

Two Poems on the Death of the Duke of Lennox and Richmond

James Doelman
Brescia University College
University of Western Ontario

Ludovick Stuart, Duke of Lennox and Richmond, died on the morning of Monday, 16 February 1624.¹ Most elegies and other notices of the unexpected death of this figure of high nobility made at least passing reference to its coincidence with the planned opening of the English Parliament, and this connection is central to the arguments of the two manuscript poems reproduced here: “It was the morne that ushered in the day,” and “Awake, dull Brittaines, are your soules asleep?”. These poems are examples of how manuscript elegies of the period probe, often in playful ways, the political significance of the deaths of public figures. The first poem in particular is rich and nuanced, and vividly imagines an owl’s announcement of the death to King James, discussion of the death at “the Parliament of Paules,” and the false mourners frustrated by the suddenness of this death. It offers no simple comment on political shifts, but perhaps shows something of the ambivalence and uncertainty felt by some as Prince Charles and Buckingham embraced an anti-Spanish policy under a declining King James.

Lennox had a long-standing, close relationship with the King.² His father was a first-cousin of the King’s father, Lord Darnley, and Lennox himself served as first gentleman of the bedchamber in the 1590s and fulfilled a wide variety of official and unofficial roles during James’ Scottish years. With the King’s accession to the English throne in 1603, Lennox came down with James to London and remained there for most of his remaining years, generally serving in less high-profile roles than before. Invested with the title Duke of Richmond in August 1623, he

¹ This is the most frequently cited date; the title-page of John Taylor’s elegy, *True Loving Sorow*, states that he “departed this life at *White-Hall* on Thursday the 12. of February.” The *Oxford DNB* gives his home in St. Andrew’s, Holborn as the location of his death.

² For the sake of simplicity, this and all future references to the Duke use only his Scottish title.

became one of only two non-royal English dukes (the other, of course, being Buckingham). Lennox married the wealthy and well-connected Frances Howard in 1621.³

Lennox's death delayed the opening of Parliament until Thursday, 19 February, something many accounts and elegies attribute to the king's grief.⁴ This much-anticipated Parliament was dominated by consideration of the Spanish question, as the failure of the intended match of Prince Charles to the Spanish Infanta the previous summer had led some in England, most notably Buckingham and Prince Charles, to call for war with Spain. They encouraged Parliament to grant the subsidies that would make such a conflict viable. The king's position was far more irenic, and Lennox seems to have been inclined in the same direction. John Chamberlain describes him as among the "neuters" regarding the Spanish Match, and notes conflict between the two Dukes in this context.⁵ We cannot be completely certain what role Lennox might have played in the House of Lords during that session had he lived, but a client of his, Sir Francis Seymour (also a step-grandson of the Duchess of Lennox), was the most outspoken opponent of Buckingham in the Commons. Furthermore, the Venetian ambassador noted that the "hispaniophiles" in particular saw Lennox's death as a bad omen for Parliament.⁶ With his death, a significant counterweight to the newly adopted anti-Spanish position of Buckingham was lost. The "Spanish Question" is very much the context of "It was the morne," for the poem celebrates Buckingham as now the "kings and Peoples favorite" for bringing Prince Charles safely back from Spain (16-22). Furthermore, it presents Parliament as healing the wounds made by Gondomar in the English state, the news of which Lennox will joyfully bring to heaven (122-30). However, the playfulness of both passages, and Lennox's doubts about war with Spain, raise questions about the level of irony at work.

A considerable body of elegiac poetry on the death of the Duke survives in print and manuscript. John Davies of Hereford complains of both the printed broadsheets that "each Wall and publike Post defil'd/With divers deadly Elegies," and those who "with more secrecie did write / Lines which you thought too precious for the light, / In reserv'd Manuscripts."⁷ Many of these elegies are formulaic rehearsals of praise and lament befitting Lennox's station. The two poems reproduced here, however, go further in exploring the political context in which Lennox's death occurred.

