Carew's Politic Pastoral: Virgilian Pretexts in the "Answer to Aurelian Townsend"

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Few poems in English seventeenth-century literature have garnered as much critical opprobrium as Thomas Carew's verse epistle, "*In answer of an Elegiacall Letter upon the death of the King of* Sweden *from* Aurelian Townsend, *inviting me to write on that subject.*" C. V. Wedgwood charges that the poem sums up "the mood of make-believe and play-acting which was to be the undoing of King Charles."[1] Joseph Summers recoils from the "smugly insular assumption of prosperity and an eternal party, like dancing on a volcano."[2] Most cogently, Louis L. Martz laments "the fatal separation of this gorgeous world of art"—the "Revels" Carew describes in the poem—"from the world of political actuality."[3] The aspect of the "Answer to Aurelian Townsend" that has provoked this chorus of condemnation is Carew's refusal to pen an elegy for the Protestant hero Gustavus Adolphus and his assertion that in 1632 England was a contented "Shepherds Paradise." Modern critics, puzzled by Carew's preference for pastoral over epic and influenced by their knowledge of subsequent historical events, routinely dismiss the poem as a piece of Caroline frippery and condemn the poet for failing to heed "that warning voice" which, according to modern lights, should have been ringing in his ears.[4] But it is we twentieth-century readers, not Carew, who have been deaf: the critical clamor has distracted us from recognizing the true tenor of Carew's poem. The "Answer to Aurelian Townsend" is, in fact, a shrewdly politic and highly political poem, nicely attuned to events on the continent and to attitudes at court. Recurrent echoes of Virgil's First and Ninth Eclogues provide the leitmotif for Carew's celebration of the reign of Charles I. Juxtaposing the *pax carolina* with the *pax augustalis*, the poet attempts to cajole Townshend and a wider audience into an appreciation of England's role as the preserver of the ideals of European

civilization; rejecting the heroic mode recommended by Townshend, Carew insists that pastoral, redefined in light of Virgil, continues to be the approrpiate genre for expressing English aspirations in a Europe ravaged by the Thirty Years' War. A recognition of the fragility of pastoral nonetheless tempers the poem's optimism. In the final lines of the "Answer to Aurelian Townsend," Carew quietly questions whether England can preserve the ideal it has already apparently attained. As in the Eclogues, the threat of destruction continues to lower, the best efforts of princes and poets notwithstanding.

Virgil's First Eclogue, though traditionally viewed as representative of the genre, is a problematic text. The poem records an encounter between the shepherds Meliboeus and Tityrus; beginning with the commentaries of Servius, the latter has traditionally been identified with Virgil himself. Meliboeus, trudging his way to exile after the expropriation of his farm, addresses his friend Tityrus, who is lolling at ease and piping amorous ditties in the shade of a spreading beech:

> *M. Tityre, tu patulae recubans sub tegmine fagi*
> *silvestrem tenui musam meditaris avena;*
> *non patriae finis et dulcia linquimus arva.*
> *nos patriam fugimus; tu, Tityre, lentus in umbra*
> *formosam resonare doces Amaryllida silvas.*
> *T. O Meliboee, deus nobis haec otia fecit.*
> *namque erit ille mihi semper deus, illius aram*
> *saepe tener nostris ab ovilibus imbuet agnus.*
> *ille meas errare boves, ut cernis, et ipsum*
> *ludere quae vellem calamo permisit agresti.*
>
> (1-10)

> M. You, Tityrus, under the spreading, sheltering beech
> Tune woodland musings on a delicate reed:
> We flee our country's borders, our sweet fields,
> Abandon home; you, lazing in the shade,
> Make woods resound with lovely Amaryllis.
> T. O Melibee, a god grants us this peace—
> A god to me forever, upon whose altar
> A young lamb from our folds will often bleed.
> He has allowed, you see, my herds to wander
> And me to play as I will on shepherd's pipes.[5]

The god who grants Tityrus this leisure in which he can meditate and sing is the emperor Octavian; paradoxically, it is also Octavian

who is responsible for the suffering of Meliboeus, since after the battle of Philippi in 42 B.C. Mantuan farms were seized and granted to veterans of Octavian's and Antony's armies in recompense for their services. In the remainder of the poem, Meliboeus contrasts his lot with that of his friend and ponders the horror of exile to Africa, Scythia or, worst of all, "*penitus toto divisos orbe Britannos*," to "Britain, wholly cut off from the world" (66). In the final lines of the poem, Tityrus offers Meliboeus shelter for the night; the pair shares one last pastoral moment together before the exile departs.

