

General introduction

Royal successions are moments of national transition. The shift from one reign to another can invoke uncertainty and anxiety, anticipation and hope. Successions will prompt observers of all kinds to look back at the reign that has passed, and also forward to that which is dawning. They are occasions that concentrate minds on the values and structures of the nation. Succession literature, as presented in this anthology, includes all types of writing that respond to these moments. It is a category that includes a lot of material that we might readily identify as literature, most notably various kinds of poetry. But it also includes other types of writing and performance, including news reports, proclamations, speeches, pageantry, pamphlets and sermons. It is therefore generically diverse, though highly concentrated in terms of its occasion and subject-matter. The aim of this anthology is to represent both the breadth and the quality of this writing across the Stuart era (1603–1714).

This was the great age of succession literature. While earlier successions certainly generated responses from writers, the conditions of publication were considerably less advanced. The technology of print was introduced into England in the late fifteenth century, but the business of printed publication advanced rapidly from the latter decades of the sixteenth century. Across the Stuart century, print was ubiquitous, reaching all geographical regions and social levels. While some writers, especially within the court, still preferred to circulate their works in manuscript form among coteries of readers, the vast majority of material produced in response to successions was printed. At the other end of the Stuart era, successions tended to generate less material in part because the monarchy itself was by then less powerful a force, and in part because observers were choosing different ways of responding to such events. The growth of the newspaper, from its infancy in the seventeenth century, is relevant in this regard. The gradual decline of poetry as a public form of writing, powerfully engaged

with national debates, was also a factor. By the twentieth century, only a handful of people would respond to royal successions by writing poems.

In this introduction, we want to provide a richly informed context for the material that follows. While introductions to particular reigns and headnotes to texts will be provided in the body of the book, our goal at the outset is to establish an overview of the period, the nature of royal succession and the various kinds of succession literature. The material in this volume is compelling and fascinating, but can also be challenging and opaque to non-specialist readers. We aim, here and throughout, to provide the framework and support necessary to facilitate productive reading experiences.

The Stuart monarchs and their nations

This volume focuses on the period when the Stuarts ruled in England, Scotland and Ireland, subsequent to the arrival in London of James VI of Scotland in 1603 after the death of Queen Elizabeth I. The rule of Stuarts (or 'Stewarts') in Scotland stretched back to 1371, while James himself had held the throne from 1567, his first year of life. He was, he reflected many years later, 'a cradle king'.¹ James was not the only candidate for the English throne in 1603, nor could anybody in the country be sure that he would succeed peacefully. Elizabeth, who had ordered the execution of James's mother, Mary, Queen of Scots, in 1587, notoriously refused to address the question of succession, which consequently festered in the public consciousness throughout the final years of her life.² But when the time came, the succession was surprisingly peaceful and decisive, establishing a dynasty that would only be brought to an end 111 years later.

The Stuarts ruled multiple nations. Wales had been incorporated into England by the Tudors, but Scotland and Ireland remained distinct entities. While James's accession unified the English and Scottish crowns, his expectation that he would as a result be able to unify the nations of England and Scotland was frustrated by entrenched differences. This goal would elude him, and all subsequent Stuart monarchs, until Queen Anne established the nation of Great Britain in 1707. Throughout the dynasty, then, the different structures and interests of each nation placed competing demands on the Stuart monarchs. Ireland remained, in

1 James VI and I, 'O Stay your Teares yow who Complaine', line 135; in 'Early Stuart Libels: An Edition of Poetry from Manuscript Sources', ed. Alastair Bellany and Andrew McRae, *Early Modern Literary Studies* Text Series, 1 (2005), <http://www.earlystuartlibels.net>, Nvi1 (accessed 1 February 2017).

2 On the late Elizabethan context see *Doubtful and Dangerous: The Question of Succession in Late Elizabethan England*, ed. Susan Doran and Paulina Kewes (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014).

practice, virtually a colonial outpost, subject on occasion to brutal repression. It was also feared as a gateway to sympathetic Catholic forces from the continent, as for example when James II brought French troops to Dublin in 1689 in an effort to launch a war designed to reclaim his throne. Scotland sustained a distinct parliament (until 1707), and retained even beyond that date a different Church and legal system. Significantly, in the century's two great revolutions Scotland asserted a unique set of interests and tensions by comparison with those in England, and also expressed different allegiances at key moments. The Scots civil wars, in particular, had a markedly different character to those in England, while in 1651 Prince Charles was embraced briefly as King of Scotland: crowned on 1 January, but driven out of the British Isles altogether later that year after defeat at Worcester. Although all the Stuarts established their base in London, and this anthology concentrates largely on the huge volume of material generated in England, the complex dynamics of their three kingdoms helped to define the era.³

