upon his final words about Essex, asserted that the accusations against him about the executed Earl wounded him deeply. John Winton writes that Raleigh "regretted literally to his dying day that he had not been able to be reconciled with the Earl of Essex" (224). It is not at all clear, in fact, that until Dr. Robert Tounson prompted him the night before his execution that Raleigh had any intention of speaking of Essex. In a 9 November 1618 letter to his friend Sir Robert Isham in Northamptonshire, Tounson, Dean of Westminster, describes how Raleigh intended at his execution to "perswade the world, that he died an innocent man" (Edwards 2: 491). Tounson, telling Raleigh that "his pleading innocency was an oblique taxing of the Justice of the Realm upon him," advised him instead to speak of some other

matter, pressing him "to call to mind what he had done formerly, and though perhaps in that particular, for which he was condemned, he was cleare" (Edwards 2: 491). Still Raleigh made no mention of the executed Earl, and Tounson went on "to putt him in mind of the death of my Lord of ESSEX: how it was generally reported that he was a great instrument of his death" (Edwards 2: 491). The following morning as he stood upon the scaffold, Raleigh did not follow Tounson's advice to "heartily repent, and ask God forgivenesse," but denied that he had persecuted the Earl and taken pleasure in his death.

Steven W. May writes that Raleigh, in denying on the scaffold that he had influenced Essex's fall or rejoiced at his execution, "was responding to a charge leveled the night before by Townson" (Raleigh 122). Raleigh was indeed responding to Tounson's prompting, but the charge of which he spoke was a much older one. Camden records that many interpreted Raleigh's presence at the Earl's execution as a desire "to feed his eyes with his torments, and to glut his hate with the Earles bloud" (324). They believed that Raleigh withdrew to the armory only when admonished that to thus press upon the dying "was the property of base wilde beasts" (Camden 325). Attorney General Edward Coke had repeated the charge at Raleigh's 1603 trial.

IV. Conclusion

The fall of Sir Walter Raleigh provided crucial impetus for the Essex myth in the early years of James's reign. Essex, through Cecil and Howard, had partially shaped James's attitude towards Raleigh between Essex's death and Elizabeth's, and the King's evident dislike of Raleigh after the accession encouraged many pro-Essex anti-Raleigh works promoting a heroic image of the Earl. Essex's role in the fall of Raleigh contributed much to the version of Essex which, decades later, the traitor's son would inherit and turn against the Stuarts. The final appearance of Essex in Raleigh's lifetime demonstrates that the official version of Essex under James might prove elusive to enforce, just as had the official Elizabethan version.

Notes

¹ In 1596, the newly appointed Secretary alleviated Howard's worries about the action of Cadiz, informing him of Essex's victory even before some of his own friends. In a 20 July letter to Cecil, Howard writes of "the kindness of a person in your place vouchsafing with your own hand, in a world of business, so much at large, and before many of your own noble friends, to impart this comfort to an abject and a castaway" (HMC Salisbury 6: 271). By 1598, Howard was close enough to Cecil for the Secretary to expedite his pension, and in 1599 he used his contacts with Cecil to mitigate Elizabeth's displeasure with Howard's kinsman Thomas Arundell (Peck, Northampton 17).

² This letter, for example, contains the following direction to Bruce: "You must persuade the King, in his next dispatch, to direct you to thank Cecil in the letter which you write to me" (Dalrymple 52).

³ John Aubrey's account of Raleigh's initial contacts with the King, which make for very interesting reading, are, however, of dubious authority. Aubrey relates that Raleigh, in a discussion held at Whitehall over what Elizabeth's ministers should do after her death, claimed that it was "the wisest way for them to keep the government in their own hands, and sett up a commonwealth, and not be subject to a needy beggerly nation" (Clark 2: 186). James, hearing of these words, said to Raleigh when he was later presented to the King, "'On my soule, mon, I have heard rawly of thee'" (Clark 2: 186).

Aubrey claims that James never forgave or forgot Raleigh for a subsequent exchange in which Raleigh reportedly said, in response to James's assertion that he would have succeeded to the English throne even with the resistance of the English, "'Would to God that had been put to the tryall'" (Clark 2: 187). When James asked why Raleigh would wish this, he responded, "'Because . . . that then you would have knowne your friends from your foes'" (Clark 2: 187). Aubrey bases his biographical sketches largely on hearsay and on the memories of acquaintances who were themselves at several removes from the subjects of their stories, and he himself admits frequently to the failure of his own memory.

⁴ Halliwell (13-18) prints all three of these poems.

⁵ The poem appears in print in Furnivall and Morfill 2: 252-59.

⁶ According to the charges against him at his trial, Raleigh had, on 7 June 1603, instigated Cobham to write letters to the Count of Aremberg, Ambassador to Archduke Albert, to

obtain money for the furthering of their plot to advance Arbella Stuart to the throne (Charles Edward Lloyd 67).

7 In the intervening years, Jane and John Daniel protested the seizure of their lands and goods to pay the fine, and petitioned for John's liberty (PRO SP 12/285 no. 22 f. 46r). Jane Daniel accused the Countess of Essex of turning her and her four small children out of their home, leaving them "in danger of beggerie" (PRO SP 12/283 no. 21 f. 41r). By the time of John Daniel's appeal to King James in 1610, he was petitioning the Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer for permission to enter a suit against the Earl and Countess of Clanricarde, the former Countess of Essex (PRO SP 14/52 no. 30 f. 43r).

8 This account of Raleigh's words about Essex is identical with that printed by R.H. Bowers (215).

9 The anti-Spanish Raleigh had been an ally in the Netherlands' attempt to gain independence from Spain, and news of his ventures against Spain in the 1590s had appeared in various Dutch publications (Parker and Johnson 7-8). The Dutch also had a particular interest in the Guiana region where Raleigh's plans for "exploration, settlement, and exploitation" were highly visible; the Dutch were as involved in this area as the English (Parker and Johnson 8).

Chapter 6: Essex and the Peace with Spain: George
Carleton's "Devoraxeidos Liber Unus"

I. Introduction

In certain circumstances, such as the condemnation of Sir Walter Raleigh, heroic portrayals of Essex in early Jacobean England served government ends. The late Earl's reputation as a Protestant and anti-Spanish warrior, however, became increasingly problematic as James's reign progressed and he instituted his policies of pacific kingship and religious moderation. Heroic portrayals of Essex ceased to serve government ends. George Carleton's "Devoraxeidos Liber Unus" ("The First Book of Devereux"), a 939-line epic and the longest poem in Carleton's 1603 collection of Latin poetry Heroici Characteres, foreshadows later representations of Essex which criticize James's foreign policy, representations no longer serving the King's ends. Part of the pro-Essex material appearing with the arrival of the new King, "Devoraxeidos Liber Unus" represents neither an attempt of the poet to ingratiate himself with the new monarch, nor an attack on Sir Walter Raleigh. Nor is the poem attempting simply, to paraphrase Robert Pricket, to commend the virtues of the dead. The purpose of Carleton's poem is thus rather different from other contemporary works on Essex.

"Devoraxeidos Liber Unus" is one of the earliest unofficial published works on Essex following his 1601 execution, and is the most detailed of the Elizabethan and Jacobean poetic accounts of the Cadiz voyage. The few people to comment on the poem have neglected to explore the ideological significance of Carleton's extraordinarily detailed but also highly selective use of his contemporary sources and his epic conception of the capture of Cadiz. Carleton, in this poem published very early in James's reign and before the conclusion of the peace with Spain, selects particular details of the Cadiz voyage and employs certain conventions of epic verse to promote a vigorous anti-Spanish and anti-Catholic foreign policy. Carleton enlists the late Earl of Essex in his cause, returning repeatedly to the Lord General's heroic feats at Cadiz.

A consideration of the ideological impetus motivating Carleton's treatment of his near-contemporary and classical sources requires first a brief introduction to author and text, and a discussion of the significance of the poem's dedication. Although scholars have recently begun to consider Carleton's life and works in some detail, his poem is little known outside neo-Latin studies. Indeed, its complete omission from J.W. Binns's study of the Latin writings of Elizabethan and Jacobean England suggests that it may be little known within neo-Latin studies.

II. Author, Text, Dedication

George Carleton, a relative of Sir Dudley Carleton, was vicar of Mayfield in Sussex at the time of the publication of Heroici Characteres in 1603. Born into a minor gentry family in 1559 at Norham in Northumberland, Carleton, a second son, received his early education at a local grammar school established by Bernard Gilpin (Hampton 6, 7; Rednour 1, 2), of whom he would eventually write a Latin biography.¹ Gilpin later sent him to Oxford, where Carleton entered St. Edmund's Hall in 1577 (Rednour 10). He received his B.A. in 1580, and, elected Probationer Fellow of Merton College the same year, received his M.A. five years later (Hampton 8-9). Seeking advancement through a career in the Church, Carleton then studied for a Bachelor of Theology. He was appointed vicar of Mayfield in 1589, an appointment he held until he became rector of Waddeston in Buckinghamshire in 1605 (Hampton 9, 11; Rednour 44). By 1595 he was studying for his doctorate, and seeking further clerical preferment (Rednour 36).

Nancy F. Hampton notes that Carleton, elevated late in his ecclesiastical career, lacked a powerful patron to advance him, and thus sought promotion by the only avenue available to him, ecclesiastical and theological discourse (2). George Carleton, she concludes, "wrote his way to a bishopric" (2). His 1613 Consensus Ecclesiae Catholicae Contra Tridentinos made a favourable impression upon James, for in a 23 December

1613 letter to Sir Dudley Carleton, John Chamberlain informs him that "Your cousen Carleton the preacher was with the King on Sondag and had many goode and gracious wordes for a new worke of his" (McClure, Chamberlain 1: 494). Two years later Carleton entered the service of Prince Charles (PRO SP 14/80 no. 27 f. 40r), and James named him to the see of Llandaff in 1618 following a series of Carleton's publications opposing Dutch Arminian doctrine (Hampton 21). In a 22 October 1617 letter to his kinsman Sir Dudley Carleton, Carleton writes that he has "written a short book in the refutation of Arminius his doctines," a book which has received the approbation of men of the "best learning and iudgement" (PRO SP 14/93 no. 135 f. 235v). In 1618 Carleton travelled to the Low Countries as head of the British delegation at the Synod of Dort, and so impressed James with his conduct there that, upon his return in 1619, the King translated him to the more prestigious bishopric of Chichester (Hampton 2; Rednour 112, 151).

Carleton's publications span a twenty-five year period between the appearance of Heroici Characteres in 1603 and the Bishop's death in 1628. His published works, both in English and Latin, address a wide range of issues: "the status and wealth of the clergy . . . the locus of ecclesiastical authority . . . the apostolic origins of the episcopal discipline . . . the struggle against the Antichrist . . . the

preservation of right doctrine . . . [and] the unity of the Church" (Hampton 2). William J. Rednour demonstrates in his study of Carleton's works that an extreme antipathy towards Catholicism marks Carleton's publications between 1605 and 1617, the years when he sought clerical preferment (xiv). His correspondence during this period reveals similar anti-Catholic sentiment; in a December 1613 letter to a Venetian correspondent, he refers to Rome as the "fountain of evil" (CSPD James 1611-1618 216). Rednour notes that during Carleton's tenure as Bishop of Chichester, he was particularly concerned about English Catholics, Jesuits, and Spanish military power (xvii).

Carleton's antagonism towards Catholic Spain and its military power is readily apparent as early as 1603 in Heroici Characteres, his first substantial published work.² The collection clearly appeared in 1603 after Elizabeth's death, for it contains a "Carmen Panegyricum" upon the new King (10-17). The poem "Devoraxeidios Liber Unus," which details the English capture of Cadiz in 1596, is either a mini- or unfinished epic. The few scholars who have noted the poem disagree as to the state of its completion. Simon L. Adams, mentioning the poem in passing, describes it as "part of an incomplete epic" (174), while Leicester Bradner, also affording it only cursory attention, understands it as a poem complete in itself (72). The "Liber Unus" suggests that

Carleton conceived of it as a portion of a longer work. If Carleton began the poem in the 1590s, perhaps he abandoned the project after the Earl's disgrace in 1599, and published the unfinished epic when he detected a more Essex-friendly climate.

The poem begins with a description of Spanish exultation at the news that Sir Francis Drake, "the terrible Dragon," "had yielded to the fates" (335).³ The poem then proceeds to an effusive description of Drake's even greater successor Essex, "Ostrosaxonides," "Descendant of the East Saxons" (337): "There springs up and rises forth the new glory of the age, the East Saxon; the more illustrious virtue of our ancestors shines forth, gathered in one man" (335). There follows a long passage on the classical history of Cadiz, and then the detailed description of the action itself, complete with the staples of martial epic: the sea battle, the fight on land, catalogues of the ships and opposing forces, and epic speeches of the leaders, Essex in particular. Carleton's poem is exceptionally detailed, vividly describing the clamorous noise, the blazing exchanges of fire, the wild seas and shattered ships, and the bloody battle to capture the city itself.

The dedication of the collection in which "Devoraxeidos Liber Unus" appears is significant for an understanding of Carleton's purpose in producing this epic account of the

English victory at Cadiz. Carleton dedicates the volume to Sir Henry Neville, one of only two Essex conspirators remaining in the Tower at the death of Elizabeth in March 1603. Neville was not actually present at Essex House on the day of the revolt, but the Earl of Nottingham's March 1601 letter to Mountjoy in Ireland indicates that Essex in his confession implicated Neville as one who was present at the Drury House meetings at which the plot took shape (Bodleian MS Tanner 76 f. 97r). Neville was arrested on his way to diplomatic duties in France, and in a 2 March 1601 declaration to Egerton, Buckhurst, Nottingham, and Cecil he explained his transactions with Essex since his return from France in August of 1600 (PRO SP 12/279 no. 11 ff. 15r-18v).

According to Neville's version of events, Henry Cuffe continually approached him in the months preceding the rebellion with "vncertain and & wild speeches," and eventually told him Essex was planning some action "Both for his owne safety & the good of the state" (PRO SP 12/279 no. 11 f. 16r). Essex wanted Neville's advice, Cuffe told him, but assured him that they would attempt nothing against Elizabeth's person and Neville should involve himself no further than he was willing (PRO SP 12/279 no. 11, f. 16r). Neville, beset by various business matters, did not meet with Southampton and Danvers to learn of the particulars for some time, and then only went to

Drury House because they, passing by in a coach, had seen him so near (PRO SP 12/279 no. 11 f. 16v).

At Drury House, Neville listened to the plan to possess the Court gate and the guard chamber in order that Essex might repair to the Queen's presence to declare his grievances, since "he found his life sought by his enemies" (PRO SP 12/279 no. 11 f. 16v). Neville maintained that he would not draw his sword in the cause, and raised several objections about the feasibility of the plan (PRO SP 12/279 no. 11 f. 17r). He told his examiners that he did not hear again from Southampton and Danvers, and told Cuffe several days later that, since the plot was directed partially against Cecil, to whom he was near allied and beholden, he would not participate: "I would not blot my reputacion to be fals vnto him" (PRO SP 12/279 no. 11 f. 17v). Cuffe requested that Neville simply be present when they gained access to the Queen, since the Earl intended to name Neville "among others to supply som place there" (PRO SP 12/279 no. 11 f. 18r).

The last time Cuffe spoke with Neville, the Earl's secretary had a message from Essex. According to Neville's account, Essex "desired me . . . that although I would not be an actor myself in the matter, I would command my men yf I were in court when my lord came thither, either to take part with him or at least not to take part against him" (PRO SP 12/279 no. 11 f. 18r). Neville replied "very well," but vowed

to his examiners that he neither did it nor meant it (PRO SP 12/279 no. 11 f. 18r-v). He knew nothing of their attempt on Sunday 8 February, but was at Court to speak with Cecil about French matters (PRO SP 12/279 no. 11 f. 18v). He ends his statement with a condemnation of Essex and his action: "when I vnderstood what course the Erle tooke & saw the vizard taken from him & his true intents laid open . . . I detested him & his actions from the bottom of my hart & remained in Court till ten of clocke at night, with a purpose to have spent my life in her ma[jes]ties defence" (PRO SP 12/279 no. 11 f. 18v).

Neville paid dearly for his failure to betray the plot to the authorities. He was fined 10 000 pounds (later mitigated to 5000), stripped of his offices and denied his yearly payment from the patent for ordnance, and imprisoned during the Queen's pleasure (PRO SP 12/28 no. 67 f. 125v; HMC Salisbury 11: 274; 12: 95). His release from prison and his obvious favour with the new King in 1603 prompted Carleton to dedicate his anti-Spanish volume to Neville in the hope, perhaps, that Neville would use any influence he might have to urge Essex's old anti-Spanish foreign policy on the new King. Carleton's dedication to Neville does not specifically mention his imprisonment and recent release, but certainly alludes to them in comments upon triumphing over deepest misery and rising from chains with one's head held high (A3r).

Carleton may have chosen Neville over Southampton, also a popular dedicatee of pro-Essex material at this time, as dedicatee for the collection because of personal connections between Neville and Carleton, rather than a specific connection with Cadiz. Neither Neville nor Southampton participated in the Cadiz voyage.⁴ Neville had entered Oxford on exactly the same day as Carleton, and Neville's father owned a residence at Mayfield which the son inherited in 1593 (Hampton 9). It is possible that Carleton's appointment as vicar of Mayfield was a result of Neville's influence (Hampton 9). In 1603, when Carleton dedicated his Heroici Characteres to Neville, Carleton's kinsman Sir Dudley Carleton was in the employ of Neville (Rednour 48). Many years later, Carleton married Neville's widow (PRO SP 14/110 no. 149 f. 230r).

It is entirely possible, however, that Neville himself was not elated at the dedication and its connection of Neville and the executed Earl. While association with the Essex rebellion might work to one's advantage in the early years of James's reign, Neville had good reason to be displeased with Essex for accusing him in his confession. Cuffe may even have exonerated Neville in his speech from the scaffold. In a 24 March 1601 letter to Cecil pleading for clemency for her husband, Neville's wife Anne writes, "I hear that Cuffe, who best could tell what had passed between them, cleared him absolutely at his death" (HMC Salisbury 11: 145).⁵

Evidence from as early as January 1600 indicates that Neville was not entirely dedicated to Essex's cause. During the Earl's confinement a year before the rebellion, Neville, then ambassador in France, had written to Thomas Windebank at Court about Essex's continuing disfavour. He tells Windebank that he hopes the Queen will restore Essex to favour and "not deprive her selfe of a servaunt so necessary in his kind, for howsoever you be now in talke of peace . . . there wilbe as greate vse of such men as there hath been" (PRO SP 12/274 no. 12 f. 15r). Neville's next words, however, do not indicate a particular attachment to Essex: "I have as little interest in his standing or falling as he that hath least. But for . . . I hold him a profitable instrument" (PRO SP 12/274 no. 12 f. 15r). Neville could not have been happy that, in the end, he fell with Essex, since his involvement in the rebellion was "peripheral" (MacCaffrey 218).