"It was the morne" can be best described as a satiric elegy, not that it satirizes the Duke as much as it uses his death as an opportunity to satirize the political situation. The poem opens with a playful depiction of King James in his chamber receiving the news of the Duke's death from a "Bird of th'Night" (presumably an owl). The poem plays on the king's uncertainty about which of his two Dukes has died. The approach is certainly lighter than a typical elegy, but its satiric intent is less clear than "Awake, dull Brittaines," which ends with the suggestion that Death ought to have taken the other duke. The fantastic opening dialogue between James and the owl gives way to a range of satiric depictions: the gossips of St. Paul's Cathedral, the

³ Frances was the daughter of Thomas Howard, Viscount Bindon, and great-granddaughter of Thomas, Duke of Norfolk. She had been previously married to Henry Prannell and Edward Seymour, third Earl of Hertford.

⁴ The Venetian ambassador suggests, instead, that Lennox's death left vacant the position of Lord Steward of the Royal Household, and that without a Lord Steward the ceremonial opening of Parliament could not go forward (*CSPV*, 1 March 1624).

⁵ N. E. McClure, ed., *Letters of John Chamberlain*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1939), 31 January 1624, vol. 2, 542.

⁶ *CSPV*, 1 March 1624.

⁷ *A scourge for paper-persecutors* (1625), sig. A3r-v. This work as a whole targets John Taylor, who also published an elegy on Lennox.

corruption of the court, and the threat of Spanish deceit. Lennox's sudden death is depicted positively since it forestalls those who profit from a lingering death: the typically satirized figures of mountebanks, lawyers, and those seeking preferment. The poem comes closest to directly mocking the Duke himself when it depicts his relations with his wife: that he found "the Shortest cut to eternitie" by "dying" sexually with his wife the night before his death (118-9).⁸ The poem concludes with a degree of political (and playful) celebration: Lennox, perceiving that Parliament will heal the breach in England over the Spanish question, is content with a Simeon-like departure. However, these closing lines also refer to an ancient prophecy that England cannot hold two Dukes, and because Buckingham was needed to give his relation of the Spanish voyage to Parliament, it was left to Lennox to depart.

"Awake, dull Brittaines" is more conventional in tone and approach, beginning with a common gesture in the elegies of the period: the complaint that proper mourning has been neglected. The poet then speculates that such obliviousness to Lennox's death might be preferable to the pain that all must otherwise feel. The latter half of the poem becomes more topical. Like a number of elegies in both print and manuscript, it construes his death as a calling to a "higher parliament" of heaven.⁹ Here he is summoned to "the counsel house of God" (33), and the poet playfully suggests that Death waited until he was fully dressed so that he might "dy in state," robed in such a way that his body "might bee / A type of his soules immortality" (29-30). Where "It was the morne" compares Death to a Spanish Don, "Awake, dull Brittaines" figures him as a "Rude sergeant" who dared "To shoulder clap a Peer of Parlaiment."¹⁰ These lines touch upon the contentious arrest of prominent members of the 1621 Parliament for their outspoken approach to foreign affairs.

Both poems are anonymous; there is no external or internal evidence of authorship. "Awake, dull Brittaines" may have been written from Scotland (there is some suggestion that the poet is at some physical distance from Lennox's death in London). "It was the morne" is marked by a tendency to a Latinate vocabulary ("auspicate," "redintegrate," "indigitate"), but there is nothing sufficiently distinct to identify its author. Both poems use pentameter couplets typical of funeral elegies in the period; those in "It was the morne" are somewhat more open and loose than those in "Awake, dull Brittaines."

Editorial Principles

The text of "It was the morne" is based upon that in British Library Sloane MS 542, fol. 48r-49r. Among the other manuscripts in which it survives, I have consulted BL Add. 25303 and BL Add. 21433 and indicated in the annotations those places where these two manuscripts significantly diverge from Sloane 542. The text of "Awake, dull Brittaines" is from Folger MS V.a.345, the sole extant copy that I have found.¹¹ This manuscript is a miscellany of prose and

⁸ A rumour to this effect is alluded to in Arthur Wilson's *The History of Great Britain* (1653): "She found the effects of his full Veines that night that he was found dead the next morning" (258).

