

## CHAPTER 2

Proselytism and Devotion to Mary: Maria Triumphans(i) Proselytism

The Queen's interest in a cult of Platonic love, although regarded with suspicion by English moralists, might have remained a harmless whim if it had not been for its connection with Devout Humanism. The precepts of Devout Humanism, that counselled women to use their beauty and grace to lead men to God, were unexceptionable at a French Catholic court, but when translated to the English court they took on associations with Catholicism. The Catholic Church was interested in using the ideas of Devout Humanism to promote religion, and I believe that under Henrietta Maria, the cult of Platonic love and the social activities of préciosité took on the colouring of the Queen's religion.

To Henrietta it must have seemed natural that piety should be connected with préciosité. She had been brought up under the direction of Marie de Medici, to whom both entertainments and devotion were the essentials of court life, and from an early age she had learnt to dance, sing, and act in pastorals; she was old enough to be impressed by the series of magnificent court entertainments in 1615 to celebrate the double wedding of her sister and brother, Elizabeth to Philip IV of Spain, Louis XIII to Anne of Austria. The French ballets de cour reached a high point in 1619, and Henrietta took part with her mother and the French Queen in the series of grand spectacles at court between 1622 and 1624.<sup>1</sup> Marie herself was interested in the Hôtel de Rambouillet and received the group at court

before Henrietta left for England,<sup>2</sup> and both d'Urfé and Camus dedicated works to her.<sup>3</sup> She was equally interested, however, in religion.<sup>4</sup> Early in the century she had come under the influence of St. François de Sales, and she sent one of the first editions of the Introduction to England as a present to James I.<sup>5</sup> With advice from Sales, Marie helped to found the first Carmelite convent in Paris in 1603, of which Cardinal Bérulle became the first director, and Marie the Patroness.<sup>6</sup> Among its Sisters were many young ladies from the court, and it was there that Henrietta was later sent for her religious instruction.<sup>7</sup> This, probably the most concerted part of Henrietta's otherwise rather haphazard education, was intrusted to the Prioress, Mother Madeleine de Saint-Joseph, who was a protégée of Bérulle and famed for her sweetness as well as her piety. A description of Mother Madeleine by the Abbé Houssaye, couched as it is in romantic language and with its touch of Platonism, suggests the kind of example to which Henrietta might have responded at an impressionable age, and which may have suggested a model for her own behaviour when she became Queen. M. Madeleine was said to be

firm without being rigid, and dignified without being proud; sweetness tempered her vivacity; her face was a faithful index of her soul; truly Heaven had bestowed upon her one of those rare natures in which delicacy is wedded to strength, and which seem born to rule, and to be beloved in ruling.<sup>8</sup>

The description looks forward to Du Bosc's belief that "When the grace of God is in the soul, the face is touch't over with the sweetness of it," and tributes in similar terms were paid to the Queen by Platonic admirers at the English court.

It is unlikely that in her first years at court Henrietta made any direct connection between her entertainments and her religion -- she obviously delighted in dancing, play-acting and singing for their own sake --

but nor did she make any great distinction between them. Certainly they took about an equal amount of her attention. It was the example of the Queen and her ladies that, according to John Evelyn, led to the King having a request put to John Cosin to compile an Anglican Collection of Private Devotions (1627), so that Anglican court ladies "(who spend much time in trifling) might at least appeare as devout, and be so too, as the new-come-over French Ladys, who tooke occasion to reproch our want of zeale, & Religion."<sup>9</sup> Thus, beside the more commonly quoted reports of Henrietta's acting and dancing in the early years of her arrival at court, we should put the reports<sup>10</sup> of her hearing Mass and sermons in her Oratory every day (p.25), of walking a mile to her chapel at St. James (p.57), and of going into seclusion for a week at a time at Denmark House, where a long gallery was divided and fitted up with cells, a refectory, and an oratory, and she and her ladies "sang the Hours of the Virgin, and lived together like nuns" (p.77). Contemporaries often mention her "entertainments and devotions" in the same breath,<sup>11</sup> and when it is reported that she retired for "the religious observances of Christmas, and then returned to Whitehall where she is preparing the ballet" (Salveti, p.103), it must have seemed to her English subjects evidence of a hopelessly frivolous mind. To Henrietta it was all part of leading a virtuous court life.

The Catholic Church was anxious to encourage the Queen not simply to give equal attention to devotional and social activities, but to place her social activities under the rule of religion in the way recommended by Devout Humanism. As early as 1626 a book written by Nicolas Caussin, La Cour sainte,<sup>12</sup> was translated into English as The Holy Court by Thomas Hawkins, with a dedication to Henrietta Marie who, Hawkins writes,

exemplarly maketh good, what diffusedly is heer handled. Let then lesser lights borrow beams of radiance from your greater Orbs; and persist you

(Glorious Example of vertue) to illumine and heat  
 our more Northern Clime, with celestiall ardours.  
 Adde to earthly crownes heauenly diademes of piety.  
 (sig. Aij<sup>v</sup>)<sup>13</sup>

Caussin (a Jesuit priest at the French court) had written the first volume of La Cour sainte in 1624 for Henrietta's brother, Louis XIII, whom Caussin served for a time as Confessor. The theme of the book is that the arts and pleasures of court life acquire virtue when practised under the rule of religion. Caussin was a Devout Humanist who was rather less optimistic about human nature than writers like Sales and Camus: the sub-heading of his first Treatise, "That the Court and Devotion are not things incompatible," gives the rather wistful tone of his work. In Book I he follows Castiglione in pointing out that the great advantages enjoyed by the nobility (riches, beauty, education, health, courage) should be used with humility and prudence, to help those less fortunate and give an example of virtue to the rest of society. He knows too well, however, the obstacles (of ambition, avarice, envy, carnal love, all discussed in Book II) to such a view. It is only a firm grounding in religion, and the daily practice of devotion according to the forms of the Catholic church, that can reconcile the real and ideal worlds, and Book III outlines the virtues that devotion brings: chastity, temperance, modesty, magnanimity. This general discussion is followed by two long "histories" exemplifying first an impious, and then a pious, court. Caussin followed this volume with three others, all translated into English in the 1630's. The second volume is devoted to full-length portraits of the Prelate, the Soldier, the Statesman, and the Lady; the third volume develops maxims of Christianity against the Prophan court. Volume IV begins with a discussion of love in all its forms: like Sales and like Montague (who may have gleaned many of his ideas for Miscellanea Spiritualia from Caussin's work),<sup>14</sup> Caussin

grounds his religious beliefs on the Neoplatonic view that beauty, goodness, and love join to make "a perpetuall circle of God to the world, and of the world to God" (IV, p.7), and he goes on to discuss every aspect of love, from the sensual to the divine, in the course of the first Treatise.

The elaborate title-page of The Holy Court, reproduced from the French editions in the English translations (v. Fig.1), shows blind Cupids being tumbled from their pedestals, allegorical figures of the arts and sciences bearing their appropriate emblems, and sedate courtiers observing a King whose humble posture puts him in direct communication with Heaven (not unlike the posture in which Charles was to be represented on the title-page of Eikon Basilike) (Fig.2). In the words of the accompanying verse:

While Great-ones vertue ioyne to noble birth  
Th'are Petie-Gods, which to the heavens aspire;  
Gods, whom the world adores, Angels admire.

Ideas such as these were already familiar at the English court, and quite compatible with the court philosophy developed by James I and carried on by Charles, but in The Holy Court they were being promoted in the interests of Catholicism. The English Jesuit priest Thomas Hawkins<sup>15</sup> translated each of Caussin's volumes as they appeared, directing them specifically to the English court by dedicating the first volume to the Queen, and subsequent volumes to close members of her circle. The translation of the second volume (published 1631) was dedicated to Edward Sackville, Earl of Dorset, who, as Lord Chamberlain of the Queen's Household, was in charge of arranging her court entertainments, and was patron of dramatists who wrote for the court.<sup>16</sup> Caussin, a writer of Jesuit plays himself, perhaps hoped his book would have some influence on English dramatists.<sup>17</sup> Hawkins thanks Dorset for having brought the book "into the fruition of English ayre," and gratefully acknowledges the many favours he has received from



Fig.1 Nicolas Caussin, The Holy Court, title-page



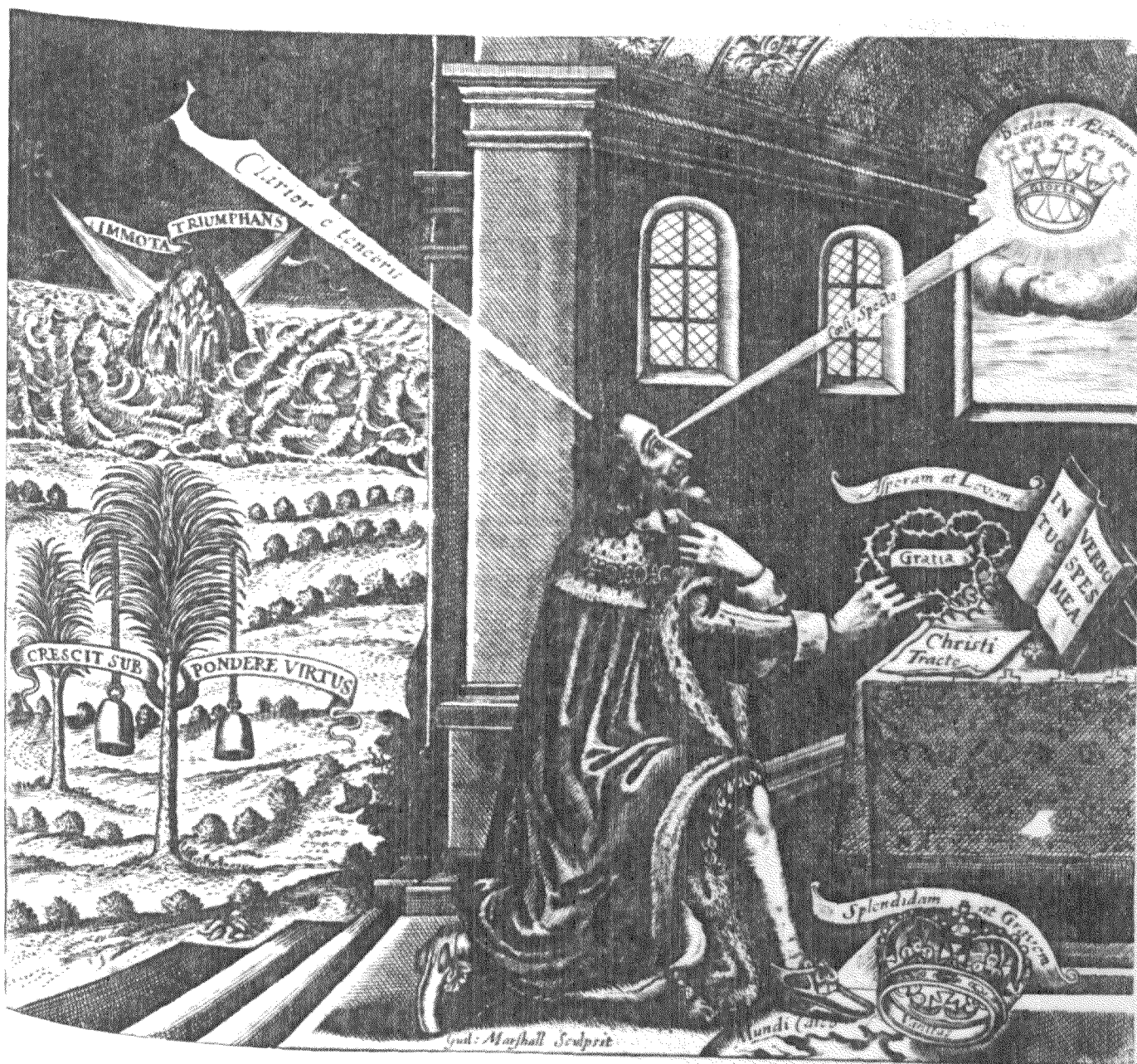


Fig.2 King Charles I

William Marshall, Frontispiece to the 'Eikon Basilike', 1649

the Earl. The 1634 edition of the translations contains a third volume dedicated to Lady Frances Weston, Countess of Portland, who was companion to the Queen in many of her masques and a well-known Catholic. Her "knowne propension to the reading of pious books," Hawkins says, has encouraged him to bring this new volume into English light. The translation of the fourth and final volume (1638) was dedicated to the Duchess of Buckingham (Katherine Manners, daughter of the Catholic Earl of Rutland), who had reverted to Catholicism soon after Buckingham's death and who by 1638 was married to the Irish Catholic Viscount Dunluce.<sup>18</sup> The relevance of these dedications to the question of religion at court is made clear by Caussin in the first volume. Amongst the obstacles to a holy court life he lists "Errour in Religion," and he entitles this section "Friendly and holesome counsel to the Nobility of the Pretended Religion" (sig. F6, p.59). He counsels adoption of a peaceful and conciliatory attitude, and the advice he gives against wrangling and rebellion would have fallen on many sympathetic ears, Anglican as well as Catholic, at the English court.

Of special interest for the consideration of Henrietta's préciosité is Volume II, which contains the section on "The Lady." Caussin says at the end of this section (II, p.324) that he had been urged to write it by his friend Camus, Bishop of Belley, whose works Caussin praises in fulsome terms. It may be that Camus, whose own works were being translated into English at about the same time with dedications to the Queen and to notable Catholic ladies (the Duchess of Buckingham and the Countess of Arundel)<sup>19</sup> saw a topical application in England of the flourishing French literature that was combining the interests of préciosité and piety. Caussin begins the section with an address to ladies, in which he calls them "the Deuout Sexe," whose "innocent charmes" are rendered safe to those like himself



who look on them "as the ideas of Plato, which haue nothing in them common with matter" (p.255). He refers to the use made by the evil spirit in Paradise to overthrow Adam by "the alluring pleasures of an Eve" (p.256); but, he says, if women's innocent charms are so powerful in wicked actions, they have an equal power for good, when directed by a virtuous soul. St. Peter judged the good conversation of women "a singular meane to gaine those to God, who would not submit themselues to the Gospel" (p.256), and he cites many examples of women who brought Christianity into "pagan" countries, amongst them Helena to Rome, Clotilda to France, Indegondis to Spain. At the same time he warns (like Du Bosc) against an austere and forbidding piety in ladies that may drive men (especially courtiers) away from virtue; as an example he cites Catherine, wife of Henry VIII, who was "infinitely pious, yea without limit," but whose way of life led to Henry's dissipation, and the divisions of Christendom that made "one tombe of two parts of the world" (sig. I3<sup>V</sup>, p.92).

In this section it is difficult to escape a parallel with the English court. Caussin begins by observing

that God hath made such vse of the piety of Ladyes for the aduacement of Christianity, that in al the most flourishing Kingdoms of Christendome there are obserued stil some Queenes or Princesses, who haue the very first of al aduanced the standart of the Crosse vpon the ruines of Infidelity.

(sig. Z<sub>2</sub><sup>V</sup>, p.256)

Among ancient examples is that of Clotilde converting Clodoueus: "God was willing to winne him to himselfe by the wayes of chast loue, and by the meanes of a wife, who should sanctify his person and house" (sig. Bb<sup>V</sup>, p.278), "and as many poore Catholikes, as were then in France, looked on her as the dawning of the day ..." (sig. Bb<sub>4</sub><sup>V</sup>, p.284) (v. Fig.3). When Clotilda married, she was surrounded by feasts and pomp, but kept her eyes



Fig.3 Queen Clotilde, from Caussin, The Holy Court.

firmly fixed on the benefits of God while taking part in the festivities.

She spent time in her Oratory, yet was careful to manage

al her actions with singular discretion, that she might not seem too austere in the eyes of her Court, for weake soules might be diuerted from Christianity ... But al that which most passed in a common life was done by her and her maydes, with much purity, feruour, maiesty, and constancy. (p.285)

Caussin relates how Clotilda honoured and loved her husband, took pleasure in his pleasures, and, through her good council and sweetness, "found the King dayly disposed better and better" towards her religion. She introduces all the virtues at court, but still the King hesitates, "for Religion and State are two pieces which mutually touch one another very near," but eventually he is converted, bringing many thousands of his country-men to embrace the Queen's religion.