Neville's increasingly desperate letters to Cecil from the Tower in 1601 and 1602 indicate his misery at the punishment. Even allowing for exaggeration, apparent in many of the Essex rebels' pleas for relief from their punishment, Neville's position at this time was clearly extremely difficult. In April 1601, hearing that "there is a declaration like to be published of these late practices," Neville beseeches Cecil to spare him "any public infamy" by omitting mention of his involvement, and requests that the

authorities not print his own declaration (HMC Salisbury 11: 176). Cecil--or Elizabeth--partially granted his request. Bacon's Declaration does mention Neville's involvement, but emphasizes that Cuffe drew Neville into the plot by "abusing him with a false lie and mere invention" (Spedding 2: 260). In order to bind Neville to Essex, Cuffe informed Neville that his diplomatic service in France "was blamed and disliked" (Spedding 2: 261). The Declaration does not include the whole of Neville's own statement, but does refer to it several times.

These concessions to Neville's request were small, however, and for the remainder of Elizabeth's reign he found little favour. A 26 February letter from Cecil to Mountjoy in Ireland reveals the reason for the Queen's harsh treatment of Neville: "S[i]r Hen[ry]: Neville is like wise in displeasure for haveing been Acquainted w[i]th this Matter by Cuffe, and not revealed it, w[hi]ch in a Gentleman of his Station hath been noe small Cryme" (PRO SP 12/278 no. 125 f. 248r). Despite the Secretary's efforts on behalf of the disgraced Neville, who was married to Cecil's cousin (PRO SP 12/278 no. 125 f. 248r), he was unable to lessen Elizabeth's anger towards Neville or to secure a pardon. Neville's letters to Cecil in the year and a half following the rebellion refer repeatedly to the poverty of his wife and many children (HMC Salisbury 11: 321; 12: 43-44, 95-96). His wife's letters to

Cecil similarly importune the Secretary to intercede with the Queen to relieve the misery of Neville's family (PRO SP 12/279 no. 22 f. 32r; HMC Salisbury 11: 145; 12: 164). Although he actively sought a pardon (HMC Salisbury 12: 113, 151, 268), he did not receive it until the next reign. Neville may have harboured resentment towards Essex for including him among those who "continually labo[r]ed him" about the rebellion (Bodleian MS Tanner 76 f. 97r), since Neville had only seen Essex once between August 1600 and 8 February 1601.

J.W. Binns notes in a consideration of prefatory verses in Latin books that "the dedication of a book . . . was for the author a potentially valuable commodity, not to be squandered on the unsupported hope of reward" (161). An unconsenting dedicatee, if of sufficient power, might even retaliate against the author (Binns 161). George Carleton clearly believed that Neville would be receptive to his heroic portrayal of Essex. Since Neville figured only briefly in Bacon's Declaration, perhaps Carleton was not aware of Neville's ambivalence towards and possible resentment of the Earl. While it is difficult to gauge Neville's response to the dedication without tangible evidence of either approval or disapproval, Carleton did not dedicate a work to Neville again. Just as the new King lauded Essex while privately questioning the Earl's motives and ambition, so too may Neville have benefitted from his association with Essex in the

early years of James's reign while privately resenting the Earl's part in the decline of his fortunes in the last two years of Elizabeth's reign.

Besides their common link with Sir Henry Neville, Carleton and Essex also had other mutual contacts, although I have been unable to determine whether the two were personally acquainted. Carleton, a Merton Fellow when he pursued his higher degrees, was also active in the College in the positions of Bursar and Lecturer (Rednour 29), while Essex had strong connections with Merton College (Hammer, Polarisation 301). Henry Savile, a close associate of Essex's, became Warden of Merton in 1585. In the 1590s, exactly the period in which Carleton pursued his doctorate there, Merton "was very much Henry Savile's college" (Hammer, Polarisation 302). Certainly Carleton and Savile had a common anti-Spanish perspective. Hammer notes a 1592 speech by Savile in which he "pushed the kind of bellicose anti-Spanish line espoused by Essex" (Polarisation 303). Carleton had received his initial degree in the same year as Henry's brother Thomas Savile (Rednour 26), who singled Essex out for praise in a speech written for the Queen's September 1592 visit to Oxford (Hammer, Polarisation 302). Whether or not Carleton actually knew Essex, the late Earl unquestionably looms large in Carleton's epic on Cadiz.

III. Essex, Cadiz, and "Devoraxeidos Liber Unus"

Carleton's epic treatment of Essex and Cadiz was not the first poetic celebration of this victory over the Spanish. Ray L. Heffner identifies celebrations of Essex at Cadiz in "The Winning of Cales by the English," printed in 1596 in Thomas Deloney's Garland of Good Will, in five epigrams by Thomas Bastard, in Richard Niccols's Englands Eliza, and in George Chapman's 1598 continuation of Christopher Marlowe's Hero and Leander ("The Earl of Essex in Elizabethan Literature" 73). A 5 October 1596 entry in the Stationers' Register records Thomas Churchyard's "The Welcomme Home of the E[a]rle of Essex and the Lord Admiral" (Arber 3: 14). The most famous celebration of the Earl's exploits at Cadiz, however, is surely that of Edmund Spenser, who in stanza nine of his "Prothalamion" lauds Essex as "a noble Peer,/Great Englands glory and the Worlds wide wonder" (ll. 145-46). Spenser's subsequent words on Essex's heroics at Cadiz are glowing: the Earl is he "Whose dreadfull name, late through all Spaine did thunder,/And Hercules two pillors standing neere,/Did make to quake and feare" (ll. 147-49). Lines 148-49 refer to the cliffs on either side of the Strait of Gibraltar, supposedly erected by Hercules. The numerous ballads on the Earl's death also contain sketches of his heroics at Cadiz, as do Jacobean poems such as Pricket's Honors Fame in Triumph Riding.

None of these Elizabethan or Jacobean celebrations of Essex at Cadiz, however, approaches the detail with which Carleton treats the subject in his early 1603 "Devoraxeidos Liber Unus." Carleton may actually have written his poem not long after the expedition itself, but found it impossible to publish it at a time when the Queen sought to restrict popular celebrations of Essex as the hero of Cadiz. In July 1596 Essex instructs his secretary Edward Reynoldes, "Com[m]end me humbly to my L. grace of Canterbury [John Whitgift] and yf he will procure a publicke thanksgeving for this great victory he shall do an acte worthy of him" (LPL MS 658 f. 135r). Reynoldes's August response indicates Elizabeth's attempt to check such a widespread celebration. The thanksgiving the Archbishop had procured at Essex's request was originally "graunted to be generall in all parts," but the Queen later restricted it to London (LPL MS 658 f. 260r). The Archbishop nonetheless ensured that Essex received public praise for the expedition, for in a Paul's Cross sermon one of Whitgift's chaplains, as Reynoldes tells Essex, "sounded your l[ordshi]ps worthy fame, your iustice wisdome valour and noble cariage in this action" (LPL MS 658 f. 260v). The chaplain compared Essex with "the cheifest generalls" and inveighed against "such as extenuated this happy victory" (LPL MS 659 f. 260v). This chaplain was William Barlow, later to preach the official sermon on Essex after his execution. In his 1601 sermon

Barlow mentions that he "celebrated his [Essex's] glory at the crosse, for Caliz victory" (A5r). The Queen, whose criticisms of Essex on the Cadiz voyage were "shattering" (Hammer, Polarisation 337), would hardly have been pleased with Carleton's extravagant praise of Essex and his portrayal of the Earl in terms of a classical hero.

Essex himself would have found the classical connection entirely appropriate. In his 1595 Latin communications with Antonio Perez, erstwhile secretary of King Philip II of Spain and a valuable source of intelligence for Essex, both Perez and Essex repeatedly characterize the Earl as Aeneas or Hercules and the Queen as the vengeful Juno who tried repeatedly to destroy them. In a 20 May 1595 letter to Essex, Perez writes of Juno calling Aeolus and the winds together against the Earl (Ungerer 1: 329), referring to the classical myth in which Juno bribes Aeolus, ruler of the winds, to drive Aeneas's ships off course. Hammer suggests that the Aeolus of the letter represents Lord Burghley (Hammer, Polarisation 320). In the same letter, Perez also refers to Essex as Hercules (Ungerer 1: 329). In a letter to Perez about four months later Essex identifies himself with Aeneas, writing that the vindictive Juno has vowed, "Flectere si nequeo superos, Acheronta movebo" (Ungerer 1: 329): "If I am unable to change the minds of the gods above I shall move hell itself." Here Essex alludes to Book VII of the Aeneid, and

Juno's vow to rouse the netherworld against Aeneas and the Trojans when, after her efforts to destroy them have failed, they find welcome in the kingdom of Latium (ll. 300-313). Essex wrote these words to Perez at a time when Elizabeth, making the return of Calais a condition of military assistance to Henri IV, frustrated the Earl's desire to lead another army into France (Hammer, Polarisation 245). Perez again refers to Essex as Aeneas in letters of 26 November 1595 and mid-January 1596 (Ungerer 1: 367, 401-02).

Hammer discusses the significance of the analogy between Essex and Virgil's hero (Polarisation 242-43). The comparison implies that Essex, like Aeneas, was fated to draw his nation to a "glorious new future" (Hammer, Polarisation 242). The Earl saw himself as "a latter-day Aeneas, whose righteous efforts to bring down the Spanish enemy were being thwarted by the Juno-like opposition of Elizabeth" (Hammer, Polarisation 331). According to a tradition elucidated by Geoffrey of Monmouth, among others, Aeneas's great-grandson Brutus founded Britain (Haan 232), and thus Essex's association with the classical hero reveals his beliefs about his own destiny.

Carleton's poem celebrating Essex's actions at Cadiz and associating the Earl with classical heroes was not the first Latin poem to so portray him. In partial response to the conflict with Nottingham in the autumn of 1597, Essex did not participate in the Accession Day Tournament, but on that day

had a psalter "five spans in height" (Groos 105) which the English had brought back from Cadiz presented on his behalf to the King's College library at Cambridge (Hammer, Polarisation 268).⁶ The first dedicatory verse, in Latin, lauds Essex as a hero "Greater than Hercules," one who "came right to Hercules' Pillars" (Groos 106). The intent of the dedicatory poem, appearing when Essex was in conflict with Nottingham over who deserved the primary credit for the Cadiz expedition, is obvious. The poem refers to Essex as "Ille (sed in dicto designat nomine virtus)/Angliacae magnus plebis amorque comas./Qui vertice omnes et celso vertice supra est/Continet Hispanis Gade ruente minas": "He (and in proverbs now, his name personifies valour)/Who is the friend and beloved of the common people of England,/Head and shoulders above the rest in height and in honours,/Who held all menacing Spain in check, at the sack of Cadiz" (Groos 106-07).⁷ Essex plainly intended the dedicatory verse as propaganda in his clash with Nottingham over the terms of the patent which granted the Lord Admiral principal credit for the success at Cadiz.

Essex's heroics at Cadiz became propaganda again, for a different cause, in Carleton's "Devoraxeidōs Liber Unus" in 1603. Although Carleton's epic describes the 1596 capture of Cadiz in extraordinary detail, he takes care to select only those details which portray the Earl in the most heroic light possible, producing an account which elides the tensions and

rivalries apparent in the contemporary documents. Although the Cadiz victory "immediately became the subject of fierce controversy" in England (Hammer, "Myth-Making: Politics, Propaganda and the Capture of Cadiz in 1596" 621), such controversy is not evident at all in Carleton's poem. He is similarly careful in his choice of classical models for the poem. Estelle Haan's observation that writers of the Latin Gunpowder epics implement the terminology and devices of epic to describe the action (227) is equally applicable to Carleton's epic. In important respects, however, Carleton's poem departs from its classical models, for its urgent polemical purpose does not allow for the complexity of characterization in classical epic.

The detail with which Carleton describes the capture of Cadiz and Essex's actions in particular is exceptional. He would have found no shortage of contemporary sources when he turned to the subject. By 1603, two published accounts of the voyage had appeared. The first was the "Honorable Voyage Unto Cadiz," a highly laudatory account particularly emphasizing Essex's part in the affair, at the end of the first volume of Richard Hakluyt's 1598 Principal Voyages. This narrative is largely based upon a manuscript account by Dr. Roger Marbeck (BL MS Sloane 226), the Queen's physician who was present at Cadiz in attendance upon the Lord Admiral. After Essex's return from Ireland in 1599, the "Voyage to Cadiz" narrative

was suppressed, the offending leaves removed from unsold copies (Armstrong 256). A number of leaves, however, did escape the censor, and some of these appeared and completed censored copies after Elizabeth's death (Armstrong 261). A second printed account of the voyage appeared in a new version of John Stow's The Annales of England, updated to 1601.

Even if Carleton began composing or entirely composed his poetic account of Cadiz before the appearance of either of these printed versions, a number of participants produced their own accounts, which circulated widely in manuscript following the expedition. Raleigh, Sir Francis Vere, and Sir William Monson all produced their own accounts, although, owing to strict governmental control over versions of the victory, or, in the case of Vere, later composition, none of these was printed in Elizabeth's lifetime. Besides the Lord Admiral's letter to Lord Chamberlain Hunsdon, and several anonymous letters detailing the action, other versions include the journal of Sir George Carew, captain of the Queen's ship the Mary Rose (Usherwood 10) in Raleigh's squadron (BL MS Additional 48152 f. 199v), and a short official version which Cecil corrected (PRO SP 12/259 no. 114 ff. 226r-227r). A recently-discovered account (BL MS Additional 48152 ff. 185r-192r) whose author was a member of the Earl's company aboard his flagship, the Due Repulse, also provides considerable

information about the expedition (Hammer, "New Light on the Cadiz Expedition of 1596" 184).

Essex himself attempted to publish his own account under a pseudonym. The Queen and Privy Council, alerted to the scheme by newly-knighted Sir Anthony Ashley, one of the first messengers to return to London after the expedition, suppressed this "True Relacion of the Action at Calez" (Hammer, "Myth-Making" 631).⁸ The Earl, however, circulated the document in Scotland and England, and dispatched copies for translation and continental circulation (Hammer, "Myth-Making" 632-33). His agents distributed the document in France, Italy, and the Netherlands (Hammer, "Myth-Making" 632). Essex's brief "Omissions of the Cales Voyage," part of a longer work and Essex's answer to accusations that the voyage should have accomplished more, was also in circulation.⁹

Carleton thus had access to a number of versions of the expedition, and must have consulted some of them, judging by the detail in his account of Essex at Cadiz. His inclusion of certain details that were clearly not public knowledge suggests careful attention to contemporary sources. Listing the Spaniards who slay English participants, for example, he names "Bragamonte" and "Hurtado," and has Essex in turn slay them: "Hurtado, glorious in arms, falls; Bragamonte rushes to the dark shades" (346). Of the various contemporary sources I

have examined, only George Carew's journal kept on the voyage mentions these two men, Julian Hortado and Juan de Osorio (the Count of Bracamonte), who were the captains of the Spanish galleons Padiglia and Fama (Usherwood 142). Carew, however, does not record whether or not they died in the battle, much less at the hands of Essex.

Other evidence demonstrates that Carlton was interested in historical research. He was a friend of William Camden, who would eventually produce his own account of the Cadiz voyage in his Latin history of the life and reign of Elizabeth. Carleton, we learn in Camden's Britannia, actually supplied the historian with some of the material on Northumberland. Camden writes, "This, and other matters, were taught me (for I shall always owne my Instructors) by George Carlton born at this place, being son to the Keeper of Norham-Castle; whom, for his excellent Proficiency in Divinity (whereof he is Professor) and other polite Learning, I love, and am lov'd by him" (Piggott 863). Camden and Carleton corresponded, for Carleton apparently wrote Camden a Latin letter with some notes and observations about his Britannia (Wood 2: 424).

While Carleton details the heroic actions of many of the principal participants in the battle, the poem indicates early on that its main subject will be the triumphs of Essex at Cadiz: "he attacks the Spanish cities, with the courage of

Hector and the strength of Hercules Nonetheless a single trumpet of his fame was lacking" (336). The address to Essex himself says, "Greater muses will seize on your martial deeds in arms; but, nonetheless, if meanwhile songs that have been begun struck on a smaller lyre please you, and it please you to listen to a Briton . . . I shall begin" (336). The poem returns repeatedly to the feats of Essex, describing his part in the battles, on both water and land, in lofty terms. During the sea fight, the Descendant of the East Saxons overthrows enemy triremes, whose "destroyed ornaments and sails are torn up by sulphur globes, and their broken oars float on the waters" (339). When the bloody and violent sea battle comes to an end, with Spanish blood "poured forth on the stagnant waters" and the remains of the Spanish fleet revolving in the waves (344), Essex exhorts the English to free themselves from the "Spanish yoke" (344). In the battle for the city which follows he distinguishes himself by the ferocity of his assault on the Spanish, slaughtering their foremost soldiers. Standing on the walls above the city, "huge, he thunders above the captured citadel" (347).

The poem also mentions a number of other prominent participants. While primarily attempting to make Essex's "fame equal to his deeds by singing" (336), it elaborates the bravery of Sir Francis Vere, Conyers Clifford, Lord Admiral Howard, Samuel Bagnell, and the Earls of Sussex and Norfolk.

The poem only briefly mentions the deeds of Sir Walter Raleigh, who played a prominent part in the action and composed his own "Relation of Cadiz Action." Raleigh "goes harshly into battle, distinguished in courage and warfare, and burns to break up the joined battle lines" (339). He appears only once more, mentioned in passing in a description of Norfolk's pursuit of a Spanish ship (340).

The poem dedicates more space to the heroics of some of the Spanish participants. Raleigh himself was injured in the action, and, in a letter detailing the capture of Cadiz, he describes the "greeiuous blowe" to his leg and the "meany splinters" which he removes daily (Lefranc, "Raleigh in 1596 and 1603: Three Unprinted Letters in the Huntington Library" 344). Carleton graphically details the injuries sustained by other English participants and even by some of the Spanish. The poem vividly describes the injury and later the death of Sir John Wingfield, detailing the "iron sphere" whirling through the air and striking his leg (347), and later the fatal musket shot: "there is the horrendous crash of a sphere whistling through the air, and liquid lead is infixed between his temples" (350). Carleton says nothing of Raleigh's injury, and the fact that he still joined the landing force carried "upon mens showlders" (Lefranc, "Raleigh in 1596 and 1603: Three Unprinted Letters in the Huntington Library" 344), although he lauds Wingfield for "not tarrying for the help of

the healing art" before rejoining the battle after his leg wound (347). Although Carleton does not mention others who were injured, such as Sir Charles Percy, Sir Edward Wingfield, and Captains Harvey and Hambridge (Usherwood 83), these men were not as prominent as Raleigh in the Cadiz expedition specifically and in late Elizabethan society generally.

The brevity of the reference to Raleigh may indicate that Carleton did compose the poem shortly after James's accession, keeping the references to Raleigh, who was soon out of favour, to a minimum. Carleton may, however, have composed the poem shortly after the Cadiz voyage, and omitted further laudatory comments on Raleigh when he published the poem around the time of Raleigh's disgrace. Or Carleton, clearly an admirer of Essex, may have been unmoved by Raleigh's attempt to advance himself as the hero of the expedition. Raleigh, still out of favour with Elizabeth at this time for his marriage to Elizabeth Throckmorton, wrote, in addition to his "Relation," another letter about the capture of Cadiz which he may have intended for the Queen's eyes (Lefranc, "Raleigh" 338). Hammer notes that Cecil corrected the official account (PRO SP 12/259 no. 114 f. 226r-227r), drawn up by order of the Privy Council, to emphasize Raleigh's role ("Sparke" 308).