Modern readings of the poem differ sharply. Some critics, sympathizing with Meliboeus, argue that Virgil ironically undermines the basis of Tityrus's idyllic existence while others contend that Virgil's art integrates the suffering of Meliboeus into a tougher, more comprehensive pastoral ideal.[6] For Renaissance readers, however, the primary crux of the Eclogues was not aesthetic but allegorical. In *The Arte of English Poesie*, Puttenham argues that

> . . . the Poet deuised the *Eglogue* . . . not of purpose to counterfait or represent the rusticall manner of loues and communication: but vnder the vaile of homely persons, and in rude speeches to insinuate and glaunce at greater matters, and such as perchance had not bene safe to haue beene disclosed in any other sort, which may be perceiued by the Eglogues of *Virgill*, in which are treated by figure matters of greater importance then the loues of *Titirus* and *Corydon*.[7]

In readings of the First Eclogue, this allegorical temper takes a specifically political bent. Championing the moral relevance of pastoral in *An Apology for Poetry*, Sir Philip Sidney cites the lessons about what Puttenham terms "greater matters" that can be garnered from the story of Tityrus and Meliboeus:

> Is the poor pipe disdained which sometime out of Meliboeus' mouth can show the misery of people under hard lords or ravening soldiers? And again, by Tityrus, what blessedness is derived to them that lie lowest from the goodness of them that sit highest? sometimes, under the pretty tales of wolves and sheep, can include the whole considerations of wrong doing and patience. . . .[8]

For Sidney, *Eclogue* I primarily addresses the power of rulers, not the power of art; Virgil's "pretty tales" are grounded in moral and political actuality, not set in an imaginary landscape. More pertinent evidence of the political import Renaissance Englishmen attached to pastoral and specifically to Virgil's pastoral was the discovery in December 1623 of a subversive society in London that called itself "Titere-tu" after the opening words of the First Eclogue.[9] Little is known of the beliefs of the group, but its appearance during a period of popular discontent over Prince Charles's projected match with the Infanta gave royal authorities alarm: members of Titere-tu, primarily "young gentlemen," were taken into custody and examined while the guard around the king was tightened and the pensioners equipped with extra pistols.[10]

The Ninth Eclogue, a pendant to the First, is no less political in its implications. Again, the theme is dispossession and the horrors of war. Moeris, who has lost his farm to the expropriators, meets the young Lycidas on the road. They discuss the absence of the master-singer Menalcas and remember the panegyrics he composed on Varus, which had heretofore preserved Mantua from the confiscations suffered by neighboring Cremona. They also recall scraps of the pastoral songs they sang in the golden age of the "*Dionaean Caesar*," i.e., Julius Caesar, who claimed descent from Venus and her mother Dione. Caesar here plays a role analogous to that the "young god" Octavian fills for Tityrus in Eclogue I: associated with love and creativity, he is the good ruler whose reign ensures the peace and stability necessary for poetry to flourish. The overall tone of *Eclogue* IX, however, is somber and more elegiac than that of *Eclogue* I. Lycidas's final lines—

> *si nox pluviam ne colligat ante veremur,*
> *cantantes licet usque (minus via laedet) eamus;*
> *cantantes ut eamus, ego hoc te fasce levabo.* (63-65)

> if we fear rain gathering in the night,
> Sing as we walk—it makes the trip less painful;
> To keep us singing, I shall take your load—

convey the sense that the only role left for poetry is to provide solace to a darkened world by recalling happier times. In Gordon Williams's words, "The worst has not yet happened at the time the poem was written, so the reader is intended to understand—but Mantua is threatened and may at any time suffer the fate depicted in the rest of the poem."[11]

The themes that Virgil explores in *Eclogues* I and IX—the relation between politics and art, the character of the good ruler, and the role played by poetry in preserving a threatened way of life—are the same issues Carew treats in his "Answer to Aurelian Townsend." The piece addresses Townshend in particular and the court in general; this dual audience is reflected in the poem's structure and rhetorical strategies. In logical terms, the "Answer to Aurelian Townsend" is a three-part syllogism. In lines 1-44, Carew congratulates his fellow poet on his heroic elegy of the fallen Gustavus and avers that he, too, would write an elegy if he had the skill; in lines 45-88, however, Carew argues that the pastoral Townshend had written for Queen Henrietta Maria the previous year is an even better poem and more appropriate to the poet's circumstances; thus, Carew concludes in lines 89-104, Townshend should resume the pastoral pipe and dismiss his martial muse. On this level, the poem is a politic suggestion to a friend that he better attune himself to "the subjects proper to our clyme," i.e., those pleasing to the monarchs, lest he forfeit his favor at court. But the "Answer to Aurelian Townsend" is a political statement as well. On a higher plane, the poem works imagistically rather than logically. In two parallel passages, one describing the elegy he himself will not write, the other describing the pastoral Townshend once had written, Carew contrasts the martial exploits of Gustavus with the artistic pastimes of Henrietta Maria. The two contraries, Mars and Venus, are reconciled in the person of the king, mentioned only once in the central passage of the poem. The two levels of discourse converge in the poem's closing lines, in which Carew both advises his friend to stick with pastoral themes and redefines pastoral as the culmination of epic struggle rather than its necessary prelude. Through avoiding entanglement in European conflicts and cultivating the arts, Carew suggests, Charles achieves the very prizes for which the Germans wrangle in vain. But a recognition of the limits of art tempers the poet's optimism; like Virgil's Mantua, Carew's "Shepherds Paradise" is threatened by destruction and suffering on all sides.