The story is significant for the position of Henrietta at the English court, seen through Catholic eyes. From a Catholic point of view she had left France, when she married, to go and rule over a country of heretics. Her marriage with Charles was looked on not so much as a personal matter as a religious vocation, in which nothing less was expected of her than that she should bring Charles, and with him the rest of the country, back to the "true" religion. Pope Urban VIII, who was her god-father, wrote to her with her marriage dispensation that she was to be the guardian-angel of English Catholics, "the Esther of her oppressed people, the Clotilda who subdued to Christ her victorious husband, the Aldebirga whose nuptials brought religion into Britain"; in expectation of this the eyes of the whole spiritual world were turned on her.<sup>20</sup> She received a parting admonition in a semi-public letter from her mother, Marie de Medici, in similar terms.<sup>21</sup> Marie's letter was written with the help of Cardinal Bérulle, Marie's confessor and friend, and it admonishes Henrietta on her duty, first to

God and religion, then to her husband, whom she must love "pour le ciel et non-seulement pour la terre." The hope that, by this "sainte affection," Charles will be drawn back into the religion for which his grand-mother (Mary, Queen of Scots) died, is Mary's wish, and should be Henrietta's most ardent desire. In fact it is

un des desseins de Dieu sur vous qui veut vous faire  
en nos jours une autre Berthe, fille de France comme  
vous et reine d'Angleterre comme vous, laquelle obtint  
par sa sainte vie et par ses prières le don de la foi  
en cette île dans laquelle vous allez entrer.

(Tillières, p.75)

Henrietta was duly impressed, and on setting out for her marriage she reassured the Pope that she would do all in her power to carry out these instructions, "n'ayant rien au monde qui me soit si cher que la sureté de ma conscience et le bien de ma religion."<sup>22</sup>

Her first attempts on behalf of her religion, however, were so direct as to be a total failure.<sup>23</sup> Cardinal Bérulle accompanied her to England (thus ensuring the continuation of Marie de Medici's influence) as her religious advisor, and head of her company of priests, but their ostentatious services in the Queen's chapel at St. James drew large crowds, and scandalised Protestants. Henrietta drew attention to herself by going in public to visit places of Catholic martyrdom, and refused to take part in Charles's, and her own, Coronation service. These naive attempts at asserting her religion simply had the effect of antagonising Charles and promoting hostility to Catholics. In 1627 most of the French retinue and priests were dismissed from the court, and partly as a consequence better relations developed between the King and Queen. Out of mutual understanding grew more toleration for the English Catholics, and the Queen used her influence to such good purpose that in 1629 a French priest was able to write that in England,

the heat of persecution hath ceased, through the dignity of a magnanimous King, and most invincible Prince by the Bourbonian Star, which hangs over these Countries in a most dear Wife; by which Stars, peradventure the Tempest of Persecution will in time be appeased.<sup>24</sup>

The religious influence that Henrietta had failed to gain by assertion and argument she had gained by understanding and love, thus confirming by her own experience the moral of the story spelled out by Caussin in the example of Clotilda.

Other stories, in which a similar pattern emerges of piety and pleasure combining in the interests of religion, were brought to the attention of the Queen in the thirties. The story of Esther, whose intercession with the King of Persia saves her co-religionists, the Jews, from a planned massacre, was particularly popular with poets and dramatists of the Renaissance, and encouraged by Catholic interests (Luther said that he so hated the book that he wished it did not exist). Francis Lenton, one of the "Queen's poets," treats the story in detail in a manuscript poem of 1637, "Queen Esters Haliluahs" (other MS copies were made in 1638, 1641 and 1649).<sup>25</sup> Lenton stresses Esther's beauty and virtue, her dutiful obedience to the King, combined with her sacred allegiance to her people, the "Jews." When she sues to the King for mercy for her people, she decks herself with jewels and beautiful clothes in which "this holy starre" outshone Diana. She banquets him "in the feasting roome" (sig. 49<sup>r</sup>) and wins him to her love. But the King cannot immediately alter "our grave Persian Law": the best he can do is grant contrary laws, "And so you have Decree, against Decree" (sig. 65<sup>v</sup>). Mordecai, with Esther's help, warns the Jews of Hamman's plot against them and they rise and kill their foes. Their victory is ascribed to God and to

gratious Esther (gratious indeed)  
 In God's deare sight, her did he send with speed  
 To save his people from that wicked Cain. (sig. 72<sup>v</sup>)

The poem ends with peace and happiness -- and the King levying a tribute.

The moral of these stories is clear: women like Clotilde, Esther, and other exemplary heroines cited by Caussin, used their beauty and chaste love to win men to God. Religion uses the powers of women for its own ends, and those in high places should work for God's will. To Puritans, who were assiduous readers of Catholic literature in the 1630's, the reasoning was equally clear.<sup>26</sup> William Prynne in The Popish Royall Favourite (Lond., 1643) counters Rome's propaganda with biblical parallels of his own:

wee have great cause to feare (if Adams, Solomons, or  
Ahabs seducements by their wives be duly pondered)  
 that his Majesty ... may ere long be seduced to their  
 Religion, as well as to their Party (sig. H<sub>2</sub>);

and what wonder, he says, when the Catholics "have Queen Mary her selfe in the Kings own bed and bosome" (sig. G<sub>4</sub><sup>v</sup>). In another work of the same date, Rome's Master-peece, he says that the King has so many of the Popish faction about his "Closet, Bedchamber, if not Bed," that it would be remarkable if the rest of the court, "with so many enticements to withdraw them, both in their Beds, Bedchambers, Closets, Counsels, Courts, where ever they go or come, should possibly continue long untainted, unseduced."<sup>27</sup> Henrietta's role as wife, and the way in which she was thought to subjugate love to religion, may be summed up for the Puritans by Lucy Hutchinson:

This lady being by her priests affected with the meritoriousness of advancing her own religion, whose principle it is to subvert all other, applied that way her great wit and parts, and the power her haughty spirit kept over her husband, who was enslaved in his affection only to her, though she had no more passion for him than what served to promote her designs.<sup>28</sup>



Puritan fears and Catholic expectations probably both ran ahead of what Henrietta was actually able to accomplish, since it appears that she did not have much power to change Charles's mind once it was made up.<sup>29</sup> Puritans, however, could never be sure how far her power went, and the more extreme Catholic party was always urging her to go farther. Henrietta, like the Devout Humanism by which she was influenced, saw herself essentially as a moderator: to the promptings from Rome she argued that she did as much as she could, and that the concessions she won in the 1630's went beyond those won by Queens in any other court. Certainly she had no inclination to jeopardise her personal happiness and marriage for apparent gains that would only antagonise all parties; antagonising Charles would do no good in any case, since what religious influence she had depended on his good-will. On the whole she seems to have followed her own inclinations, depending on Charles's affection to gain favours for her friends, and using (as will be shown later) her social fashions of préciosité and Platonic love to the best advantage for promoting her religion. If her methods had a success that was, in the long run, quite ephemeral, they did in the 1630's play a real part in the progress of Catholicism at court; they also contributed indirectly to the causes of the Civil War.<sup>30</sup>

Catholicism prospered at court from about 1630 on, and religious activity increased markedly.<sup>31</sup> Official communications were re-established with Rome in 1633, the first for a century, and negotiations were begun for receiving a Papal representative at court. Charles gave his tacit consent as long as Rome did not meddle in State affairs, and all dealings were conducted through the Queen (Albion, pp.117-54). The negotiations culminated in December 1634, with the arrival of the Papal Agent, Grigorio Panzani, who was accredited to the Queen, and welcomed through her by the King. Panzani sent back his reports to Cardinal Barberini, whose title was

"Protector of England and Scotland," and who was nephew to the Pope.

Panzani in turn relayed the Pope's messages to Henrietta, acknowledging her guardianship of the English Catholics, and telling her that, as St. Urban had desired nothing more of St. Cecily than the conversion of her husband, this is "all that the present Pope expects from her Britannic majesty" (Berington, p.203). From the English court Panzani wrote back, confidently predicting that the British Rose would one day offer honeyed pasture to the bees of Urban (Albion, p.153). Arrangements were made for an exchange of agents between the English court and the Vatican, and the choice fell on two Scotsmen, William Hamilton to represent the Queen and George Conn to represent the Pope.

Panzani realised the importance of choosing an agent whose personal qualities would meet the approval of the Queen and her ladies, and Conn was an ideal choice. Panzani had consulted Father Philip, the Queen's Confessor, on the best qualities for an agent, and was told that the man chosen must combine piety with social grace: he should be a man of fine appearance, noble and rich enough to be generous, "of exemplary life, though of no straight-laced piety." He should know French well, and take into account the youthful liking of the Queen for perfumes, beautiful clothes and witty conversation. He must likewise pay homage to all her ladies "through whom much business had to be done at the English court"; but he added that such attentions must never be open to wrong interpretation, "as the English, with the irreproachable example of the King and Queen before them, took scandal at the slightest thing" (Albion, p.152; Berington, p.188). Conn fitted the picture exactly. Walter Montague, who knew the tastes of the Queen and her court, was now in Rome negotiating on her behalf, and he warmly recommended George Conn. Conn was a Scot of noble birth,<sup>32</sup> who had published a book on the life of Mary Queen of Scots; he was educated

at the English College, Douay, had been in Paris, and in Rome he was Secretary to Cardinal Barberini. Most important, perhaps, for making him welcome to Charles as well as to the Queen, he had a fine taste in art, and generous gifts of paintings were sent through the Agents from the art-loving Barberini to the King.<sup>33</sup> Charles regarded him as a friend and fellow-countryman, with whom he enjoyed discussing art and religion. Conn, for his part, was always courteous, but also honest in expressing his opinions, particularly in regard to religion, and he won the liking and respect of most people at court.

Following Panzani's advice, Conn set himself to win the support of the ladies, a task which he accomplished easily. His obvious success prompted the remark that he "evidently contemplated subjecting the whole realm through women" (Albion, p.162). Conn replied that as his mission was to the Queen, not the King, he had necessarily more to do with the ladies than with the men (Albion, p.162). In this respect the atmosphere that the Queen had created at court through her honnête type of préciosité was a great advantage to Conn. In the first place, the Queen's independence smoothed over the difficulties of a formal presentation of the Agents at court: they were accredited to the Queen, and she simply introduced them to Charles and other important people when the latter visited her apartments at Somerset House. From the evidence of the agents' letters and diplomatic reports (Albion, pp.174 et seq.; pp.234 et seq.), discussions of religion were frequent at these informal meetings, and Charles openly discussed theological questions with Conn (Albion, pp.160-61). Secondly, the Queen's préciosité, with its mixture of gallantry and high moral tone, provided situations in which men and women could meet and talk on equal terms; the sociability and communicative freedom on which safeguards were put by the elaborate rules of courtship gave the Agents much freer access to the

Queen and her ladies than they would have had, for instance, in James's reign.

Préciosité was of use to the Agents in having built up around the Queen a closely-knit group, ramifying and often involving whole families, which gave opportunities for widening her influence. Many of the leading figures in the Queen's précieux group were Catholic, and many others were converted during the decade.<sup>34</sup> Walter Montague was the chief figure linking the two groups: he was as influential at the Vatican in the mid-thirties in arranging Henrietta's religious affairs as he had been in the early thirties in helping introduce ideas of préciosité from the French court. A friend of Montague's and another important figure in the Queen's précieux circle was Sir Kenelm Digby,<sup>35</sup> one whose original Catholicism became doubly conspicuous when, after turning Anglican out of loyalty to the King in 1630, he publicly returned to Catholicism in 1635. (His father, Sir Everard Digby, had been executed for complicity in the Gunpowder Plot.) Digby's Conference with a Lady about Choice of Religion (Paris, 1638; rpt. Scholar Press, 1969) converted Lady Frances Howard, Countess of Purbeck, in 1637. Many of the women at court were Catholic even when their husbands were not openly so. The old Countess of Buckingham, Villier's wife, was Catholic, and in 1626 she, together with the Duchess of Buckingham, Marchioness Hamilton, Countess of Rutland, Countess of Denbigh and Mme Sauvage, was listed amongst the ladies permitted to attend Mass with the Queen in her Oratory.<sup>36</sup> The Duchess of Buckingham, Katherine Manners, returned to Catholicism after Buckingham's death (1628). Olivia Porter was the centre of the proselytising movement at court:<sup>37</sup> she was the wife of Endymion Porter, who had been brought up in Spain and who hesitated to declare himself Catholic only, it was said, because of his position with Charles as Gentleman of the Bedchamber; he consulted Barberini on whether

he could become Catholic secretly. Olivia converted her father, the Puritan Lord Butler, just before his death, and she helped to convert her sister, Anne Butler, Countess of Newport, in 1637; the Duke of Newport was a staunch Protestant and his wife's conversion caused consternation amongst Anglicans. Olivia's cousin, Mary Fielding, Marchioness of Hamilton (who played opposite the Queen in The Shepherd's Paradise), was interested in becoming Catholic, and was visited daily by Conn until her father objected, when she continued to correspond with Conn through Olivia. Of other ladies who took part with the Queen in her masques, the Duchess of Portland (Mrs Weston) was the wife of Weston, Charles's minister, who was a known Catholic sympathiser; the Countess of Carnarvon, Anne Sophia Dormer, was brought up, and probably remained, a Catholic; the Countess of Denbigh and Lady Catherine Howard were both converted in the 1630's. These people all had wide family and social connections inside and outside the court, and each convert helped to bring others.<sup>38</sup>

The connection of members of Henrietta's group with a proselytising form of Catholicism gives a much more lively emphasis to the practices of préciosité. In the charged religious atmosphere of the 1630's, Catholic support may have lent substance to the pastimes-- dancing, entertaining, and play-acting--that occupied so much of court life. One of the features of préciosité, its exclusiveness, was particularly suited to the discussion and dissemination of an officially suppressed religion.<sup>39</sup> A précieux group preserves its exclusiveness by using a language and set of rules that only its own sect can understand; moreover, its code of ethics enjoins tact and secrecy upon its members. The same rules would apply to the Catholic group at court. The interminable debates on the religion of love, and the exposition of its doctrines that were a part of the drama and drawing-room could, in a changed atmosphere, become debates on and expositions of

religion. I am not suggesting, of course, that all court compliment was directed towards religious ends. The Queen's précieux fashions had their social, and no doubt their gallant or merely silly, side; but a connection with the Queen's religion may well have lent a special fervour, and even a moral strength, to the practice of the cult. The increased freedom and charity of women's love were not necessarily directed towards immorality as Puritans claimed. On the contrary if, as I have suggested, the Queen's love fashions were connected with a religious ideal, and a duty to proselytise, that may account both for the strength of idealism in the cult and for the violence of Puritan opposition to it. The excitement of belonging to a suppressed but still attractive religion, and the satisfaction of "saving men's souls," may have outweighed the temptation to amorous intrigue among devotees of the cult. If the idealistic view of love argued by court Platonics was backed by religion, the fact that that religion was Catholicism would have been a greater crime in Puritan eyes than immorality itself.