⁹ John Taylor's *True loving sorrow* presents Death as summoning "him to Heav'ns high Parliament."

¹⁰ James Cleland's account of Lennox's death, *A Monument of Mortalitie* (1623) (STC 5396), 25, refers to Death as "the Devils Serjant" who arrests the wicked to bring them to Hell; in contrast, the godly are called by Death who takes the role of a gentleman usher.

¹¹ The poem appears in the unnumbered pages at the end of the manuscript. The regular pagination ends at 244, at which point a section of prose recipes and characters was inserted. When the poetry resumes (in the same hand), the single page number 245 appears. Counting from that, this poem would be on [pp. 280-2].

verse; most of the datable material is from the 1620s, with the latest poem (and that which ends the collection) being an epitaph on Buckingham's death in 1628.

All original spelling has been preserved, punctuation lightly modernized, and abbreviated forms expanded and indicated in italics. Apostrophes have been used to indicate elision. Much of "It was the morne" consists of dialogue; for this poem I have provided tentative quotation marks to clarify meaning.

The Texts

BL Sloane MS 542

48r On the death of the Duke of Richmond 1624

It was the morne that ushered in the day
wherein great Brittain's hope *and* fortunes lay;
which heaven Enammord on this Isle had sent
to auspicate¹² oure happy Parliament;
when, great *with* Publicke cares, oure sacred Nerva¹³ 5
Pleas'd to give issue to his mind's Mynerva;
In a solicitouse Muse as then he sate
These faire conceptions here to propagate,
A Bird of th'Night about his Chamber flutters,
And screeching theare these fatall accents utters:¹⁴ 10
"The Duke is dead." "Which Duke?" th'amaz'd King cries,
Indefinite feares doubling his agonies;
For though in either's fate he should have found
His Diadem miss a Rich Diamonde,¹⁵
yet since it might (heaven knows) have ben the man 15
That brought oure hopes on shoare, his Buckingham,¹⁶
Whome equall fame (doing faith *and* vertue right)
hath stild the king's *and* people's favorite,
Whose zeale to truth too stronge to be seduc'd
Blew up the Mines of Hell *and* them reduc'd¹⁷ 20

¹² auspicate] initiate a ceremony with a positive omen.

¹³ Nerva was Roman emperor for a few brief years, 96-98 A.D.; earlier he had been favoured by the emperors Nero, Vespasian, and Domitian. This positive perspective on Nerva's brief reign may stem from Tacitus, *Agricola*, paragraph 3.

¹⁴ The owl as a screeching bearer of fatal news has a long history, from *The Aeneid* 4: 462-3 to Spenser's reference to it as "deaths dreadfull messengere" (*The Faerie Queene*, 2.12.36). See also Tourneur's *The Atheist's Tragedy* (2.4.25).

¹⁵ The king would have found that the death of either would leave his crown missing a "rich diamond." The poet is playing on Richmond's name as "rich world."

¹⁶ This alludes to the return of Charles and Buckingham from Spain in October 1623.

¹⁷ I take "reduc'd" to be transitive past tense with the sense "bring back, restore" (*OED* 5), taking the object "prince," who has been restored from "them," that is the "Mines of Hell"; it would be possible to take "them" as the object of "reduc'd," with a full stop at the end of the line; in that case "love" would be the

Our love-led Theseus from th'enchanted twines¹⁸
 Of wealth *and* Beauty, Rome's 2 Proserpines,¹⁹
 It was a question Princely pertinent
 to know *which* Duke the Rigid Herald ment.
 And thanks to Heaven (in evils so extreme 25
 If there <were>²⁰ choise) death had observed the meane:²¹
 "twas but the Neptune of youre Northern Maine."²²
 "But," quoth the Kinge at whome sterne death did aime.
 "the Duke that's²³ destin'd god *and* thou to freinde,²⁴
 to waft²⁵ youre Trophees to the furthiest Inde, 30
 youre all-admired Admirall survives,
 And Castoer's death a Pollux left revives."²⁶
 "Is this youre meane?"²⁷ the King replies in wroth,
 "I loose in Richmond a Rich world of worth.
 He was noe lesse to me then th'Articke Pole:²⁸ 35
 to Heaven he bore the half upp of my soule.
 He was to me nearer in love then bloode;²⁹
 I stild him greate, but heaven Instald him good.³⁰
 The solid Counsellor, the steward just,³¹
 the faithfull Patriott in him kiss the dust: 40

subject of the verb "led." However, such a reading takes away from the focus on Buckingham that is the point of these lines.