The passage of power through the generations of Stuarts was also more complicated than it may appear from a position of historical distance. James's first son, Henry, died at the age of eighteen in 1612, after promising in his short life a bold model of chivalric and militant authority at odds with his father's own image. His second son, Charles, acceded in 1625 as Charles I, and ruled until 1649. In his final seven years of power, his realms were ravaged by civil war, which broke out after intense confrontations between his supporters and the English parliament. Having lost the wars, and failed in efforts to negotiate a settlement, Charles was executed on 30 January 1649. His oldest son, the future Charles II, always dated his reign from the moment of his father's death. He wanted the nation to forget the preceding years; he even passed an 'Act of Oblivion', instructing his subjects to take the same approach.⁴ But the Stuart dynasty contains nonetheless an intriguing gap: the eleven years between 1649 and 1660 in which the British nations first adopted republican structures (from 1649 to 1653), then established the parliamentary general Oliver Cromwell as Lord Protector. After Cromwell's death in 1658 power passed to his son, Richard, briefly raising expectations

3 On the Stuart monarchs and the three kingdoms, see esp. Tim Harris, *Rebellion: Britain's First Stuart Kings, 1567–1642* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), *Revolution: The Great Crisis of the British Monarchy, 1685–1720* (London: Penguin, 2006) and *Restoration: Charles II and his Kingdoms* (London: Penguin, 2005).

4 See Paulina Kewes, 'Acts of Remembrance, Acts of Oblivion: Rhetoric, Law, and National Memory in Early Restoration England', in *Ritual, Routine, and Regime: Institutions of Repetition in Euro-American Cultures, 1650–1832*, ed. Lorna Clymer (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), pp. 103–31.

of a new, non-monarchical dynasty. Throughout this period, however, Prince Charles presented from exile a continuing Stuart claim to the throne.⁵

The Stuarts returned to power in 1660, when Charles was invited back to Britain to assume the throne as Charles II. Since he produced no legitimate heirs in his marriage to Catherine of Braganza, it became increasingly apparent through the course of his reign that his most likely successor was his younger brother, James, who was openly Catholic. Despite efforts to exclude him from the line of succession on account of his religion, James succeeded Charles on the latter's death in 1685. After just three years in power, however, James was overthrown in late 1688 by an invasion from the Low Countries, supported by senior politicians and clergymen in England and Scotland and led by the King's son-in-law, the Protestant William of Orange. After a short but intense period of uncertainty, William was invited to take the throne jointly with his wife, James's daughter, Mary, in February 1689. They ruled as William III and Mary II. While their authority was secure, both they and their successor nonetheless faced constant challenge from the 'Jacobites': supporters of the deposed James II and, after his death in 1701, of his son James Francis Edward, living in exile in France. The settlement of the crown on William and Mary stipulated that only children borne by Mary could inherit the title after their deaths. When she died childless in 1694, therefore, it became apparent that her younger sister, Anne, would probably take the throne after William's death. This occurred in 1702. Childless herself, despite numerous pregnancies and a son who died aged eleven in 1700, Anne was likely even from the outset of her reign to be the last Stuart monarch. Her death in 1714 marked the end of the Stuart dynasty.

Although royal power lay (with the exception of William and Mary) in the hands of one person, family was crucial to the Stuarts. One of the key attractions of James to the English, after they had lived through decades of uncertainty on the question of who would succeed the Virgin Queen, was that he brought with him from Scotland a wife and three children. Even the death of Prince Henry was thus not enough to unsettle the dynasty. Similarly, in 1660 the British celebrated the return not just of one king but of a family, including Charles I's widow and the three royal brothers (Figure 1). Across the seventeenth century, royal marriages were seized upon as valuable ways through which to manage diplomatic alliances. In the weeks immediately following his father's death Charles I married the French princess Henrietta Maria; although this became possible only after the Prince's infamous trip to Spain in 1623 – slipping out of England in disguise, accompanied by the Duke of Buckingham – failed to secure a contract with the Infanta Maria.

5 On Cromwell and the Stuart monarchy, see esp. Benjamin Woodford, *Perceptions of a Monarchy without a King: Reactions to Oliver Cromwell's Power* (Ithaca: Queen's-McGill University Press, 2013).



Figure 1 Frontispiece to *Konincklycke beeltenis, ofte Waerachtige historie van Karel de II. koninck van Groot Britannien* (1661)

The French match proved fruitful; Henrietta gave birth to six children between 1630 and 1644, including the future kings Charles II and James II. Charles I promoted images of the growing royal family through a number of portraits, including some by the Dutch artist Anthony Van Dyck (Figure 2), while poets in the 1630s focused their attention on images of love and marriage.⁶ Marriage was also an

6 On literature and the royal family in the 1630s, see Anne Baynes Coiro, “‘A ball of strife’: Caroline Poetry and Royal Marriage”, in *The Royal Image: Representations of Charles I*, ed. Thomas N. Corns (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 26–46.