Carleton's account of the battle itself, which follows the introduction to "the new glory of the age, the East Saxon," begins, "Unfold to me, oh Muse, the glorious men and

their battles, and how greatly they vanquished the fleet and the city in warfare" (339). Much of the material which follows--the destruction or capture of the Spanish ships known as the "Four Apostles," feats of the English participants both at sea and on land, the death of Sir John Wingfield--appears in almost all of the contemporary sources. On a number of points, however, the narratives of the capture of Cadiz are highly contradictory, with the authors at times exaggerating their own role in the action and minimizing that of their rivals. Julian S. Corbett observes that, once the sea battle began, "So wild was the race, so contradictory the accounts of the competition, that it is difficult to know exactly what happened" (70). Hammer notes that in the months and years following the expedition a "welter of competing claims and counter-claims transformed the events at Cadiz into a highly charged issue within late Elizabethan politics" ("Myth-Making" 623). Carleton, nonetheless, produces an account which unites the rivals and papers over the cracks which were to widen in subsequent years. He takes care to select only the details which portray the English, and particularly Essex, in the most heroic light possible.

In certain instances Carleton resolves tension by careful omission. One of the most contentious issues of the Cadiz voyage was the English failure to capture the Spanish merchant fleet laden for a West Indian voyage. The fleet comprised

forty ships which the Spanish themselves set on fire rather than relinquish to the English for ransom. Every contemporary account describes the rather spectacular firing of the Spanish ships, with some of the writers ascribing blame for the English failure to capture them. William Monson blamed Essex (Corbett 89), while Essex, Lord General on land, blamed the sea commanders in his "Omissions of the Cales Voyage":

"neither my Persuasions, nor Protestations could prevail with those who were Sea Commanders to attempt the Indian Fleet, while we assailed the Town, so that the Enemy had almost forty eight Hours time to burn their own Ships" (Burchett 362).

Essex felt that the Lord Admiral might have followed up the naval victory instead of joining the soldiers sacking the town. Carleton, ignoring such accusations, is silent about the loss of the Spanish merchant fleet and says only of the Lord Admiral as he joins the soldiers, "he renews the battle with favourable auspices. The steep city walls about to fall to the English, grew red under his bloody tracks" (351).

Carleton's poem mentions the Spanish merchant fleet only once, as the English commanders decide which Spanish port to assault. They decide upon "remote Gades [Cadiz]," hearing a rumour that there "had been brought together the wares which India had stored up, to be exchanged for gold: ships, arms, men, provisions" (338). Carleton does not mention the

merchant fleet again, although it is ostensibly the reason his English commanders choose Cadiz for their attack.

While new evidence indicates that the failure of the English to capture the merchant fleet was less the result of Essex's assault on the city than Howard's reaction to it (Hammer, "New Light" 194-95), opinion in subsequent years about where the blame lay was very divided. Although Carleton betrays no evidence of a contentious relationship between Essex and the Lord Admiral, the two had, in truth, been in conflict in the months preceding the expedition, and had clashed as the force intended for the relief of Calais was breaking up in April 1596: "Howard became so infuriated with Essex's manner of acting as his superior that he cut the earl's signature out of a letter they had jointly written to Burghley" (Hammer, "'Sparke'" 300).

Carleton makes choices similarly flattering to the English and to Essex regarding the controversial matter of the more than sixty knighthoods Essex and the Lord Admiral granted on the voyage. By the time of the publication of Carleton's poem in 1603, Elizabeth's extreme displeasure with Essex's prodigality in conferring knighthoods while on campaign was well known. Indeed, a derogatory reference to the Cadiz knighthoods found its way into a popular rhyme.¹⁰ The issue of the Essex knighthoods became even more controversial in 1599, when Elizabeth considered revoking some of the

knighthoods the Earl bestowed in Ireland (HMC De L'Isle and Dudley 2: 471). John Stow in his Annales remarks that "they made a great many knights, even all almost that did deserve it" (1290). One of the knights Stow singles out as worthy of the honour of knighthood is Sir Samuel Bagnell, "knighted before the towne was all won" (1290), and this is the knighthood which Carleton includes in his epic. Following a description of Bagnell's heroic progress through "heaps of carnage" back to the English after a particularly fierce encounter is this account of his knighthood: "By chance, the victor Descendant of the East Saxons was following the repelled Spanish. As he sees the countenance of Bagnell, disfigured with much blood, his face dripping in strange ways, he said, 'Hail, great-hearted one! . . . you will rise, created a knight; an added honour adds courage'" (349).

Carleton also especially compliments Essex when he portrays the Earl as the first to leap into the city from the city walls. Contemporary documents are unclear on this point. In Carleton's poem, Essex challenges his men outside the city wall, saying, "'Let him be the bravest of the brave for me, whichever of you will plant his brave footsteps first on the disordered walls!'" (347). He then "burns to obey his own command," and as he attempts to reach the summit of the wall "Honor more sublime granted him wings, and the breath of reverent fame rouses him" (347). From atop the city walls, he

rebukes the Spanish for their arrogance in thinking to overthrow the English, and leaps down into the city, followed by the other soldiers (348). According to the anonymous writer who attended Essex aboard the Due Repulse, the first man he saw "enter the walles" was "Thomas Warberton, a man of th'erles" who had "his foote on the'erles hand as th'erle helped him vpp" (BL MS Additional 48152 f. 187v). Sir Francis Vere's account has Essex merely as "one of the first that got over the walls" (39), while Marbeck's account in Hakluyt says he was "either the very first man or els in a maner joined with the first" (613). The official account which Cecil corrected is less generous towards Essex, stating that the Earl, detecting a place where they might scale the walls, made his men leap before him, and, by the time they had done so, was able himself to enter through the gate which Vere had beaten down (PRO SP 12/259 no. 114 f. 226v). Camden's later account is perhaps least flattering to Essex:

The Earle mounted vpon a Bulwarke new begunne next vnto the gate, from whence hee saw an entrance, but so high and steepe, that hee must leape downe a pikes length. Yet there leaped downe Euans the Earle of Sussex his Lieutenant, Arthur Sauage, Captaine of the Earles company, Pooly which bare the Earles red Ensigne, Samuel Bagnall, and others.
(93)

According to Camden, Essex entered the city after Vere had forced open the gate. Carleton, in keeping with his heroic portrayal of Essex, admits of no uncertainty in the matter.

The poem also portrays all of the fighting in the city in lofty terms. Essex "appears in the fearful city, whirling around his bloody weapons; when the occasion demands it, he is present on every side, to be feared by the throng; and bears his unexpected weapons on all sides" (348). Contemporary accounts, however, present a very different scene of some of the fighting inside the city walls. According to Vere, the pursuit of some of the Spanish troops after the English entered the city was not quite as glorious as the conflict portrayed in Carleton's poem. The English followed the fleeing Spaniards "with more courage than order," and the resultant fight "seemed rather an inward tumult and town-fray than a fight of so mighty nations" (41). Carleton's account undoubtedly portrays a fight "of so mighty nations."

Carleton was similarly careful in his choice of classical models for his poem. Certainly, the passages in the poem listing who killed whom recall like passages in the Iliad. Essex, raging in battle, slays Lopez, Valianta, Ricalda, and Alameda (346), while Bagnell "accumulates enormous slaughter of Spanish blood," killing Mendoza, Coranus, and Aranda (348). The poem is also reminiscent at times of Lucan's epic Civil War, on the first-century B.C. conflict between the Roman forces of Caesar and Pompey. In particular, Carleton's graphic account of the sea battle at Cadiz recalls Lucan's long passage in Book III on the Roman naval victory over the

Massilians. Lucan's description is exceptionally bloody, recounting "many extreme and bizarre forms of death" (Braund xlii). Carleton, perhaps with Lucan's mangled and dismembered sailors in mind, writes, "the bodies of truncated men are tossed about on the wind, and their limbs fly about, hurtling through the air" (343). Carleton's sea battle also recalls Lucan's in the vivid description of fire. Lucan writes, "Yet no scourge caused more destruction on this water/than the enemy of the sea: for fire is spread/attached to oily torches and kept alive covered in sulphur; and the vessels easily provided fuel and spread the conflagration" (ll. 680-84). Carleton similarly describes the fire which consumes a shipwrecked Spanish vessel: "Fire presents the greatest horror For flames have ripped the craft apart from within the dark caverns of the ship; the force of the black gunpowder stored below spreads rapidly, untamed" (342).

Naval battles do not feature prominently in surviving Latin epic (Braund 256), so Carleton's use of Lucan as a model for his own epic sea battle is unsurprising. Carleton's purpose, however, is rather different from Lucan's. Lucan is concerned in his naval battle, as he is throughout the poem, with portraying the horrors of civil war. Carleton intends his graphic accounts of fiery conflagration and hideous deaths to portray the horror which befalls those--Spanish and

Catholic--who fight those--English and Protestant--who have God on their side.

Carleton's poem also has an even more important classical model. Richard F. Hardin, considering the early poetry of the Gunpowder Plot, writes that "no poet celebrating a momentous event in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries could let his thoughts wander far from the example of Vergil. Poems on the fates of kingdoms drew their ruling images and motifs from the Aeneid" (77). Carleton's poem is no exception, for it is throughout "very Vergilian" in style (Bradner 72).

The Virgilian echoes are obvious even in the very earliest passages of the poem, as in the description of the death of Sir Francis Drake: "Strew purple flowers over the becalmed seas, and pour forth from filled arms both violets and lilies! At least we shall placate the waves of the sea with these gifts; at least we shall heap his tenuous shade with these offerings" (335). As Virgil's Aeneas in Book VI walks with his father's shade in the underworld, his father, showing him the descendants of their line, weeps at the premature death of young Marcellus, nephew, son-in-law, and destined heir of Augustus. Anchises says, "'Let me scatter lilies,/All I can hold, and scarlet flowers as well,/To heap these for my grandson's shade at least,/Frail gifts and ritual of no avail'" (ll. 1199-1202). In a number of places Carleton's poem portrays Essex in terms which recall

descriptions of various characters in the Aeneid. Essex, seeking the "Trembling Spaniards" hiding in secret recesses within the city, is like "a wolf, breaking into a full sheepfold" (348). Turnus in the Aeneid, Book IX, seeks to dislodge the Trojans from their rampart "As a wolf on the prowl/Round a full sheepfold howls at crevices" (ll. 85-86).

In other important respects, however, Carleton's poem departs from its Virgilian model. Hardin's observation that "Vergil performs the ethical shading far more subtly than his Renaissance epic followers" (78) is certainly true of Carleton's poem. The urgent polemical purpose of "Devoraxeidōs Liber Unus" does not allow for human weakness in its hero Essex nor psychological complexity or sympathetic characteristics in his opponents. Carleton's use of the epic speech demonstrates the singleness of his purpose. Essex's lofty speeches return repeatedly to the evil designs the Spanish have upon the English, and the accursedness of the Catholic faith. The speeches given to the conquered Spanish are products entirely of Carleton's imagination. One of the longest speeches in the poem appears at the very end, when Madravus, who has previously perpetrated wicked deeds against the English forces, acknowledges the superiority of the English and Protestantism: "'at last we acknowledge that our wildness is nothing for pious arms, that nothing rests on profane force The faith of the Brothers is false; the

power of the Pope is dastardly!" (352). The poem ends with Madravus decrying Spain's credulity in the face of the "'unspeakable mockeries of Rome,'" and proclaiming that "'The victorious Englishman will be sung among the Spanish as long as they will celebrate Herculean Cadiz'" (352).

Essex himself would have appreciated Carleton's portrayal of him as "the British Hercules," but probably uncomfortable with the ferocity of Carleton's anti-Catholicism. Hammer has demonstrated that Essex, while maintaining a "staunchly Protestant" public image, "began to move towards supporting toleration for loyal, anti-Spanish Catholics in the early 1590s" (Polarisation 174). The Earl, with a circle of Catholic friends, relatives and acquaintances, was uncomfortable with the treatment of priests in England (Hammer, Polarisation 174). Essex may also have found the move towards toleration earned him political advantage, for supporting such a policy created a contrast between him and the senior Cecil (Polarisation 174), who was involved in interpretation of the "Bloody Questions," used to determine the examinee's view of the Pope's power to depose Elizabeth and to discover which side the examinee would support should the Pope send an army to overthrow her (McGrath 305). The Catholic agent Anthony Standen wrote to Anthony Bacon that if Essex supported toleration he would win the loyalty of all Catholics in Christendom, and Essex's contacts attempted to

publicize on the Continent his protection of Standen when the agent returned to England in 1593 (Hammer, "An Elizabethan Spy Who Came in from the Cold: The Return of Anthony Standen to England in 1593" 291). Lillian M. Ruff and D. Arnold Wilson detect Essex's support for Catholicism at this time in his connection with Catholic composers of a new musical genre, the English madrigal (14-17).

Essex's desire to play "a part upon 'the stage of Christendom'" (Hammer, Polarisation 178) necessitated a tolerant stance towards Catholicism. Hammer notes that Essex's pro-toleration stance proved useful for developing connections with Italian states such as Florence and Venice, which defied Spanish influence, and allowed him to remain a supporter of Henri IV after Henri's politically expedient conversion to Catholicism in 1593 (Polarisation 178-79). Essex's attempt to present himself on the Cadiz voyage as an anti-Spanish champion rather than an anti-Catholic one (Hammer, Polarisation 175) suggests he may not have entirely approved of Carleton's portrayal of him in "Devoraxeidōs Liber Unus."

The poem begins with much anti-Spanish sentiment, but little anti-Catholicism. References throughout to "the wild counsels of the Spanish race" (336), the "unclean barbarian country" of Spain (340), and the haughtiness of the Spanish (342) indicate the depth of anti-Spanish feeling early in the

poem. When Essex encourages the English fleet against the Spanish, he tells them that the Spanish King "has threatened horrid disaster for the Britons," and that "everything harsh and dire is being prepared for the conquered" (341).

Initially, the poem's anti-Catholicism is muted. Apart from a reference to "deceitful Rome" in the passages on the death of Drake and the rise of his even greater successor, "the new glory of the age, the East Saxon" (335), the first half of the poem contains little invective specifically against Spain as a Catholic country. Towards the end of the narrative of the sea battle, however, the attack upon Spanish Catholicism becomes ever more apparent. With Essex the great avenger as leader, the oppressed faith of Protestantism will punish "the impiety of a profane cult" (342). Here the target of Carleton's attack is the "sacrilegious enemy" against whom the elements themselves are aligned (29). Essex's speeches during and following the English assault on the city are vitriolic in their condemnation of Catholicism. From aboard his ship after the English victory in the harbour, he condemns the "haughty commands which the Roman Jupiter has brought down from his elevated court" (344). Shortly thereafter appears "little brother Soto," a "filthy priest" who, as the chiefs of the city hold a council to determine what action to take, informs them that the Virgin Mary has promised to strengthen Cadiz against the "heretic race" (345). The Spanish

eventually admit defeat, with Madravus lamenting "the trickery of Rome," and its "wickedness and unspeakable cunning" (41). Madravus's reference to the "Roman monster" which goads the Spanish against the English (352), while acceptable to the Essex of Carleton's poem, may have been too harsh a condemnation of Catholicism for the real Essex, who sought to establish an international reputation.

In a number of ways the 1596 capture of Cadiz was not the spectacular triumph Carleton's poem portrays. The Spanish were soon able to regroup and dispatch another armada, and the expedition proved very divisive within England itself, as bitter conflicts arose over the distribution of spoils from the conquered city (Hammer, "Myth-Making" 621-22). The abandonment of Cadiz frustrated Essex's desire to establish a permanent base from which to wage aggressive war against Spain, and Elizabeth's cold reception of the Earl upon his return further embittered him about the enterprise. Essex's conflict with Nottingham over credit for the Cadiz voyage in 1597 demonstrates that the resentments engendered by the experience lingered. George Carleton nonetheless sought to recapture the ephemeral "warm glow of triumph" (Hammer, "Myth-Making" 621) in the 1603 publication of his "Devoraxeidos Liber Unus," hoping that, under a new monarch, England's drift towards peace with Spain might be averted.

IV. Conclusion

Carleton's desire for King James to act aggressively against Spain was, of course, to be disappointed when the Treaty of London ended the Anglo-Spanish war in August of 1604. His "Devoraxeidōs Liber Unus," however, produced in the final years of that long conflict, is a significant but often unremarked contribution to early seventeenth-century Anglo-Latin literature. Carleton's poem has links not only with the later Gunpowder Plot epics, but with similar Continental transformations of classical historical epic into international polemics in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.¹¹

Portrayals of Essex as Protestant warrior and scourge of Spain continued as James's reign progressed and his irenic foreign policy and commitment to religious moderation became increasingly institutionalized. Although James's own public attitude towards Essex and the Essex rebels influenced the many positive portrayals of Essex in early Jacobean England, toward the end of James's first decade on the throne some who opposed his pacific policies found the late Earl useful in criticizing royal policy. Carleton's "Devoraxeidōs Liber Unus" thus prefigures the double-edged nature which praise of Essex would later acquire, and marks a significant contribution to the protean image of the traitor/martyr Essex as it would develop in the decades to come. The hopes of

Carleton, and others who shared his commitment to an anti-Spanish policy, helped ensure that the 2nd Earl of Essex would be around decades later when the Earl's son sought support for the army he would lead against James's own son.

Notes

¹ Gilpin, known as the "Apostle of the North," was archdeacon of nearby Durham in the late 1550s (Rednour 8; Hampton 6).

² Prior to the publication of Heroici Characteres, several of Carleton's Latin verses had previously appeared in print. He contributed a poem to the 1587 Exequiae, Oxford University's anthology on the death of Sir Philip Sidney. This poem appears again, under the title "P. Sidnaei Funus," in Heroici Characteres, immediately following "Devoraxeidōs Liber Unus." Carleton also contributed a prefatory poem to the 1594 edition of William Camden's Britannia.

³ Translation by Dr. Margaret Drummond, Department of History and Classics, University of Alberta. See Appendix (335-52) for the complete translation; further references in the text are to this translation.

⁴ The Henry Neville whom Essex knighted at Cadiz (PRO SP 12/259 no. 83 f. 179r) and who petitioned Elizabeth in April 1597 for permission to sell a manor to discharge debts incurred "at the late journey of Cales" (HMC Salisbury 14: 11) was not the diplomat and Essex conspirator Henry Neville, as Mary Helen Fernald asserts (284). The two men were cousins (Hasler 3: 125). The Sir Henry Neville who, in the wake of the Essex rebellion, revealed to the authorities Captain Thomas Lee's "traiterous enterprise" to possess himself of the Privy Chamber (PRO SP 12/278 no. 110 f. 216r) was the Cadiz knight, for John Chamberlain tells Sir Dudley Carleton that this Sir Henry Neville "married my L. Treasurers daughter" (PRO SP 12/278 no. 110 f. 216r). The Henry Neville knighted at Cadiz was married to Lord Treasurer Buckhurst's daughter (Hasler 3: 125).

⁵ Although I have not seen a version of Cuffe's execution speech in which he exonerates Neville, it seems likely that he did. In his will Cuffe made a bequest to Neville and his children, saying he had much grief that "he hath by his late maisters commandment been an occasion of his [Neville's] trouble, which I pray him most hartily to forgive me" (Bruce 91).