The death of Gustavus Adolphus at the battle of Lützen on 6 November 1632 evoked widespread dismay in England. The continued military success of the Swedish king appeared to offer the sole hope for a Protestant victory in the Thirty Years' War; more pertinent to English interests, however, was the belief that Gustavus alone could recover the Rhineland Palatinate, long occupied by imperial troops, for the exiled Elector Frederick V and his

wife Elizabeth, the sister of Charles I.[12] Once the outcome at Lützen was definitely established, English poets rushed into print a series of elegies that was collected in the third part of the *Swedish Intelligencer* in 1633. These poems uniformly portray Gustavus as a latter-day St. George, both a martial hero and a Protestant martyr. Henry King lauded the Swede as a "Champion/For Liberty and Religion."[13] Thomas Randolph lamented that Gustavus had fallen before he could turn "his purging hand" against the Pope and the Turk to complete his "holy war."[14] The final line of an anonymous composition in the *Intelligencer* sums the edifying tendency: "He is not canon'd: no, Hee's canonized."[15] Aurelian Townshend, the poet who had recently succeeded Jonson as the preferred writer of court masques, joined the chorus of militant Protestantism; his elegy differs from the others, however, inasmuch as it is structured as an invitation to Carew to mingle his "Ambrosian teares" with those of his fellow poets.[16]

What Carew recognized and what Townshend apparently did not was that Charles I and his closest advisors did not share in the unqualified adulation accorded Gustavus by many Englishmen. Though nominally pledged to support the Swede with monthly subsidies, Charles, suspicious of his ally's intentions, was simultaneously negotiating with the Emperor and the King of Spain for the return of the Palatinate by peaceful means. In the month before Lützen, the English ministers became convinced that Gustavus planned to hand over the Palatinate to the French; relations between the two allies grew so strained that Charles recalled his ambassador to Gustavus, Sir Henry Vane.[17] In late 1632 it appeared that English negotiations in Vienna might bear fruit and that Charles would accomplish through diplomacy what Gustavus had failed to achieve through arms. The death of Gustavus, then, was not necessarily viewed by Charles's court as a setback; instead, it perceived Lützen as a release from obligations to an increasingly demanding ally and the removal of the chief obstacle to a general European peace. In this context, the elegies on Gustavus assumed a political cast. The praise of the martial Swede could be interpreted as a reproach to Charles for failing to take an active military role in the European religious conflict. The pacific policies of Charles and his father had become a rallying point for the parliamentary opposition and for religious dissidents throughout the 1620s. In penning an elegy on Gustavus, Townshend, perhaps inadvertently, had aligned himself with the ultra-Protestant party and jeopardized his position at court.

In his "Answer to Aurelian Townsend," Carew attempts to reason his friend out of the position he has taken and to exculpate himself from complicity. The first fourteen lines of the poem contrast Townshend's shrill excitement with Carew's unassuming calm:

> Why dost thou sound, my deare *Aurelian*,
> In so shrill accents, from thy *Barbican*,
> A loude allarum to my drowsie eyes,
> Bidding them wake in teares and Elegies
> For mightie *Swedens* fall? Alas! how may
> My Lyrique feet, that of the smooth soft way
> Of Love, and Beautie, onely know the tread,
> In dancing paces celebrate the dead
> Victorious King, or his Majesticke Hearse
> Prophane with th'humble touch of their low verse?
> *Virgil*, nor *Lucan*, no, nor *Tasso* more
> Then both, not *Donne*, worth all that went before,
> With the united labour of their wit
> Could a just Poem to this subject fit. (1-14)[18]

The half-serious, half-playful response to Townshend's call to arms conflates two Virgilian passages. The poet's surprise at Aurelian's agitation reverses Meliboeus's amazement at the ease of Tityrus in *Eclogue* I; Carew's own "drowsie eyes" recall Virgil's description of the latter "*lentus in umbra*," lazing in the shade. Although apparently acceding in Townshend's opinion of the "dead/Victorious King," Carew declines the invitation to pen his own elegy because he is unqualified for the task. The confession that his "low verse" knows only the lyric path of "Love, and Beautie" echoes the disclaimer of Lycidas in *Eclogue* IX that he is able to add to the panegyrics composed by his teacher, Menalcas:

> *et me fecere poetam*
> *Pierides, sunt et mihi carmina, me quoque dicunt*
> *vatem pastores; sed non ego credulus illis.*
> *nam neque adhuc Vario videor nec dicere Cinna*
> *digna, sed argutos inter strepere anser olores.*
> (32-36)

> Why, the Muses made
> Me too a poet; I too have songs, and hear
> The shepherds call me bard—but I don't mind them.
> Unworthy still of Varius and Cinna,
> I'm a goose who cackles among tuneful swans.

The Virgilian pretext vitiates the ingenuousness of Carew's modest protestations; the Eclogues themselves are testimony that other good poets have been content to scribble an "*ignobile carmen*," or "low verse" (IX.38).[19] The poet's hyperbolic assertion that celebrating the merits of Gustavus would defy the skill of the most gifted of classical and Renaissance poets, including Virgil and Carew's own Menalcas, Donne, lends a certain ambivalence to Carew's tribute, an ambivalence intensified by the poet's surprising but utterly logical conclusion. Since Gustavus is above praise, English poets should ignore him altogether:

> Leave we him then to the grave Chronicler,
> Who though to Annals he can not refer
> His too-briefe storie, yet his Journals may
> Stand by the *Caesars* yeares, and every day
> Cut into minutes, each, shall more containe
> Of great designement then an Emperours raigne;
> And (since 'twas but his Church-yard) let him have
> For his owne ashes now no narrower Grave
> Then the whole *German* Continents vast wombe,
> Whilst all her Cities doe but make his Tombe.
> (25-34)

The "ironic tone" noted by Louis Martz in these lines makes itself clear: Gustavus has devastated Germany with his military campaigns and the grave he lies in is of his own making.[20] Carew points out, moreover, that the Swede's fall is directly attributable to divine intervention:

> Let us to supreame providence commit
> The fate of Monarchs, which first thought it fit
> To rend the Empire from the *Austrian* graspe,
> And next from *Swedens*, even when he did claspe
> Within his dying armes the Soveraigntie
> Of all those Provinces, that men might see
> The Divine wisedome would not leave that Land
> Subject to any one Kings sole command. (35-42)

For Carew, Gustavus's death savors less of disaster than of deliverance. By invoking "supreame providence" and "Divine wisedome" to explain the events at Lützen, the poet strips Gustavus of the palm of Protestant martyrdom that other English poets had hastened to accord him. He fought for "Soveraigntie," not religion, and Carew refuses to differentiate between the motives of the Lutheran king and the Catholic emperor. Gustavus becomes but one

more case history in the fall of princes, picked off by a cannon at the moment of greatest temporal glory. The string of hortatory subjunctives that structures these lines—"Leave we him then," "Let him have," "Let us commit," "Then let the Germans"—expresses a lack of sympathy rather than a lack of ability. His name notwithstanding, the Swedish Gustavus is not the Augustus whom English poets seek.

The proper subject for the British muse lies here, at home:

> But let us that in myrtle bowers sit
> Vnder secure shades, use the benefit
> Of peace and plenty, which the blessed hand
> Of our good King gives this obdurate Land,
> Let us of Revels sing, and let thy breath
> (Which fill'd Fames trumpet with *Gustavus* death,
> Blowing his name to heaven) gently inspire
> Thy past'rall pipe, till all our swaines admire
> Thy song and subject, whilst they both comprise
> The beauties of the SHEPHERDS PARADISE.
> (45-54)

Carew's pastoral vignette again returns us to *Eclogue* I, but with a difference. All the "swaines" of Charles's court enjoy "peace and plenty," whereas Tityrus alone benefited from the *otia* bestowed on him by Augustus; the English phrase expands the more restricted sense of the Latin word to suggest a national concord as opposed to a state of mere individual repose. In joining the hue and cry after Gustavus, Townshend has abandoned the blessings of what Sidney termed a "good lord" to follow a "hard" one; in his lamentations for the loss of the Swede, Aurelian has become a false Meliboeus, needlessly shattering the peace of the "Shepherds Paradise." Carew's "good King" is, like the "*deus*" Augustus of *Eclogue* I, a mysterious figure, mentioned—and not by name—only this once in the poem. But his works are manifest. His "blessed hand," perhaps a glance at Townshend's assertion that Gustavus's demise leaves no hands "fitt for a monarchie," has transformed the remote isle of Britain into a worthy successor of Virgilian Mantua.[21] The comparison is no mere poetic fiction. With the failure of the direct male line of the Gonzagas in 1621, the possession of modern Mantua had become the chief prize in the Italian arena of the Thirty Years' War; after a prolonged siege, the city fell to imperial troops in 1627 and suffered a three-day sack that surpassed in savagery all previous events of the war. The unrivaled art collection amassed by the Gonzagas was acquired by Charles I in 1628