¹⁸ I take the manuscript's final "s" here as a terminal "-es"; "twines" would also make sense, but the rhyme with "Proserpines," and the use of "twines" in the other two manuscripts lends greater weight to this reading.

¹⁹ The poem merges two classical myths. Charles is like Theseus finding his way out of the Minotaur's Labyrinth by following "our love," rather than by following Ariadne's thread. This story is rewritten as involving a journey into the underworld, where Proserpine has been doubled as the manifold attraction of wealth and beauty that Rome offers.

²⁰ "Were" is supplied from BL Add. 21433; the line as it stands in BL Sloane 542 is both ungrammatical and a syllable short.

²¹ The manuscript offers "meame" here to preserve the rhyme; while "meame" as the archaic noun "maim" (injury) is a slight possibility, the *OED* does not list that spelling. Other manuscript witnesses offer "meane," and that is preferred here.

²² As with the preceding couplet, this manuscript preserves "Maime" for the sake of rhyme, but only "Maine" (sea) makes sense in the context, and it is supported by BL Add. 21433 and BL Add. 25303. Lennox was High Admiral of Scotland, Buckingham of England.

²³ BL Sloane 542 has simply "that"; the other two manuscripts offer the more likely "that's."

²⁴ freinde] *vb.* assist or befriend.

²⁵ The scribe seems to have mistaken "waft" for "wast"; the other two manuscripts have the former.

²⁶ The poem figures the two dukes as the classical twins, Castor and Pollux, the Dioscuri; with Castor's death, Pollux remained on earth. The same conceit was used six years later by Ben Jonson in his "To the Immortal Memory and Friendship of That Noble Pair, Sir Lucius Cary and Sir H. Morison."

²⁷ Unlike the line above, this definitely looks like "meane."

²⁸ The manuscript has "th'Artictike Pole," which leaves the line a syllable too long, and for which the *OED* offers no instance.

²⁹ Lennox was the second cousin of the King, his father Esmé Stuart, first duke of Lennox, being the first cousin of Lord Darnley, James' father.

³⁰ The poet is playing on "install" in the sense *to place in office* (*OED* 1.). Taylor's *True loving Sorow* similarly points to the dead Duke as both "great" and "good."

³¹ This alludes not only to the Duke's last name, but also to his role as Lord High Steward to the King.

48v Teste me ipso.³² And *with* that, a springe
 Of Pearled tears confus'd the Ocean's kinge,³³
 And every dropp distil'd from Soveraing's eies
 Of vulgar Tears doth Heccatombs comprise.
 Thinke there was cause for sorrow to go deepe 45
 when he that joyes all hearts enjoyes to weepe;³⁴
 Thinke there was cause greif's billowes should goe high
 When Princly sighs fanned Tempests from the skies;
 Thinke there was cause to mourne seene *and* allow'd
 when th'universall eie affects a cloude, 50
 When on a day of joy so generall,
 A Jubile³⁵ so panted for of all,
 The king by such a sad Adjournment summons³⁶
 (to fill the sceane of sorrow) Pears *and* Commons.
 But hearke, that critticke Inquisition, 55
 the Parliment of Pauls (*which* by commission
 Censurs the occurrents of the times, whose witty
 Speaker *and* those in th'Middle Ile Committee³⁷
 pass upon all the world) demands a reason
 why Richmond disapeard so out of season; 60
 Why such a Prince the pillar of the state
 Should vanish *and* no star denounce his fate;³⁸
 Why leaving such faire fortunes indispos'd
 He was so on a sudden so discomposd;
 whie mute upon a day of Parliment; 65
 why quit such flesh, being licens'd to breake lent;³⁹
 with many a curiouse why *without* a wherefore,
 To *which* I spare to shape an Answere therefore.
 Yet give mee leave (a little wil suffice
 Duke Umfreyes guests)⁴⁰ to satisfie some whies: 70
 what need a Commet brandisht from the skie
 indigitate⁴¹ a vertuose Prince to die
 when blazing pride *and* lustfull blandishment⁴²

³² teste me ipso] by my own witness.