⁶ The psalter had belonged to the scholar Jeronimo Osorio, Bishop of Sylves, and the English removed it, and much other material, from his library in Faro as the fleet returned to England from Cadiz. Many of these books ended up in Oxford (Groos 104). King's College, Cambridge, probably came to contain this volume "in its humble library walls," as the dedicatory poem terms the place where the psalter was chained

to a desk (Groos 106), because of the Earl's very close ties with that university. Essex was at Trinity College, Cambridge, from 1577 to 1581 (Hammer, Polarisation 24).

7 The mention of the proverbs in which Essex's name personifies valour may refer to the distich made upon "Vere Dux," "True Leader," the popular anagram of the Earl's name after Cadiz: "Vere Dux, Deverux, et verior Hercule: Gades/Nam semel hic vidit: vicit ac ille simul." It was rendered into English as "Alcides yields to Devereux; he did see/Thy beauties, Cadiz: Devereux conquered thee" (Devereux 1: 379). The literal translation is "True leader, Devereux, and more truly Hercules: for once this man saw Cadiz: and at the same time he conquered it."

8 Hammer suggests that Ashley betrayed the plan to the authorities in an unsuccessful attempt to avoid punishment for possessing undeclared booty from the Spanish port ("Myth-Making" 631).

9 Essex began to compose the longer document, which seeks to explain the strategy behind his thwarted attempt to hold Cadiz, during the voyage back to England (Hammer, Polarisation 255). He suggests that the English should conquer and occupy the coastal cities of Lisbon and Cadiz and thus "cutt of all intercourse betwixte those 2 kingdoms and th'Indyes," using the two ports to "make warres upon the rest of his [Philip II's] coast" (Henry, "Strategist" 366-67). Depriving Spain of treasure and supplies, the English would strangle Spain into submission (Hammer, Polarisation 257).

10 Amidst the great praise for the Lords General and their sack of Cadiz was some ridicule of the controversial knighthoods:

A gentleman of Wales,
With a knight of Cales,
And a Lord of the north cuntrye;
A yeoman of Kent,
Upon a rack't rent,
Will buy them out all three. (Devereux 1: 370)

11 Karen Skovgaard-Petersen examines this process in three Danish neo-Latin epics of the late sixteenth century. Erasmus Laetus (1526-1582), Ole Broch (1626-1690), and Henrik Harder (1642-1683) all wrote propagandistic epics about Danish victories over Sweden. Like Carleton's "Devoraxeidōs Liber Unus," these poems model themselves partially upon the Aeneid, but employ epic devices to associate their enemy with the powers of evil (726-27).

Chapter 7: Jacobean Essex: The Later Years

I. Introduction

Although praise of the anti-Spanish Essex became increasingly incompatible with later developments in Jacobean foreign policy, the figure of Essex did not disappear. James himself, for reasons of his own, had done much to promote the image of Essex as hero which thrived in the early years of his reign. As opposition towards James's Spanish policy grew, however, writers began employing Essex to criticize the King. James, without whom the image of Essex as hero might not have flourished after 1603, found the late Earl, previously enlisted for his own cause, used increasingly against him. In both the establishment of the court of the Prince of Wales in 1610 and the crisis of the proposed Spanish match of the early 1620s, various writers employed Essex against James in a manner which the King had not anticipated but which ensured that the Essex myth would survive the withdrawal of James's sanction.

II. The Court of Prince Henry: 1610-1612

Of considerable importance in the development of Essex's image towards the end of the first decade of James's reign was the "neo-Elizabethan strain" (Strong, Henry, Prince of Wales 41) of the mythology surrounding James's eldest son, Henry,

particularly between his June 1610 investiture as Prince of Wales and his 6 November 1612 death at the age of nineteen, during which period the young Prince kept his own household at the Palace of St. James. Roy Strong places the Prince in an "extreme Protestant and anti-Spanish" ideological line of descent, his predecessors Leicester, Sidney, and, most immediately, the Earl of Essex (Henry 223). Essex figures prominently in the mythology created for the Prince, and not always in ways that would please King James. Curtis Perry's comment that "The Elizabethan affect cultivated by and for Henry took potentially oppositional forms" (91) applies to the appearance of Essex in the Prince's mythology. Evidence also suggests, however, that Prince Henry himself did not necessarily agree with all the trappings of the Essex myth. In fact, Henry may have personally questioned Essex's loyalty while publicly associating himself with the popular figure, much as his father had done years earlier.

Many former Essexians "gravitated" to Henry's household (Salmon 176) and there gained key positions. Sir Thomas Chaloner, the Prince's governor and later his Lord Chamberlain, had been Essex's emissary in Italy and may have taken a copy of Essex's "True Relacion" about the Cadiz action to Florence with him in late 1596 (Hammer, Polarisation 180, 253). John Hayward, the Prince's historiographer, had aroused Elizabeth's anger with the dedication to Essex of his

potentially seditious 1599 First Part of the Life and Reign of King Henry IIII, and was briefly imprisoned following the revolt (Salmon 175). Samuel Daniel, whose sympathy for Essex is apparent in Philotas, wrote the masque for Henry's installation as Prince of Wales. Roger Manners, Earl of Rutland, who was the husband of Sir Philip Sidney's daughter (Essex's step-daughter) and one of three Earls who joined Essex in his rebellion, was in constant attendance on the Prince (Salmon 177). Dr. Lionel Sharpe, who entered the Prince's service in about 1605 (Strong, Henry 53), was one of Essex's chaplains and had dealt with a number of academic matters for the Earl (Hammer, "Fulke Greville" 175). Sharpe received ecclesiastical preferment through Essex and may have been the one who arranged for the presentation of the Cadiz psalter to the King's College library at Cambridge (Hammer, "Fulke Greville" 175; Polarisation 268). As noted above, in 1603 James appointed Essex's young son, soon restored to the earldom, as companion to Prince Henry, and the 3rd Earl's ideological inheritance of anti-Spanish feeling and militant Protestantism corresponded closely with the tendencies of Henry's court (Strong, Henry 42). Lord Lumley, formerly a supporter of Leicester and later connected with Essex, whose portrait he possessed in 1590 (Hammer, Polarisation 286), was one of Prince Henry's tutors, and the young Prince purchased Lumley's library (Strong, Henry 200). Sir John Harington

names Lumley as an Essex supporter in his 1596 The Metamorphosis of Ajax (Hammer, Polarisation 287). After the rebellion, Lumley appealed to Cecil on William Constable's behalf (Hutson 203).

Roy Strong also attaches Southampton, the most prominent surviving Essex supporter, to Henry's court on the circumstantial evidence of the Earl's repeated participation in Prince Henry's spectacles,¹ noting Southampton's "decisively Protestant" sympathies, his military accomplishments, and his activity in colonial enterprise as interests common also to the Prince of Wales (Henry 47). A friendly relationship between Southampton and Prince Henry may have developed as the Earl's relationship with the King cooled. As early as 1608 rumours circulated that Southampton had fallen from James's favour "'because his Majesty thought he was too bold with the Queen'" (HMC Salisbury 20: 177). Increasing distance between James and Southampton after the early years of the reign was more probably the result of the Earl's continuing adherence to the old Essex party's hostility towards Spain and belief in support for the Protestant princes of Europe. The court of young Prince Henry, increasingly alienated from the King's foreign policy, was the logical place for Southampton to turn. As Strong observes of the Prince, "If his father had abdicated his role as the leader of Protestant Europe, his son was more than willing to accept it

when the time came" (Henry 72). Prince Henry was most enthusiastic about Henri IV's intention to mount a major offensive against Habsburg power in Europe, and was reportedly devastated by the French monarch's assassination in May 1610 (Strong, Henry 76).² According to a 15 June 1610 dispatch from Antonio Foscarini, the Venetian ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate, Prince Henry remarked, upon hearing of the King's death, that "one of his chief projects . . . was now destroyed; for he had resolved to serve under his Most Christian Majesty whenever he marched on Cleves" (CSP Venetian 11: 506). Considering Southampton's commitment to an aggressive anti-Spanish policy and his participation as a volunteer in the 1614 Julich campaign with the States General after Prince Henry's death (HMC De L'Isle and Dudley 5: 221), he may well have been among those who gravitated to the young Prince's court. Southampton's views may have influenced those of Prince Henry, who was relatively young at the time.

Essex figures in several ways in the mythology created for and by the young Prince. Strong observes that one of the iconographic sources for Cornelius Boel's 1611 or 1612 engraving of the Prince is clearly the 1599 William Rogers engraving of Essex as Earl Marshal of England and Lord Lieutenant in Ireland (Henry 132). Both engravings show their subjects within a lettered oval which is flanked by two female figures holding a wreath above the subject's head. While Boel

models the face on the Isaac Oliver miniature of the Prince (Strong, Henry 132), the figures on either side of Henry's likeness strongly resemble those on either side of the Earl's image in the Rogers engraving (in Hind 1: pl. 138). Scholars disagree about the identity of the figures flanking the Prince. Strong identifies them as Minerva (the goddess of war) and Nature (Henry 132), while Arthur M. Hind tentatively suggests War and Peace (2: 314). The figure on the left side of the Essex portrait, wearing a plumed helmet although lacking the spear of the figure in the Prince Henry portrait, may represent war. This identification is consistent with the picture of the fleet at Cadiz and the map of Ireland at the bottom of the engraving. Hind maintains that this figure is Constancy, while the other, who plucks a branch from the laurel, is Envy (Hind 1: 267). Whatever the identity of these emblematic figures, the Boel engraving definitely associates Prince Henry with the late Earl.

Essex is evident again in Henry Peacham's Minerva Britanna (1612), an emblem book dedicated to the Prince and which did much to "feed his myth" during his lifetime (Williamson 192).³ During Elizabeth's reign each knight participating in the 17 November Accession Day tournament prepared an impresa, a picture with a motto painted upon a shield to be presented to Elizabeth by the knight's page as part of the pre-tournament ritual (Young, Tudor and Jacobean

Tournaments 123). The impresa was to "express the personal intentions, aspirations, or state of mind of its bearer" (Young, Tournaments 123). Peacham's Minerva Britanna, a retrospective celebration of the imprese of the "Patrones . . . of Chivalry" who "seru'd ELIZA in her raigne" (212), which also includes an emblem for Prince Henry with the pictura of an armed knight (17), contains several emblems based upon Essex's imprese in the Accession Day tournaments.

Peacham's "device of the late Honorable, Earle of Essex" (144), with a pictura of an otherwise blank shield bearing the inscriptio "Par nulla figura dolori" ("Nothing can represent [his] sorrow" or "No picture is appropriate to this grief") (Young, The English Tournament Imprese 101; "The English Tournament Imprese" 71), may be Essex's impresa from the 1590 Accession Day Tournament. According to George Peele's description of this tournament in his 1590 Polyhymnia, the Earl appeared in "mighty arms of mourner's dye,/And plume as black as is the raven's wing" (ll. 104-05), while his company wore "funeral black" (l. 110). Peele attributes the Earl's grief on this occasion to the memory of the dead Sidney, "whose successor he/in love and arms had ever vow'd to be" (ll. 113-14), although Essex's appearance of sorrow may in fact have been a device to regain royal favour after the Queen's discovery of his secret marriage to Sidney's widow (Strong, The Cult of Elizabeth 152; Young, "Imprese" 71).

Alan R. Young proposes alternately that the impresa may be related to the 1586 Accession Day tournament, in which Essex also participated, and thus an expression of grief over Sidney's death a month earlier (Tudor and Jacobean Tournaments 133). Peacham's accompanying verse, describing the Earl's "griefe," "heartie pensiuenes," and "deadly sorrow" (114) might refer to either occasion. Frederic Gerschow, however, viewing the impresa in a gallery at Whitehall while accompanying the young Duke of Stettin-Pomerania to England in 1602, understood that Essex used it in some manner against Sir Robert Cecil (von Bulow 23-25).⁴ Peacham's inclusion of this reference to Essex's impresa is entirely appropriate, considering that Henry, in entertainments like his Barriers, sought to cast himself as hero of the tournaments. Strong notes that, in reviving in some manner the Accession Day tilts of Elizabeth's reign, Prince Henry "was taking upon himself even more forcefully the role of Elizabeth's favourite, Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex in the nineties" (Strong, Henry 141).

Peacham also includes another emblem based upon an Essex impresa, although the Accession Day tilt to which it belonged is, again, uncertain. He illustrates a second impresa which Gerschow viewed in his visit to Whitehall (Peacham 44). Gerschow writes that Essex "got a shield made with a pair of scales upon it, and in the one scale was a big cannon, in the

other a writing-pen which nevertheless outbalanced the cannon, with this inscription: 'Et tamen vincor,' (von Bulow 25), "And nevertheless I shall be conquered." Essex must have employed this device during his conflict with Elizabeth and the Cecils over the direction of England's war policy (Hammer, Polarisation 203). Gerschow believed that the "Et tamen vincor" impresa preceded the "Par nulla figura dolori" one (von Bulow 25), although this would be impossible if the former impresa belonged to the Accession Day tournament of 1586, the first one in which Essex participated. It is possible that in this case Peacham was actually unaware of the impresa's connection with the Earl, for he does not include the "Et tamen vincor" motto. Although the marginal annotation demonstrates that Peacham was aware that the impresa hung in the Whitehall gallery, he accompanies the picture with the words "Que pondere maior," "Which may have more weight" (44).

Peacham includes another emblem, that of Philautia, Self-Love (5), which might have a connection with the Earl of Essex. Strong suggests that this may have been Essex's impresa for the 1595 Accession Day tournament (Cult 145). Essex's entertainment on this occasion included three representatives of Philautia, or Self-Love, who tried to convince Love, Essex, to abandon his love for the Queen and seek satisfaction as a hermit, a soldier, or a statesman, the professions of the three representatives of Philautia (Hammer,

"Upstaging the Queen: The Earl of Essex, Francis Bacon and the Accession Day Celebrations of 1595" 47). Love's squire, the intermediary between Love and the Hermit, Soldier, and Statesman, dismisses Philautia's temptations and reaffirms Essex's devotion to Elizabeth (Hammer, "Upstaging" 48). While scholars disagree as to the authorship and ultimate message of the entertainment,⁵ Essex's "darling piece of love, and selfe love," as his Secretary Henry Wotton later termed it (8), made a deep impression on its audience. Even if the Earl's impresa for this tournament was not of Philautia,⁶ the association with Essex was a strong one, and probably the association Peacham had in mind when he included it in his emblem book dedicated to Prince Henry. Essex presented the piece to Elizabeth at a time when he was frustrated by her refusal to send military assistance to Henri IV in France (Hammer, "Upstaging" 54). Peacham's emblem book appeared when Henri IV, with whom Prince Henry had apparently hoped to fight the Habsburgs (Strong, Henry 77), was already dead, but when the young Prince and his supporters still desired English intervention on the Continent.

The appropriation of Essex in the interests of cultivating Prince Henry as the "Miles a deo" (anagram of "Meliadus," his preferred pseudonym in the challenges) (Strong, Henry 141), "Soldier to God" and reviver of the ideals of the fiercely Protestant and anti-Spanish Elizabethan

war party, ended with the Prince's death in 1612. It was nonetheless, by virtue of its intensity, influential in the continuing restoration of Essex's image. The Spenserian poet William Browne, seeking in one of the many elegies on the death of the Prince for a precedent for such a devastating blow to England, names as a specific possibility only that occasion "When our HEROE, honour'd ESSEX dyde" (Elr).

During the brief period between his installation as Prince of Wales and his premature death, Henry certainly developed a strong association with the late Earl of Essex, with whose son he had been raised and whose vision for England he shared. Certain evidence suggests, however, that the young Prince did not entirely subscribe to the myth of Essex as hero. Essex's biographer Robert Codrington relates an incident in which Prince Henry and the 3rd Earl of Essex, "delighting themselves one Morning, with the Exercise and the Pleasure of the Tennis-Court," were involved in a dispute in which the Prince was "so transported with his Passion, that he told the Earl of Essex, that he was the Son of a Traytor" (213). Codrington does not specify when this alleged dispute occurred, and it may have been before the Prince's increasing association with the 3rd Earl's late father. Codrington's information is often of dubious authority,⁷ but the supposed incident raises the possibility that Prince Henry, like his father, was not absolutely certain that Essex's rebellion was

in support of the Stuart succession. More importantly, it demonstrates that the 2nd Earl of Essex was still a figure who could stir instant emotion, even hostility.

Snow believes that the incident on the tennis court, which he implies occurred about 1610, precipitated the cooling of the relationship between the 3rd Earl and Prince Henry (42-43). The supposed affair between the Prince and the Earl's wife, he maintains, merely jeopardized their relationship (42). David Lindley has more recently examined the evidence for such an affair, and concludes that "there is no contemporaneous evidence of such an attachment" (64). All evidence of such an affair postdates both the event itself and Frances Howard's 1615 trial for the murder of Thomas Overbury (Lindley 65-66). Regardless of a cooling of the relationship between Prince Henry and the 3rd Earl of Essex, Henry's circle continued to associate the young Prince with the dead Elizabethan hero. The 3rd Earl attended Henry's state funeral as the chief mourner's assistant, and carried the Prince's gauntlet at the Westminster Abbey interment ceremonies (Snow 48).

Events in the decade following Henry's death ensured that the memory of the late Earl would not die with the Prince who shared his ideals and associated himself with the Earl's powerful image. Those who, with Henry, shared a commitment to the anti-Spanish policies of the Elizabethan war party found

much to condemn in King James's response to various crises beginning in 1618. Between the death of Prince Henry in 1612 and the beginning of the Thirty Years War in Europe in 1618, several texts presage the vigorous oppositional use, incipient in Carleton's poem and continuing in the formation of Prince Henry's court, which marked appeals to the memory of Essex in the 1620s.

Supporters of Prince Henry such as the poet William Browne, for example, continued to employ Essex to espouse policies which conflicted with those of the King. Later in 1613, the same year in which he published his elegy on the death of Prince Henry, Browne once again mentions Essex, including him as a Protestant hero in the Vale of Woe in Book 1 Song 4 of his Britannias Pastorals. Browne associated with other poets such as George Wither, whose poetry "voiced a fierce Protestant patriotism" and who was arrested in 1614 at the behest of the Earl of Northampton, who apparently feared anti-Spanish demonstrations during the summer Parliament (Norbrook 209). Browne celebrates Essex as "A braue, heroicke, worthy Martialist" (Hazlitt 120), recording his fate by a retelling of Ovid's story of Procris and Cephalus. The poem blames "Enuies poyson'd shot" for the Earl's demise (Hazlitt 122), Envy here representing Sir Robert Cecil (O'Callaghan 172), and ascribes the Queen's death to sorrow at the death of Essex. The poem does not accuse Sir Walter

Raleigh of complicity in the Earl's death, instead uniting the two men in the Solitary Vale and reconciling them "within the nostalgic vision of Elizabethan militancy" (O'Callaghan 170). Browne's union of Essex and Raleigh prefigures Raleigh's own attempt on the scaffold to link himself with Essex, and the attempt of writers in the 1620s to join Essex and Raleigh in a united Elizabethan front. Browne renews the association between Essex and the late Prince Henry, including his elegy on the Prince's death in Book I Song 5.⁸ A decade later, in the growing opposition to the proposed match between Prince Charles and the Spanish Infanta, Essex appears yet again.