Figure 2 Sir Anthony Van Dyck, *Charles I and Henrietta Maria with their Two Eldest Children, Prince Charles and Princess Mary* (1631–32)

immediate question for Charles II upon his restoration to the throne in 1660. The Portuguese princess Catherine of Braganza was attractive in part because of the wealth and international trading concessions that she brought with her as a dowry. But when she failed to produce children, much attention focused on James, Duke of Monmouth, Charles II's oldest illegitimate child. Monmouth stood briefly as a rival to James II, but his 1685 rebellion was defeated and he was executed. For James II, by contrast, reproduction precipitated crisis. He succeeded to the throne with two Protestant daughters – the future queens Mary and Anne – from his first marriage to the Englishwoman Anne Hyde, who died in 1671. But the birth of a son, James Francis Edward, who would be raised a Catholic, to his second wife,

Mary of Modena, in 1688 presented the English with the spectre of a Catholic dynasty. It was this event that in part prompted prominent political figures to issue an invitation to William of Orange to come to England and thus contributed to James's overthrow later that year. For his successors, marriage remained important: critical, indeed, to William III, whose claim to the throne was considerably less secure than that of his wife. But reproduction, and as a result the continuation of the dynasty, proved altogether more challenging.

Although the dynasty claimed a continuity of rule for over one hundred years, the nature and power of monarchy across the Stuart era was neither stable nor uncontested. From the beginning, under James I, relations between the king and his parliaments were often fraught. James himself maintained a view of parliaments as merely advisory bodies, with no authority to intervene in some of the most important matters of state. But parliament, from the earliest Stuart sessions, proved more assertive, and at times even confrontational. Charles I's rejection of parliaments – the period of 'Personal Rule', from 1629 to 1640 – was effective in underwriting his commitment to an absolutist theory of kingship, but proved constitutionally unsustainable. It came to an end with the explosive 'Long Parliament' that began its long session in 1640, along the way helping to pitch the British nations headlong into civil war. After the intense and sophisticated debates over the nature of authority and role of a monarch that were produced in the middle decades of the century, the later Stuart period was marked by further renegotiations of the power of the monarch. In this regard it is often argued that the revolution of 1688–89 had a greater long-term effect than that of 1649, since it established principles of limited constitutional monarchy that survive to the present day.⁷ Moreover, the emergence of party politics, which would rapidly come to dominate political life, was itself the product of debate over succession: the Whigs favoured the exclusion of the future James II from the line, while the Tories opposed them. While these debates would in time be forgotten, the structure of political parties stands as one of the great legacies of the Stuart era.

The Stuart monarchs also assumed control, like all Tudor predecessors since Henry VIII, of the national Church. Throughout the century, this remained arguably the single most controversial aspect of their role, within nations that were fractured on religious lines. The principal division was between Catholics – a small yet influential minority in England and Scotland for much of the period – and Protestants. The English had bitter memories of the bloody reign of the Catholic Mary I (1553–58), and therefore had good cause to fear any return of Catholic influence. Yet there were also voices of toleration throughout the period. When

⁷ See, for example, Tim Harris, *Revolution: The Great Crisis of the British Monarchy, 1685–1720* (London: Penguin, 2006), pp. 34–5, 512–16.

James I came to the throne some Catholics in England were hopeful that he might offer them greater toleration; however, after the Gunpowder Plot in 1605, when a group of Catholic plotters planned but failed to assassinate James as he sat in parliament, this proved to be a fruitless hope. It also remains notable that James II's Catholicism did not ultimately prevent him from assuming the throne; indeed, in the months following his accession James enjoyed broad support. Catholicism in Ireland, however, remained a different matter. The heavily Catholic Irish population troubled the English across the period, and both Cromwell and William III led savage military assaults on them.