and installed at Whitehall and Hampton Court soon after. In a sense, the Virgilian legacy cultivated by the Gonzagas with the aid of poets like Mantuan now passed to England: the remote island "cut off from all the world" that for Meliboeus summed all the horrors of exile becomes the new focus of European culture as the historic cities and landscapes of the continent fall victim to the ambitions of monarchs like Gustavus. In establishing the polarity between "the royall Goth" and the beneficent Charles, Carew dissolves the central ambiguity of *Eclogue* I while adding complexities of his own.[22] Charles is not utterly pacific—he masters a land rendered "obdurate" by the dissent of subjects like those with whom Townshend has allied himself—but Carew, as does Virgil to a lesser extent, displaces the harsher aspects of the reign into the background. Extending the protection of "secure shades"—the "*umbra*" enjoyed by Tityrus—to Carew and to Townshend, the Stuart monarch follows the pattern established by Augustus, whose peaceful government and artistic patronage ushered in the golden age of Latin poetry.

In celebrating the peace and plenty of the Stuart monarchy, Carew turns the tables on his correspondent. Townshend's inordinate praise of the foreign sovereign might be interpreted as a slight on his own; singing the exploits of Gustavus at a time when Charles was unable and unwilling to involve himself in the European conflict is imprudent, if not an arrant act of *lèse majesté*.[23] Carew suggests that Townshend recapture the favor he has jeopardized by turning again to the pastoral themes favored by the king to celebrate his reign, since "song and subject . . . both comprise / The beauties of the SHEPHERDS PARADISE." The "both" is important inasmuch as it suggests that it is the theme of Townshend's elegy, rather than its quality, that renders it inappropriate for English ears. As an example of the sort of poetry his friend should write, Carew reminds Townshend of the success of his masque *Tempe Restord,* presented by the queen and her ladies for the king on Shrove-Tuesday of the previous year.[24] The masque depicts the victory of "the divine / *Venus*," personated by Henrietta Maria, and Charles, in the role of "Heroic Virtue," over the sorceress Circe. The triumph the pair achieve is aesthetic as well as spiritual:

> The stories curious web, the Masculine stile,
> The subtile sence, did Time and sleepe beguile,
> Pinnion'd and charm'd they stood to gaze upon
> Th'Angellike formes, gestures, and motion,

> To heare those ravishing sounds that did dispence
> Knowledge and pleasure, to the soule, and sense.
> (71-76)

With the aid of their poet, the king and queen accomplish what Gustavus, for all his military prowess, could not: they "beguile" and "pinion" time. Not only the audience, but the entire nation, partakes of this transcendence. The prize gained by their victory is to roll back time to the pastoral golden age sung by the ancients. Tempe is, indeed, restored in England's green and pleasant land.

In his lengthy description of Townshend's masque, Carew moves beyond the merely politic to the political in order to suggest the special character of Charles's reign. Although the king played a crucial role in the action of *Tempe Restord*, Carew focuses on the part of the queen in order to provide a contrast to the portrait of the heroic Gustavus in lines 15-44. The presentation of the two monarchs calls to mind the opposition of Mars and Venus; the reconciliation of the two deities was a central emblem of Charles's reign. The king, mentioned only once in Carew's poem in the passage bridging the two portraits, harmonizes the contraries they represent, tempering the strength of the one with the sweetness of the other.[25] The image Charles chose to project in his portraits, such as the famous allegorical landscape by Rubens, is that of the hero disarmed in a pastoral setting; the dragon slain, the Stuart St. George turns from martial to venereal pursuits.[26] Like the Dionaean Caesar whom the shepherds recall in *Eclogue* IX, Charles employs the arts of war to promote the arts of peace. The type of pastoral Carew outlines here reverses the Renaissance commonplace of the hierarchy of genres. It is pastoral, not epic, that encompasses and summarizes all the other kinds of literature; it is the pastoral moment, not the epic, that represents the culmination of human existence.[27] The "Shepherds Paradise" of Charles's court incorporates heroic and lyric strains and integrates them into a pleasing, harmonious whole.[28] This Caroline redefinition of pastoral is in a sense a rediscovery of the elasticity and capaciousness that Virgil found in the genre. The political *topoi* and the depictions of suffering in *Eclogues* I and IX are not intrusions but an essential feature of Virgilian pastoral as a genre.