III. Essex in the 1620s

The late Earl was very much in evidence, in fact, following the events of spring 1618. James's Protestant son-in-law Frederick, Elector Palatine of the Rhine, assisted the Bohemians against the Imperial army when they resisted the attempts of the new Habsburg King, the Catholic Ferdinand (soon to become Holy Roman Emperor), to impose political and religious orthodoxy. In September 1619, over James's strenuous objections, Frederick and his wife, James's only daughter Elizabeth, accepted the Bohemian crown, which the rebels maintained was not hereditary but elective. Southampton, among others, urged James to provide military assistance to Elizabeth and Frederick when it became evident

that the Emperor would invade Bohemia. Southampton had been prominent among the courtiers who supported Princess Elizabeth's 14 February 1613 marriage to the Protestant Frederick (Akrigg, Southampton 167).

When James, reluctant to become involved in a religious war in Europe, finally agreed to sending aid to Frederick and Elizabeth in the form of volunteers who would assist in the defense of the Palatinate (CSP Venetian 16: 274),⁹ Southampton, the leading candidate for the command (CSP Venetian 16: 275), began to gather about him men such as the 3rd Earl of Essex, "which gave the proposed expedition the colour of an Essex revival" (Adams, "Protestant Cause" 301). The 1620 reprint of "T.L." 's apocalyptic 1597 tract Babilon is Fallen (Adams, "Protestant Cause" 293), dedicated to Essex, indicates that the late Earl's reputation as an anti-Spanish crusader was gaining fresh momentum. Despite Southampton's great expenditure in preparation for the campaign (CSP Venetian 16: 137), James refused to appoint him commander, saying, in the words of the Venetian ambassador, "that it is not fitting that a member of his own Privy Council . . . should engage in a matter in which he does not wish to declare himself openly" (CSP Venetian 16: 275). James did not allow Southampton to command or participate in the venture for another reason. A close business and political ally of Sir Edwin Sandys, "recognized as the principal leader of

opposition and anti-absolutist trends in the Commons from the Parliament of 1604 to the mid-1620s,"¹⁰ Southampton by this time had gained a reputation for republicanism (Heinemann, "Rebels Lords" 66). Simon L. Adams contends that the Spanish faction at Court awakened James's suspicions of the Earl and warned the King not to give Southampton command of an army ("Protestant Cause" 301). The Venetian ambassador alludes to this when he writes that James disliked "to entrust such great powers to such a man" (CSP Venetian 16: 275).

When Frederick lost the Bohemian throne at the Battle of White Mountain in November 1620 and a Spanish army invaded the Palatinate, Frederick and Elizabeth fled into exile in the Netherlands, and there established a court. Southampton continued to agitate for English military intervention. He also strongly opposed the Spanish match--formal negotiations had begun in March 1617 (Adams, "Protestant Cause" 272)--by which James hoped to facilitate the peaceful restoration of the Palatinate. After the adjournment of Parliament in June 1621, Southampton and MP Sir Edwin Sandys were arrested, charged with "collusion in Parliament and plotting with the King and Queen of Bohemia" (Adams, "Protestant Cause" 315). In a 21 July 1621 letter to Sir Dudley Carleton at the Hague, John Chamberlain speculates that Southampton was arrested because of his attention to the plight of the exiled Frederick and Elizabeth: "We cannot ayme at the cause of his restraint.

You may perhaps guesse better on that side, for some thincke yt was for looking too much that way" (McClure, Chamberlain 2: 390).

As the crisis over the King's foreign policy escalated in the early 1620s, Southampton's old associate Essex appeared yet again. From the invasion of the Palatinate in 1620 until the collapse of the Spanish marriage negotiations and England's commitment to war against Spain in 1624, the war party in England and in exile with Frederick and Elizabeth in the Netherlands employed the figure of Essex to criticize James's unpopular policies. D.R. Woolf, while arguing persuasively that Jacobean "Elizabethanism was not always a whip with which to beat the Stuarts," acknowledges that those unhappy with the course of James's foreign policy promoted a version of Elizabeth as Protestant warrior which might be critical of that policy ("Two Elizabeths? James I and the Late Queen's Famous Memory" 190, 184). Prominent in the anti-Spanish literature of this period, and particularly in the genre of "'ghost' literature" (Woolf, "Two Elizabeths?" 185), in which a host of dead Elizabethans variously criticize James and offer him advice, is Essex, the man whom James two decades before had praised as "the most noble knight that English land has ever begotten" (CSP Venetian 10: 26).

Robert Earle of Essex His Ghost, by the "Puritan" polemicist Thomas Scott, who had escaped abroad following an

arrest warrant for his anti-Spanish Vox Populi (1620) and continued to publish his inflammatory material in the Low Countries,¹¹ was printed on the Continent early in 1624 (Limon 84). Bitterly condemning "the miserable and distracted present estate" (A2r) of England, the work decries the Spanish Match and urges a declaration of war on Spain. Verna Ann and Stephen Foster write that Scott in this pamphlet is "pretending to speak with the voice of the second earl of Essex himself" (312). Scott well exceeds "pretending," for much of this first-person address wherein Essex dispenses advice from heaven consists of near-verbatim reproduction of Essex's own lengthy Apologie of the Earle of Essex, addressed to Anthony Bacon and written in 1598 in defence of the Earl's opposition to peace negotiations with Spain. The publication of this document during Essex's confinement in 1600 had contributed to the Queen's increasing displeasure with the Earl. Scott reads Essex's Apologie very carefully more than twenty years later, and adapts the work for comment on the crises in the final years of James's reign.

Scott clearly had the text of Essex's Apologie in front of him as he composed Robert Earle of Essex his Ghost. Although the Queen suppressed printed copies of the Apologie in the final years of her reign, the document survives in numerous manuscript copies (Hammer, "Fulke Greville" 174), and was published again in the first year of James's reign.

Scott's Essex says that he sends this declaration and admonishment "agreeing with my Apology which I left behind me on Earth, in mine owne defence, and for the good of my Country, after my discease" (2). When Essex composed the Apology in 1598, he was not expecting to die soon, and hoped very much that the document would influence his country, and his own position in it, while he was alive. Only with the benefit of Scott's hindsight did Essex leave the Apologie for posterity.

Again and again, Scott's Essex quotes the Apologie. At one point he actually refers the reader to the passages in the Apologie wherein he has previously proven "by vnanswerable arguments" that all treaties with Spain "were both vnsafe and dangerous" (10). The passages describing his military expeditions to the Netherlands, Portugal, France, Cadiz, and the Azores are virtually identical with such passages in the Apologie. Of the 1589 Portugal expedition, whose aim was to assist Dom Antonio, pretender to the Portugese throne, Scott's Essex says, "Also, considering the enemy against whom I went, an insolent, cruell, and vsurping Prince, that disturbed the Common-peace, and was a generall enemy to the liberty of all Christendome; and in particular aspired the Conquest of my Country" (5-6). The wording in Essex's 1598 original is very close: "Secondly, of the enemies against whom I went: An insolent, cruell, and vsurping nation, that disturbed the

common peace, aspired to the conquest of my countrey, and was a generall enemie to the libertie of Christendome" (A3r). Of the Cadiz expedition, Essex had written in 1598, "wee brought away and burnt his shipping, and destroyed his Sea prouisions: yea, we put him to such chardge and losse, as he shortely after played banckrupte with all his creditours" (A2r-v). The words of Scott's Essex are very similar, for he says, "we burnt his best Shipping, and brought away his Ordinance, and some Ships, destroying his Sea provisions: Yea, put him to such charge and losse, as he shortly after played Bankerupt, with all his Creditors" (7). The account of the violent storm which thwarted the Islands Voyage of 1597 is virtually identical in Essex's Apologie (B2r) and Scott's ghost pamphlet (7). These are only a few examples of the extensive use which Scott makes of his primary source.

While Scott finds Essex's Apologie in its original form remarkably suitable to his purpose, he revises it in several ways for his own work. While extracting those portions appropriate to his objective, he entirely omits the defensive material in Essex's text, and thus omits all mention of the late Elizabethan political strife which occasioned the Apologie in the first place. Scott's evocation of a "Faery-Land, in the dayes of yore . . . vnder the Gouvernment of that glorious Queene, of eternall memory" (13) disguises the bitter late Elizabethan divisions over the prospect of an Anglo-

Spanish peace. Scott's Essex marvels that when James peacefully and lawfully succeeded to the English throne, he then suddenly concluded "an inviolable league, with that ambitious King Phillip of Spaine, that neuer made league with my King, Prince, or State, but for his owne end and aduantage" (4). The 1604 Anglo-Spanish peace was not "sudden," for Elizabeth and her ministers had been working towards it in the final years of her reign. Scott unites Queen Elizabeth and Essex against Spain, although in so doing he produces a "doppelganger" Queen, "Elizabeth the Protestant warrior and uncompromising enemy of the Antichrist of Rome and his minions" (Woolf, "Two Elizabeths?" 184). This version of Elizabeth contradicts earlier Jacobean portrayals which emphasize the continuity of the two reigns.

Some of Scott's revision involves the continuation of Essex's own explanation of his career to include later events such as his campaign in Ireland, which occurred the year following the composition of the Apologie, and his unfortunate end. Scott transfers credit for the conquest of Ireland largely to Essex, the Earl having "brought their Ring-leader (that notable Rebell Tyr-oen) vpon his knees" before he was "forced" to return to England and his commission granted to an inferior who received the honor after Essex had "broken the Ice aforehand" (8). Scott's attempt to connect Essex's "success" against the Irish rebels with his resistance to

Spain entails some manipulation of chronology. "Essex" places his commission as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland after the arrival of Spanish aid to the Irish rebels (Scott 8). Although the Irish rebels had negotiated with Spain for aid while Essex was Lord Lieutenant, the Spanish forces under Don Juan Agila did not actually arrive in Ireland until September 1601 (MacCaffrey 440), long after Essex had returned in disgrace and when he was already dead. It was not Essex who sent King Philip III's brother "backe with an English-Flea in his Spanish eare," as Scott's Essex would have it (8), but Mountjoy. Scott's tract transfers credit for the English success in Ireland to Essex, despite Thomas Gainsford's 1619 True and Exemplary, And Remarkable History of the Earle of Tirone, in which Gainsford, who dedicates the book to the Countess of Essex's third husband the Earl of Clanricarde, is rather critical of the Earl's actions in Ireland.¹² The tract only glances at the Earl's controversial return from Ireland, and says little of his treason, briefly blaming his enemies for incensing the Queen against him and inducing her "to signe the hastning of my Death" (9). Although Scott's saintly Essex says he will forbear to speak of his former injury, having forgiven those involved, he nonetheless remarks that "my God hath beene throughly avenged of them all, (my enemies,) to their dishonor and disgrace on earth" (9), probably referring to Raleigh's execution and Salisbury's painful death. The

Essex of the 1603 "dispairinge Complainte" against Raleigh provides a precedent for the magnanimity of Scott's Essex, who forgives those he alleges destroyed him.

Scott's work, dwelling little on the tension between Essex and his rivals and evoking the glory days of Queen Elizabeth, clearly contrasts that vision with what Scott sees as the lamentable state of England in 1624. As Woolf notes, however, Scott takes care to flatter James as well ("Two Elizabeths?" 186) and, although condemning the Spanish match, does commend James for marrying his daughter with the Protestant Frederick (Scott 13). He aims his most virulent and insulting criticism not at the King himself, but at the "false hearted Counsellors at home, and fawning Forraine Embassadors" (2) who have led the King astray. Although both Scott's pamphlet and Thomas Middleton's notorious play A Game at Chess create and respond to popular discontent, Scott's purpose, unlike Middleton's, is not satirical but didactic (Woolf, "Two Elizabeths?" 185). At times, however, Scott only thinly disguises criticism of James. He accuses the King of wasting the royal treasury in pursuit of peace with Spain more than Elizabeth did in pursuit of war, only later hastening to blame those of James's "Nobility, and Councell" for allowing him to be so abused and misled (13).

The reach of Scott's Essex may extend beyond his didactic pamphlet. Jerzy Limon identifies Scott's text as a source for

Philip Massinger's play The Bondman, performed by the Queen of Bohemia's company before Prince Charles on 27 December 1623, and completed in manuscript after mid-November 1623 (62).

Limon maintains that by the time the play reached print in March 1624, Massinger had made significant alterations to the text based on some of Scott's political pamphlets, including Robert Earle of Essex His Ghost (65). Massinger revised the play in early 1624 when Prince Charles and Buckingham, formerly strong supporters of the Spanish match, repudiated their position following their return from Madrid in October 1623 without the Infanta. The "major addressee" of the revised Act I is the House of Commons rather than King James, whom Massinger in The Bondman aims to convince to grant sufficient money for a war against Spain (Limon 76).

Massinger's play both draws upon and is a part of the anti-Spanish propaganda of early 1624. Some of the passages from the Bondman which Limon identifies as originating in Scott's Essex (78-79) are among those passages virtually identical with Essex's 1598 original. Limon does not mention the relationship between Essex's Apologie and Scott's pamphlet. Massinger's identifiable use of other propaganda of the period, however, suggests that he had before him Scott's text rather than Essex's.

Another anti-Spanish tract which Limon identifies as an influence on the Bondman (65), and which portrays an Essex

critical of James's foreign policy in the 1620s is Vox Coeli, or Newes from Heaven, published in 1624. Although scholars sometimes attribute this work to Thomas Scott, John Reynolds admitted authorship of this and the similarly controversial Votivae Angliae, and spent two years in prison for his offence (Adams, "Protestant Cause" 460). Reynolds published Vox Coeli in 1624, one of "the many anti-popery, anti-Spanish tracts that poured from the presses in 1624" when Buckingham and the Prince's changed policy towards Spain "gave a new freedom and respectability to the anti-Spanish cause" (Heinemann, "Drama and Opinion in the 1620s: Middleton and Massinger" 240). Internal evidence demonstrates, however, that he composed it in 1621, for it mentions Sir Francis Bacon as "now Chancellor" (Reynolds 34). Reynolds dedicates the tract to the members of the 1624 Parliament, which indicates that he revised and updated his earlier work. He seizes upon the opportunity of the Parliament to urge expenditure for war against Spain and assistance to the King's son-in-law in regaining the Palatinate. Between the composition of Vox Coeli in 1621 and its publication in 1624, Frederick's situation had worsened considerably, for the Palatinate collapsed completely in August 1622, and a month later an Imperial army stormed Heidelberg (Adams, "Protestant Cause" 330-31).

Reynolds's Vox Coeli, or, Newes from Heaven presents a celestial dialogue between Henry VIII, Edward VI, Elizabeth I,

Mary I, Anne of Denmark, and Prince Henry. They discuss at length the treachery of Spain, with a vindictive Mary (allowed into Heaven only by forgiving Protestants' prayers) defending Spain and Catholicism. Prince Henry's words about an alliance with Spain encapsulate the message of Vox Coeli which Reynolds hoped to impart to Parliament: "To trust to the promises of Spaine, is to commit our selues to the mercy and protection of a Lyon who will deuoure vs" (15-16). The late Earl of Essex, although not one of the heavenly interlocutors, appears several times in conjunction with such anti-Spanish rhetoric.

Carole Levin notes that being in heaven seems "to have caused problems with Elizabeth's memory" (171), for she has forgotten the Earl's rebellion and his death as a traitor. Essex appears as Elizabeth's "noble Essex" when she speaks of his part in the 1589 Portugal expedition (9), and she does not mention the controversies surrounding some of the Earl's military activities in the 1590s. Either Reynolds or the printer seems to have made an error in the praise of Essex in 1596. As Queen Elizabeth enumerates English victories over Spain, she includes, after Drake and the Armada in 1588, "my Essex at Calais in 96" (35-36). Although Essex had hoped to provide military assistance to the French at Calais, which the Spanish besieged in April 1596, the Queen vacillated about sending aid and the town fell to the Spanish (Hammer, Polarisation 249). After the Cadiz victory Essex tried to

persuade Elizabeth to keep the army from that expedition intact for the recovery of Calais, but, despite the City of London's support, Elizabeth resolutely refused such a bold operation (Hammer, Polarisation 254-55). The Earl saw no action at Calais and received no glory; on the contrary, "the debacle of Calais remained a lingering embarrassment," and some in France blamed Essex rather than the Queen for the loss of Calais to the Spanish (Hammer, Polarisation 261). "Calais" in Reynolds's tract should probably read "Cales," which the English frequently called Cadiz.

While Reynolds has Queen Elizabeth include Essex in her catalogue of English triumphs over Spain, he makes no reference to Essex's relationship with King James. Thomas Scott's Essex, however, reminds the King of his support for his claim to the throne: "The lawfull succession of your now King, when I was amongst you on earth, I neuer questioned, but maintayned, and was euer ready to maintayne (with dint of my Sword, if neede had bin) his Title, against whomsoever offered to question the same, as was, and is well knowne to his Maiesty" (2). The tone is slightly threatening, and may actually have reminded King James that he had once had doubts about Essex's ambitions. Other comments about Essex in the 1620s cast the late Earl in a dangerous role. In February of 1623--perhaps the height of criticism of James's foreign policy in the 1620s--the Justices of Staffordshire wrote to

inform the Privy Council of the imprisonment of one Randolph Lacy, "a tailor from Newington, near London, and a stranger in Staffordshire," for seditious speech about Essex (CSPD James 1619-1623 496). Lacy, according to the witnesses who reported him to the constable, had said "that had a certain person been living when King James came to England, he would never have been King" (496). When Lacy revealed that the one to whom he referred was "no one of His Majesty's progenitors," the witnesses sent for the constable (496). Lacy admitted under examination that he had referred to the "the late Earl of Essex," although he denied ever having known or spoken with the Earl (496). The Justices of Staffordshire were concerned about the origin of this rumour, but Lacy refused to divulge his source (496).

Scott's Robert Earle of Essex His Ghost, Reynolds's Vox Coeli, and the Randolph Lacy incident demonstrate the variety of ways in which those discontented with late Jacobean policy might invoke Essex's name. Some took financial advantage of the renewed interest in the late Earl's military career. Verna Ann and Stephen Foster observe that the London stationer Cuthbert Wright, "with an eye on the market for Essex memorabilia," reprinted several Essex ballads in 1624 (313). The executed Earl was on the minds of some men at the universities, for in mid-July 1622, shortly before the collapse of the Palatinate and the three anti-Spanish Paul's

Cross sermons it inspired (Adams, "Protestant Cause" 331), the student Simondes d'Ewes reports that "a treatise concerning the Earle of Essex troubles before his death" occupied his thoughts (Bourchier 87).