This does in fact seem to be the argument pursued by Puritan propagandists like William Prynne. His Histriomastix (1633)<sup>40</sup> was theoretically a comprehensive attack on the immorality of the stage; but, examined closely, it is not so much an attack on drama itself, as an attack on the arts associated with the stage at court, on women as a corrupting influence, and on the connection of both with Catholicism. The first three hundred or so pages of Histriomastix are taken up with a condemnation of court activities which Prynne associates with effeminacy and illicit sexual attraction. He barely discusses stage plays themselves, but rather those things which accompany them: "effeminate mixt Dancing, lascivious Pictures, wanton Fashions, Face painting ... amorous Pastoralls, lascivious effeminate Musicke" (Prynne's Introduction, no page numbers). It should



be noted, however, that in Prynne's later detailed discussion of each of these items, they are condemned, not simply because they are "immoral," but because they tend to "seduce" Christians from their own religion by exhibiting Popish practices. Thus the stage is immoral because Popish priests and Jesuits prophane the Old Testament by putting passages from it on the stage (p.112); English actors are "professed Papists" (p.142), whose dissolute lives lead them to a dissolute religion; fashionable women cut their hair in imitation of "shameless" Papish nuns, to signify that they are "freed from all subiection to men, or to their husbands," and both are whores (p.203); dancing [the chapter is one of the longest, and contains the famous reference to "Queenes themselves ... who are commonly most addicted to it"(p.236)] is compared to a church service, or Devil's Mass, in which "the Devill tempteth men and women ... and he that danceth, maintaineth his pompe, and singeth his Masse" to the accompaniment of fiddles and bells, while the "Parishioners" look on (p.230); amorous songs, and obscene, lascivious poems, which were formerly heard in churches, are now heard in pastorals (p.261); in church "delicate, lust-provoking Musicke" turns the oratory into a theatre (p.288). For Prynne, all the current court arts end in effeminacy or seduction, and all seductions end in Catholicism. It seems that the arts were "immoral" because Prynne suspected that women were using them to seduce men to an "immoral" religion.

Puritan criticism of the court was, of course, based on a long tradition of antagonism to "feminine seducements," and to the stage,<sup>41</sup> but in the Queen's love fashions of the 1630's, people like Prynne sensed a new danger. In préciosité they disapproved of woman being given an exalted position, and of men becoming "effeminate" in her service; in Platonic love they disapproved of what they assumed to be an equivocal moral attitude. But to the old fear of woman as sexual temptress was added the new, and in

the circumstances well-grounded, fear of women tempting men to a hostile religion. Puritans did of course attack the court on moral grounds. Préciosité made an easy target for attacks of this kind, because of the intimacy among men and women of the group, the increased freedom of women, and the fact that the fashion was based on the idea of love. To outsiders the whole idea of Platonic love was ridiculous: men do not kneel in adoration at the shrines of their ladies and visit them in their bed-chambers without some ulterior motive. Moralists and satirists were quick to believe that such practices must lead to sexual intrigue, and therefore assumed that this was the case. Because they also suspected that the group was subversive to their own social and religious ideas, they attacked on moral grounds, a familiar tactic in paper warfare.<sup>42</sup> The same allegations of promiscuity were being made against contemporary religious sects like the Quakers and Ranters, and most minority religious groups have been accused of immorality, including the early Christians, and counter-culture groups of our own day.

For this reason we should be cautious of taking all Puritan charges of immorality at face value. Whatever abuses of the Queen's love cult there may have been, it is clear that many of the Puritan charges of immorality against members of her group have a religious rather than a sexual basis. When Lady Newport became Catholic, for instance, she complained to Conn that when she was going to Mass, those who wished to discredit her spread stories that she was keeping assignations with lovers.<sup>43</sup> When we hear from Prynne of George Conn that "two houres before day (In Winter) his manner was to visit Ladyes and Gentlewomen, and to enquire of them how they slept that night" it is taken as evidence of Conn's scandalous behaviour.<sup>44</sup> When we read of Conn's activities in Catholic reports it is evidence of the large numbers of people he visited

daily in his often successful attempts at converting them. When Prynne writes, in describing the activities of Olivia Porter and other Catholic women at court, that "the Iesuite learn of the Serpent to seduce men by female Instruments to their ruine,"<sup>45</sup> Conn writes proudly to Barberini that "amid all the temptations of Court life there were people like Olive Porter capable of heroic action."<sup>46</sup> In each case it is clear that the grounds for praise or blame are religious.

Prynne often implies immoral behaviour when all he means is Catholic behaviour. When he writes about seductions, beds and bed chambers (q. above p.92), for example, he is not referring to intrigue or adultery--he is referring to Catholic wives, Olivia Porter, the Countess of Arundel and the Queen. When he complains of "Queen Mary her selfe in the Kings own bed and bosome," he is not referring to the impropriety of the Queen, but to the impropriety of a Catholic Queen. The crime is not that these women are behaving immorally, but that they are behaving "irreligiously," and using their sex to seduce men to Catholicism. Catholics were capable of even deeper cunning in Puritan eyes: worse than using sex for religious ends, Prynne suggests, they counterfeit sex and immorality to cover religious ends. Speaking again of George Conn, he says

Hee had a palace adorned with lascivious pictures, which counterfeited prophaneness in the house, but with them was palliated a Monastery, wherein forty Nunnes were maintained, hid in so great a Palace. It is situated in Queenes-street, which the statue of a Golden Queene adornes.<sup>47</sup>

We are reminded of Dr. Johnson's address to the Thames lighterman: "Sir, your wife under pretence of keeping a bawdy house, is a receiver of stolen goods." Sexual licence has not always had a monopoly on the word immorality.

Fashions in love have often played a part in social and religious change,<sup>48</sup> and Christopher Hill has pointed out that sexual revolution was connected with the introduction of the Protestant ethic in the seventeenth century.<sup>49</sup> Conversely the Queen's practice of préciosité, with its cult of love, its exaltation of women, and its connection with Catholicism, may be seen as the defiant gesture of a minority group--élitist, feminist, and Catholic--whose existence in the seventeenth century was being threatened by Parliamentary and Puritan forces outside the court. Seen in this light, the Queen's préciosité goes beyond the trifling self-indulgence in entertainments that it has seemed. It took its part in a real debate over social and religious ideas, a debate which was cut short by the Civil War, but in which the ideals represented by préciosité, however self-deluded the proponents of these may have been, had their own importance. When these ideals returned (if they returned at all) to England at the Restoration, it was to a world in which cynicism had replaced illusion, and in which impropriety, rather than morality, was the fashion. Hence the Queen's "honnête" version of préciosité of the 1630's has suffered the neglect, not altogether deserved, that is the common fate of lost causes.

(ii) The Queen and Devotion to Mary

Préciosité represented basically the social side of the Queen's love fashions, affecting court manners and plays, and (through its association with Devout Humanism) encouraging Catholic activity at court. Préciosité had, however, a more specific connection with Catholicism because of the adaptation in the seventeenth century of Neoplatonic ideals of Beauty and Love to the cult of the Virgin Mary. The Queen's fashion for Platonic love took on connotations of Catholicism when a cult of the Virgin was established

at court in the 1630's.<sup>50</sup> The cult, ministered by the Queen's Capucin Friars, was protected and led by the Queen, and encouraged by Catholic interests as a way of drawing the Catholic community together and attracting converts. English books written for the cult praised Mary in Neoplatonic terms, and she became synonymous with the ideal virtues of goodness, beauty, and love. Since these were the virtues for which the Queen was also praised in court poetry and masque, the ideals and language of Platonic love became a link between the social and religious sides of the Queen's précieux fashion. In the 1630's the whole subject of "Platonic love" took on fresh meaning in the light of the Queen's Catholicism.

The way was prepared for the religious development of Platonic ideas by the arrival at court early in 1630 of Capucin Friars to serve in the Queen's chapel.<sup>51</sup> The Capucins were a reformed branch of the Franciscan Order, formed in the sixteenth century in an attempt to return to the basic principles of Christianity that had inspired St. Francis of Assisi. Neoplatonic idealism became the framework of their religion, and their writings, which thoroughly mingled Platonism with Christianity, spread their influence throughout Europe.<sup>52</sup> Capucins had been influential in helping to form the ideals of Devout Humanism in the early years of the seventeenth century, when a group of Capucins who included the English writers Father Archangel and F. Benedict of Canfield, joined the religious circle of Mme Acarie, St. François de Sales, and Pierre de Bérulle.<sup>53</sup> As the century progressed, the Capucins in turn adopted Sales's teaching as the inspiration of their movement. Sales's stress on gentleness and love was thoroughly compatible with their teaching, and the basis of Neoplatonism in his work was valuable to them in their own writing.<sup>54</sup> Capucin books became popular throughout Europe, and in about 1630 France especially became the centre of Capucin writing.<sup>55</sup> Two of the most

important writers of the period were Zacharie de Lysieux and Yves de Paris, whose ideas were certainly current amongst the French Capucins at Henrietta's court. Zacharie de Lysieux served for a time as one of Henrietta's chaplains, and in 1637 dedicated a book to her entitled La Philosophie chrestienne.<sup>56</sup> Zacharie was a close friend of Yves de Paris, whose works written in the early 1630's summed up contemporary Capucin thinking.

Yves de Paris built on the religious Neoplatonism of Sales, and his work is the spiritual summation of French Devout Humanism (Bremond calls him a Marsilio Ficino who could have written L'Introduction à la vie dévote).<sup>57</sup> His major work, La Théologie naturelle (4 vols., Paris, 1633-36), elevates the Platonic theory of beauty and love into a universal social and religious system, a "cordial union" which unites the world with God. In chapter xxvii, entitled 'De la beauté et de l'amour,' he argues that human perfectibility comes from those sympathies, of which beauty and love are the affective agents, which draw us to the divine. The steps of the argument are similar to those outlined by Castiglione, by Sales, or by d'Urfé: the divine ray shining through the beauty of visible objects gains our senses, and forces the reason to seek beauty in its source, thus involving the soul.<sup>58</sup> The soul's involvement is proof that "corporeal beauty is no more than a shadow, a sketch of that divine beauty which is the true object of our love, and which, being of infinite perfection, can satisfy to the full our whole capacity" (Bremond, I, p.386).<sup>59</sup> When reason is joined by love, the soul has need only of a small ray of divine Faith to complete this "lovely circle of light" that reunites the world with its origin, and man with God; love as a way of coming to God is superior to reason itself, for whereas reason can progress only by degrees, "love is unitive. One impulse of the heart fuses all the soul, and with it all the



world, with its original source" ("un élan du coeur rejoint toute l'âme et avec elle tout le monde a son principe").<sup>60</sup>

Although the main end of this process is a mystical apprehension of the Divinity, Yves does not despise the lower rungs on the ladder of Platonic love.<sup>61</sup> In a later work he describes the power of beauty in awakening human love, the first flames of which issue in a better manner, dress and conduct. This in turn awakens the soul, which, before she has beheld beauty, "oft-times lives the interior life in a sullen languor and a poverty incapable of so much as conceiving a desire of good," but when aroused by "the charms of an object, the heart renders the first homage of complaisance, she inwardly sighs for better things, for which, although but confusedly aware of them, she is strongly drawn to seek beyond the material" (Bremond, I, p.387). From this point of view, the social improvement brought about by a cult like préciosité was not only desirable in itself, but a first sign of spiritual awareness. Yves warns against being misled by beauty, but, approached in the right spirit, beauty is a force for good, and should not be shunned: "it is not asked of you to be blind to the beauties of the court," he wrote, "it is allowable to regard them as closely as the gems of a cabinet, with admiration but without touching, as things which are not, nor ought to be at your disposition nor even at your choice" (Bremond, I, p.388). Human love is an image of the real object of our desire, and even the language familiar to lovers, of altars, vows and prayers, is a warning that love is seeking a higher object than possession, for the progress of true love is "a flight from earth to heaven." In this combination of Christian teaching with humanist interests, the fashionable cult of Platonic love, rightly conceived, was not only compatible with Capucin spirituality, but a complement to it. In place of a human object of adoration, however, the Capucins put the supreme feminine object of

religious veneration, the Blessed Virgin Mary.

In the early seventeenth century Mary had become one of the most important figures of the Counter-Reformation, although her cult was, of course, far older.<sup>62</sup> In the twelfth century it had grown out of the mystical interpretation of the Canticles by St. Bernard of Clairvaux; in the thirteenth century it had been adopted by SS. Francis and Dominic, and elaborated in the theological works of SS. Bonaventure and Thomas Aquinas. By the time it emerged again as an important cult in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, it had gathered to itself much of the idealism and vision that had gone into the religious art of the Renaissance. Devotion to Mary was one of the subjects of particular deliberation at the Council of Trent, which defended Mary against the attacks of Reformers, and specifically recommended her praise. Marian literature flourished as a result, and to the religious Orders who had already devoted themselves to her service (the Cistercians, Dominicans, and Franciscans) were added Counter-Reformation Orders such as the Capucins, who found her cult of great value in their stress on the Via Affirmativa of the spiritual life, the way of gentleness and love. Like St. François de Sales, who had devoted his life to the Virgin, the Capucins adopted Mary as their Patroness, dedicating their churches to her, and honouring her in their services. In Mary they found a perfect focus for the Neoplatonism that inspired the thinking of Sales and Yves de Paris, and at the same time a figure that helped humanise Neoplatonic ideals. To these Orders Mary summed up and raised to an ideal plane the virtues of goodness, beauty and love: the description of the Bride in the Canticles, "Tota pulchra es, amica mea, et macula non est in te," was taken as a proof and consequence of her total virtue, and both together aroused love and drew souls to God. All the tensions and contradictions inherent in placing the ideal of

Platonic love in a mortal woman were reconciled in devotion to Mary: she is beautiful, supreme among women; she is Virgin and Mother; she can be adored completely because devotion to her leads to love of heaven. She is the ideal heroine in whose service sense and spirit are reconciled, and human love becomes divine. There need, however, be no conflict between earthly and heavenly love. By emulating the Virgin, virtuous women could awaken souls to divine love, which was a continuation and ideal end of the love inspired by beauty and virtue on earth, and they could thus, like Mary, lead men to God. These Neoplatonic ideals of Beauty and Love, centred on devotion to Mary, were an important part of the Catholicism that Capucin Friars brought to the English court on their arrival in February 1630.

French Capucins were chosen to serve the Queen after most of her former retinue of French priests and advisors had been dismissed in 1627. They were acceptable to Charles because, unlike some of those who had originally accompanied Henrietta, they were known for their courtly tact and gentle piety.<sup>63</sup> They were acceptable to the French because they were influential at court, and one of their number, Father Joseph (Francis le Clerc du Tremblay) was in the confidence of Louis XIII and Marie de Medici, and the Pope.<sup>64</sup> Henrietta herself had always held them in esteem, and "desired them for her service," and in Rome Pope Urban VIII, who had a brother a Capucin, was the special patron of the Friars. The Pope expressed satisfaction on this occasion that the Order had been chosen for the "noble and profitable office" of England. The Friars were a missionary Order, and one of the most successful in the seventeenth century in reclaiming territories lost to Catholicism in the Reformation.<sup>65</sup> They were one of the first to place themselves under the direction of The Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith (founded 1622), and by 1625 they had provinces in all the principal countries of Europe. Their mission in

England was like that to any other "heretic" country, and under the auspices of the Queen they worked tirelessly to win back those who had been lost to the faith, or to convert others who were attracted to it. In England they established under the protection of the Queen a cult of the Virgin Mary, who was the patroness not only of the Friars, but of the Queen as well.