Protestantism itself, meanwhile, was never a stable entity. The authority of the English Church, with its hierarchical ('episcopal') structures headed by bishops and archbishops, was repeatedly challenged by groups that became loosely labelled as 'puritans'. These influences were critical to the breakdown of order in the 1640s, a decade of extraordinary political and religious radicalism, when sects like the Ranters, the Fifth Monarchists and the Quakers claimed to prophesy the coming of the apocalypse and the everlasting rule of King Jesus. Religion, at this moment, offered a gateway to the questioning of some of the basic structures of social and political life. In the later Stuart era, the question of religious identity was reframed in terms of *conformity*. To what extent, monarchs and parliaments asked repeatedly, might the state require its citizens to conform to the religion and authority of the authorized Church? This question led to a series of uneasy and controversial compromises in England and Wales across the latter decades of Stuart rule. In Scotland, meanwhile, the equation was always different. The Scots defeated the imposition of episcopacy in the Civil Wars of the 1640s, and reasserted in the later Stuart decades their distinctive presbyterian structures of Church government, whereby local churches had significant power over matters such as the appointment of clergy. The creation of Great Britain, in the reign of Anne, thus masked fundamental facts of national difference which remain to this day.

In the cultural life of their nations, the Stuarts played leading roles throughout the period. The court was arguably the most important centre for cultural and artistic production. The personal influence of individual monarchs was evident in areas including the visual arts, literature, architecture and fashion. James I, for instance, patronized the work of writers and helped to nurture the unique performances of court masques. Ben Jonson rose to national prominence as a favoured court poet and author of masques, while William Shakespeare's company became the 'King's Men' in 1603 and performed a number of important plays at James's court in the following years, including *Macbeth* and *Hamlet*. Charles I, by comparison, clearly preferred the visual arts, and encouraged leading continental painters, such as Van Dyck, to spend time in England. At the Restoration court, Charles II's

liberal attitudes to sexuality and expression, influenced by his time in exile, shaped the development of a different kind of court culture. Libertinism, a philosophical outlook that prized the hedonistic pursuit of individual sexual appetite, generated fresh kinds of artistic expression, as is perhaps best represented by the dissolute and outspoken writer John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester.

The expansion of cultural activity beyond the court, meanwhile, is one of the underlying narratives of the Stuart era. Despite efforts by the crown to assert censorship over the press, the century was characterized by a substantial growth of printed publication, which in turn enabled new kinds of writing. Cheap and popular texts proliferated, while the influence of genres based on performance – from drama to sermons – was amplified by printed dissemination. Most notably, in the 1640s and 1650s the explosion of popular writing of all kinds, including expressions of political and religious radicalism, was without precedent. For a relatively brief period readers were exposed to a remarkable range of fresh and challenging ideas, as also to an environment characterized by conflict and discord. Although censorship was re-established, the sphere of public discourse was decisively stretched by this experience. In 1660 one observer hoped that newspapers would become redundant; however, this was to misread not only the nature of the times but also the power of the form.⁸ Newspapers in fact went from strength to strength in the later Stuart decades, while pamphlets and ballads also proliferated. Much of such popular literature was relatively ephemeral, yet through the course of the century increasing numbers of people were as a result involved in cultural and political discourse. In the towns and cities, the coffee houses of the Restoration decades provided a physical space for open debate where the latest pamphlets or newspapers might be read, ensuring that members of the public could be abreast of current affairs.⁹ Historians have identified, across the century, the emergence of a ‘public sphere’ of political engagement. While there have been disagreements about the date of this development, and also about the precise nature of the public sphere, these changes undoubtedly exposed the monarchy across the Stuart era to greater levels of public scrutiny.¹⁰

8 Richard Brathwaite, *To His Majesty* (1660), p. 10. On newspapers, see Joad Raymond, *The Invention of the Newspaper: English Newsbooks 1641–1649* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996).

9 See Steve Pincus, “Coffee Politicians does Create”: Coffeehouses and Restoration Political Culture’, *The Journal of Modern History*, 67:4 (1995), 807–34.

10 This argument was first made by Jürgen Habermas, in *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. Thomas Burger (Cambridge, Mass., MIT Press, 1991). For more recent interventions, see esp. *The Politics of the Public Sphere in Early Modern England*, ed. Peter Lake and Steven Pincus (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007).

These cultural shifts are evident in the material published to mark the succession of Anne. Although there were still limits on what could be said, it is immediately striking how the last Stuart monarch was drawn into the arena of political debate. Some writers took the opportunity to criticize her predecessor, others questioned her politics, while others still looked hopefully to the exiled Jacobite Pretender. For all the trappings of continuity and conventional expressions of loyalty, Anne assumed power in an era of party politics and a fiercely partisan press. The cultural and political environment had shifted around the Stuarts, repositioning them and consistently forcing them to adapt.

The practice of succession

Questions of succession always impressed themselves upon the minds of men and women in Stuart Britain. When would the next succession occur? Who would succeed? What effect would the new monarch have on the nation? Even at times when the line of succession was secure and uncontested, as in the case of Charles I's transition to the throne, people speculated nonetheless about possible shifts of policy. Given the authority of monarchs over diplomatic relations and military ventures, and their direct influence over the Church, a new monarch could have a material impact on the lives of their people. And at other times – most notably in 1649, 1660 and 1688–89 – subjects intervened more directly in the matter of succession. This anthology, however, focuses on literature produced in direct response to successions, as opposed to the ongoing debates associated with monarchy. In this context, it is worth outlining what these events entailed, moving chronologically through the process as it was usually expected to transpire.