³³ Neptune, the ocean king, represents King James in John Barclay's *Euphormionis lusinini satyricon* (1605) and, given the date, most significantly in Jonson's masque *Neptune's Triumph*, performed in January 1624.

³⁴ BL Add. 25303 has the phrase "Est quaedam flere voluptas" interlined here (it appears replacing the final part of the line in BL Add. 21433). It comes from Ovid, *Tristia*, but had become proverbial.

³⁵ Jubile] the general sense of celebration would seem most applicable here.

³⁶ Lennox has been "adjourned," and Parliament summoned to fill his place in James' sorrow.

³⁷ The central aisle of St. Paul's Cathedral was the favourite venue for the exchange of news and gossip.

³⁸ The same question was raised in a widely circulated manuscript elegy on James' death, "Can Christendom's great monarch pass away." See James Doelman, "The Comet of 1618 and the British Royal Family," *Notes and Queries* n.s. 54 (2007): 30-35, on astronomical markers to royal events.

³⁹ Lent had begun the previous Wednesday; the line suggests that there was a special dispensation to break fasting for the opening day of Parliament, but I have not found other confirmation of this.

⁴⁰ Those who walked St. Paul's were often said to "dine with Duke Humphrey" if they remained there rather than going to dine over the noon hour.

⁴¹ indigitate] point towards.

are growen fixt starrs in the Court firmament?
 Twas Ceasar's wish a death free from death's fears.⁴³ 75
 'tis there rapt motions dignifies the Sphears.
 Suppose this fate precipitate, yet 'twere hard
 to censure whoe liv'd well dy'd unprepar'd.
 Death is a Don⁴⁴ *which* on advantage lies
and glories in defects, given by surprize. 80
 Trust him not, Princes: his false Ambuscadoes⁴⁵
 have *prov'd* more dangerouse then his great Armaddoes.
 Had he by faire Assault this Prince assay'd
 Nature *and* arte had both inforct there aide.
 Religion too (the season being holy) 85
 would have dispatch for reskue many a volley
 Of fervent prayers; many a pale-fac'd fast
 had happily obtain'd some Truce at last.
 Meane time 'twas happy since fate could not stay,
 death hurried to heaven the pryvy way; 90
 49r *and* had he the common Rode of Nature trodd,
and by disease bin driven to areine⁴⁶ *with* god,
 Lord *what* a Hell of torment *and* temptation
 must have past during heavens visitation.⁴⁷
 Heere, empty visitts *and* frothie Complements 95
 clogging the soul's wings in her passag hence:
 as if to condole *and* to congratulate
 weare all the essentialls of a greate Man's state.
 There, schooles of Mountebanks assuring ease
 when hope lies jaw-falne, *and* to earne there fees 100
 In the Artickle of death *and* dissolution.⁴⁸
 Heere, a learn'd Lawer *with* his knotty pate
 distracts the mind to settle the estate,
and yet (bethinking⁴⁹ after much adoe
 Hee's sworne to th'Law) leaves that unsettled too. 105
 Heere, an unpentioned troupe of followers cring⁵⁰

⁴² Comets were frequently referred to as "blazing stars."

⁴³ cf. Shakespeare, *Julius Caesar*: "Cowards die many times before their deaths;/The valiant never taste of death but once" (2.2.32-3).

⁴⁴ Don] Spanish lord. The passage as a whole reflects the anti-Spanish sentiment widespread in the winter of 1624.

⁴⁵ Ambuscadoes] ambushes.

⁴⁶ areine] arraign [*OED* 2. to appeal to (legal term).

⁴⁷ What follows is a satiric imagining of all those who would have surrounded Richmond had he experienced a lingering death.