James's early April 1624 announcement of an end to the negotiations with Spain did not signal an end to portrayals of the late Earl of Essex. While writers no longer called upon the Earl to criticize James's foreign policy, they found a new purpose for which to resurrect him. When James eventually did send aid to the Dutch against Spain in the summer of 1624, with Southampton and the 3rd Earl of Essex among the colonels, Gervase Markham, who had been attached to the Essex circle in the 1590s,¹³ published Honour in His Perfection, a panegyric containing histories of the noble families of the expedition's leaders. The biography of the 2nd Earl, rehearsing in detail the by-then familiar litany of his military accomplishments, contains some of the most extravagant praise of Essex since Markham's own lengthy 1597 poem Devoreux, on the death of King Henri III of France and of Essex's younger brother Walter at Rouen in 1591. Markham dedicates Devoreux to Essex's sisters, Lady Penelope Rich and Dorothy, Countess of Northumberland, and devotes several stanzas to lavish praise of the Earl, calling him "The Columb which supports a royall masse" (13). While Markham tells Essex that he dares not to "take in hand

the legend of thy deeds" (13), he certainly takes in hand to do so in 1624.¹⁴

Markham's rehearsal of Essex's military campaigns is a familiar one, although his praise is excessive even by the standards of Essex admirers. He describes the 1591 meeting of Essex and Henri IV in almost rapturous terms: "me thinkes I see the enter-view, or first meeting betweene the King and this Earle, where the Flowers of England and the Flowers of France mixing together, gold so reflected vpon gold, that the Ayre and the Earth seemed all to be one flame, and the Sunne blushing, shrunke to see his glory ecclipsed" (29). The description of the Cadiz expedition makes no mention of the controversies which surrounded the voyage, and, as Hammer notes ("Myth-Making" 641), Markham encourages the 3rd Earl of Essex to imitate his father and "be the heart of this warlike preparation" (33).

While Scott's roughly contemporaneous Ghost tract apports some of the credit for the conquest of Ireland to Mountjoy, Markham gives Essex sole credit. The actions which infuriated Elizabeth--the ineffectual skirmishes in Leinster and Munster, the failure to engage Tyrone in Ulster--become shining triumphs (32). Markham describes the controversial truce with Tyrone as the Irish rebel's "fearfull Capitulation" (32). According to Verna Ann and Stephen Foster, "Ireland was almost invariably remembered as at least in part an Essex

victory" (315); in Markham's Honour in His Perfection, it becomes entirely an Essex victory. Markham's brief biography of Essex ends abruptly after this account of the Earl's Irish campaign, with no mention of his disgrace, rebellion, and execution, other than the statement that the Earl's fortunes were then "gouerned by new constellations" (32).

While James's policy towards Spain--whether or not he would wage active warfare after ceasing negotiations for the unpopular Spanish match--was as yet unclear when Scott and Reynolds produced their pamphlets, James's decision to provide military assistance to the Dutch elicited Markham's work. Margot Heinemann writes that Markham's Honour in His Perfection, with its glorious remembrance of the late Earl of Essex, is "not simply backward-looking nostalgia for the past feudal-chivalric status of the nobility," but rather propaganda to attract volunteers and money for the campaign ("Rebel Lords" 84). The 3rd Earl of Essex, it seems, had little trouble recruiting volunteers (Snow, Rebel 119).

Markham's designation of the late Earl of Essex as "Robert (surnamed the Great) Earle of Essex" (16) is the culmination of the remarkable, complex, and often contradictory process by which Essex in the quarter-century after his traitor's death emerged a hero. The Earl of Southampton, whom Markham praises particularly as Essex's "faithful comrade-in-arms" (Heinemann, "Rebel Lords" 84-85),

died of illness on 10 November 1624 during the Dutch campaign, and King James himself was dead less than six months later. With their deaths they joined others who made crucial contributions to the formation of the Essex legend: Queen Elizabeth, the Earl of Devonshire, Sir Robert Cecil, Prince Henry, Sir Walter Raleigh. By this time, however, the Essex myth had a momentum of its own.

IV. Conclusion

It became apparent in the first decade of King James's reign that the anti-Spanish Protestant militarism for which the Earl of Essex had become emblematic was incompatible with the King's developing policy towards Spain. If James himself had not publicly promoted the image of Essex as hero rather than traitor, the Earl's afterlife might have been a very short one. Instead, the King's own favourable comments upon the popular Earl established the necessary foundation for later criticisms of James's foreign policy. He sought, for various reasons, to turn the Earl's continued popularity in 1603 to his own advantage, and to fix a particular interpretation of the executed Earl. By the time of Prince Henry's investiture as Prince of Wales, however, James's control over Essex was slipping. Although the Earl had served various purposes for James--buttressing his popularity with his new subjects, condemning Sir Walter Raleigh--he did not

simply disappear once he was no longer useful and when his militaristic and anti-Spanish reputation began to clash with the policies of the Rex Pacificus. With James's early promotion of an image of Essex as hero, that image gained a foothold, allowing later writers to turn it against James in an effort to redirect what they believed was misguided foreign policy. Essex's usefulness in this regard at the court of Prince Henry and during the political crises of the early 1620s ensured that the Essex myth would survive into, and serve other purposes in, the years--and crises--to come.

Notes

¹ Southampton was one of the Prince's six assistants in the Ben Jonson masque Barriers, which inaugurated Henry's public career (Strong, Henry 141). The Earl also danced in the 1611 Jonson/Inigo Jones masque Oberon, the Fairy Prince (Strong, Henry 173).

² Henri IV had purposefully cultivated the young Prince, in whom he inspired "what can only be described as a kind of hero-worship" (Strong, Henry 72). Henri's politic conversion to Catholicism in 1593 had not disturbed the 2nd Earl of Essex, and it did not disturb Prince Henry a decade and a half later. Henri IV's theological position remained "ambiguous," and as young Henry grew up the French king "represented an ideal to which he aspired, that of the warrior-king leading his people in the field of battle" (Henry 72-73).

³ Henry Peacham (1578-c.1644) is best known as the author of The Compleat Gentleman (1622), "a classic of courtesy literature" (Young, Henry Peacham Preface, n.p.), but was author also of various treatises on drawing, several epigram collections, essays and pamphlets on a number of issues, and, besides Minerva Britanna, a manuscript collection of emblems called Emblemata Varia, completed in 1621. According to Young, Peacham "gained a small footing" at Henry's court, for Peacham mentions that he had frequently drawn Henry's portrait while the Prince was eating or talking with his followers (Peacham 23). Both Young (Peacham 23-24) and Strong (Henry 59) suggest that Peacham may have held some minor post in Prince Henry's household. In Minerva Britanna Peacham calls Adam Newton, Henry's tutor and later his secretary (Strong, Henry 26-27) "my singuler good frend" (39).

⁴ Gerschow describes this striking impresa in some detail. The Earl "covered a shield with black velvet and embroidered with small black stones; in the middle were printed the following words in golden letters: 'Nulla par est figura dolori'" (von Bulow 25).

⁵ Richard C. McCoy maintains that Francis Bacon was the primary creator of the entertainment, a spectacle which represented Bacon's plan to reconcile Elizabeth with Essex, Bacon's patron, while "allowing Essex to exult in his martial image, its dangers neutralized by a ritual of devotion" ("A dangerous image" 313-14). Hammer argues more recently that "the true provenance of the 1595 Accession Day piece must be seen in a corporate effort within Essex's circle, and probably also under his personal direction" ("Upstaging" 45). He maintains that the primary aim of Essex's entertainment was not "the customary display of obsequious loyalty or

glorification of the Queen" ("Upstaging" 53), but rather a drama about the Earl himself by which he sought to gain political momentum and pressure Elizabeth into committing England further in Continental affairs (Hammer, "Upstaging" 53-54).

6 Both Young ("Imprese" 72) and Hammer (Polarisation 203) speculate that Essex's impresa at the 1595 Accession Day tournament was that consisting of a diamond and the motto "Dum formas minuis" ("While you form me, you deform me") (Young, Imprese 58). The exact date of this impresa, however, is unknown.

7 Codrington claims, for example, that at the very moment that the 2nd Earl lost his head, his son, then a student at Eton College, Cambridge, "did suddenly, and distractedly, leap out of his Bed, where he was fast asleep, and to the Amazement of all, he cried out, that his Father was killed, his Father was dead; and not many Hours after, the sad News was brought, which so early in the Morning, and so strangely, he presaged" (213). He offers no source for this anecdote. Although Vernon F. Snow believes that Codrington fought with the 3rd Earl of Essex in the Civil War (389), this is not readily apparent from Codrington's Life. Codrington relates stories about the 2nd Earl of Essex which appear in no contemporary sources.

8 The Welsh poet William Herbert of Glamorgan, who had praised Essex in Englands Sorrowe almost a decade before, contributed commendatory verses to Book II of Browne's Britannias Pastorals (O'Callaghan 183).

9 According to an 11 June 1622 dispatch from Girolamo Lando, the Venetian Ambassador in England, James resented the efforts of the princes of the Protestant Union to involve him in the conflict, "especially as he does not consider the war in Germany defensive, but both directly and indirectly offensive" (CSP Venetian 16: 273). Lando further reports that ultimately the King "was prevailed upon by the majority of his ministers and by the representations of the Ambassador of Bohemia himself, who by means of his suavity always tries to bring him round to his purpose" (CSP Venetian 16: 274).

10 William Browne dedicated his Britannias Pastorals to Lord Zouche, who in 1614 had secured Sandys's election to Parliament (Norbrook 211).

11 Thomas Scott (c.1580-1626) was rector of St. Saviour's in Norwich in 1620, when the controversial publication of Vox Populi, with its attack on the Spanish Ambassador Gondomar, occasioned his flight to the Low Countries in January 1621

(Adams 449-50). He had published the work anonymously, but fled England when the printer revealed his identity (Lake 813). Both Adams and P.G. Lake suggest that Scott, judging by the ease with which he established himself in the Low Countries (as a chaplain in the English forces there and then as minister of a church established in Utrecht in 1622) and continued to publish controversial material, had sponsors in high places (Adams, "Protestant Cause" 450, 452; Lake 513). Scott may have been an agent of a "Palatine connexion" embracing, among others, the Queen of Bohemia and Maurice of Nassau, as well as the anti-Spanish Earl of Pembroke and his allies on the Privy Council (Lake 813-14). Scott continued to publish material against Spain and for military assistance to Frederick until his murder at the hands of an English soldier in 1626.

12 Adams links Thomas Gainsford with the search for the author of Vox Populi in 1610, and suggests that his "Vox Spiritus or Sir Walter Rawleigh's Ghost" (1621) is a continuation of the controversial Vox Populi ("Captain Thomas Gainsford, the 'Vox Spiritus' and the Vox Populi" 141). Gainsford too engaged in "Bohemian propaganda," and his corantos were part of the campaign to involve England in the defence of the Continental Protestant cause (Adams, "Captain Thomas Gainsford" 144).

13 Markham (c. 1568-1630) was born in Nottinghamshire and probably educated at Cambridge (Ross iii, v). He was a soldier in the 1590s and sought patronage from the Essex circle, dedicating his early poetry to Essex supporters (Ross iii-iv). He dedicates his 1595 poem on the Revenge's last fight to Mountjoy, Sussex, and Southampton, among others (Poynter, A Bibliography of Gervase Markham, 1568?-1637 40), and his 1596 The Poem of Poems, an attempt to "express the erotic imagery of Solomon in terms of the fashionable love sonnet," to Essex's step-daughter Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Philip Sidney (Poynter, Bibliography 40-41). Markham later diversified his interests and made several attempts at drama. Other works include the romance The English Arcadia (1607 and 1613), his continuation of Sidney's work. He wrote more than a dozen "practical manuals" on a great many subjects: "husbandry, domestic economy, rural occupations and pastimes, military training and discipline . . . horsemanship and veterinary medicine" (Ross iii-v).

14 The exact nature of Devoreux is unclear. Markham indicates on the title page that it is a French poem by Madam Genevieve Petau Maulette which he has "paraphrastically translated into English." Robert Allot refers to the author of the French original in the first of his two dedicatory poems, but this original has not been discovered. F.N.L.

Poynter identifies Genevieve Petau (1561-1643) as daughter of a staunch Huguenot and wife of John Gordon (1544-1619, who studied in France and attained an office at the French Court through the influence of Mary Stuart ("Gervase Markham and Genevieve Petau" 600). King James upon his succession to the English throne appointed Gordon (who had repudiated Mary, Queen of Scots) Dean of Salisbury (Poynter, "Gervase Markham" 600). James's daughter Elizabeth "was placed under the tuition of his wife Genevieve," and the Gordons' daughter was raised with the Princess (Poynter, "Gervase Markham" 600). Poynter suggests that Walter Devereux may have figured but briefly in the original, and acquired an expanded role in Markham's translation as the poet sought Essex's patronage ("Gervase Markham" 600). Devoreux contains several lines which scholars have attributed to Christopher Marlowe (Kuhl 313).

Conclusion

Although some scholars have pictured the 2nd Earl of Essex as an "incompetent lightweight" (Hammer, Polarisation 5), recent historical scholarship has challenged that view, considering Essex's importance in England in the 1590s. This literary/historical study demonstrates the importance of Essex in the reign of James I, a period in which the Earl appears over and over again, although few scholars have recognized the significance of references to Essex in this period.

Foregrounding documentary evidence of a range of discursive texts--letters, ballads, poems, plays, speeches, trial transcripts, scaffold speeches, political tracts--the study explores the complex and contradictory process by which the traitor Essex emerged at the end of James's reign a hero, a hero who would, in succeeding decades, be called upon to criticize the Stuart monarchy and encourage support for the Parliamentary army in the Civil War.

The heroic version of his father upon which the 3rd Earl of Essex and others capitalized in the 1640s was largely the product of the Jacobean period. King James himself was tremendously influential in the formation of the heroic image of Essex which eventually turned against the Stuarts.

Although James himself may have suspected the loyalties of Essex and his fellow rebels, he initially favoured the

survivors of the Essex faction and family, encouraging the appearance of works which portrayed the executed Earl in a very positive light. The controversies surrounding several of these early Jacobean works illustrate the complexity of sympathetic references to Essex at this time. While early Jacobean England was unquestionably more accommodating of positive portrayals of Essex than had been late Elizabethan England, the fate of the Earl was still an incendiary topic.

The enlistment of Essex in the fall of Raleigh was extremely influential in the formation of a heroic image of Essex in early Jacobean England. Essex, alive, could not bring down Raleigh; dead, he contributed significantly to Raleigh's fall. The favourable representations of Essex associated with Raleigh's disgrace contributed considerably to the emerging portrait of Essex as hero.

Evidence as early as 1603 and George Carleton's "Devoraxeidōs Liber Unus", however, suggests that praise of the anti-Spanish Essex might eventually prove incompatible with James's policy of pacific kingship and religious moderation. The very acceptance with which sympathetic portrayals of Essex met in the early Jacobean period laid the groundwork for later portrayals of the Earl which would criticize the King. Even when James himself later withdrew support for a heroic image of Essex, the court of Prince Henry perpetuated that image. By the 1620s and the crises over the

Spanish match and the plight of Frederick and Elizabeth in Bohemia and the Palatinate, Essex had become a source of criticism of the first Stuart monarch.

James's death in 1625 by no means spelled the end of the heroic image of Essex which had developed in the previous decades. By 1625 this image of Essex had momentum enough to survive the death of James, who had been so crucial in its inception. The heroic image of the 2nd Earl of Essex exploited by the 3rd Earl and others in the 1640s thus did not appear suddenly at that time. The 2nd Earl of Essex, though long dead, had never really gone away. Paul E.J. Hammer ends his discussion of Essex's political career from 1585 to 1597 with the observation that the post-1597 disintegration of Essex's career "is another story in its own right" (Polarisation 404). This study ends with the death of James in 1625 and the close of the period which really formed the Essex who was to be invoked in subsequent decades. Representations of the 2nd Earl of Essex in the next reign, and beyond, are other stories in their own rights.

Appendix

Translation by Dr. Margaret Drummond

The First Book of Devereux

A (more) boastful report was going throughout the Spanish cities that at last the terrible Dragon had yielded to the fates. And what greater anger of some divinity, great Dragon, has torn you away from us? What chance begrudged the race of Englishmen such great honor? For neither the great snares of the sea lay hidden to you, nor the meandering of the shore; nor could the signs of the uncertain pole deceive you on the lands--rushing from sunset to sunrise through inhospitable lands, accustomed to countries and the plains of the ocean in your wondrous voyage, daring to ravish the wandering waves and to copy the swift orbs of the pole: the stars astonished accompany (you), a new Phoebus. Another such too was Typhis, and another such the Argo which bore chosen heroes--and other such great golden sails traversed again the cerulean sea from Phasis. The Ocean, which embraces the vast orb now holds you as his own delight. For you a cavern of living pumice is laid open; for you the nymphs of the Ocean labor at a pleasing final tomb, sending forth lamentation; the marveling Nereids conduct your funeral rites. Strew purple flowers over the becalmed seas, and pour forth from filled arms both violets and lilies! At least we shall placate the waves of the sea with these gifts; at least we shall heap his tenuous shade with these offerings.

As this report first glides to the Spanish shores, they exult in their hearts continually; they prepare magnificent feasts; they bring forth rejoicing with great spectacles. Throughout all the holy shrines of the saints the priests pour forth their song with their customary murmur; they call on Francis and Didacus [?], and their native James; and furthermore, to whatever holy men deceitful Rome granted them to be so as a reward and placed their false names in heaven--to them are given their special honors zealously: and they importune their household gods and the genii of places, burdening heaven with their empty vows. And meanwhile they celebrate their solemn triumphs thus according to custom, and they boast of the broken spirits of the Britons, and that all hope has died for them. They vaunt (more) swollenly of the collapsed strength of an unconquered race because of Dragon alone. But the hope of all the Saxons does not rest in one broken belief: the English land nourishes men greater than Dragon. There springs up and rises froth the new glory of the age, the East Saxon; the more illustrious virtue of our ancestors shines forth, gathered in one man. One war-like hero has restituted to us

magnanimous leaders and the lengthy examples of our forebears to us. Oh hail your great glory and the illustrious hope of our race! More than in arms, Dragon yields to you in courage; in one man the coming age will recognize innumerable Dragons. Oh, loftier than all--equaling in combat the comrades of Scipio's fatherland, you have also granted (us) divine aid with the force of Mars; and you have broken the wild counsels of the Spanish race with equal authority. It is an effort to aid the fallen Rome of Scipio; but your Mars-like virtue brought it about through your fated hand that England should not groan, oppressed by a harsh war. May you complete the work begun; drive off the madness of the Spanish race, and put forth the virtue of your flourishing right hand. The sword of Devereux will give relief in the midst of wars to the English (under your auspices, oh Queen). Arduously he defends the native battlements with his excellent arms; and thus he attracts the Spanish cities, with the courage of Hector and the strength of Hercules. And already, a greater Jason, he leads greater lines of battle through the greater perils of a Western sea. Nonetheless, a single trumpet of his fame was lacking; and a memorial of his remarkable deed was missing. We are, alas, conquered, because an Orpheus was lacking to our Minyans; he who made gentle the waters with his singing, and who calmed the savage swollen floods of the raging ocean with his song; who then gave to external fame the victorious ships and the arms and the men in his lasting song. What efforts of the heroes, what brave deeds would have prevailed, and what life, led in striving in armed labors, and outstanding virtue, exercised in the greatest wars?--Unless there should be one who is able to make one's fame equal to his deeds by singing, and add an eternal life to things which shall perish. That glory arises for the Minyans from a Thracian song, and they draw a life of triumph from the poet.