The death of a monarch is a liminal moment, bearing a considerable element of risk for the nation. No Stuart ruler endured a long period of terminal illness or mental decline, of the kind that might create a hiatus in authority, but courtiers were nonetheless always anxious to establish control over the narrative of royal death. The most stunning case-study of these struggles is provided by the months and years after the execution of Charles I, as his supporters and opponents contested the legitimacy of his death. The regicides arguably thought too little about how to handle the aftermath of the execution, while the lack of censorship gave licence to the Royalists. As a result, their tenacious efforts to position him as a godly martyr – in texts such as the hugely successful *Eikon Basilike* (1649), probably written by John Gauden but presented as the words of Charles himself – unquestionably contributed to the failures of the republic and Protectorate. The national memory of monarchy, as captured in the frontispiece to *Eikon Basilike* (Figure 3), held strong through the Interregnum.



The explanation of the Emblems.

<i>Ponderibus genus omne mali, probrisq; gravatus, Vixq; ferenda ferens, palma ut depressa, resurgat, Ac, velut undarum fluctus ventiq; furorem Fratri populi rupes immota repello.</i>	<i>Though clogg'd with weights of misery, As palm depress'd, I higher rise. And as th' unmoved rock out-braves The boist'rous winds, & raging waves:</i>
<i>Cluiv' è tenebris, caelestis stella, corusco. Victor et aeternum felicia pace triumpho.</i>	<i>So triumph I. And in dark night Of sad afflictions shine more bright.</i>
<i>Auro splendentem rutilo gemisq; decoram, At curis gravidam spernendo calco coronam.</i>	<i>That splendid, but yet toilsom crown Regardlessly I trample down.</i>
<i>Spongiam, at ferri facilem, quo spes mea, (Christi Auxilio, Nobis vera est tractare voluptas.</i>	<i>With joy I take this crown of thorn, Though sharp, yet easie to be born.</i>
<i>Aeternam, fixis fidei, semp'eq; beatam, In caelos oculis specdo, Nobisq; paratam.</i>	<i>That glorious-happie crown I see, Depriv'd whereof I cannot bee.</i>
<i>Quod vanum est, sperno: quod Christi Gratia p'ce Amplecti studium est. virtutis Gloria merces.</i>	<i>I slight vain things: I take what Grace Doth freely give, in Glorie place.</i>

Τὸ Χρῖ ἰδὲν ἡδύνησιν τῶν ἀσθενῶν, ἰδὲν τὸ Κράτος αὐτοῦ. G.D.

Figure 3 Frontispiece to John Gauden, *Eikon Basilike* (1649)



Figure 4 Image from *Some Farther Intelligence of the Affairs of England. The Death of the Renowned Oliver Lord Protector of England, Scotland, and Ireland* (1659)

Other royal deaths were less violent, but still carried the threat of instability. Cromwell's own death is notable for the extent to which his supporters tried to lay upon him the trappings of monarchy, which he had resisted most of his life (Figure 4). The succession to the protectorship of his son was undermined not merely by Richard's unsuitability, but also by the lack of recognizable ceremony. Among the Stuarts themselves, the death of James I was dogged by rumours that he had been murdered, and these posed a threat to the authority of Charles I and his most trusted courtiers.¹¹ When Charles II died, in 1685, similar rumours were powerfully countered by poets who emphasized his younger brother's sorrow and loyalty at the death-scene. James II desperately needed to control public perceptions at this moment of transition.¹² As with all subjects, writers were at this point faced with a dilemma, needing to balance a degree of regret for the monarch who had passed with an overriding celebration of the incoming ruler. At some moments of succession this was less of a problem. In 1660, for example, endorsement of

11 Alastair Bellany and Thomas Cogswell, *The Murder of King James I* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2015).

12 See John Dryden, *Threnodia Augustalis*, V.1 below.

Charles II was inseparable from a rejection of the attempt to rule without monarchy, while in 1689 there was almost no place in succession literature for expressions of sympathy for the deposed James II.¹³ But in other succession years, this became more challenging. In 1603, most interestingly, expression of dismay at the loss of the long-serving Elizabeth was virtually required of poets as a pre-requisite to their panegyrics on the incoming king. Poets were quick to criticize Michael Drayton when he failed to mention Elizabeth in his panegyric to James.¹⁴ The stability of rule, at such a crucial moment, depended upon looking backward as well as forward.