⁴⁸ The lack of a rhyme suggests that a line is missing in the manuscript here. It is also missing in BL Add. 21433 and BL. Add. 25303, but in the latter the scribe has put a mark in the margin, possibly in acknowledgement of the missing line.

⁴⁹ bethinking] remembering.

⁵⁰ i.e., "crying."

to see there vast hopes in there Lord's death dying.⁵¹
 Heere (Judg'd to stale virginity) an Hearde
 of Chambermaids *and* women unpreferde.
 But, oh, the Dutchess! Spirit of bitterness! 110
 T'have seene her violate her golden Tresse,⁵²
which had so oft in bliss inchaind his eie
 had ben inoughe in health t'have made him die.
 His sowle to hers in Adamantine ties
 was linkt, *and* death (that grand observer⁵³) wise 115
 to cutt a Gordian that he could not loose
without exasperating both there woes.⁵⁴
 Thus, *what* the witts call suddenly to die⁵⁵
 he found the Shortest cut to eternitie;
 And for the season Heaven could none have sent 120
 to mortifie the flesh more fitt then Lent.
 A Parliment that might redintegrate⁵⁶
 the breaches that Gundamore hath trencht i th'state,⁵⁷
and rectifie the members *with* the head
 was such a wish that millions would have bledd 125
 t'effect it; Richmond seeing now this was
 by heaven's accomodation brought to passe,
 His joy-surcharged *spirt* breaks forth *and* sings
 A Nunc Dimittis to the Kinge of Kings.
 Heaven takes him at his word, *and* so he dies: 130
 Joy hath as well as greefe his extasies.
 Thus, *what* the world in him cann most deplore
 was a wisht rapture to the Elizian shore.
 They say tis founde in Merlin's leaves inrold
 2 English Dukes this senat could not holde,⁵⁸ 135
 And seing it so concernd the present state
 the one must there⁵⁹ th'affairs of Spaine relate,

⁵¹ Chamberlain to Carleton, *Letters of John Chamberlain*, 21 Feb. 1623/4, vol. 2, 546, reports that "Sir ----- Gray" was made a baron "at the suit of the Duke of Richmond, for his brother, the Earl of March." William Gray was made Baron Grey of Warke at this point.

⁵² Chamberlain to Carleton, *Letters of John Chamberlain*, 22 Feb. 1623/4: "His lady takes it [his death] extremely passionately, cut off her hair that day, with divers other demonstrations of extraordinary grief." The poet is imagining how Richmond would have felt to see this.

⁵³ observer] *OED* 2b. "A person who watches for and interprets omens."

⁵⁴ The same conceit is used in Chapman's *An epicede or funerall song; on the death of Henry Prince of Wales* (1612), sig. C2v: "In summe, (knot-like) hee was together put/That no man could dissolve and so was cut."

⁵⁵ In *The Atheist's Tragedy* (3.1.25), "suddenly to die" is used to mean to die unprepared. However, here there seems to be a glancing at the sexual meaning of "die," reflecting the gossip that suggested the Duke and his wife had been sexually active the night before his death.

⁵⁶ redintegrate] restore.

⁵⁷ Count Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador to England in the years 1613-18 and 1620-3, was a major promoter of the Spanish match, both while in England and in Spain. While personally supported by James, he was much vilified by the English public.

⁵⁸ Meercraft in Ben Jonson's *The Devil is an Ass*, cites "the receiv'd heresie,/That England bears no Dukes" (2.1.116-7).

and Heaven's decrees admitt no alteration,
 the other undertooke this transmigration
 to gratulate *with* Jove the saf arriving 140
 Of oure long long'd-for Prince from Spanish wiving.
 O, may that match be crownd wth consummation⁶⁰
 Whe<n>⁶¹ he retornes from his negotiation.
 – finis –