Father Cyprien, who wrote the history of the English Mission, says that the Queen "had always regarded the most Blessed Virgin as her good mistress and her dear mother" (Birch, II, p.316); Marie de Medici, in the letter Henrietta carried with her to England, reminds her that she owes "une dévotion particulière" to Mary, whose name she bears, and who is "mère de votre âme."<sup>66</sup> Cardinal Bérulle, who accompanied Henrietta to England, dedicated a section of his work, Les Mystères de Marie to Henrietta.<sup>67</sup> When Henrietta practised her devotions in her Oratory after arriving in England, she and her ladies "sang the Hours of the Virgin."<sup>68</sup> When, therefore, a new Chapel was begun for the Capucins in the grounds of the Queen's Palace at Somerset House, a commemorative plate recorded that the Queen laid the foundation stone "sub felicibus Beatissimae Virginis Mariae auspiciis Patronae suae."<sup>69</sup> The Chapel, dedicated to the honour of Mary, was begun in September 1632, and was a significant step in the progress of Catholicism. The Queen laid the foundation stone in the presence of two thousand spectators, in an elaborate ceremony that was regarded as a triumph for the Queen's personal influence with Charles, and which aroused the hope in France that the King, "par quelque bonne influence celeste," would come to desire one and the same religion for the two countries.<sup>70</sup> The Chapel opened in December 1635 with Masses and ceremonies that lasted for days, and a magnificent tableau, the importance of which will be discussed in connection with the masques. On completion, the Chapel immediately became the centre for an Arch-Confraternity of the Holy Rosary,

for the establishment of which the Capucins had obtained permission from the Pope.<sup>71</sup>

Fraternities and Sodalties in honour of the Virgin had become very popular on the Continent, following the establishment of the first Sodality by the Jesuits in 1563.<sup>72</sup> Their members bound themselves to the practice of piety and to the service of the Virgin, with special emphasis on her help in leading souls to God. According to a book on The Societie of the Rosary by Luca Pinelli (pr. in England, 1596-97), among the duties of the members was to pray "for the concord & vnion of Christian Princes, extirpation of heresies, & exaltation of our holy mother the Church" (sig. M8<sup>v</sup>, p.108). The Queen was the first to be inscribed in the Confraternity at court, and Father Cyprien describes how all the Catholics of her court,

gentlemen and ladies, small and great, and innumerable people with them, followed her in this devotion. Every Saturday in the year, the litanies of the Blessed Virgin and other reverential services were sung with great solemnity in that chapel dedicated to the glory of that celestial lady who was held in such veneration by the Catholics, French and English.<sup>73</sup>

An Arch-Confraternity was given the duty of holding public religious observances--group recitations of the Rosary, singing of the Litanies, and staging of outdoor processions--to attract attention and make converts; thus Father Cyprien reports that when the brothers and sisters of the Rosary met to confess and communicate on the first Sunday of each month, they "held celebrated processions, which were attended out of curiosity by many secretaries" (Birch, p.316). An Arch-Confraternity also had the power to affiliate others of the same kind, and it is possible that there were already Sodalties of the Virgin in England.<sup>74</sup> The elegant emblem book Partheneia Sacra by Henry Hawkins (published in 1633), was addressed to "The Parthenian Sodaltie" (Dedicatory Epistle), and, with its courtly

imagery, it is difficult to think that it was not written for an aristocratic group.<sup>75</sup>

The Litanies sung by the members of the Confraternity celebrated Mary under all the mystical names--porta coeli, plantatio rosae, hortus conclusus, stella maris, and many more--to which the Marian cult had given wide currency. Many of these image clusters were derived initially from allegorical interpretations of the Song of Solomon (especially that by St. Bernard in the twelfth century) and all stressed Mary's beauty and purity. From the identification of the Virgin with the Bride of the Song derive Mary's attributes of beauty ("Thou art all fair ... and no spot is in thee," 4:7); of purity: "a garden enclosed, a spring shut up, a fountain sealed" (4:12); and her exaltation: "fair as the moon, clear as the sun, and terrible as an army with banners" (4:10). She was also identified with the figure pictured by St. John of the Apocalypse as "a woman clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and upon her head a crown of twelve stars" (Revelation 12:1). These symbols were elaborated over the centuries in the writings devoted to her, and her figure was humanized by the apocryphal stories gathered in the Legenda Aurea. In the sixteenth century other groups of names and images were gathered together in the Litany of Loreto (the form which has survived to-day), in which she is hailed as Virgin and Mother, mystical rose, Ark of the Covenant, gate of Heaven, morning star, star of the sea, and Queen of Saints and Angels.

There was no shortage of books in England to explain the significance of these names, or to give guidance on other aspects of Marian devotion. Devotion to Mary was of course officially forbidden in England, but despite the Reformation she had never been completely neglected. Books of private devotion kept her memory alive in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, either by means of foreign books smuggled into the country or



brought in by ambassadors,<sup>76</sup> or by English books printed secretly in England or on presses in the English Catholic Colleges abroad.<sup>77</sup> There was, for example, The Societie of the Rosary, which was printed secretly in England in 1593-94, again newly augmented in 1596-97, and again with the "life of the glorious virgin Marie" by Luca Pinelli in 1624 (A&R, nos. 354-56). An English Primer of the Virgin was printed in 1615 and in 1617, and then in 1630, 1631 (twice) and 1632 (twice) (A&R, nos. 688-94). Another book which treated the mysteries of the Virgin in great detail was extremely popular in England: Pedro de Ribadeneira, The liues of the saints, incorporated in Alfonso de Villegas, Flos sanctorum, of which the English translation went through six re-issues and editions between 1621 and 1638 (A&R, nos. 854-60). The Arch-Confraternity of the Holy Rosary (A&R, no. 36) was printed secretly in England in 1636; the date suggests that it was for the use of the Confraternity in the Queen's Chapel. Besides these books aimed directly at assisting devotion to Mary, there were many others that took such devotion as given, and played on various aspects of her praise. Many books treated the theme of The Garden of our B. Lady; others treated The misticall crowne of the most glorious Virgin Marie, or Mary as The mirrour of created perfection. A count of the titles listed by Allison and Rogers indicates that publication of Marian books in English increased after Henrietta came to the throne in 1625, and increased markedly between 1630 and 1635. I will look at three of the most important of these books, Partheneia Sacra (1633), The Female Glory (1635), and Maria Triumphans (1635). The first two of these seem to relate, through style and treatment of subject matter, to the ideas of Platonic beauty and love made current by Henrietta's précieux fashions, and the third explicitly links the name of the Queen with the name of Mary.

Partheneia Sacra, or The Mysterious and Delicious Garden of the Sacred Parthenes (Rouen: John Cousturier, 1633) was written by "H.A." (Henry Hawkins) for a Parthenian Sodality to assist devotion to Mary.<sup>78</sup> It stands out from other emblem books of the period both in form and style: it is more elegantly produced than its contemporaries, the writing is more urbane, and it is more sophisticated in the variety of devices it uses to entertain the reader while serving the purpose of devotion. It is addressed to a feminine audience, and it appeals to knowledge of the court. When the author wishes to contrast the Virgin's beauty with worldly beauty, for instance, it is the "magasin of Feminin riches" familiar to the court that he describes: the "Vermilion or Ceruse in the face, bracelets of Oriental-pearles on her wrist, Rubie-carknets on the neck, rich pendants in the eares, and a delicious fan of most exquisit feathers in her hand" ("The Proeme," sig. A iiij-A iiij<sup>v</sup>). A passage introducing a meditation on the symbol of the star begins by asking "Haue you seen a statelie Mask in Court, al set round, and taken vp with a world of beautiful Ladies, to behold the sports and reuels there?" (pp.114-115). Hawkins's references to the music of Dowland, to Sidney's Arcadia, to a poem by Robert Southwell, and many references to literature and legend, were all pointed out by Rosemary Freeman.<sup>79</sup> In addition he has a passage on "the architect" that is very similar to a passage in Vitruvius's book On Architecture that was used by Inigo Jones to make visual reference to the quarrel between himself and Ben Jonson in the two masques performed the year before Partheneia Sacra was published.<sup>80</sup> Hawkins was the younger brother of Thomas Hawkins,<sup>81</sup> translator of The Holy Court, and Thomas was on good terms with the Earl of Dorset, Chamberlain to the Queen, as well as with other influential people at court. Henry took the surname of Sir Basil Brooke when he entered the English College in Rome, and Brooke translated Caussin's Entertainments for

Lent, with a dedication to Henrietta Maria (published London, 1672); Brooke was also connected with people at court like Endymion Porter (patron of Davenant), and was Treasurer of the contributions collected from English Catholics by Montague, Digby and others, for the war against Scotland. With so many avenues open to the court, it would be strange if so elegant and courtly a book as Partheneia Sacra did not play a part in the Marian revival being fostered by the Queen.

Hawkins appears, moreover, to follow the fashion of Devout Humanism being promoted by the court, since Partheneia Sacra is written for both "pleasure and deuotion," and set out with "Pious Devises and Emblemes for the Entertainement of Devovt Sovles" (title-page). In The Preface to the Reader the author explains that he has endeavoured to appeal to the natural delight in change and variety, but to make "Varietie the hand-mayd to Pietie." He excuses the "instruments" he uses, such as "Impreses, and Mottoes ... Emblemes, and Poesies," by saying that, though they may seem prophane, "yet they may be like that Panthaeon, once sacred to the feigned Deities, and piously since sanctified, conuerted, and co(n)secrated to the honour of the glorious Queene, and al the blessed Saints of Heauen." Similarly, he consecrates the ideals of beauty and love, directed by poets to women, the human objects of love, by raising them to a heavenly object, the Virgin. In The Proëme to his Genius the author bases his praise of Mary on her beauty and purity, and connects the beauty of her soul with the beauty of her form: he imagines God as the supreme artist or sculptor, who, "with his most exquisit fingars," has bestowed "much art and industrie in her delineation"; he describes her physical features, "black and archie browes" with "bright lamps" of eyes, "a countenance, graceful without softnes or leuitie, graue without statelines,"<sup>82</sup> through which "a certain Diuinitie of beautie dazeled the aspects of men." Mary is the ideal object

of praise because she not only brings to human beauty a spiritual perfection, but to spiritual perfection a human reality, in which there is no danger to the soul. Hence, he says,

If thou needs must praise, extol and magnify Beautie,  
Vertue, Honor; not in the ayr only of Ideas, or  
abstract from sense, but in a subject really,  
subsisting: I say, if thou needs must dignify and  
eternize a pure creature aboue the skyes ... Behold  
she is even now at hand, whom worthily thou mayst,  
and whom thou canst not prayse enough.

Hawkins' style has many of the characteristics which Odette de Mourgues<sup>83</sup> has described in relation to French baroque writers as a network of correspondences constantly interposed between the real world and the reader, in which the sense of artificiality and monotony is enhanced by what becomes, after a time, the expectedness of the motifs. Take, for instance, the following passage from Partheneia Sacra on the dew:

The Deawes are the sugred stillicids of Nature,  
falling from the Limbeck of the Heauens, as so manie  
liquid pearls, and euerie pearl as precious as the  
truest Margarits. They are liquified Cristal, made  
into so manie siluer-orbs as drops. They are the  
verie teares of Nature, dissolued & soft through  
tendernes, to see the Earth so made a Libian Desert,  
which she supplies of meer compassion with the ruine  
of herself. (sig. E iiij, p.59)

This is rather like reading a passage from The Shepherd's Paradise, or like reading the conceits of Richard Crashaw, but without Crashaw's sensuousness and emotion. It is characteristic of the style of French writers described by de Mourgues (pp.93-97) who "spent hours contemplating a drop of dew"; of poets who "offer us pictures which are disconnected as well as diminutive," passing "from one object to another without supplying any logical link"; of extended and strained comparisons (an example in Partheneia Sacra is the waxing and waning of the moon (Mary) responding to the Birth and Passion of

Christ, pp.112-13). Latin sources for the material in Partheneia Sacra have been suggested (see note 78 above), but it would not be surprising to find that it is closely related to contemporary books of devotion in France.

Like Hawkins, Anthony Stafford elaborated Neoplatonic ideas of Beauty and Love in his book The Femall Glory: or, The Life, and Death of our Blessed Lady, the holy Virgin Mary (1635). He devotes whole sections to the discussion of Mary's beauty of body and soul, imagining God as a painter who bestowed the beauty of earth and heaven in "the limming of this rare Piece" (sig. B<sup>V</sup>), and describing Mary as a statue "carved by God's own hand" (sig. B2). Her external beauty is surpassed by her inner purity: she is the most beautiful because the most virtuous of women, and he quotes a description in which the sun, the earth, and the whole of the vegetable and animal kingdom pay homage to her (sig. B7<sup>V</sup>). Stafford is careful to give Mary a place "above all Angels, but below thy Sonne" (sig. A8), but his book draws on all the traditional Catholic sources of Marian devotion. The poems prefixed to the text include "A Panegyricke on the blessed Virgin MARY" (sig. D4<sup>V</sup>-D6), in which she is praised under all her titles in the Litanies, and other poems describe her as "The Morning-star, whose light our Fal hath stay'd" (sig. C8), the "Throne of Glory, beauteous as the Moone, / The rosie Morning, or the rising Sun" (sig. C8<sup>V</sup>). Stafford himself describes Mary's assumption in traditional images (cf. the title-page of Partheneia Sacra, Fig.4):

the orbes bowed and bended themselves to make her  
a triumphant Arch ... The Sunne with his brightest  
beames imbrac't her, that it might be said. A woman  
cloathed with the Sunne. The Moone stooped to her,  
that it might be divulg'd the Moone was under her  
feet. The brightest of the Starres interwove them-  
selves to make her a radiant crowne. (sig. P3, p.213)

Stafford concludes his praise with the words "O Thou bashful Morne that  
didst precede and produce our Sunne ... Thou deserv'st a Quire of Queenes



Fig.4 Title-page of Partheneia Sacra (1633)

here, and another of Angels in Heaven, to sing thy praises" (sig. R3<sup>V</sup>-R4).

The Female Glory was one of the most controversial books to be published in the 1630's, because it was licensed by authority of the Anglican Church and published openly in London. Nothing like it had happened since the publication in 1627 of John Cosin's Collection of Private Devotions which had revived the tradition of the Primer and its associations with the Office of the Virgin,<sup>84</sup> causing an outcry from Burton and Prynne.

The Female Glory was published just before the establishment of the Confraternity in honour of the Virgin in the Queen's Chapel, which opened at the end of 1635, and perhaps was written in an attempt to make devotion to Mary acceptable to the moderate Anglicans at Court. Stafford said that he endeavoured to keep "the meane," and claimed that his book contained nothing contrary to the teaching of the Anglican Church. He assures Puritans and other detractors that "till they are good Marians, they shall never be good Christians, while they derogate from the dignity of the Mother, they cannot truly honour the Sonne" (sig. P8, p.223). The book was greeted, of course, by a storm of protest from Puritans; Henry Burton's attack on it in For God, and the King, helped to put him in prison.

Stafford's book is addressed principally to women, and he seems to echo the ideal of feminine virtue put forward by writers on honnêteté. He dedicates his book to one who, he says, is notable for her religion, virtue, beauty, and modesty, but whose demeanour is not

froward (i.e. contrary, perverse), and formall, but gentle, free and communicative. You show the world that there is a Christian freedome, of which we may lawfully partake. By your faire Demeanour you cleerly demonstrate, that sanctity may be without Austerity, and vertue securely sociable. (sig. A6<sup>V</sup>-A7)

This is reminiscent of the happy mean in feminine behaviour recommended for honnêtes femmes, who have no need to "put their devotion upon the racke to

make it scoul"; of Montague's opinion that piety may "sute her selfe so farre into the fashion, as may make her the easilier accostable, and yet retaine her dignity and decency," and of Caussin's advice to the virtuous woman not to seem "too austere in the eyes of her court, for weake soules might be diverted from Christianity" (quoted above, ch.I (ii)). In Stafford's book, however, the ideal is linked with devotion to Mary, and he says he will use simple language acceptable to women, so as to help them "to beautifie their lives, and to kindle in their faire bosomes an holy ambition to aspire to the perfections of that devout life, which this our incomparable Lady led" (sig. E<sup>V</sup>). This devotion he explicitly links with proselytism. In his Address to the Feminine Reader he calls Mary "The Mirrour of Femall Perfection," whom to adore is to strive to imitate, and whom to imitate is to convert others:

Al her Visitants were but so many converts, whose bad affections, and erroneous opinions, the sweetness of her discourse had rectified. The leprosy of sinne was her dayly cure, and they (whom vice had blinded) were by her restored to their inward sight, and their prostrate soules adored divine, Majesticall vertues residing in this Sacred Temple. The conference with her rais'd them above themselves, and enfranchis'd their soules till then, chained to their bodies.

(sig. B4<sup>V</sup>-B5)

He concludes "On this, ground your beliefe, that shee amongst you who shall constantly tread in her paths, shall at length arrive at the Celestiall Paradice" (sig. B5-B5<sup>V</sup>).