News of successions was spread quickly and efficiently. James I learned of his elevation to the English throne after the courtier Robert Carey rode non-stop from Elizabeth's death-bed in London to hail the new King of England in Edinburgh.¹⁵ Subjects across the British nations relied on the dissemination of information, in written and oral form. Official proclamations, announcing the change of reign, were important vehicles through which the central government could assert control over the message. These were circulated methodically across the British nations, and read publicly for the benefit of those who could not read themselves. This was critical in 1603, when many subjects remained unsure who would succeed. It was also vital to the success of regime change at two points later in the century, when men arrived from continental Europe in order to claim the throne: in 1660, when the path was cleared for Charles by the publication of key official documents, such as his Declaration of Breda;¹⁶ and in 1688–89, when William had first to justify his invasion¹⁷ and then his assumption of the crown. The Church also played an important role at such moments, as both a source of reliable information and a voice of trusted authority. Prayers for the deceased monarch and the one succeeding to the throne provided a simple ritual of transition within every church in the land. Stuart monarchs, after all, were perceived as being ordained by God, to govern by divine right, and so religious affirmation of their reigns served a basic yet vital function.

The initial phase of a reign was dominated by ceremony. Some of this was informal; the journeys to London taken by James I (from Edinburgh) and Charles II (from his landing in Dover), for instance, were closely observed by thousands of

13 One panegyrist for William and Mary departed from this pattern, also writing 'An Elegy for the Late King'. This poem promises: 'I ne'er rejoiced with those that sing thy shame, | Nor will I ever persecute thy name' (*Lux Occidentalis, or Providence Displayed in the Coronation of King William and Queen Mary, and their happy accession to the crown of England* (London, 1689), p. 10).

14 See Michael Drayton, *To the Majesty of King James*, I.3 below.

15 A. J. Loomie, 'Carey, Robert, First Earl of Monmouth (1560–1639)', *ODNB*.

16 See IV.1 below.

17 *The Declaration of his Highness William Henry, by the Grace of God Prince of Orange, &c. of the Reasons Inducing him to Appear in Arms in the Kingdom of England* (The Hague, 1688).

supportive subjects, and recorded in news reports and poems. But much was more formal, whether stipulated by the law of Church and state or simply expected by subjects as a matter of convention. In theory, monarchs were expected to make a formal entrance to London on the day before their coronation. In 1603 this event was postponed on account of plague until 1604, and in similar circumstances in 1625 it was in fact never rescheduled. But the principle of these events was important, recognizing the bond between London citizens and their monarch, and they could be lavish spectacles, marked by visual display and dramatic performance.¹⁸ The triumphal arches erected for 1604, images of which were published by their designer, Stephen Harrison, expressed the city's levels of ambition and commitment, while bearing in their details a wealth of allegory (Figure 5).

The coronation was an even more formal and powerfully religious event, indispensable to the transfer of royal authority.¹⁹ Appearances mattered; when joint monarchs were crowned in 1689, and again in 1702 when a married woman was crowned, the positioning of the main figures was critical in order to represent power relations to the many observers.²⁰ Equally, Charles I's decision to hold an unusually private coronation ceremony was surely influenced to a considerable degree by his bride's refusal to take part in a Protestant ceremony. Charles could hardly afford a public show of dissent. By the later Stuart era, by contrast, coronations had become public events, with tickets for sale and scaffolding erected for seats. Printed images, depicting the majesty of monarchy and the unity of the nation's elite at these key moments, were circulated across the land (Figure 6). And the final ceremonial occasion, embraced to differing degrees by all the Stuarts, was the monarch's appearance at his or her first parliament. This event offered an opportunity to assert bonds between the nation – represented by the members of the House of Lords and House of Commons – and the monarch. It also provided a chance to set an agenda for the reign.

18 See Thomas Dekker, *The Whole Magnificent Entertainment*, excerpted in I.6 below; and Ian Archer, 'Royal Entries, the City of London and the Politics of Stuart Successions', in *Literature of the Stuart Successions*, ed. Paulina Kewes and Andrew McRae (Oxford: Oxford University Press, forthcoming).

19 On Charles II, see Lorraine Madway, "The Most Conspicuous Solemnity": The Coronation of Charles II', in *The Stuart Courts*, ed. Eveline Cruickshanks (Stroud: The History Press, 2000), pp. 141–57. On Tudor coronations, see Alice Hunt, *The Drama of Coronation: Medieval Ceremony in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

20 Lois G. Schwoerer, 'The Coronation of William and Mary, April 11, 1689', in *The Revolution of 1688–1689: Changing Perspectives*, ed. Lois G. Schwoerer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 107–30; Joseph Hone, 'The Last Stuart Coronation', in *Literature of the Stuart Successions*, ed. Kewes and McRae.