Folger V.a.345

280 **On the Death of the Duke of Lenox who dyed in his Parlaiment Robes**

Awake, dull Brittaines, are your soules asleep?
 Must I be forc't to cal and bid you weep?
 Or so far drencht into deep lethargy
 As to bee senceles of your misery?
 281 Let not your harts, unles they bee of flint, 5
 Like desperate wounds not feel the instrument
 Wherewith they'r searched, or make no greater moane
 Then a dead body in dissection.
 Or if they are, yet let my prayers move
 Out of that flint some sparkles of your love.⁶² 10
 Have you not hard of one in frantick fits
 That nothing mist when hee had lost his wits?
 Such is your case and worse, if that you knew
 How rich a Jewel hath been snatcht from you;
 ffor losses that so deeply wound our good 15
 Are better borne unknowne then understood,
 And in this lost tis easier far for most
 To loose their wits then know what they have lost.
 Brave Lenox, who so suddenly wast borne
 from us, as though t'hadst left *the* worlde in scorne, 20
 And didst vouchsafe to bid farewell to none
 Because thou knewst wee could not,⁶³ thou beeing gonne.

⁵⁹ The House of Lords. In late February Buckingham offered Parliament a long account of the 1623 expedition to Spain.

⁶⁰ BL Add. 25303 has "confusion," but "consumation" (shared by BL Add.21433) also makes sense: the poet wishes the match only to be consummated when Lennox returns from his "negotiation" with God, presumably, never, or at the Judgment Day.

⁶¹ The omitted letter is presumably a scribal error.

⁶² The conceit of the flinty heart prompted to a responsive fire was commonplace, and most famously used by Henry Vaughan in his *Silex Scintillans*.

⁶³ Lennox did not bid farewell because he knew those around him could not. However, the final phrase is puzzling: if the poet means that Lennox was "gone" in the sense of dead, then the point is rather circular: he did not bid farewell because he knew they could not since he was dead already. Perhaps the "we" is more particular, referring to those of Lennox's circle or household, possibly in Scotland, who were not with him because he was "gone" to attend Parliament.

Lenox is dead, the glory of our pride:
 O who would ha' thought that Lenox could have dyde!
 'Tis bruted that hee payd dame nature's rent 25
 Invested in *the* robes of parlaiment.⁶⁴
 If it were so I think death stayd at gate
 Til hee was drest, that hee mighte dy in state;
 And that his body so attir'd mighte bee,
 A type of his soule's immortality 30
 which true triumphant joyes doth now possess,
 Grac't with a robe and crowne of righteousnes.
 Admitted to *the* counsel house of God
 In heaven's white hall, with celestial clad,⁶⁵
 His body was debar'd of heer below, 35
 By death arrested, but prepar'd to goe.
 Rude sergeant, tel, what fury made thee bent
 To shoulder clap a Peer of Parlaiment?⁶⁶
 282 Could⁶⁷ finde no other Duke to ceize uppon?⁶⁸
 Or thoughtst thou hee had no protection? 40
 No, thou requir'd'st what he of nature borrowed
 And hadst: the *Lord* Cheif Justice warrant for it.⁶⁹

⁶⁴ Cleland, *A Monument of Mortalitie* (1623), 46, notes that the effigy of Lennox was "apparelled with his Parliament Robes."

⁶⁵ "Celestial" must be a noun, although the seeming sense goes beyond that listed in the *OED* B.1.a, "an inhabitant of heaven."

⁶⁶ Cf. the same conceit of Death serving a warrant for arrest in the elegy on Southampton in the Brotherton MS, MS Lt q 44, beginning "My [sic] thinke I see the Ile of wyght to floate" (fol. 51v).

⁶⁷ The mark ^, appears here, as if the scribe or a reader had noticed something was missing.

⁶⁸ This points to the only other Duke in the realm, Buckingham.

⁶⁹ The implications of this conclusion are uncertain. On the allegorical level, the "Lord Cheif Justice" would be God, whom the sergeant Death merely serves, and the warrant would be for the life of Lennox. However, to what extent this reflects back on the historical Lord Chief Justice at the time, James Ley, is unclear. Certainly, readers would have recalled the "shoulder-clapping" of the earls of Oxford and Southampton during the 1621 Parliament. At that time Ley was both Lord Chief Justice and presiding over the House of Lords because of the impeachment of Francis Bacon, Lord Chancellor.