It seems likely that The Female Glory was directed to the court and associated with the establishment of the Queen's Confraternity, since another book published in the same year (1635), Maria Triumphans, makes explicit the connection between Mary and the Queen. Maria Triumphans takes the form of "A Discourse, wherein (by way of a Dialogue) the B. Virgin Mary Mother of God, is defended, and vindicated, from all such Dishonours and



Indignities, with which the Precisians of these our dayes, are accustomed vniustly to charge her." The dialogue is between Mariadulus, imagined to be an imprisoned English priest, and Mariamastix, "a Precisian imagined to have preached ... against our B. Lady" (sig. A5). By this, the author says, he does not wish to stir up controversy amongst learned Catholics nor the "more sober Protestants," but only to write against "the fiery Puritans, who ... disgorge their poyson against the said most blessed Virgin" (sig. A5<sup>V</sup>). The author, N.N., dedicated the book to Henrietta Maria, whom he addresses as "Most renowned Princesse, and Mirrour of Vertue," and hopes that it may, "with the Wings of your gracious Patronage ... more freely, and vnrestraynedly flye abroad" (sig. A2). In the dedication he explicitly associates the Queen's name with that of the Virgin, saying that by her protecting the book,

She, whom it cheefely concernes, will a new become your Patronesse: And thus will Mary intercede for Mary, the Queene of Heauen for a great Queene vpon earth; the Mother of our Celestiall King, for the mother of our future terrene King. And finally, by your protecting and pleading for it, the Immaculate Virgin will (in a more full manner) become an Aduocate for you, her Aduocate.

He praises the Queen for her "more than manly" resolution in defending the ancient faith, "For which your immouable Constancy, all good Catholikes do most ioyfully sound forth your due Panegyricks, and Laudes." His own praises, he says, "do but coment your owne daily Deuotions towards the Intemperate Virgin." There can be little doubt that the Maria Triumphans of the title has a double reference, to the triumph of the Queen as well as to that of the Virgin.

The author of Maria Triumphans, N.N., has not been identified, but a textual connection between Maria Triumphans and another Marian book suggests that it may have been John Brereley. (I take the letters N.N. to be a form

of aNoN; the British Museum Catalogue lists under these initials about forty pages of titles, many of them concerned with Catholic controversy.) In 1632 Brereley wrote a sonnet sequence, Virginalia, or, Spirituall Sonnets, in prayse of the most glorious Virgin Marie, in which he devotes a sonnet to each of Mary's titles in the Litanies. Maria Triumphans gives a full explication of the Litanies, passages of which are identical with the foot-note references to the Sonnets. In Virginalia, for instance, the first note to the first sonnet, "Sancta Maria" (p.5), is "Maria is interpreted Starre of the sea: and she as a remarkable starre shines brightly by the grace of a speciall priuiledge among the waues of this wauering world. S. Bede." In Maria Triumphans the Virgin's first title "Sancta Maria" is interpreted according to St. Bede "Star of the Sea: And she, as a remarkable star, shynes brightly by the grace of a speciall Priuiledge, among the waues of this wauering World" (sig. E12<sup>V</sup>). The second note is also copied, and further verbatim similarities can be found by comparing Maria Triumphans, sig. F2<sup>V</sup> with Sonnet 10, footnotes; sig. F5<sup>V</sup> with Sonnet 20, footnotes. The identical wording may mean no more than that N.N. copied the notes from Brereley, or that he used a common source. On the other hand, Brereley was a very active religious writer and controversialist of the period, and it is not unlikely that, having already written a book of sonnets in praise of Mary, he would have joined in her praise and defence in 1635 in Maria Triumphans. Brereley's real name seems to have been Lawrence Anderton, who was a Jesuit priest<sup>85</sup> and also wrote under the initials N.N.<sup>86</sup> The style of Maria Triumphans is quite compatible with the style of Virginalia, in which Mary is made to sound more like an object of Platonic love whose "graces do inflame / Each vertuous hart" with sacred love (Sonnet 10), than an object of veneration. Sonnet 15 expresses

sentiments similar to those in Maria Triumphans, and sounds as though it could be addressed as well to the Queen as to the Virgin, when Brereley asks:

Who but an Atheist will refuse to serue  
 So great a Mistresse? who doth euery way  
 Such supreme honour worthily deserue.  
 O let vs then, great Virgin, while we stay  
 In this frayle world, thy humble agents be,  
 To moue thy greatest foes to honour thee. (p.19)

An association between the Queen and Mary would not have seemed out of place to contemporaries. For Catholics the Queen's roles, of Mediatrix, mother, and bride, paralleled those of Mary. As intercessor on behalf of her Catholic subjects she protected the Catholic Faith in England; as a mother and bride she won Charles to mercy and love. A comparison between a great earthly Queen and the Queen of Heaven is made in a book by a Capucin, Alexis de Salo, An Admirable Method to love, serve and honour the B. Virgin Mary (trans. R.F., 1639), which is written for those in "the Confraternity of the Rosary," and has relevance to the situation at the English court. In the Introduction the author pictures Mary as a great Queen, honoured by heavenly courtiers, and compares her power to intercede, for those who dedicate themselves to her, with the same power as that of a great Queen on earth. Such a Queen protects those who truly serve her, and if one of her loyal servants should fall from favour, or even be banished from the court, she "would vndertake his defence & reconcile him with his Prince ... obtain his repeale if he were banished from the Court, and not only restore him to his former estate again, but aduance him higher" (Introduction, no sig.). There are many examples of Henrietta doing this: a topical instance for Catholics was that of Walter Montague who, after he was converted (1635), was temporarily banished from the court by Charles, but not from the Queen's favour, and was soon back enjoying a more

influential position than before. "What a felicity is it then," as de Salo says of the Virgin, "to have so powerful a freind as she" (sig. A10<sup>v</sup>).

The Queen's role as mother also connected her with Mary. On her bearing of a son, and winning Charles to her love, the future of the Catholics, and of the Catholic faith in England, depended. A French print by Abraham Bosse shows the King and Queen offering their first-born son to the Virgin, who is seated on a throne, surrounded by a glory (Fig. 5).<sup>87</sup> The French emblem, fleur-de-lys, cover the baby's robe and the cloak of the Queen, and from the Virgin's mouth comes a scroll with the words "Pro omnibus floribus elegi mihi lilium." She speaks as though to Charles who is represented as saying "je combats pour la gloire / De vostre Fils et de Vous" (see note above). In contrast to Elizabeth, celebrated as "the Virgin Queen," Henrietta was celebrated in court poetry as the Fruitful Queen, from whom stems

A Golden Harvest of crown'd heads, that meet  
And crowd for kisses from the LAMB'S white feet.<sup>88</sup>

Crashaw revelled in such comparisons. Even before he became Catholic, he hardly distinguishes between poems written for the Queen and poems for the Virgin. A Latin poem "Ad Reginam" written in 1633 is religious in tone:

O salve! Nam te Nato, puer aurëe, natus  
Et Carolo & Mariae tertius est oculus. (p.187)

A poem to Mary on "The Assumption" seems more secular in tone, and could be addressed equally well to the Queen:

Mary, men and Angels sing,  
Maria, Mother of our King.  
Live rarest Princesse, and may the bright  
Crown of an incomparable Light  
Embrace thy radiant browes, ô may the best  
Of everlasting joyes bath thy white brest. (p.141)



Fig.5 The King and Queen present their first-born to the Virgin (French engraving by Abraham Bosse)

Even by non-Catholics a connection was frequently made between the name of the Queen and that of the Virgin. Charles himself was said to prefer the name of Marie, which he "rather chose to have her called by than her other, Henrietta, because the land should find a blessing in that name."<sup>89</sup>

A poem by Francis Quarles "On Mary" is more jocular in tone:

Foure Marye's are eterniz'd for their worth;  
Our Saviour found out three, our Charles the fourth.<sup>90</sup>

Another important attribute of Mary, dwelt on at length by Stafford in The Female Glory, was her power to convert others, and lead them to follow her. This power connected the cult of Mary with the proselytism that was being urged on the Queen, and was, I believe, the strongest motive for the Puritan attacks on the Queen and her new fashions at court. Henry Burton was imprisoned for his criticism of the court and its religious practices in For God, and the King (1636). In it he attacks (amongst other things) The Female Glory, and the points he singles out, as particularly deserving of criticism, are Mary's power to convert others, and the way in which she has appeared at court as a new goddess, and a Queen. He quotes in full the epistle To the Feminine Reader, which speaks of converting others from "bad affections, and erroneous opinions" (quoted above). He objects to Stafford "magnifying the Virgin Mary, as considered, not as a meere woman, but as a type and Idea of an accomplished piety" (sig. Q2<sup>v</sup>, p.124), and to his calling her "a glorious Empresse," and "Empresse of this lower world" (sig. Q3); he quotes ironically the passage "Thou deservest a Quire of Queenes here," and comments in the margin "Lo here the new great Goddess, Diana, whom the whole Pontifician world worshippeth." He mentions the chapels and temples erected in honour of Mary, and the numbers registered in the Sodality of the Rosary, and concludes

Loe therefore what a Metamorphosis of our Religion is here. Here is a new goddess brought in amongst us. The author glorifieth, that he is the first who hath written (as he saith) in our vulgar tongue, on this our Blessed Virgin. And God grant he be the last. (sig.Q3<sup>v</sup>, p.126).

It is clear that the Puritans recognised the association Catholic writers made between the Queen and Mary. What angered them most was the parallel way in which worship of the Virgin derogated from the power of God, and worship of the Queen derogated from the power of Charles, while both strengthened the power of Catholicism. William Prynne, who was an assiduous reader of Catholic books, points out how the Queen's role at court paralleled that of the Virgin's role, as represented in Catholic books, in Heaven. He quotes particularly from Ribadeneira, The Lives of the Saints, an extremely popular book in England.<sup>91</sup> This book pictured the Virgin in courtly terms, dazzling all by her beauty and adored by heavenly courtiers. In this court, Christ is Lord and universal Prince of Justice, while Mary intercedes for Mercy. She is

treasuress, and dispensatrix, and neck of this mystical body, by whose hands are distributed, and through whom, as through a conduit pipe, are derived all the graces and gifts of God. (sig.Tt2<sup>v</sup>, p.617)

Ribadeneira describes her seated beside her Son,

aboue all the Quires and Hierarchys of the celestial Spirits, and aboue all the Saints. Then came those diuine Courtiers to do reuence [sic], and to render obedience to her as to their Queen and Lady, admiring at her beauty, her grace and her Sanctity. (sig. V<sup>v</sup>, p.618)

Prynne, in The Popish Royall Favourite, identifies Henrietta Maria with the Virgin in Ribadeneira's context, repeating the image of the conduit pipe, and paraphrasing the Catholic text to fit the court situation. The Catholics, he says, had

Queen Mary her selfe in the Kings own bed and bosome for their most powerful Mediatrix, of whom they might really affirme in reference to his Majesty, what some of their popish Doctors have most blasphemously written of the Virgin Mary in relation to God and Christ, That all things are subject to the command of Mary, even God himselfe: That She is the Empresse and Queen of Heaven, and of greatest Authority in the Kingdome of Heaven, where shee may not only impetrate but command whatsoever Shee pleaseth;

That shee is the Fountaine, Treasurer and Dispenser of all Gods Graces, Favours; the very neck and conduit-pipe through which they are all conveyed: That God hath freely bestowed on her the better halfe of his Kingdome, to wit, all his mercy, reserving only his Iustice to himselfe, yet so subject to her restraints [sic]; That if any (Roman Catholike) doth finde himselfe aggrieved in the Court of Gods (or the Kings) Iustice, (for being prosecuted for his Recusancy or seducing the Kings people) he may safely appeale to Maries Court of mercy for reliefe, shee being the Throne of Grace, of which the Apostle speakes, Hebr.4.16. Let us goe boldly unto the Throne of Grace, that wee (Catholiques) may recive (from her) grace to helpe us in time of need. (sig. G4<sup>v</sup>-H, pp.56-57)

The Queen here plays Mary's role in heaven, and it is clear that for Puritans, as well as for Catholics, the title Maria Triumphans would have had a double meaning. Devotion to Mary overturned the most basic tenets of the Reformation, seeming to usurp the supremacy of Christ and to restore idolatry to Church worship. In the parallel influence of the Queen, Puritans saw the danger of the Kingdom being delivered into the hands of Catholic powers through a new kind of "idol-worship" at court.

Puritans could hardly be blamed for seeing a connection between the Queen's cult of Platonic love, with its veneration of women, and her Catholicism, with its veneration of Mary. As the leader of the précieux group, she embodied the ideals of beauty and love at court; as the leader of the Catholic group she was the representative of Mary, who embodied those ideals in heaven. It is significant that when the Earl of Dorset defended the Queen against the imputations of Prynne's Histrionastix,<sup>92</sup>



he responded to Prynne's implied criticism of her religion by making her not simply an example of perfection, but an example of Catholic perfection. The language he chooses could be taken from any of the current books on Mary: the Queen sums up all the feminine virtues; she is the redeemer of all her sex, the champion of women and friend of men.

Her Heart is full of Honour, Her Soul of Chastity;  
Majesty, Mildness and Meekness are so married  
together, and so impaled in Her, that where the one  
begetteth Admiration, the other [begetteth] Love....

He concludes by saying that she "drinks at the Spring-Head, whilst others take up at the Stream," and that, "were all such Saints as She, I think the Roman Church were not to be condemned" (p.240). This defence suggests that the connection made by Prynne between Catholicism and court arts did not go unnoticed, and that Dorset (a non-Catholic) was not averse to using the language of Marian devotion in connection with the Queen. It also suggests that a connection could easily be made between the religious language of beauty and love connected with the Virgin, and the "Platonic" language of beauty and love connected with the Queen.

### (iii) Catholicism and Platonic Love

It was, I believe, the connection of ideas of Beauty and Love with Catholicism that made the Queen's fashion for "Platonic love" so absorbing a topic at court in the 1630's. Historically, of course, the cult of Mary had never been far removed from secular cults of love. In the twelfth century her cult had developed side by side with the cult of courtly love, had later gathered elements from troubadour poetry and the romances of chivalry, had contributed to Dante's vision in the Paradiso, and was even

hinted at as a central ideal by d'Urfé in L'Astrée.<sup>93</sup> The traditional symbols of Mary's cult were easily adapted to Neoplatonic ideals, since they were based initially on her beauty and purity, which together led men to God. In the 1630's, however, the connection of these ideas with Catholicism suddenly placed the Queen's social fashion of "Platonic love" in a new and, for many, a disturbing light. Under the stimulus of Catholic Agents, of the proselytising zeal of the Capucins, and of the evident attraction of Catholicism to many members of the court, Platonic love encouraged by a Catholic Queen took on overtones of the Queen's religion. It still retained, of course, its social function in court life and entertainments, promoting cordial relations between the sexes, and radiating out into a wider sense of universal harmony. But because the Queen promoted both the cult of Platonic love and the cult of Mary, she became a link between the social and the religious sides of the cult, and many of the people who acknowledged the Queen as their mistress in courtly terms also acknowledged Mary as their mistress in Catholic terms.

Such a link might not have been significant if it had not been for the pressure put on the Queen by Catholic interests to convert others, and for the emphasis placed on beauty and virtuous love as the means of doing so. By endeavouring to follow Mary's example, Catholic women could, in Catholic eyes, safely encourage the practice of "Platonic love" without any danger to their virtue, or to the virtue of those who were attracted to them. On the contrary, religion urged them to practise spiritual love as a means of leading men to God. Since the language of love was common both to the précieux and the Catholic groups, conversations between members of these groups could pass from gallantry to religion, and back again, without the observation of an outsider. Such allusion to religion in the language of love would appeal to that sense of privately shared understanding so

important to préciosité, and necessary to Catholicism in the presence of a hostile outside world. Walter Montague seems to suggest something of these tactics in Miscellanea Spiritualia, when he says that he has called devotion "love" so that those he would speak with "might not fly from piety at first sight" (p.34). Putting devotion "into the vulgar tongue of the court" gives it a "more convenient conference with our senses," and hope for admittance to our hearts. By this easy way of introduction, he says,

Devotion may come to get possession in some minds, by commerce of a good companion, sooner then by open claims of her owne rights; for we may conclude what right Devotion hath to our mindes, by this, that when prophane passion seekes to value itselfe, and to possesse the minds of others, it puts on a heavenly habit, and speakes the language of Devotion, in reverence and adoration; thus, as it were, confessing the due interest piety hath in our hearts. May not piety then to recover the easilier her due, without irreverence, be put into the lighter figure of passion?  
(p.32)

Some will accuse him, he says, of sailing under false colours, capturing the heart for religion while talking of love--an interesting variation on the usual accusations against "Platonic love" of doing the reverse. Among the members of the Queen's group, a double reference in the language of love would make those sharing the knowledge of a fashionable cult and a clandestine religion doubly exclusive. What an added refinement and delicate irony if the language of religion--of altars, vows, prayers, devotion and worship--which gross men interpreted as a cover for sensual appetites, were in fact restored to its rightful use: if the design of Platonic lovers was, as they declared, to join not bodies but souls! Such a love could truly be called "Platonic," for it was directed to the soul (although it might not be such love as Plato dreamed of).