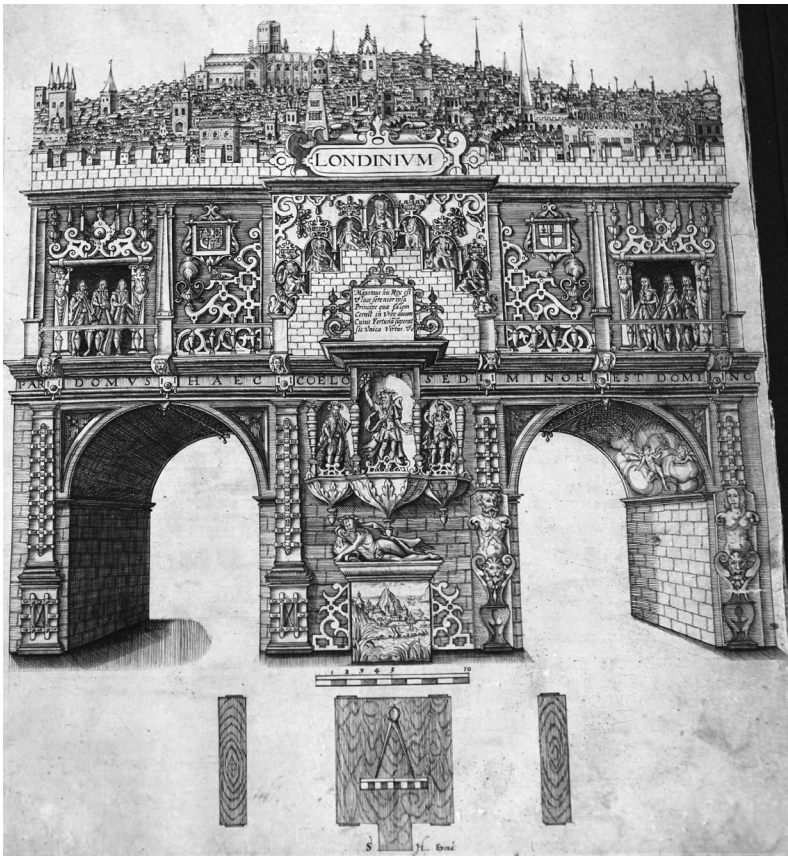


Figure 5 Image from Stephen Harrison, *The Arches of Triumph Erected in Honor of the High and Mighty Prince James I* (1604)

Changes in direction intended by an incoming monarch could be signalled directly or indirectly. Speeches in parliament, such as the ambition to unite Scotland and England announced by James I in 1603 and again by Anne in 1702, could provide some of the clearest statements of intent.²¹ As James discovered, however, this approach also bore risks, since it exposed the monarch to criticism and judgement. The union policy became one of the most unpopular of his reign, and was quietly shelved within a few years of his accession. Monarch after monarch would also be judged on her or his success in managing relations – and also the almost inevitable conflicts, given the prevailing diplomatic turmoil of the

21 See I.8 and VII.1 below.

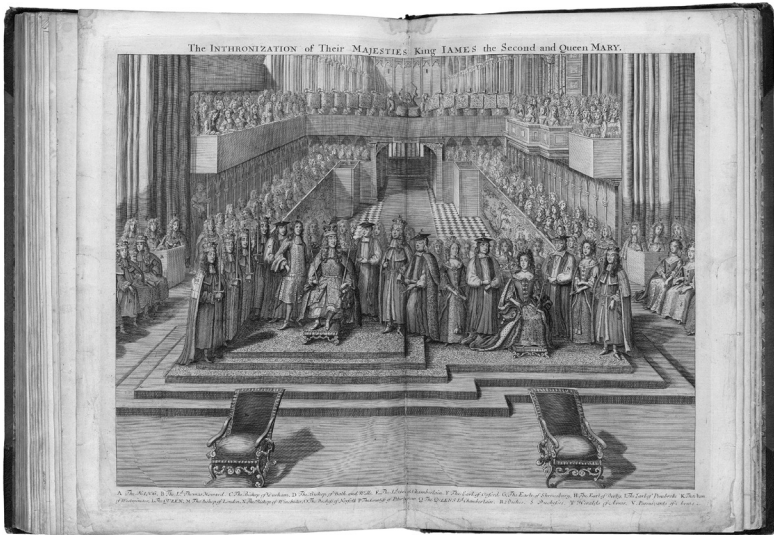


Figure 6 Image from Francis Sandford, *The History of the Coronation of the Most High, Most Mighty, and Most Excellent Monarch, James II* (1687)