The final lines of the "Answer to Aurelian Townsend," oft quoted and as often reviled, sum up with playful bravado the course that Aurelian and the Caroline monarchy should follow:

These harmelesse pastimes let my *Townsend* sing
To rurall tunes; not that thy Muse wants wing
To soare a loftier pitch, for she hath made
A noble flight, and plac'd th'Heroique shade
Above the reach of our faint flagging ryme;
But these are subjects proper to our clyme.
Tourneyes, Masques, Theaters, better become
Our *Halcyon* dayes; what though the German Drum
Bellow for freedome and revenge, the noyse
Concernes not us, nor should divert our joyes;
Nor ought the thunder of their Carabins
Drowne the sweet Ayres of our tun'd Violins;
Beleeve me friend, if their prevailing powers
Gaine them a calme securitie like ours,
They'le hang their Armes up on the Olive bough,
And dance, and revell then, as we doe now.
(89-104)

The pastoral subjects to which Carew advises Townshend to confine himself are "harmelesse" in a double sense: the themes of *The Shepherds Paradise* are not only innocuous in themselves, but they are also less likely to entail the danger of infringing upon the royal prerogative. In his elegy of Gustavus, Townshend had trespassed upon a "reserved" subject, the conduct of foreign policy; inasmuch as his enthusiasm for the Swede could be construed as a criticism of Charles, Aurelian would do better to avoid such prickly themes altogether. But Carew proffers more than personal advice here: he also expresses what seem to be deeply held views about the power of art and the political role of pastoral. The musical duel between the German cannon and the English violins, one of the most appealing of Carew's conceits, may well have its genesis in a rueful admission by Moeris in the Ninth Eclogue:

sed carmina tantum
nostra valent, Lycida, tela inter Martia quantum
Chaonias dicunt aquila veniente columbas. (11-13)

but all our songs,
Lycidas, no more prevail with weapons of war
Than the oracle's doves, they say, when eagles come.

In Carew's recision of these lines, songs *do* prevail—or will, at least, when Englishmen only heed them. The Germans fight only to attain the "calme securitie" of peace and good government that England already enjoys; the pastoral existence represents no abdication of

the heroic, but its justification and reward. In the winter of 1632/33, the peace and prosperity that visitors like Rubens found in England stood as a pattern for the rest of Europe to emulate.[29] In an early version of the westward progress of the arts, Carew suggests through his Virgilian allusion that Britain now replaces the vanished Mantua and Arcadia as the ideal landscapes of the European mind.

But, like Mantua and Arcadia, Carew's England is defined by bloodshed and darkness on all sides. The phrase "our *Halcyon* dayes" signifies in its widest sense an indeterminate period of calm and peace; the more restricted meaning, however, refers to the short period at the winter solstice during which the halcyon, or kingfisher, builds its nest on the waves. As Ovid relates in the *Metamorphoses*,

> *coeunt fiuntque parentes,*
> *perque dies placidos hiberno tempore septem*
> *incubat Alcyone pendentibus aequore nidis.*
> (XI.744-46)

> Still do they mate and rear their young, and for seven peaceful days in the winter season Alcyone broods upon her nest floating upon the surface of the waters.[30]

The "peace and plenty" of Charles's reign were to last another seven years rather than seven days, but Carew's choice of phrase, I believe, reflects his own recognition of how tenuous the *pax carolina* really was. The optimistic vision sketched in the "Answer to Aurelian Townsend," though chiming with the king's own views, also expresses the poet's fear that the "Shepherds Paradise" he had helped to fashion would not endure. Given the impossibility of military action, the courtly poet can only resort to song and hope it will prove the prevailing power. Bad times may make the poet sad, but still this solace remains: as Lycidas advises Moeris in *Eclogue* IX, "If we fear rain gathering in the night, / Sing as we walk—it makes the trip less painful."

Townshend's response to Carew's "Answer" is unrecorded; in any event, after the success of *Albions Triumph* and *Tempe Restord*, he never wrote another court masque. Whether this can be attributed to the loss of favor about which Carew cautioned him is unclear, but Townshend's career suffered a permanent decline after 1632; ten years later, the Earl of Pembroke described him as

"a poore & pocky Poett . . . glad to sell an 100 verses now at sixpence a peice, 50 shillinges an 100 verses."[31] Thomas Carew lived to see the opening of the Civil War in the Scottish Campaign of 1639 but died in March of the following year before the violins had altogether ceased to play. His vision of the "Shepherds Paradise" did not long survive him: in the 1640s and '50s poets like Davenant, Cowley, and especially Milton turned again to epic as a more appropriate vehicle for expressing England's new, imperialistic aspirations.