For opponents of the cult, a connection between Platonic love and Catholicism was, of course, difficult to pin down and attack. For those

unfamiliar with the recent French background, the cult of Platonic love could be interpreted within the older Italian-English tradition (based on The Courtier) as harmless idealism. For those unsympathetic to the court it could be interpreted as frivolous love intrigue; to Puritans it was both this, and dangerous conversion to a heretic religion. If Platonists spoke of the religion of Beauty in women, and of women leading men to love of God, Puritans asked which religion, and whose God? They could soon discover that the language of Platonic love was the language of Capuchinism, and that the ladies at court might be using their beauty, or even risking their virtue, to tempt men back to the "Old Religion." The real ground of Puritan complaint against court fashions of love was not only the prestige and importance they gave to women, but the opportunities afforded women to use their influence, religious as well as sexual.

The use of the language of love for religion was more suited for private interview, or for symbolical representation through picture rather than through words (as in emblem book and masque), but there is a notable example of a play in which I believe the language of Platonic love covers reference to the religious situation at court: William Cartwright's The Royal Slave (1636). The Royal Slave has already been discussed as an example of the way in which the ideal of Platonic love had associations with religion, and how this love was strongly defended in the play as Christian charity, which may be practised even by a Queen with full safety to her chastity and honour. Beneath this discussion and defence of Platonic love lies, however, another level of meaning which relates to the current state of religious affairs at the English court. I believe that the play relates to the presence of Papal Agents at court: to Panzani, who was in the Royal entourage when the play was performed at Oxford and was soon to return to Rome; and to the newly arrived Agent, George Conn.

To Conn it gives both a welcome and a warning, suggesting how progress may be made to further understanding between England and Rome.

The Royal Slave (which was also known as "The Persian Slave")<sup>94</sup> was set in Persia, a setting which became very popular on the court stage in the 1630's, no doubt partly as a result of the glamorous costumes and settings Inigo Jones could devise (see Fig. 6). The Royal Slave, Davenant's The Temple of Love, and Suckling's Aglaure all had "Persian" settings by Jones, and all were praised by their court audiences for their visual splendour. The subject of Persia, its customs and religion, was of interest to contemporaries. Cartwright's sources, as Blakemore Evans has pointed out,<sup>95</sup> could have included Sir Walter Raleigh's History of the World; Sir Thomas Herbert, Relation of Some Yeare's Travaile (1634); a source in Dion Chrysostom, or reference to a novel by Theodorus (published in Paris, 1625), from which paraphrases, and the concluding incident of the altar fire being extinguished, seem to have been taken. There may, however, have been religious significance in the choice of the setting. To Counter-Reformation Catholicism Persia was a subject of particular interest, and in Catholic propaganda parallels were made between it and England. Missionary Orders were established at the Persian Court in the seventeenth century and were busily making inroads on the established religion, which the occasional martyrdoms helped to publicise: in 1623, for example, A Brief Relation of the late Martyrdome of fiue Persians Conuerted to the Catholique Faith by the reformed Carmelites, who remaine in the Mission of Persia, with the King of Persia, in his Citty of Haspahan. And of the increase of the Christian Faith in those parts (Doway) was written in Italian and French, "and now translated into English for the good of the Church."<sup>96</sup> In the early twenties (when the work was published) there were parallels that could be made with Missionary work in England, where the memory of Catholic



A Noble Persian Youth

Fig.6 Inigo Jones, design for The Temple of Love (1635)

martyrdoms was still fresh. There were parallels too between England and ancient Persia, which was the biblical setting for the story of Esther, of which the Counter-Reformation was so fond. In Francis Lenton's version (1637), relief is obtained for Esther's co-religionists by her loving intercession with her husband, the King. The King, however, cannot change the "grave Persian Law," but, because Esther remains attentive to her old religious councillor Mordecai, she is able to save her people from the massacre planned by their enemy. The violence of the biblical retribution is moderated in Lenton's poem: by the 1630's in England the situation for Catholics had changed so dramatically that the mood on both sides was for compromise. Neither moderate Catholics nor moderate Anglicans wanted the violence that was always threatening to erupt through the zeal of militant Jesuits and Puritans, both of whom Charles equally detested.

A parallel apposite to the English situation in the 1630's is given in another "Persian" story, told by Caussin in The Holy Court (tom. III, 1634). Called "The Persian Constancie," it is given as the example for the first Maxim in the volume, which in turn is headed "Of the Esteem one ought to make of his faith and Religion" (p.6). The example is offered "to preserve a blessing, which you presently possesse by grace, and which you often disesteem through ingratitude." The introductory paragraph might sum up from a Catholic point of view recent English history in the reigns of James I and Charles: Caussin says that he will

produce one example amongst a thousand, able to inuite the imitation of the most vertuous, and admiration of al the world. In the tyme when Theodosius the yonger swayed the Easterne Empire, the Persians, who had been much gayned by the industry of the Emperour Arcadius his father, and afterward entertained by his infinit sweetnesse, and courtesy, liued in good correspondence of amity with the Christians; so that many of our Religion aduentured themselues in their territory, some to make a fortune in the court, others for pleasure, many for commerce, and the rest there to establish true piety.

The paragraph following this is labelled "Indiscret zeale," and is, I believe, important for the plot of The Royal Slave, and representative of the advice being given by those sympathetic to closer union between Anglican and Catholic.

Indiscret  
zeale.

Matters of Religion proceeded then very prosperously, and the most eminent men of the Kingdome shut vp their eyes against the Sun, which this Natiõ adored, to open them to the bright Aurora of Christianity. But as there are some who neuer enioy any thing, so there are others who neuer haue enough. Some Christians not contented with their progressions, which were wel worthy of praise, thought they lost al, out of the desire they had to leaue nothing vndone ... The wisest and most experienced thought, nothing was to be precipitated, and that meane aduancements accompanied with safety, were more to be valued then great splendours which drew precipices, and ruines after them ... Nothing is more dangerous in any affaيرة then when indiscret feruour takes the maske of zeale, or that a feauer of Reason passeth for a vertue.

If a connection between England and Persia were made by contemporaries (and there is additional evidence that will be discussed in connection with the masques to think that it was), the passage could be read as a warning from the English side to tread gently in the progress then being made towards a rapprochement between England and Rome. It certainly compares closely with the terms of Charles's commission to the English Agent who was to represent the Queen at the Vatican: he was to "represent to them the happy estate and condition of the Roman Catholick party here under our mild government"; and was to ask that Catholics be told to keep from faction and sedition, the best remedy for which was the settling of outstanding differences on the Oath of Allegiance, of which "the only scope and intent is civil."<sup>97</sup> Barberini's instructions to his own agent were to impress on all at the English court, that Rome's only aim was to heal schism among Christians, and bring all to the knowledge of the true Church.<sup>98</sup>



Such was the situation when George Conn, the first fully accredited Papal Agent, arrived at court on 24 July, 1636. It has already been said how well chosen and well received Conn was, and he became an instant favourite of everyone at court. To the Queen he brought the personal greetings of the Pope, and a jewelled cross with which she was greatly delighted (Albion, p.160); to the King he brought curious works of art, and gifts for all the ladies (Albion, p.396). Charles immediately liked him, regarding him as a fellow-countryman of cultured tastes and similar interests; to the Queen and her ladies he was a handsome man who paid them unfailing and courtly attention. Conn had arrived 24 July, 1636, and he would have accompanied Panzani and the rest of the court to Oxford where The Royal Slave was performed on 30 August. The play became a highlight of the visit, and I believe that its extraordinary popularity, especially with the Queen, related to its topicality. Cratander, the royal "slave" of the play, like Conn, has won the admiration of the court; early in the play he is said to have

growne the talke  
 And sight of all the Court: h'hath eyes chayn'd to him,  
 And some say hearts; nor are they meane ones, such  
 As he may steale without being miss'd, but those  
 The theft of whom turns sacriledge. (p.209)

At the beginning of the play he takes an oath of allegiance to the State (p.205), and when he meets two from his own country who urge him to "betray the Persians into our hands," he refuses, showing that he is honourable, and favours a course of moderation (p.219). Through the friendship of the King, and the religious love of the Queen, he gains freedom for his fellow "Ephesians," and seeks permission for them to practise their "ancient ritual." His aim is to accomplish a peaceful union of the two Kingdoms, and he tells the Queen (who says he shall "have a Queene your Instrument,") that he has

A strong Ambition in me to maintaine  
 An equall faith 'twixt Greece and Persia:  
 That like a river running 'twixt two fields,  
 I may give growth and verdure unto both. (p.230)

If the Queen will help him, he will die with peaceful mind.

We have already seen that the elevated exchanges between Atossa (the Queen), and Cratander, define Platonic love as a love connected with Heaven, and defend it as blameless because it is directed not towards the person, but to the perception of Goodness or Beauty in the person. These exchanges, however, apply equally well to the Catholic situation, in which Conn was accredited to the Queen, and his close relations with her, as well as her open favour to him, might be interpreted, outside the Queen's intimate circle, as sexual attraction. To those who knew the real situation, however, Conn's closeness to the Queen could be seen as inspired by a higher religious love, and her protection of him at court as directed to a good and virtuous cause, the reconciliation of Anglican and Catholic. Cratander praises the Queen's courage in befriending him at court in the face of opposition, and in so doing to hazard "that which others would not / For a whole Kingdom, Reputation" (p.239); he is astonished at the quality of her compassion, which has "Thrust you into Heroick Actions, farre / Beyond the eager Valour of try'd Captaines" (p.140). Atossa declares nobly "Where goodness is to suffer, I would willingly / Become the Sacrifice myselfe to free it," but, she is quick to add, "I do't not to the Man, but to the Vertue" (pp.239-40). Atossa allays the jealousy of her husband by her long arguments on the religious and charitable qualities of "Platonic" love, and women's right to practise it without having their morality impugned; she manages to keep faith both with her husband and the "slave" as the arguments slide imperceptibly from love to religious issues, and as the King and Cratander are reconciled by the arguments of the Queen in the "love" triangle of the play.

To obtain the conditions required by Cratander for his fellow captives, for instance, the Queen solemnly puts herself into the King's power,

ty'd by great

And solemn Vowes, (our Gods do now require it)  
 Til you shall grant that the Ephesians may  
 Still freely use their antient customes, changing  
 Neither their Rites nor Lawes, yet still reserving  
 This honest Pow'r unto your Royall selfe,  
 To command only what the free are wont  
 To undergoe with gladnesse. (p.244)

The King replies

It is a time of Mercy; you have only  
 Call'd forth those Favours which were freely comming.  
 When we've joyn'd our hands, as Pledges of  
 Our hearts combining so, let us returne  
 To th'Celebration of an equall Triumph,  
 In an united marriage of our joyes.

These speeches sum up a good deal of the feeling (at least among some on the English side) in the middle years of the decade, that little divided the Anglican and Catholic religions. Catholics might be allowed their "antient customes" if only Rome would allow them to take the Oath of Allegiance, and make sufficient concessions (the return of the Palatinate was one) to make a reconciliation seem an "equall Triumph" rather than a return to Rome. In the play the King's mercy is opposed by his priests, who demand Cratander's sacrifice, but Heaven itself intervenes to dash out the altar fire, and all are reconciled.

Cartwright in the Epilogue (p.251) hopes that the play may find "the favour of a Queene." The play did so, and the Queen promptly asked for another performance at Hampton Court (after the play was repeated for the University in September) in January 1636/7, an unprecedented popularity which might have been due to the extended discussion of the ideals of Platonic love, to its relevance to the religious situation, or to both.

If I am right in interpreting the play in relation to the religious question, it is at first sight surprising that it was presented at Oxford where Archbishop Laud was host to the King and Queen on their visit. Laud was no friend of the Agents, and he deplored the influence Henrietta had with the King on behalf of the Catholics. On the other hand, the play counsels moderation on both sides, and loyalty to the King. It is pro-Conn rather than pro-Catholic, and Conn was undoubtedly in Charles's favour as well as in the Queen's. A play to help welcome him so soon after his arrival could not go amiss (it was not until the following year that the conversions and crowds at Mass that Conn's presence helped to precipitate, caused an open rupture between Laud and the Queen). If the play was inspired by the Queen's party, it was both a compliment to Conn, who is shown as noble, courteous and courageous, and an education in the kind of lofty Platonic debate admired at court. It was also a warning from the Anglican side, and very much in accord with Charles's sentiments, against "indiscret zeale" in those who wanted to push matters too far and too fast, the extremists on the Catholic side.

Cartwright was a great favourite with Charles, and was himself a loyal Anglican. He too disliked the extremists on both sides: when he wrote against "Papists" he wrote equally against Puritans because "They, out of zeale, labour to reare their owne, / These, out of zeale, to pull all downe."<sup>99</sup> When he wrote The Royal Slave, moreover, he had not yet taken Orders, but was a brilliant young University man who was quick to respond to the tastes of the court. If Conn's arrival and popularity at court was the topic of the moment, he was quite capable of using his scholarly "Persian" sources to treat it. If the religious question was the one about which everyone was talking, he was quite capable of using the elevated debates on Platonic love, which were after the Queen's own heart,

to discuss it. He was not obliged to believe in Conn's or the Queen's cause, any more than he was obliged to believe in the subject of Platonic love, which he could and did write about just as cleverly from the other side.<sup>100</sup> His clever connecting of two topics so close to the interests of the court, and his covering of both in the language of Platonic love, would have endeared him to the hearts of the précieuses: if the stream of rhetoric generated by the moral debate was enough to keep most of the audience's minds occupied, so much the better for the exclusive group who knew the secrets of the religious situation, and understood the double meanings. Only they would be in a position to fully appreciate the slide in language and subject-matter from love, to religion, and back again to love, and reconciliation. An interpretation of the play in terms of both love and religion would have been fully in keeping with the court masques that were being presented at about the same time, and which will be the subject of the following chapters.

Notes: Chapter 2

- 1 See Jean Jacquot, "La Reine Henriette-Marie et l'influence française dans les spectacles à la cour de Charles I<sup>er</sup>," 9<sup>e</sup> Cahier de l'association international des études françaises (Paris: Soc. d'éditions "Les Belles Lettres," 1957), pp.128-30. See also Hamilton, Henrietta Maria, pp.22-30.
- 2 Upham, The French Influence, p.319.
- 3 L'Astrée, Vol.3, and Camus's romance, Parthénice (see Storer, "Jean-Pierre Camus," p.733). D'Urfé was prominent at court, having been made "gentilhomme ordinaire de sa chambre" by Louis XIII (McMahon, Aesthetics and Art, p.24).
- 4 See Bremond, A Literary History (trans. K.L. Montgomery), II, Ch.iv, for the details of Marie's involvement in the early development of Devout Humanism.
- 5 Helen C. White, English Devotional Literature (Prose) 1600-1640, Univ. Wisconsin Studies in Lang. and Lit., No.29 (1930; rpt. New York: Haskell House, 1966), pp.111-113. White places the influence in England of the French devotional movement inspired by Sales as after 1640 (or in fact after the return of Charles II in 1660), but this underrates the influence of the Introduction in the 1620's and 1630's. It was available in English translation as early as 1613, other editions following in 1614, 1617, 1622, 1637; see Anthony F. Allison and David M. Rogers, A Catalogue of Catholic Books in English Printed Abroad or Secretly in England, 1558-1640, Biographical Studies, 3, Nos.3, 4 (1956; rpt. London: Wm. Dawson & Sons, 1964), s.v. Francis, of Sales, Saint. The translator, I[ohn] Y[akesley], noted in his dedication to the third edition (Rouen 1614) that no other book had been so many times reprinted in so short a time, or been so greatly valued by all types of men, containing in such a small volume "so plainlie in sweet language ... the rules and instruction of spirituall perfection" (sig. A<sub>2</sub>). He adds that he has translated it for the benefit of the many souls "in our poor distressed countrie" which has more need of good books than any other.