You too, great Comrade; your deeds among the greatest dangers; the deeds in your life among crowns of triumph; and all your virtue now to be boasted of beneath the pole have deserved the Maeonian lyre. Greater muses will seize on your martial deeds in arms; but, nonetheless, if meanwhile songs that have been begun struck on a smaller lyre please you, and it please you to listen to a Briton; if labors in war worthy of Tartarus should be agreeable, I shall begin. The English phalanx, driven with more noble sails, enters the ocean where huge Atlas, spread over the water of the Western sea, and admiring the waters forced into a narrow channel, at length discloses lands, and comes between them (more) reluctantly; the British Minyans here turned their glorious fleet--all excellent in courage, excellent in arms--but first in the battle-array led the more blessed hero East Saxon, great of soul, sprung of the blood of the Mandeavillans. Under so courageous a master, the nobility were accustomed to bear warfare and its harsh labors

even from their early years. They break off their sea journey. Pressed by a nobler burden, a gentler Atlas now puts forth his pinnacles. Once they take up their sails and their courage, they draw the fleet along the golden banks of the Tagus and the sacred shores which the descendants of Vincent dedicated to their deity. Spread far and wide along the Spanish shore, they look for places where it is to be invaded, with what blow the English phalanx may smite the trembling people. Just so tillers of the fields gaze at hail hanging in the clouds, worried about where it may fall, what ploughed fields it may attack. That threat stays for a long time hanging in the unstable air; set in motion it (22) strikes the fields with a huge roar; and makes horrible ruins of the mature grain. It overwhelms them with misfortune, and the farmers' hopes are laid waste. Meanwhile, even as golden Phoebus shines within the battle-line of stars, so the loftier descendant of the East Saxons glows in his shining armor. Thus Jason among the heroes, thus huge Achilles, destroyer of Troy, displayed their courage in war, thus they went forth in arms. And just so, when proud rage goads the free lion, he fiercely circles around bulls enclosed within their dwelling, with a terrible roar from his wild heart; and violently he opens an entrance by which he may appease his fury with bloodier slaughter, overcoming his rage against his glorious enemy as he is about to overcome him. Not otherwise, the Descendant of the East Saxons, whom great cares agitate in his heart, reflects upon great torments in his soul; in his heart lies captured Cadiz. Therefore he surveys all the approaches to the Spanish shore, examining where he might first burst forth onto the sand, where he might first be at hand to gain distinguished fame in a duel, and to use his courage against the pitched camps.

An island, near the edge of the Ocean, very famous by report, lies inwardly beyond the edges of the coast of Summotis [Summos?], known earlier to the Greeks by the name of Cotinusa; the Roman settlers called it Tartesso, the Tyrians, Gades. There stood huge temples with marble columns, sacred throughout many years to the religion of their forebears, devoted to the great divinity of Amphytrion's son. After wandering throughout all the lands, he recreated the golden age; and a very harsh avenger, he endured the immense stains of the world, and haughty masters; it is said that at length he had penetrated to the remote Gades, that here he had put an end to his great labors. Therefore they established in this place the cult of Hercules, and smaller sanctuaries. On the threshold of the temple hang the huge spoils from the horrendous pillage of Cleonae [Cleon?]. The interior displays the glorious deeds of his descendants, created by the efforts of artists in gold and ivory. The boy Hannibal stands fiercely before the altars, and with silent sacred vows he

dedicates to you threats against the people of Rome: cruel and hostile wars; truly, he breathes forth ire, of his own will attending to the bloody vows of his father. On another side, a harsher Caesar stands forth in a rare image, and Hammantior [?] glows in solid gold. But as he clings with his gaze and his heart to the marble tableaux, he sheds tears upon the image of Alexander. Then, having meditated upon I know not what vow, he murmurs it in the ear of Alcides, as if he wished to seek out high counsels for vanquishing the world from this master alone. Above, Alcides' noble descendants held their senate, and filled the temple with silent majesty. Among their number arose a visible throng of gods; they are all seated, accustomed to seek in these temples the beginnings of all things, according to their ancient custom. A little bit further away (closer to an interior recess) there is placed an awe-inspiring image of reality. In this place the labors of Hercules are displayed in part, and a huge bulk to be marveled at, a colossus placed above, had worn Hercules' garments. The splendor of his [its?] divine countenance and its [his?] limbs, even like the hero's limbs, then still disdained mortals' honors. But truly, the Tyrians, carried over distant seas, were standing before the altars, and Balbus the founder of the city, distinguished Balbus. But the Tyrians, arrayed in a line, are in attendance with garlands for his lofty head; they heap the altar for him and for whatever holy spirit that may watch over it with incense; they worship Amphytrion's son with great honor. And in their prayers they seek peace for their city, so that Alcides might aid their eternal undefeated walls. The fates refused; and so did the crags hanging with great artifice beneath the Colossus of Hercules, conscious of fate. For under the jewelled bulk of the internal shrine stands an old man [ancient], and recounts the ancient stories carved in marble of the temple--a mysterious incantation, wondrous to say. "The Greeks placed these trophies of Hercules here, having vanquished the orb; one day they will fall, defeated, under the strength of the English Hercules."

And now this fleet held itself at a Spanish inlet pondering many things in their hearts. Should their journey, once begun, be carried on further to the Indies, or should it break off? The way is surrounded by dangers everywhere, and they hesitated, caught in great agitation, and the awesome spirits of the English grew fearful. Just so is a hare, intercepted on hostile ground, fleeing the barking madness of dogs; trembling he drinks in the sound with his ears, and, surrounded by the harsh pack, he hesitates breathless in his dread of the furious throng. Meanwhile a rumor was going around, spread abroad throughout the English troops, that here in a port had been brought together the wares which India had stored up, to be exchanged for gold: ships, arms, men, provisions; that they were place here, collected from

everywhere and brought together at remote Gades. Therefore, eager of heart, the Saxons press on their fleet to the shores of Cotinusa with prayers for driving winds, and stop at length on the sand of Tartessa.

Unfold to me, oh Muse, the glorious men and their battles, and how greatly they vanquished the fleet and the city in warfare. Raleigh goes harshly into battle, distinguished in courage and warfare, and burns to break up the joined battle lines. Vere follows, rushing into battle, struck with great love of praise, called by his true virtue. The nobles light torches, and go forth of their own accord. The triremes, about to attack, were standing before them: and while Vere brought himself forward to the midst of this place in glorious armor, receiving and giving back horrible blows in harsh combat, he fortifies himself with his own power. He drives back the gathered Spanish under thick blows. But he is even more on fire with extraordinary zeal for battle as he rushes along against all; he is surrounded by numerous enemies. As soon as the hero Devereux sees this, he flies to him; while he desires to join his heroic might to Vere's, he was arousing the Spanish forces turned against him. Now the war-machine, once lit, twists forth flame-bearing balls, and the broken air resounds with powerful shouting, and frequent thundering goes back and forth in turn. Just so when cruel peals of thunder in the sundered sky toss the clouds in a horrible battle, the heavens clash together, their forces divided against themselves and are shaken by the much-wandering flame from a blazing aperture in between frightful battle-lines; and a huge bolt of lightning, having collided against lightning, is broken up. But the late voyager in the stormy night gazes awe-struck at the wars suspended in the sky. Thus they array themselves for battle; thus the ships cast themselves forth among the flashes of lightning; thus flame flies, thus fire whirls around. The Descendant of the East Saxons moved more ardently amidst the blazing din, and rushed against the enemy. With his ships, here he overthrows Brueda, there Oquendus. Their destroyed ornaments and sails are torn up by sulphur globes, and their broken oars float on the waters; his craft, however, was going through broken and widespread ruins against the enemy triremes in horrendous battle. Whatever mutilated craft leaps up again closest to him in the waves, now that their ranks have been broken, its side is shaved off with a single blow; its cast-off oars are whirled around in the middle of the sea. While the mutilated craft totters, a twisting charge of sulphur comes, and suddenly hurls it into the abyss. A clamor arises toward heaven; the half-dead sailors intone a sorrowful song for their own funeral. Here the victor Vere, there Devereux, disperse the triremes, broken in a disastrous battle. As the Descendant of the East Saxons saw the Spaniards repelled in the first combat, he brought

greater spirits to the fighting, exerting increased efforts in his courage.

In the narrows of the sea, the Spanish battle line of the Apostles (thus that unclean barbarian country, unmindful of high heaven, profanes their holy names) places its armored ships. And now, more vigilantly, the hero Descendant of East Saxons flies hither; hither flies Vere, having repelled the Spaniards. Hither hurries the hero Sussex, excelling in courage, whose heart glory has transfixed with a great goad. His courage shines more greatly in the uncertain contest; and others follow his great daring, greater in courage. And you, Clifford, hasten hither, having called upon the winds in your prayers; and likewise the others, whose sublime souls drew them to arms; and courage urges them on amidst dangers. For all, the single love of war stands firm, and the single determination to trade one's life for glorious praise. And now on another side, the Phalanx burns more boldly to hasten their passage; Southwell with lofty hearts, and Carew, whom the fame of glorious battle spurs on, headlong bear their hearts into battle, breathing forth combat, and in a great contest, they seize the Spaniards. When Howard, son of Norfolk, saw all these rushing headlong into so praiseworthy a contest, just anger and sorrow drew forth the youth's tears. "Alas," quoth he, "what invidious orders vex me, to tarry in my camp, unmindful of what is fitting--and while others reap the fair harvest of the labors of courage, shall I alone wage a war without blood? Did I come to look at the hostile shore of their land? Not thus did my parents instruct a degenerate hand! My youth will show forth nothing unseemly; nor will my race of heroes ever be disgraced by my vice!" He spoke thus; and he leaps forth from his own craft, and climbs into another, which was bravely going forth, so much more proudly than yours! And now he was nearing the battle, whither the greatest ardor pressed him, to add his strength as a comrade. Andrade stood in his way as he hastened; he hopes to contend here with Raleigh and pursuing him to cut off his ship. Spurred on more by this goad, Norfolk presses on, and complains that his craft is moving slowly, and more harshly blames its master-- "Will it be sluggish at such a time," quoth he, "and will the Spaniard be gifted with English booty? Or shall we come after the battles, and in the final fray? Let us hasten, and, oh, set me in the midst of dangers!" He had spoken; but the craft was moving, driven forth by a favorable wind, and seeks out Andrade. Already Andrade was drawing himself away with stealth; already he trusted the safety of the wind. Howard did not suffer this; and clinging to the back of the fleeing boat, he calls it back, and defeats it, its flight forestalled. And truly, having cast flaming clouds through the air, the raging craft thunders; Andrade's mast is torn out by its roots; as too late he bemoans his

fate, and it lashes the seas in its enormous fall. Then, truly, Andrade, vanquished, gave himself up to the authority of the victor, and sought peace in his entreaties. Loftier than this prize, and more feared by the Spaniards, Mowbray brought himself forward in sublime armor. Now the allied troops came together, from all sides. The force of the battle, not to be borne, wearies the exhausted Spaniards.

But, truly, from another side the hero Descendant of East Saxons more powerful in arms bears the signals of victory and rages in battle; and spurred on by these enormous calamities, wheresoever he wishes, he draws combat with his swift battle-line. Meeting him, Lopas, Valienta, Ricalda are prostrated; the ships beak of Marolus [?] is broken up in an immense flash; his ship's beams lie torn apart; his top-sails, rolled under the depths of the sea, are whirled around and around. Then its dislocated belly, torn by multiple wounds, opens up to the unrestrained waters. The waters bear sway over the craft, which, twisted in the inlet of a whirlpool, the sea devours, having seized it in a horrendous cleft. They flee apart, astonished by the sight. Thus timid doves flee in trembling flight as an eagle approaches; he, however, lashes his wings, moving his hostile arms, he bloodies his lifeless adversary, and tears it up with his merciless claws. Not otherwise did the victor Descendant of East Saxons attack in great striving with his immense arms, whom martial virtue and divinity drew forth into battle.

Behold, however, Philip, carried toward the enormous struggle, turns, and moves over the sea more slowly with sluggish sails, and stands huge in his tower above the marmoreal sea. The Descendant of the East Saxons had caught sight of him; and in a loud voice he addresses his ship's master: "Do you see how haughtily the flower of Spain is sailing, after one enormous struggle, and is flaunting himself to the fleet? And does so great a faction, a remnant from the Spanish downfall, survive, though his force, about to rush into his contest, had covered the English seas with Cantabrian sails? He has threatened horrid disaster for the Britons, and destruction in an unavoidable war, and everything harsh and dire is being prepared for the conquered! Is our youth about to return as the laughing-stock of public opinion? Shall I test the virtue lost on British coasts; now it will be returned to its own shores. Now, at last, turn my craft, and let my anchor fasten me closer to Philip." He spoke thus, and the ships clash together in a mutual flash in the narrows of the sea. Struck by a harsh whirlpool, Philip's flanks thundered. There follows the roaring of the ships and the groan of those falling. Everywhere flames and smoke take away sight, and suddenly they envelop the sky in an evil gloom. Now under broad daylight, black night lies on the wings of the navy; it

brings darkness and smoke; among bloody arms through fires the Descendant of the East Saxons goes with more daring against his enemy. The fates lay open an approach to the battle for the one who is about to be victorious. Just as once Alcides followed Cacus, so he follows Philip who pours forth smoke and fires in vain. Essex the victor was going forth against the opposing ship, appearing more horrible than was his wont: over his face sweat streams in gushes; the wild storm of sulphurous dust which was brought forth strikes him in the eyes, and lashes his face with scattered powder. He stands, black in his armor, as once did Memnon. More ardently he strives with might to attack the departing craft, nearly vanquished, and now to carry it off. There is no delay, no rest; he himself is everywhere, full of pride. Now a cannonball, now a javelin, now arrows, twisted in the whirlwind, fly, cast with powerful force; and raging flames, scourges of sulphur, are hurled at the fearful enemy. Overwhelmed by the inequitable fates and by their violence the Apostolic Celtiberian flees madly, having cast aside his arms, hoping to cheat the victorious ship of the Descendant of the East Saxons of a shipwreck. This you may consider one catastrophe redeemed by another; and as the furies of the sea bear down on his lot, the miserable man [?] is turned in his blind flight to the nearest shores, where, shipwrecked, he clings to the unsafe sand. The Descendant of the East Saxons follows, and with a terrible outcry clashes his victorious arms above him as he falls. Behold, however, the earth and the sea hurl him down menacing the Spaniard with his final destruction, having devised the certain destruction of a haughty race, and a war not to be won. Struck near the unstable earth, the ship's belly gapes open; waters penetrate through cracks. But fire presents the greatest horror; and it assails the middle of the sea with sudden flames. For flames have ripped the craft apart from within the dark caverns of the ship; the force of the black gunpowder stored below spreads rapidly, untamed; clouds of waving flame twist toward the sky. Amidst the sand, the fire smokes, and the stars are struck by the ship's-beak blown apart. The gangways, the decks, the helm go up in flames; boards fall into ashes; ropes and rudders have fallen, and the ruined prows are tossed about in the air. The Descendant of the East Saxons, transfixed by such an omen was benumbed, uncertain what such monstrous happenings portended. What such great portents may bear, whatever plague they may disclose--great hero, confide in god: the sky fights on your behalf, and the ocean; moved, your father sends forth armed waters for you from moist caverns; and fighting in the deep, he follows your army with an aiding storm. With you as leader, the impiety of a profane cult, about to be punished, falls broken; oppressed faith rises under so great an avenger; nor do you carry on wars without great holiness. With you as leader, the elements are armed against the sacrilegious enemy.

The seas, the sky, the earth assist you with their aid. The flames brought by your trumpet-call are your servants.

On another side, while Vere is tossed about in the middle of the sea, Vere goaded by unconquered Mars against Iris, a great sharer in so great a combat, his armor fittingly dirtied with sulphur. He sees that the triremes are returning, one after another, in aid, bringing men and arms together, and that the troops broken up by battle are arraying themselves again. Vere can not bear this in his heart; and eagerly he betakes himself to the midst of the triremes and the hostile fleet. There appears a vision of a pitiable sudden disaster: the bodies of truncated men are tossed about on the wind, and their limbs fly about, hurtling through the air. So greatly he rages; so greatly he bore himself; so greatly Iris cries out his deeds in the din.

By chance a ship of the Sicambrian [Northumbrian] race was borne on the dangerous sea, and rushed falling into the shoals, and is struggling in the great mass of the sandy bank. And as it clung there, caught, twin triremes enclosed it, and they strike the Sicambrian with double terror. Now he struggles fiercely, in vain, on the supple sand; now, surrounded he implores the help of his comrades; but they decide their own fates; unawares, they struggle in their own battles. They caught him in their middle with their hostile craft, impatiently calling his comrades in aid too late; the triremes leap upon him in battle. From his lofty stern, Howard sees the Sicambrian struggling with watery terror between the twin triremes; his heart lit up with enormous fury; and he swelled with menace, and his virtue brings forth anger. "Alas," he said, "brave youth, what fate has placed you, a youth yet untried, in harsh danger? Will such great courage perish, overwhelmed by undeserved destruction? I shall either snatch you from so many enemies--or I shall submit to a shared destruction, a shared fate with you. Nor let the Spanish hope to mock captive virtue with their frauds and deceits! So may the Thames receive us, brought back home, in our abode, and may it restore us, once returned, to our friends!" He spoke, and he moves around the Spanish, avoiding them in a huge circle, leading his craft through the safe seas; but suddenly, reversing their sails, the sudden appearance of lightning ships flies toward the triremes and breaks them up with unbelievable force, and pounds them with frequent blasts. While lightning flashes, they seek flight; but, truly, driven by blind terror, they are soon cast onto the unstable shoals to which the craft of the Sicambrian was clinging entrapped. And now they ply their weary oars on the same waters; now they move their tired arms over the same mire. And Howard, having cast in a tow-rope to recover it, draws out the craft unharmed, and the Sicambrian exults in

safety. And now his spirits return; and an unexpected hope has suddenly brought him to safety; and confidence arises in his weariness. Then, truly, Mowbray and the Sicambrian join together with shared fury and redouble their menace. At length, their spirits broken, the triremes lie vanquished.

But in the middle of the sea, the foremost Sicambrian [Northumbrian] cohort is borne in the midst of the battle-line; fury and anger armed their right hands; and the savage deeds of the tyrant sharpen their grim hearts in battle. As Ludovic rages in arms, the phalanx of Batarus, and that of Sicamber, severe in battles, attend him, faithful in their hearts.

Meanwhile a horrendous fury is borne upon the entire sea, and everywhere the impious race falls broken in the great battle. and as though a tempest has broken forth, the rage of the sea roars with destruction; now more grimly the open sea drives asunder the floating cross-beams, boats, yards, prows, masts, oars on its angry waves. Thus the ship-wrecked fleet is spread about over the whole sea, and the spirits of the Spanish go to ruin; every assault is overthrown. Under the vast abyss, ships, arms of men, shields, and Spanish riches revolve in the waves.