Although the policies Carew advocated in the "Answer to Aurelian Townsend" did not succeed, the advantage of hindsight should not lead us to dismiss the poem as visionary and escapist. Carew is very much aware of and engaged in the policies and politics of Stuart England; in Virgil's Eclogues the poet finds a model that, with adjustments, explains and legitimates his own version of pastoral. Far from being removed from "political actuality," the "Answer to Aurelian Townsend" is a politic poem indeed.

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NOTES

1 *Poetry and Politics under the Stuarts* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1960), p. 44.

2 *The Heirs of Donne and Jonson* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1970), p. 73.

3 *The Wit of Love* (Notre Dame, Ind.: Univ. of Notre Dame Press, 1969), p. 73.

4 Summers, p. 72.

5 The text and translation are those of Paul Alpers, *The Singer of the "Eclogues": A Study of Virgilian Pastoral* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1979). All subsequent citations of the Eclogues are taken from Alpers' edition.

6 Alpers, pp. 66-71.

7 *The Arte of English Poesie*, intro. Baxter Hathaway (Kent, Ohio: Kent State Univ. Press, 1970), p. 53.

8 *An Apology for Poetry*, ed. Forrest G. Robinson (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1970), pp. 42-43.

9 See the account in John Chamberlain's letter of 6 December 1623 to Sir Dudley Carleton, reprinted in Norman E. McClure, ed., *The Letters of John Chamberlain* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1939), II, 530. Herrick also alludes to the discovery of "late spawned *Tittyries*" in "*A New-yeares gift sent to* Sir Simeon Steward," line 2. I am thankful to Professor Annabel Patterson for bringing the existence of the Titere-tu to my attention during the course of her spring 1981 Folger Institute seminar, "Pastoral and Romance in Stuart England."

10 Chamberlain, II, 530.

11 *Tradition and Originality in Roman Poetry* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1968), pp. 325-26.

12 See the letter of 17 September 1632 from Vicenzo Gussoni to the Doge and Senate of Venice in the *Calendar of State Papers Venetian (CSPV), 1632-1636*, ed. Horatio F. Brown and Allen B. Hines (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1900-24), p. 6.

13 "An Elegy Upon the most victorious King of Sweden Gustavus Adolphus," ll. 115-16.

14 "Upon the Report of the King of Sweden's Death," ll. 33-36.

15 "*Upon the most puissant and victorious Prince and Souldier*, Gustavus Adolphus *King of* Sweden &c." in William Watts, *The Swedish Intelligencer, The Third Part* (London: Nathaniel Butter and Nicholas Bourne, 1633), sig. qq^{v}. The poem seems to be a version of the elegy by Richard Love listed by Margaret Crum, ed., in *First-Line Index of English Poetry, 1500-1800, in Manuscripts of the Bodleian Library, Oxford* (New York: Modern Language Association of America, 1969), entry T2833.

16 Another elegy that was not printed in *The Swedish Intelligencer*, Dudley North's "An Incentive to our Poets upon the Death of the victorious King of *Swedeland*," is also couched as an invitation to English poets to praise the fallen Gustavus. Several details suggest that North, like Townshend, primarily addresses his poem to Carew, whose recent elegies upon Donne and the Earl of Anglesey had confirmed his position as a spokesman for English poets. "An Incentive" is printed in North's *A Forest of Varieties* (London: Daniel Pakeman, 1645).

17 *CSPV, 1632-1636*, p. 22. From the beginning Charles admitted privately that his alliance with Gustavus was based on pragmatism rather than on any idealistic interest in a Protestant league. In a 1630 letter to his sister Elizabeth, Charles wrote that "for Sweden, I admit that he is to be harnessed and used as much as may be" to recover the Palatinate (cited in John Bowle, *Charles the First* [Boston: Little, Brown, 1975], p. 126). The 1632 rupture in Anglo-Swedish relations was due, in part, to Gustavus's unwillingness to be so "used."

18 All citations of Carew's poetry are taken from Rhodes Dunlap, ed., *The Poems of Thomas Carew with his Masque "Coelum Britannicum"* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1949; rpt. 1970).

19 In echoing both *Eclogues* I and IX here, Carew imitates the technique of Virgil, who combined allusions to the Idylls of Theocritus in free fashion throughout the Eclogues. See Donald M. Rosenberg, *Oaten Reeds and Trumpets: Pastoral and Epic in Virgil, Spenser, and Milton* (Lewisburg, Pa.: Bucknell Univ. Press, 1981), pp. 17-18.

20 Martz, p. 78.

21 Townshend had written of Gustavus,

> His gloryus gauntletts shall vnquestiond lye,
> Till handes are found fitt for a monarchie.