There was a copy of the Introduction in Nicholas Ferrar's community at Little Gidding (John Cosin, A Collection of Private Devotions, ed. P.G. Stanwood (Oxford: Clarendon, 1967), Introduction, p.xxix). The full influence on Anglicanism of French Devout Humanism, accentuated by the presence of Henrietta Maria at court, has perhaps not been sufficiently recognised.

- 6 Bremond, A Literary History, II, p.211. Bérulle was an important figure in French religious activities: see Pierre Janelle, The Catholic Reformation (1963; rpt. London: Collier Macmillan, 1975), p.221.
- 7 Hamilton, Henrietta Maria, pp.17, 27.
- 8 Quoted by Bremond, A Literary History, II, p.239, from the Abbé Houssaye, Life of Cardinal de Bérulle (I, pp.272-73).
- 9 Quoted from John Evelyn's Diary in John Cosin, A Collection of Private Devotions, ed.cit., Introduction, p.xxxiv.
- 10 Historical Manuscripts Commission, 11th report (London: H.M.S.O., 1887), Appendix, Pt.1, "Salveti Correspondence," to which the bracketed page numbers in the remainder of this paragraph refer.
- 11 Henry Ellis, Original Letters Illustrative of English History, series 2 (1827; rpt. New York: AMS Press, 1970), III, p.260, to the effect that St. James is convenient to the King for recreation, "and the Queene her intertainements and devotions, for which the new-built chapel is decently adorned."
- 12 La Cour sainte, 4 tom. (Paris, 1645). Nicolas Caussin is generally known as a writer of tragediae sacrae, Latin plays on religious or allegorical themes, which were published Paris, 1620. A brief summary of the plays is given by Ernest Boyse, Le Théâtre des Jésuits (1880; rpt. Geneva: Slatkine, 1970), pp.343-46; and a summary with extracts by Pierre Janelle, The Catholic Reformation, pp.151-55. Besides these works, Caussin wrote a Treatise on eloquence (1619), a Christian Diurnal (1628; trans. into English by Thomas Hawkins, 1640), another religious treatise inspired by St. F. de Sales (1637), and political and religious works in 1650 and 1651 (see Dictionnaire de Biographie française, Vol.

VII). He was at the French court until 1637, when he attracted the enmity of Richelieu and had to leave until 1643; his volumes of The Holy Court were dedicated to Louis and other members of the Royal family (dedications repr. in the English editions). La Cour sainte does not seem to have drawn the attention it deserves in the history of Devout Humanism and courtly manners: Caussin's name is not included in Magendie's Bibliography, and Maclean's brief mentions of him (see Maclean's index) only confirm him as a follower in the tradition of St. François de Sales, and a liberal among Jesuit writers. I have found no study of his work in relation to the English court. A review of a condensed version of The Holy Court (pub. 1895) in Reviews and Critical Papers by Lionel Johnson, ed. R. Shafer (London: Elkin Mathews, 1921), admires Caussin for his "chivalrous" and courtly ideal of religion. Hawkins' translation was republished several times in the 17th century, apparently for the interest of Protestants as well as Catholics (see DNB, s.v. Hawkins, Thomas), and it is possible that Caussin's work was more influential in England than in France.

- 13 The Holy Court, trans. T.H., tom. I (Paris, 1626). This volume was followed by tom. II (Paris, 1631); The Holy Court in three tomes (Rouen: John Cousturier, 1634); tom. IV (Rouen: Cousturier, 1638). The first two tomes were actually printed at the English College Press: see A.F. Allison and D.M. Rogers, A Catalogue of Catholic Books Printed Abroad or Secretly in England, 1558-1640 (hereafter referred to as Allison and Rogers), s.v., Caussin, Nicolas (nos.4872-75). The Holy Court is available in Eng. Recusant Lit. 1558-1640, facsimile reprints No.367, The holy court in three tomes 1634; and No.368, The holy court fourth tome 1638 (Scolar Press, 1977). My quotations are taken from these volumes, to which bracketed page numbers refer.
- 14 The subject of Montague's Treatise 9, for example, is "Of the condition of Courts, Princes, and Courtiers," and of Treatise 10, "How a good Conscience, and a good Courtier are consortable with one another"; the treatment of his material is very like Caussin's, though somewhat more optimistic in tone.
- 15 Sir Thomas Hawkins (d. 1640) was of a staunchly Catholic Kentish family, said to be a "harbourer of priests" (DNB); brother of the Jesuit priest



Henry Hawkins. Thomas was skilled in music and poetry, translated Horace, corresponded with James Howell, and was chosen by Edmund Bolton for his projected "Royal Academy."

- 16 The people in the Queen's circle were all connected in various ways. Dorset's two sons, for example, were tutored by Joseph Rutter, who wrote The Shepheard's Holy-Day while living with Sir Kenelm Digby. Digby was a friend of Walter Montague and Sir John Winter, who was Catholic Secretary to the Queen. Winter was the friend of Endymion Porter, who had strong Catholic sympathies and was the patron of Davenant, who became Catholic in the 1640's. Porter was a business partner of Sir Basil Brooke, who was the friend of Thomas Hawkins and was said to have helped Hawkins in the translation of The Holy Court (DNB). William Habington, writer of The Queen of Aragon, was a friend of Davenant, Porter, and James Shirley (the latter a Catholic), and was educated at the Jesuit English College of St. Omer (see Habington, The Poems, ed. cit., Introduction, pp.xxvii-xxix).
- 17 In explaining the design of Vol.III, Caussin says: "seeing that al the subiects are very serious, I have sweetened them with excellent examples to afford fit nourishment both to Eagles and Doves" (sig. ã 4<sup>V</sup>). Philip Massinger did in fact base the plot of The Emperor of the East (1631) on the story of Theodosius and Athenais in The Holy Court, Vol.I, Bk.4 (entitled "Of the Impietie of Courts"): see J.E. Gray, "The Source of The Emperor of the East," RES, n.s., 1 (1950), 126-35. Massinger addressed a prologue to the King, apparently hoping for a court performance; but considering that the plot concerns an uxorious King who, after his marriage to a beautiful young wife, becomes extravagant, and careless in signing petitions, it is not surprising that it failed to gain one. The section following Bk.IV in Caussin is entitled "The Fortunate Piety," and it has been suggested that Massinger used it in his lost play The Unfortunate Piety (also 1631): see Peter Phialas, "The Sources of Massinger's Emperor of the East," PMLA, LXV (1950), 476, n.16. Whatever Massinger's Catholic sympathies (see T.A. Dunn, Philip Massinger. The Man and the Playwright [London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1957], pp.184-91), we may conclude that he preferred a sturdier brand of Catholicism than the Queen's Devout Humanism. Material from Caussin

may have been used in a more sympathetic way in The Royal Slave, as I shall show below.

- 18 DNB, s.v. Villiers, George (1592-1628), and Macdonnell, Randal.
- 19 For Camus's works in English translation, see Allison and Rogers, s.v. Camus, Jean-Pierre (Nos.4551-54). The Spiritual Director Disinterested (Roan, 1633) quotes the praise given by Caussin to Camus in the passage mentioned above. A Spiritual Combat and A Draught of Eternitie were both trans. 1632 by Miles Car, Priest, the latter dedicated to Countess of Arundell as "nether vnworthy, nor vnfitt to be presented to the views and thoughts of our English Catholikes." The trans. of Aventures admirables (Admirable Events, London, 1639) was dedicated to Henrietta herself (see Storer, "Jean-Pierre Camus," p.719). Several of these titles have been reprinted in facsimile by Scolar Press.
- 20 Mary Anne Green, Letters of Queen Henrietta Maria, p.7. Pope Urban VIII (Maffeo Barberini) had been Papal Nuncio at the French court during Henrietta's infancy, and was on good terms with Marie de Medici. He took a personal interest in both Henrietta and Charles, the more so because Charles shared the Barberini passion for art.
- 21 "Discours de Marie de Médicis à la fille de Henriette-Marie, au moment de son départ pour l'Angleterre," in Mémoires inédits du Comte Leveneur de Tillières ambassadeur en Angleterre sur la cour de Charles I<sup>er</sup> (Paris: M.C. Hippeau, Paulet-Malassis, 1862), Ch.iv (catalogued under Leveneur, Tanneguy, Comte de Tillières et de Carrouges).
- 22 Baillon, Lettres de Henriette-Marie, pp.346-47.
- 23 For the following (and for a good general survey of Catholic events at court) see Martin J. Havran, The Catholics in Caroline England (California: Stanford Univ. Press, 1962), Ch.iii.
- 24 Quoted in John Rushworth, Historical Collections of Private Passages of State (London: D. Browne, 1721), II, p.15 (sig. C4).
- 25 Huntington Library MS, HM 120 (4<sup>to</sup>, 87 leaves) Queene Esters Haliluiahs and Hamans Madrigalls expressed and Illustrated in a Sacred Poeme....

- Composed by Fra: Lenton, Gent: the Queenes Poet (1637). The manuscripts are discussed by Leota (Snider) Willis, Francis Lenton, Queen's Poet, Dissertation (Philadelphia, 1931), pp.48 et seq. Lenton declared to the reader that his intention was not "to obraide, or whipp, or satirize / This stubborne world," but in 1649 the title page has the words "Reflecting on theis Present Tymes" added.
- 26 Helen White, in English Devotional Literature (Prose), 1600-1640, Univ. Wisconsin Studies in Lang. and Lit., 29 (1930; rpt. New York: Haskell House, 1966) long ago pointed out the interesting way in which Protestants and Catholics read each others' books, and "while writing for their own side continually addressed each other" (pp.140-41).
- 27 William Prynne, Romes Master-peece (London, 1643), sig. E2<sup>v</sup>.
- 28 Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson, p.71.
- 29 This is the conclusion reached by Quentin Bone in his study of Henrietta's political influence, Henrietta Maria, Preface, pp.v-vi.
- 30 See Robin Clifton, "Fear of Popery," in The Origins of the English Civil War, ed. C. Russell (London: Macmillan, 1973), who points out (p.150) that the 17th century was the first time that Catholic threat was perceived to come from internal conspiracy rather than from external invasion.
- 31 For a detailed account of these events see Joseph Berington, The Memoirs of Gregorio Panzani, giving an Account of his Agency in England in the Years 1634, 1635, 1636 (Birmingham: Swinney and Walker, 1793); and Gordon Albion, Charles I and the Court of Rome, A Study in 17th Century Diplomacy (London: Burns, Oates & Washbourne, 1935).
- 32 DNB, s.v. Conn (Connaeus), George (d. 1640).
- 33 Albion, passim, and esp. Appendix 1, "Rome, Charles I and Art." Puritans accused Conn of deceiving the King "with gifts of pictures, antique idols and suchlike trumperies brought from Rome" (quoted by Albion, p.395).

34 Information on Catholics at court can be found in the DNB, and Joseph Gillow, A Literary and Biographical History, or Bibliographical Dictionary, of the English Catholics, 5 vols. (London: Burns & Oates, 1885-1902). Brian Magee, The English Recusants: A Study of the Post-Reformation Catholic Survival (London: Burns, Oates & Washbourne, 1938), Ch.vii, says that under Charles one fifth of the Peers were Catholic (he gives a documented list of those who were (a) definitely (b) more doubtfully, Catholic from 1624 on); see also Lawrence Stone, The Crisis of the Aristocracy (Oxford: Clarendon, 1967), p.64. Other basic studies are by David Mathew, Catholicism in England, 1535-1935. Portrait of a Minority; Its Culture and Tradition (London: Longmans, 1936), and a chapter on "The Catholic Minority" in The Age of Charles I (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1951); and by John Bossy, The English Catholic Community, 1570-1850 (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1975). Bossy especially draws attention (Ch.vi) to the important part played by women (particularly Catholic wives) in the survival of Catholicism after the Reformation, and brings evidence to support the view that their Catholicism was active and proselytising rather than merely domestic (p.157). Lucy Hutchinson suggests the same (Memoirs, pp.62-63) when she says that so successful were Catholic wives in converting family, kindred, tenants and neighbours that mixed marriages were actually "a design of the popish party to compass and procure." Important information on the conversions taking place at court in the 1630's is given by Albion, Charles I, pp.200-214.

35 In Lodge's Portraits of Illustrious Personages of Great Britain, with Biographical and Historical Memoirs (quoted in the Introduction to The Private Memoirs of Sir Kenelm Digby, Gentleman of the Bedchamber to King Charles the First [London: Saunders and Otley, 1827], p.xli), Digby is said to have "rendered himself infinitely agreeable" to the Queen, and "she seems to have conceived a friendship for him which lasted through life. He was a party in all the royal diversions, which indeed he frequently planned and directed; and such were the volubility of his spirits, and the careless elegance of his manners, that it should have seemed that he had been bred from his infancy in a court." Digby was an eccentric, whose real life and courtship of Venetia Stanley, told in romance form in his Private Memoirs, is as strange as any of Camus's

romances, which in some ways it resembles. He translated Tasso's Aminta and Guarini's Il Pastor fido (both now lost: see Harbage, Cavalier Drama, p.132).

- 36 Hist. Manuscripts Commission, Salvetti Correspondence, p.85.
- 37 See esp. Albion, King Charles I, pp.212 et seq. for the following details.
- 38 Cf. Father Cyprien's account of these conversions, in which he says that "one converted person brought several others, who were either related to him or friends of his" (Birch, Court and Times, II, p.310).
- 39 See Odette de Mourgues, Metaphysical Baroque, esp. pp.108-116, on the characteristics of préciosité discussed below; also René Bray, La Préciosité, p.167.
- 40 Histriomastix. The Players Scourge or, Actors Tragoedie, Divided into Two Parts. Wherein it is largely evidenced ... That popular Stage-playes (the very Pompes of the Divell ...) are sinfull, heathenish, lewde, ungodly Spectacles, and most pernicious Corruptions (London, 1633).
- 41 E.N.S. Thompson, The Controversy between the Puritans and the Stage, Yale Studies in English, Vol.20 (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1903), is still the most comprehensive historical study. Russell Fraser, The War against Poetry (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton Univ. Press, 1970), complements Thompson in discussing the philosophical grounds of the controversy; see also P.W. Thomas, "Two Cultures? Court and Country under Charles I," Ch.vi in The Origins of the English Civil War, ed.cit., esp. pp.172-80. An historical account of anti-feminism is given by Ian Maclean, Woman Triumphant, Chs.i, ii; the early 17th century had seen a resurgence of anti-feminism, in England as elsewhere. Jacobean drama had dwelt on the wicked lusts of the Italian and, by implication, of the English court lady: see Robert Brustein, "The Monstrous Regiment of Women: Sources for the Satiric View of the Court Lady in English Drama," pp.35-50.
- 42 Sexual temptation and religious idolatry were associated, as Robin Clifton points out, in the Elizabethan Book of Homilies, the Homily "On Idolatry" traced an exact parallel between this

desire to go whoring after strange gods, and man's restless sexual appetite: "just as man will inevitably come to fornication in the presence of a whore ... so the mere existence of images would tempt him" (The Origins of the English Civil War, ed.cit., p.146).

43 Albion, Charles I, p.213.

44 Quoted as such by G.F. Sensabaugh, "Platonic Love and the Puritan Rebellion," p.460.

45 Romes Master-peece, sig. C4<sup>v</sup>.

46 Albion, Charles I, p.209.

47 Romes Master-peece, sig. D<sup>v</sup>.

48 See, for example, Alexander J. Denomy, The Heresy of Courtly Love (1947; rpt. Gloucester, Mass.: P. Smith, 1965); and Jeffrey B. Russell, "Courtly Love as Religious Dissent," Catholic Historical Review, 51 (1964-65), pp.31-44.

49 Cf. Christopher Hill, The World Turned Upside Down: Radical Ideas during the English Revolution (London: Temple Smith, 1972), esp. Ch.15, "Base Impudent Kisses," which deals with Puritan attacks on "free" love practised at the opposite end of the social scale from the court.