As the Descendant of the East Saxons saw the Spaniards vanquished in the prodigious battle, their blood poured forth on the stagnant waters, their boats in a shapeless mass vanquished with immense force, the mean remnants of war, struck by terror, about to rush to their fate in madness, he lifted up his enormous spirit, he longed for greater deeds of daring, as he felt himself led by divinity manifest. Burning with the idea of a greater battle, he calls the foremost leaders. They stand in a strong battle-line, their swords drawn, and they bear weapons smoking with the recent slaughter, and shields pierced from huge blows. He himself begins to speak thus more loftily from his place on the height of his ship: "Wherever virtue and divinity call us to arms, there let us follow! All delay must be broken off, nor let my words delay your courage! Turn the battle swiftly toward the city walls! Even now there is confusion in the city, just as if it had been captured. The emptied riches of the orient, the emptied shores under the falling sun, boast of the rapine of both poles; and India is turned into swollen Gades. This band threatened destruction for you and your fatherland; no doubt that this shore will give leaders and masters to the Britons? We--characters mean of soul, we--a doomed throng, subject to the Spanish yoke. Under the haughty commands which the Roman Jupiter has brought down from his elevated court, one is disposed to bear anything! At last, recognize what haughty masters England been about to have as their slave!

Now, the vindication of your fatherland is claimed by your weapons. Quickly, bring scaling-ladders; here, turn your efforts to this! We go into this battle, sent forth by a great divinity."

Meanwhile, the city walls are shaken with great grief; mothers lament with dreadful groans and womanly wailing. A few youths hold the walls, cast down in their spirits, and no longer place their hope in arms. Fathers stand dejected and silent; and the ruins of the city sting them, stunned. A filthy priest with torn vestments goes about, and vainly flutters about the altars of the gods above. Behold, little brother Soto, seized with verbosity, collects a multitude throughout the city, through public places, through houses--and bids one to expect certain deliverance: "I bring sure tidings, citizens," quoth he, "be confident; the divine mother of God will keep our city safe." The chiefs of the city, seeing the tottering fates of the city, were holding an unexpected council-meeting about the harsh state of events. Little brother Soto is present in its middle drawn in with the throng. As he is granted the opportunity to speak in their presence, the prophet pours forth these words from his holy breast: "The divine mother of God, ever the most pure virgin, the glory of the world, queen of our city, who delights our hearts, terror of demons, intermediary for the wretched, brighter than the moon, more glowing than the star of Phoebus, ruler among the troops of angels, star of the sea, repose for the weary, gate of Paradise, safe harbor, sweetness, life and hope--our Mary herself, manifest before my eyes shone in light, and advised me and taught her prophet the future. 'Lo,' quoth she, 'youth of a heretic race will come to destroy your city, and to ruin your fleet. But the youth which comes from a heretic race will fail (33); I myself will strengthen Gades with my great divinity. Protection not to be doubted lies in my words.' Have trust, citizens, the divine mother of God will protect our city. If the thunderbolts of the Roman Thunderer had any power, the race of Britons stands marked out for our yoke; their queen, who is to be cast down from her haughty throne, is carried off. Their people lie cast down, their covenants broken, and their laws abolished, their royal rights abrogated; England remains as prey to her captors. And unless the Pope should throw forth in vain his ire to be ridiculed, and worthless thunderbolts from the Tarpeian heights, now, now Britain is to fall to our strength."

Meanwhile, a very sad messenger had passed through the fearful city, and throws himself upon its leaders and disturbs the senate. "Lo," quoth he, "oh citizens, is there time for you to give heed to the tales of your brothers, as in the midst of your inactivity so much madness reigns? The fleet of Cotinusa has been overwhelmed in a great battle. Fire and water are

ravaging the ships. Now the ocean is revolving your riches under its swell. Alas for our fate! The British fleet rules victorious over the seas. The mean relics of battle, impelled by dread, are swept headlong to their destruction by flames. And the English phalanx holds the plains, and exulting, threatens the city, an enemy more fierce now that the fleet has been vanquished." When he had spoken thus, their spirits were troubled; and the city about to fall in the fearful tumult was seen to be giving itself up to its own destruction. And now the cavalry wing, sent forth from the gates, flies into the midst of the tumult. And once again the defeated consider their own wounds. Resisting the arms in their hearts, they take up their weapons again as with fearful hands they attempt battle, with divinity against them. But the drawn-up legion of the English was holding the plains, and they brought forth their troops, victorious in wars, and their dreadful arms; and they brandish swords dripping with blood. As the battle-lines first clash at the signals of attack, and the melodious trumpets sounded forth with their bloody roar, wild Bragamonte enters the plain, forthwith pushing back the English with extraordinary force. He cuts down Cole and Cox, and the Allan twins. Almonace [?] wounds Pattison, Alameda Farrell. Mott and Archer fall under the spear of Hurtado. The Descendant of East Saxons is borne first into battle; he flies first in the battle-line. In a twisted whirl, his spear goes through the air, and is thrust into the broken armor of Alameda. Forthwith he is overturned by his wound. Thereupon terror now strikes the Spaniards. Hurtado, glorious in arms, falls; Bragamonte rushes to the dark shades. The aroused love of praise has seized the Descendant of the East Saxons as he rushes among the fierce contests. Under arms perished great souls and the unconquered power of their right hands. Forthwith the battle-line is thrown into disorder; as their horses fall, the Spanish battle-line turns back, and struggles to take the city walls. There is no safety on the plain; all hope in the city is cut off. But the fleeing troops could not escape the harsh right hands of the English, even if they were to fly swifter than the wind and the shafts of arrows. With their ranks mingled, all flee and are put to flight. Fear bore some, and the eminent glory and the conscious virtue of their deed bore the others headlong on the plains. As the Spanish wing mingled with the British rushes toward the walls, their aroused courage is turned to fury. Almonaces [?] falls; Barnosa and Bravo perish, Alvaros and Gomez, of Velasquez twins of one mother, are prostrated on the wing: Alvarus (Alvarez) falls under a thrown spear, Gomez under a cannonball, struck through his hollowed temples with liquid lead. Once more anger and sorrow goad on the courage of the Spaniards. Their hostile right hands grow red with blood. Carew, Davidson, [Araeus-Harry?], and [Aclon-Haclough? Hayclough?], who, exulting in the extraordinary power of his

right hand, was shattering Spanish lances, fell by the hand of Torquemada. Distinguished by his courage, Winfield was going against him, and having gathered up his strength, swings round his ash spear. Even now he himself drives the weapon hard from above. Torquemada is struck down, transfixed through his chest, with the thrust weapon. The ardor of war seized him amidst the battles. Nevertheless, as Winfield is inflamed rushing in arms against the opposing enemy, behold--an iron sphere flies, driven through the air in a whirl; suddenly it had overthrown him, his leg struck with a wound. But he, not tarrying for the help of the healing art, went more ardently in arms because of this goad. And while they intermix their varied efforts on the plains in changeable battle, both troops rushing on at the same time are near the fearful city and strive to break in through the gates. But the cohort of the city, fearing lest by chance the English phalanx make their way in with hostile arms, left behind their shut-out knights to a pitiable death. The Descendant of the East Saxons, calling his cohorts back from the slaughter, quoth, "Let us cease! Now greater battles call us as we delay, and Mars prepares greater undertakings! Let him be the bravest of the brave for me, whichever of you will first have inflicted a triumphant attack on the city walls, whichever in his daring will plant his brave footsteps first on the disordered walls!" He spoke thus, speeding up, and he turns the attack against the city wall, he himself among the first, the greatest creator of daring, flying in front, the leader in the first battle-line, he eagerly burns to obey his own command; in the first rank, he strives to place victorious arms on the captured walls. As he hastens, at the same time he begins to speak thus to his friends, as they call him back: "And not to be oppressed so far in your reputation by such great crime! Truly, does not the enormous disgrace of our name touch you, and our infamy, not to be removed in any generation! Lo (he said, showing where men, testing the boulders at a high projection, were forcing their steps along the impassable walls), how the fear of death forces these along the impassable rocks! And no doubt the reward of the honorable world will give us lesser spurs in our battle? Fear scales the impassable walls; will courage go thither more sluggishly?" He spoke thus, and busies himself, about to attempt to reach the summit of the impassable wall. Honor more sublime granted him wings, and the breath of reverent fame rouses him. Now he stands out, drawn to the highest summit of the wall, and, huge, he thunders above the captured citadel. Thus Scipio the Elder, the conqueror of Libya, defied the citadel of Tyre, when he restored his fatherland, broken by the thunderbolt of Mars. Carthage bristled in unexpected destruction, and the Roman race flourished, their destiny changed. Thus the son of Vespasian one day thunders along the citadel of Solymae; unconquered Judaea bore her

punishment under a powerful yoke through his vengeance. That powerful avenger of crimes threatens most cruelly; he overwhelmed the city, fierce in his fury and destroyed it. Not otherwise, the victor of Cotinusa, Descendant of East Saxons, exulting on the city walls, shook the whole city, and calls back the fleeing troops in a loud voice, rebuking them: "Whom do you flee, and whither? Your special enemy is on the land and on the sea, and tests your courage, and calls you forward on his part! Did your hearts hope that they could overthrow our native hearths thus? And to extort our sceptre with a powerful hand? To impose Spanish laws on the conquered? To agitate the English Lions on their throne? Nay, rather pay the deserved penalty for your crimes with blood!" He spoke, and leapt into the city, thunderstruck by sudden terror, his flank surrounding him in a faithful band. A part of them cast themselves down with a leap; a part climb the city walls. Others break down the gates, and bring forth destruction with their swords; the gate-posts tumble as the hinges are broken. Fellow troops join them. Within, the Descendant of East Saxons brings forth slaughter more cruelly with no discrimination. Trembling Spaniards hide in secret recesses. But just so, a wolf, breaking into a full sheep-fold, shakes his bloody maw; their troop falls in sudden death; raging, he snatches them, and savagely he spatters his bloody maw with gore, and inexorably crushes them. Thus the Descendant of East Saxons appears in the fearful city, whirling around his bloody weapons; when the occasion demands it, he is present on every side, to be feared by the throng; and bears his unexpected weapons on all sides; a more divine ardor in his heart. He attacks, and a great divinity (37) leads him in arms. On another side, Bagnell accumulates enormous slaughter of Spanish blood. Mendoza, Coranus, Aranda have fallen by his hand; he rushes under arms among the thick battle-lines, wherever his conscious virtue and wherever his fearless right hand bore him as he fought. All press around the one man; battle lines surround the one man; when grief and shame called those driven back to arms once more, he is outnumbered; he stood unafraid. "If there is any virtue in your heart, if there is any boldness in war, bring your troops hither! Know the right hand of an Englishman! Nor shall I move, outnumbered! From this damned outnumbering, a greater glory rises for me," quoth he. And he draws his sword, and thrice he revolves it around his head, as there is a falling away on both sides; and he enveloped it the midst of the two flanks and in the midst of the torn groin of Caranza. Others approach; he is overwhelmed by weapons on all sides. As he felt his strength falling away from many wounds, he now spread a way for himself with his sword through the heaps of carnage, and just made it back in safety to his own English. By chance, the victor Descendant of the East Saxons was following the repelled Spanish. As he sees the countenance of Bagnell,

disfigured with much blood, his face dripping in strange ways, he said, "Hail, great-hearted one! So let it be! And let the enemy purchase our blood with such great slaughter! Let us wage the war for such a price! Meanwhile," quoth he, "receive the prizes of warfare; and whoever, in a warlike manner had inflicted himself with bloodied arms,--you will rise, created a knight; an added honor adds courage."

There was a quarter in the middle of the city, which a long neighborhood of contiguous houses enclosed as if with a wall. Drawn hither on wheels, a machine of huge bulk is placed before a square, just like a chimera with menacing countenance. It might have torn out huge citadels by their roots; or it might have shaken the mountains; or it might have torn out mountain-ashes from the ground--so great is its innate fury; it hurls forth such infernal dread through the fires from its bowels; it vomits such rage from its mouth. An armed troop, which was to conceal this artifice, stood in front of this constructed device; prepared with weapons they would look as if they were on the point of making an attack. Hither the English phalanx betook itself, protected by their arms and by divinity. And now they joined in battle on all sides against the hostile standards; in the first clash, the back of the Spanish is turned, and their trickery is revealed; the huge chimera with its fearful countenance came in sight, and threatens a thousand deaths. And next to it stood Tortolus, who will bring forth fire from the sulphur powder, and he attends to the flames. And thrice, after he applied his hand, he snatched forth flame from the sulphur; thrice the dutiful flame pressed itself back on the sulphur powder; thrice those threatening them fell broken; when, forthwith, daring savage, surpassing in courage and powerful in his right arm, flies forth, and having seized Tortolus, transfixed him with an enormous wound, armed with his sword between his flanks and his groin. And he grasped the wheels of the balanced chimera, and having drawn its mass around he turns it backwards with small effort. Now, turned around, the machine terrifies the enemy as they flee backward. Now they are mindful of this crime and their unspeakable arrogance; now the sulphur, about to cast down its own masters, seizes on flames wantonly. Forthwith Cotinusa shakes with the din; the furthest Atlas mountains give forth the sound again. A flaming ball cast through the air with the force of lightning, hisses horrendously, raging with its scourge of sulphur, having devastated men, having devastated the roofs of houses in its horribly resounding flight; then it carries off the church, which suddenly falls into ruin. On every side, the accursed mob of its evil attendants is destroyed; images, slipping down, fall in the blood of their own sacrifices; at the same time their accursed keeper was falling, and whatever useless divinity the miserable man adores. The Descendant of

the East Saxons stood thunderstruck by the calamity; and he broke the silence with a great shout, "god, god stands here," quoth he, "and this war is waged under his great divinity! Pour forth your prayers to the god who governs all wars by his will! He protects those who have piety in their hearts, and whose breasts are conscious of right, and he keeps them safe with his great divinity. Hence hastens the courage of one's heart, hence the strength poured out under arms--hither let the glory of warlike deeds return!" He had spoken, and he had pierced the heavens with the prayers poured forth.

Meanwhile, the English are victorious in the captive city. They hold all overpowered by arms. The sounding horns grow silent; they ceased the raucous clangor of trumpets. Nowhere do they see the enemy, nowhere do they see arms. A wall defends with its enclosure the Spaniards who were shaken out of their houses. as their confidence gave out with the deplorable events, a last hope drew them, driven out from all sides, to the citadel. Behold, the huge contrived machine was hidden there, about to scatter forth deadly fury, as Madravus devised a wicked deed. Turning over the deed in his mind, Madravus hid within the enclosure, and while he resolutely poised his hand in an even manner, he observed the Descendant of East Saxons with a keen eye. Thrice the dutiful flame twists itself back, and suppresses his wicked deed. He is amazed at this deceptive task, and once again made an effort, and his intelligence resumes the task; and once again his furious efforts collapsed, broken. At length, overcome by fate, the Spaniard exclaims, "We are defeated! Alas, in vain we tested the arena of battle. Even if all the chosen youth of the Spanish race should gather for me; even if the Pope should promise me deliverance, I would not hope to attack the English in this war! They fight protected by the fates: whether we exert ourselves in battles on the waves with our fleet, or whether it is determined to contend with our right arms, and to clash in drawn-up battle-lines on the level plains--and we are overwhelmed on the plains, and our fleet on the waves. Fate with its great might and its fury lays siege to us. Nay rather, at last, oh citizens, whatever remains in our poor situation--send forth men to surrender the citadel, and to seek peace again. If any deliverance remains, help our perished fortunes."

One the other hand, a different fate overwhelms fierce Winfield. He was going against the Spanish, carried on his horse, more splendid in his glorious armor. Behold, however, there is the horrendous crash of a sphere whistling through the air, and liquid lead is infixed between his temples. "We die as victors," he shouts, "it is fitting to be overcome in so great a state; let it be granted to me to have fallen in arms as our glorious victory rises forth from our blood!"

With difficulty he asserted this with his last murmur as he died.

Nor will I now leave in silence the memorable deeds of the older Howard, whose virtue rises forth from ancient blood. He draws forth courage with his counsel, and tempers ire with the intelligence of Nestor. Howard is present as reserve in the defeat of the fleet and the city, and he renews the battle with favorable auspices. The steep city walls about to fall to the English, grew red under his bloody tracks.

Meanwhile, Phoebus concealed himself in the western seas, and enveloped the weary earth with dark shade. But the stars send no slumber to the Spanish, no repose for their sick hearts; biting cares twist in their fearful breasts under the late stars. And when golden dawn had suffused the sky with new light, the legates, who had been sent at last to seek peace, now return, and bring back these mandates: "We came, oh citizens, to the zone of the victorious Briton; we saw their armed right hands; they flashed a stony light from their eyes; their serene countenances gleam more purely with noble faith; their lofty minds breathe forth honor. He brought forth to us these words from his noble mouth: 'Yield, conquered ones of the city; depart from your fortress: I wage no war with the defeated. My certain determination is to spare the conquered, to break the armed in battle. Thus bids the victor. No delay holds back the defeated; let the troops depart forthwith from the fortress and the city. And now the anger of our leaders has ceased; the plunder of the soldiers has ceased.'" Untouched, the Spanish marvel at the good faith in midst of war of the English, and their virtuous character in military service.

The English nobles seized Madravos as he stands stunned by the edicts of fate, all against his own people, as he ponders the fortunate fate of the English; he had sensed divinity manifest in the arms of the English. Gradually he divested his fierce character and his former arrogance, and with great honor thus interrupts the Descendant of East Saxons and at length begins to speak in this manner: "Hero, flower, picked from among magnanimous men, trust in your divine God; you wage your admirable wars under such great auspices, and, fortunate one, you attract a favorable fate, not to be conquered by our arms. Oh, how often I have wished to speak (it is proper for me to acknowledge the crimes I devised, since your surpassing courage and the divine power in your arms has broken the madness begun in our wars, and has drawn our astounded hearts of their own accord). Oh as many times as I attempted to crush your temples with lead, just so often your fate averted my unspeakable wickedness; at last we acknowledge that our wildness is nothing for pious arms, that nothing rests on

profane force; alas, too late we Spanish grow wise. He who thunders in vain from the citadel of Rome did not promise us this; but he captures credulous hearts with his trickery, and sends us blindly into impious arms. Alas, how often we have wished to win? How often were the Spanish, goaded against the English, hurled into violence turned against themselves, rushing headlong to their own fate! Are we deceived by the trickery of Rome, unmindful of its wickedness and unspeakable cunning? What was the value for the Papals of our trifles, purchased by death and punishment? What good did the little Holy Lamb do for those cast below the vast sea? The faith of the Brothers is false; the power of the Pope is dastardly! Does it please him that we perished to so great an extent? Seeing it, will we always be oppressed by the Roman monster? And will credulous Spain always be goaded by the unspeakable mockeries of Rome? Oh fortunate England, to be admired, with a virgin as her leader! Thrice happy the Queen of a powerful nation! Truly, we unfortunate people are driven into madness, and into wicked arms by the decisions of the Pope; and blindly in our madness we have now paid off Roman deceit with our blood. Nor do the Spanish regret so much to be conquered by so great a leader, nor were they ashamed to be broken by the arms of the virgin. Nymph, if the English land had brought you two such men, a victor would of his own accord seize the Roman citadel, a punisher with avenging arms, and would drive out of the Pope the tricks and the deceit of his dull thunderbolt--a glorious Briton in Roman distaste. Go, unconquered in your fortune! No greater glory rises forth from your arms than your clemency as war is put aside. The victorious Englishman will be sung among the Spanish as long they will celebrate Herculean Cadiz. Such great memorials will speak of your fame after you, joined with its own Hercules--but carried off by the British Hercules."

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