("Aurelian Tounsend to Tho: Carew vpon the death of the King of Sweden," ll. 35-36). These lines are perhaps the most glaring example of Townshend's imprudence: in extolling Gustavus, they ignore the existence of the king the poet nominally serves. The complete text of Townshend's elegy is reprinted in Dunlap, pp. 207-08.

22 Carew terms Gustavus "the royall Goth" in line 16 of "To the New-yeare, for the Countesse of *Carlile*." Although Gustavus's full title was indeed "King of the Swedes, Goths, and Vandals," Carew's use of "Goth" when "Swede" would do just as well is probably derogatory: by 1632 "Goth" and its adjectival forms had already acquired the meaning of "barbarian" and "savage," especially in regard to the destruction of works of art. See the citations in the *OED* under "Goth," 3, and "Gothish," *a.*, 2.

23 Charles's policy of nonintervention in the Thirty Years' War, though reviled by twentieth-century historians and literary critics, was based upon pragmatism as well as a personal aversion to warfare. Buckingham's militaristic foreign policy, which had culminated in the English disaster at the Isle of Rhé in 1627, seems to have soured the king on using martial means to solve diplomatic problems. Even if the king had been inclined to intervene in the Palatinate, moreover, his treasury could not bear the expense. The Venetian ambassador Gussoni reported in October 1632 that "the present policy of England aimed at keeping themselves unembarrassed by all affairs and especially from those which might involve additional expenditure" (*CSPV, 1632-1636*, p. 17). And on 13 April 1635 Gussoni informed his government that "the royal treasury is notably enfeebled, the lack of money being almost incredible, even for keeping up the ordinary expenditure of the royal household" (*CSPV, 1632-1636*, p. 366). The emptiness of the treasury, exacerbated by the king's understandable reluctance to convene a new parliament to raise funds, effectively precluded what Gussoni termed "large-minded ideas" about England's role in continental politics.

24 While Carew specifically mentions *The Shepherds Paradise*, Wat Montagu's marathon pastoral comedy (the reported playing time was eight hours), the entertainment he

describes is *Tempe Restord*. On the evidence of an acting version of Montagu's play now in the Folger Library, Martz suggests that Townshend may have revised *The Shepherds Paradise* using costumes, settings, and some of the themes from his own masque (*The Wit of Love*, pp. 80-89 and 198-99).

25 The disarming of Mars by Venus was a popular subject of late-Renaissance painters. The offspring of the union of the two deities is, appropriately, the demi-goddess Harmonia. See Edgar Wind, *Pagan Mysteries in the Renaissance*, 2nd ed. (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1968), pp. 85-96.

26 Rubens' 1630 *Landscape with St. George and the Dragon* depicts a romantically conceived portrait of the king as St. George turning from the slain dragon to the queen; the pastoral landscape, replete with sheep sniffing the queen's hem, incorporates a view of the Thames and Lambeth Palace. For a discussion of the painting, see Oliver Millar, *The Age of Charles I: Painting in England, 1620-1649* (London: Tate Gallery, 1972), pp. 56-57.

27 The Renaissance concept of the hierarchy of genres, which subordinates pastoral to epic, is in a crucial sense misleading. The relationship between the two genres might profitably be viewed as dialectical; although the limitations of pastoral mandate its abandonment for epic, the end of the epic quest is to regain the pastoral ideal. The pastorals celebrating the Caroline monarchy are nearly unanimous in their insistence that the epic age is past and that the present moment is a pastoral one. A distinction between "naive" pastoral and "experienced" pastoral, one composed in full light of the epic experience, would be useful here.

28 The new importance assigned to pastoral by the early Stuart courts is testified by the placement of pastoral elements in the court masques. Stephen Orgel notes that before 1616 masques begin in pastoral settings and conclude in urban ones; after 1616, pastoral landscapes invariably provide the culmination for the masques. See Orgel's discussion of this phenomenon in *The Illusion of Power: Political Theater in the English Renaissance* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1975), pp. 49-50.

29 In 1631 Rubens described the English as "a people rich and happy in the lap of peace" (Ruth S. Magurn, ed., *The Letters of Peter Paul Rubens* [Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1955], p. 320). Gussoni in 1635 reported England to be "a happy and most flourishing monarchy" (*CSPV, 1632-1636*, p. 362). Obviously, Carew's depiction of Britain as an Arcadian landscape is not without corroboration from less poetic observers.

30 The text and English translation are those of the Loeb Library edition of the *Metamorphoses*, Vol. II, trans. Frank Justus Miller (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1916; rpt. 1976).

31 Cited in E. K. Chambers, *Aurelian Townshend's Poems and Masks* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1912), p. xxiv.