50 George F. Sensabaugh, in "Platonic Love and the Puritan Rebellion," SP, XXXVIII (1940), 474-81, has been the only critic to date to connect the Queen's cult of Platonic love with "Maryolatry" at court, and both with Puritan attacks. Sensabaugh, however, sees the attacks as based principally on moral grounds: "in Puritan eyes the cult's ethics were Rome's ethics; and since Catholics sponsored the cult, advocating its loose morals, Puritans could easily confuse the two and so attack the cult on religious grounds" (p.481). But, as has been shown in Ch.1 of the present study, Sensabaugh considerably exaggerated the "loose morals" of the cult and of the drama based on it; and since, as has also been shown, there were actual links between the Queen's cult of Platonic love and her Catholicism, Puritans had no need to "confuse" the two, but had sound reasons for attacking the cult on religious grounds. Sensabaugh's

arguments also appear in The Tragic Muse of John Ford (Chapter 3), and I am indebted to him for his references to contemporary literature on the subject.

- 51 For a history of the Capucins, see Father Cuthbert (Lawrence Anthony Hess) O.S.F.C., The Capuchins: a Contribution to the History of the Counter-Reformation, 2 vols. (1928; rpt. London: Kennikat Press, 1971). For a first-hand account of the Capucins at the English court, see "Memoirs of the Mission in England of the Capuchin Friars ... from the year 1630 to 1669. By Father Cyprien of Gamaches one of the Capuchins belonging to the household of Henrietta Maria," in Vol.2 of Thomas Birch, The Court and Times of Charles the First, ed. R.F. Williams (London: Henry Colburn, 1848). F. Cyprien gives the names of the Friars, of whom he says five were born Englishmen, pp.298-99; see also Cuthbert, op.cit., II, pp.337-38, and Martin Havran, The Catholics in Caroline England, p.168, n.70.
- 52 For Capucin teaching, see Cuthbert, The Capucins, II, pp.403-410.
- 53 Pierre Janelle, The Catholic Reformation (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co., 1963), pp.196-237.
- 54 The mingling of Neoplatonic with Christian ideas in Capucin literature is discussed in detail by Henri Bremond, A Literary History, I, Pt.2, Ch.xiv, "Towards 'Pure Love'."
- 55 Cuthbert, The Capucins, II, pp.410-12.
- 56 Cuthbert, II, p.413. I have been unable to locate a copy of the book, which was entitled La Philosophie chrestienne ou persuasions puissants au mépris de la vie (Paris, 1637), but Cuthbert describes it as exposing the arguments of the libertins, and appealing to a fundamental faith in human nature; Zacharie argues that the true joy and nobility of human life is to be found only when the body is under the influence of a pure spirit, and Cuthbert says that "in the last chapter there are arresting passages in which he describes the spiritualizing effect of a pure soul on the body, and how the body comes to share in the spirituality of the soul" (Cuthbert, II, p.413). Zacharie later turned to satire (under the pseudonym of Petrus Firmianus) in a reaction against the fashionable

- devotion that had "turned to insipidity" Sales's saintly teaching (Bremond, A Literary History, I, pp.256-57). His friendship with Yves de Paris is noted by Bremond, I, p.396, n.1.
- 57 Bremond, I, p.331. Bremond discusses La Théologie naturelle in the same chapter (pp.370-86), from which the following quotations are taken; the original French may be found in the corresponding passages of Bremond's Histoire littéraire, or in Cuthbert, II (Appendix), pp.463-70. See Cuthbert also (pp.415 et seq.) for discussion of La Théologie naturelle.
- 58 "Ce rayon divin voulant remonter à son principe, il gagne nos sens par les délices de tous ces objets; qui donne de l'amour à la raison, et l'oblige à la recherche de la véritable beauté, dont le monde n'est que le tableau" (q. Cuthbert, II, p.464).
- 59 "cela fait connaître que la beauté corporelle n'est qu'une ombre et un crayon d'une autre divine qui est le véritable objet de notre amour, qui, étant d'une perfection infinie, peut donner une pleine satisfaction à nos puissances" (q. Bremond, Histoire littéraire, I, p.500).
- 60 Quoted Cuthbert, II, p.417.
- 61 For the following discussion I have depended on Bremond, A Literary History, I, Pt.3, section headed "Of Beauty and Love," pp.384-96, which quotes extensively from Yves' works.
- 62 For a general history, see The New Catholic Encyclopaedia, 15 vols. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1967), s.v. Marian Devotion; Mary, Blessed Virgin, and sub-headings. Marina Warner, Alone of all her Sex: The Myth and the Cult of the Virgin Mary (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1976) is valuable for its lavish illustrations, and for a history of the cult under the headings of Mary as Virgin, Queen, Bride, etc.
- 63 A Capucin at the Spanish court, Fra Boverio de Saluzzo, who had held conversations with Charles on his visit to the Infanta, believed that Charles needed only to be taught the "true Faith" in order to be converted: see Cuthbert, op.cit., p.431. For the quotations below see F. Cyprien's account in Birch, Court and Times, II, pp.296-97.



- 64 Janelle, The Catholic Reformation, p.237; he was very influential in public affairs and in engineering reconciliations at the French court between Richelieu and Louis XIII. He had been in England previously, took part in many missions, and shared the prefecture of the mission to England (Birch, II, p.296).
- 65 New Catholic Encyclopaedia, s.v. Franciscans, Capuchin. F. Cyprien gives an enthusiastic account of the impression made by the Capucins on the court, and of the resulting number of conversions (Birch, II, pp.301-04).
- 66 Leveneur de Tillières, "Discours de Marie de Médicis ...," pp.73, 76.
- 67 The mysteries of the Incarnation are treated, Vol.I (pp.452-548) of Oeuvres complètes du Cardinal de Bérulle, 2 vols. (1644; rpt. Montsoul: Maison d'institution de l'oratoire, 1960). A section on the Magdalene in this volume (pp.549-52) was dedicated to Henrietta, whose favourite reading it was said to be in the early distressful days of her marriage.
- 68 H.M.C., Salvetti Correspondence, p.77.
- 69 Birch, Court and Times, II, pp.308-09.
- 70 Les Royales ceremonies faites en l'édification d'une Chapelle de Capuchins à Londres ... (Reims: Nicholas Constant, 1633), p.15. The report gives a full description of the ceremonies, and makes a great deal of the significance of Charles's permission for the building of the chapel.
- 71 Birch, II, p.316.
- 72 New Catholic Encyclopaedia, s.v. Sodality: Confraternities and Arch-Confraternities (from which the following details are taken).
- 73 Birch, Court and Times, II, p.316.
- 74 A prayer for admittance into "The Sodality or Association of the little Chaplet of our Blessed Lady" found among papers of the Jesuit residence at Clerkenwell in 1628 suggests that there was already at least one

Sodality in England at that date: see Wolfgang Lottes, "Henry Hawkins and Partheneia Sacra," RES, n.s., 26 (1975), 272.

- 75 In a note to the Scolar Press ed. (1975) of Stephen Luzvic, The Devout Hart (trans. Henry Hawkins; Rouen, 1634), Karl Hölting identifies Lady Anne Arundel (to whom Hawkins dedicated another of his works) as the Patroness of a Marian Society in England. She was also the dedicatee of a translation (by Miles Car, Priest) of J.-P. Camus's A Draught of Eternitie (Doway, 1632), which Car recommends as worthy "to be presented to the views and thoughts of our English Catholikes" (Dedication).
- 76 See Helen C. White, English Devotional Literature (Prose) 1600-1640, esp. Ch.VI; also "Some Continuing Traditions in English Devotional Literature," PMLA, 57 (1942), 966-80. Catholic books had always been able to enter England with ambassadors, who were free to worship within their own embassies, and import whatever books were necessary for the observance of their faith: v. Edward R. Adair, The Exterritoriality of Ambassadors in the sixteenth and seventeenth Centuries (London: Longmans & Co., 1929), p.186.
- 77 Allison & Rogers, A Catalogue of Catholic Books, prints a list of "Secret Presses Operating in England," pp.184-85. The following bracketed references are to the catalogue numbers in Allison and Rogers.
- 78 Rpt., Scolar Press, 1971; also available in an edition by the Hand and Flower Press (Kent, 1950), with an introd. by Iain Fletcher. The book was first fully described by Rosemary Freeman, English Emblem Books (1948; rpt. New York: Octagon Books, 1966). Freeman makes a convincing argument, based on good contemporary evidence, for Henry Hawkins as the author (Appendix 3, pp.243-48), though why he chose to sign some of his works "H.A." must remain, as Miss Freeman says, a mystery (p.246). Mario Praz, in Studies in Seventeenth-Century Imagery (1939 ed.), p.72, suggested Henry Aston as the author, but Freeman (pp.244-45) finds no strong evidence for this. In the revised 2nd ed. (1964) of his book, Praz drops his suggestion, and wonders if Hawkins might have used the Latin word for hawk, accipiter (p.154, n.1). The most recent study of the work, by Wolfgang Lottes, "Henry Hawkins and Partheneia Sacra," RES, n.s., 26 (1975), 144-53; 271-86, finds that Hawkins depended on

Latin books by two authors, Jacobus de Varagine, Mariale (1st pr. 1497); and Maximilianus Sandeus, Aviarium Marianum (Mainz, 1628), Maria Flos Mysticus (Mainz, 1629). From these books Hawkins has taken most of his symbols, some literal (and much adapted) translation to which he has made additions of his own (Lottes, pp.273-86).

79 English Emblem Books, p.194.

80 See Hawkins' passage on "The House," in which he says that "The good Architect should linck his spirit with his hand, and the compas with his reason, setting his hand to work, as wel as the brayne. The first do frame but bodies without a soule, the second, soules without a bodie, the third do build the whole, and are men of note and reputation indeed" (Henry Hawkins, Partheneia Sacra, ed.cit., pp.168-69). Vitruvius had said that both Practice and Theory are necessary to the successful architect: "Architects who without culture aim at manual skill cannot gain a prestige corresponding to their labours, while those who trust to theory and literature obviously follow a shadow and not reality. But those who have mastered both, like men equipped in full armour, soon acquire influence and attain their purpose" (Vitruvius, On Architecture, ed. F. Granger, 1931, Bk.I, Ch.I, p.2). Inigo Jones had referred to this passage from Vitruvius, and had shown the figures of Theory and Practice (the latter with the compasses) in the border of the scene for Albion's Triumph and Tempe Restored (both 1632). See D.J. Gordon, "Poet and Architect: The Intellectual Setting of the Quarrel between Ben Jonson and Inigo Jones," in The Renaissance Imagination, ed. Stephen Orgel (Berkeley: Univ. California Press, 1975), pp.77-101. Jones would have been gratified by the opening of Hawkins' passage which calls Architecture "a soveraigne Mistris," and says "We recurre then to the Architect, for direction in al."

81 DNB, s.v. Hawkins, Thomas and Hawkins, Henry. For additional information, see Wolfgang Lottes, "Henry Hawkins and Partheneia Sacra," RES, pp.144-53; Josephine E. Secker, "Henry Hawkins, S.J., 1577-1646: A Recusant Writer and Translator of the Early Seventeenth Century," Recusant History, XI, no.5 (April, 1972), 237-52; and a note by Höltingen in the Scolar Press ed. (1975) of Stephen Luzvic, The Devout Hart, trans. Henry Hawkins (Rouen, 1634).

- 82 This pairing of opposite qualities in which "Beautie should not violate Shamefastnes; grauitie, infringe lowlines; meekenes, grauitie; Simplicitie, Maiestie" (Proëme), is reminiscent of Du Bosc's paired opposites in the section headings of L'Honnête femme (cf. p.28 above).
- 83 Metaphysical Baroque and Précieux Poetry, pp.80-81, 93-97, et passim. De Mourgues applies these words to baroque style, but préciosité is its predecessor, using similar intellectual devices, but without the warmth and colour added by, for example, Marini.
- 84 A Collection of Private Devotions, ed. P.G. Stanwood and Daniel O'Connor (Oxford: Clarendon, 1967), Introduction, pp.xxiv-xxvii, traces the connections with the Primer. G.F. Sensabaugh, "Platonic Love and the Puritan Rebellion," gives a list of works connected with the controversy, pp.477-79.
- 85 A&R, s.v., Brereley, John, pseud. [Lawrence Anderton] (nos.131-39). DNB gives two priests under the name of Anderton: "James" (fl. 1624), and "Laurence" (1577-1643), both born in Lancashire, and both involved in religious controversy. Under "James" they list most of the works attributed by A&R to Brereley; under "Laurence" the works attributed by A&R to Lawrence Anderton, or N.N. Joseph Gillow, in A Literary and Biographical History, says that this division of authorship is a mistake: that Lawrence Anderton, S.J. (pseud. John Brereley) was James Anderton's nephew, and the sole author of the religious works.
- 86 A&R list Maria Triumphans under the initials N.N., as well as two works by Anderton: The Progenie of catholicks and protestants (N.N., 1633), and The triple cord or a treatise prouing the truth of the Roman religion (N.N., 1634): A&R, s.v. Anderton, Laurence, and N.N. The textual connection between Virginalia and Maria Triumphans seems to reinforce the evidence for identifying Brereley with Anderton/N.N.
- 87 Illust. in The Courts of Europe: Politics, Patronage and Royalty 1400-1800, ed. A.G. Dickens (London: Thames and Hudson, 1977), p.197; from a print in the British Museum, London. The wording on the two tablets is (as far as I can make out):

King's tablet

Princesse des Immortels,  
Que la splendeur enuironne  
Je consacre a vos autels  
Et mon sceptre et ma Couronne.

Par vostre ayde la Victoire  
M'est acquise contre tous;  
Car je combats pour la gloire  
De vostre Fils et de Vous.

Queen's tablet

Vierge, voicy le cher gage,  
Qu'il vous a pleu m'obtenir.  
Je vous en fais vn hommage,  
Vous l'offrant pour levenir.

Vous fustes à sa naissance  
Vn Astre, pour l'esclairer;  
Et c'est par vostre influence,  
Qu'il doit aussi prosperer.

- 88 The Poems of Richard Crashaw, ed. L.C. Martin, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966), p.261. The following page references are to this edition.
- 89 Lucy Hutchinson, Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson, introd. Margaret Bottrall (London: Everyman's Library, 1968), p.71.
- 90 Divine Fancies (London, 1632), sig. Y3<sup>v</sup>.
- 91 Pedro de Ribadeneira, The Lives of the Saints (incorporated in Flos Sanctorum, by Alfonso de Villegas); A&R, pp.854-60. My quotations are from the 1669 edition (St. Omers).
- 92 Dorset's speech is printed in John Rushworth, Historical Collections (London: T. Newcomb for G. Thomason, 1680), Pt.II, p.240.
- 93 L'Astrée, ed. Vaganay, II, p.327. For a review of the extensive literature tracing these interconnections see Roger Boase, The Origin and Meaning of Courtly Love (Manchester: Manchester Univ. Press, 1977). Courtly love is more likely to have influenced Marianism than the reverse (see Boas, pp.83-86), but the two streams seem to have mingled in the 13th to 14th centuries, when devotion to Mary was at its height (see Warner, Alone of All her Sex, chs.9-11).
- 94 See Bentley, The Jacobean and Caroline Stage, III, p.136 for contemporary references; the actors wore "a Persian habit," and, according to Laud's autobiography, the plot was "upon a piece of Persian story. It was very well penned and acted, and the strangeness of the Persian habits gave great content."

- 95 The Plays and Poems of William Cartwright, ed.cit., Introduction, pp.107-09.
- 96 Title-page; the work is included as part of Vol.67 in English Recusant Lit. reprints, Scolar Press, 1971.
- 97 Gordon Albion, Charles I and the Court of Rome, pp.155-56, quoted from Clarendon State Papers, I, pp.354-57, Oct. 28, 1635.
- 98 Albion, op.cit., p.175.
- 99 Cartwright, The Plays and Poems, p.561.
- 100 In the poem "No Platonique Love" he wrote "I was that silly thing that once was wrought / To Practise this thin Love ..." (The Plays and Poems, p.494).