period – with other countries in Europe. Charles I's efforts to present himself as a Protestant military leader, foreshadowed from the years before his accession, in fact amounted to very little in the years that followed. At the end of the century, William and Anne could lay claim, with some cause, to greater success. Meanwhile only James I, of all the Stuarts, overtly presented the values of a diplomacy based upon a commitment to peace, as he began his reign by negotiating a conclusion to conflict with Spain and presented a blueprint in his writings on kingship for non-military forms of influence. Other shifts were signalled more subtly, but were equally significant. While no incoming monarch was reckless enough to make bold claims about shifts in religious direction, people of all religious persuasions studied the early signals of a reign. For instance, choices of preachers for early sermons or initial appointments to clerical offices could send messages about intentions. In the case of James II, despite an early speech to the Privy Council in which he vowed to protect the Church of England, fevered speculation over the likely consequences of his own Catholicism began years before his succession and continued until his overthrow.²² Indeed historians still puzzle over the multiple paradoxes of the Catholic king who was briefly head of the English Protestant

²² See James's first speech to parliament, I.8 below.

Church, pursuing policies of religious toleration while promoting Catholics to senior roles in the state.²³

Succession also provided opportunities to establish a new royal image. Elizabeth I had constructed over several decades a compelling and authoritative image of royal authority. She was remembered by writers across the Stuart era; she was occasionally invoked by disgruntled subjects as a benchmark against which to judge the present moment, and finally seized upon by Anne as a positive model of female rule.²⁴ All the Stuarts, albeit to differing degrees, accepted the importance of image. Soon after his accession to the English throne, James I's own writings on kingship were printed in England, thereby presenting him to his new subjects as an intellectual leader. Others encouraged established writers and artists to shape authoritative images of them. For Charles II this matter was particularly pressing, given widespread public uncertainty about his character, interests and religion.²⁵ Hence the extraordinary outpouring of celebratory writing that flowed from the presses in 1660 clearly mattered, helping to impress in the minds of his subjects positive and reassuring impressions of their new king. Twenty-five years later, when James II succeeded to the crown, he had the service of two of the most accomplished poets of the land, John Dryden and Aphra Behn, who were already closely associated with him and ready to present him as a powerful, fair, compassionate leader. Meanwhile, printed images of new monarchs, including engraved portraits and cruder woodcuts on ballads, spread quickly across the country. In addition, medals bearing images of the incoming ruler were commonly distributed at coronations, while new coins were generally minted soon after a succession. The imagery on both sides of such items was closely observed, as is evident in discussion of a medal from 1689 (Figure 7).²⁶ Charles II, in particular, was particularly anxious to expedite a fresh coinage, which would eradicate as soon as possible all remaining trappings of the republic and Protectorate.²⁷

23 For the argument that James's policies of toleration were sincerely held, see Scott Sowerby, *Making Toleration: The Repealers and the Glorious Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2013). Steve Pincus argues to the contrary, that James's tolerationist policies were 'a means to an end, not a deeply felt principle' (*1688: The First Modern Revolution* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009), p. 137).

24 John Watkins, *Representing Elizabeth in Stuart England: Literature, History, Sovereignty* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

25 Christopher Highley, 'Charles Stuart: 'A Wanderer of Uncertain Religion'', in *Literature of the Stuart Successions*, ed. Kewes and McRae.

26 See the discussion of this medal in the introduction to VI.8 below.

27 B. J. Cook, "'Stampt with your own image": The Numismatic Dimension of Two Stuart Successions', in *Literature of the Stuart Successions*, ed. Kewes and McRae.



Figure 7 1689 coronation medal for William III and Mary II, silver

Successions happened in the instant that a monarch's heart ceased to beat, yet the observance of these various rituals and ceremonies could stretch the period of transition over months. James I delayed his royal entry for twelve months on account of plague in the capital, while Charles II arrived in England on 25 May 1660 but postponed his coronation until 23 April 1661 in order for it to coincide with St George's Day. But succession was typically a somewhat more condensed process. Succession literature was also an ephemeral phenomenon, produced in considerable volumes and at great speed, yet then set aside. Several poets wrote for successive successions. A few, including Dryden in 1660 and 1661 and Behn in 1685, attempted more than one piece to mark an individual moment of transition. But most would turn their attention swiftly to other matters; George Wither's *Britain's Remembrancer* (1628), one of the longest poems of the entire seventeenth century, is a notable exception, taking the accession of Charles I as a catalyst for a rambling meditation on the state of the nation.²⁸ Of those who produced more conventional succession poems, Michael Drayton was unquestionably unusual in publishing an anti-court satire, *The Owle*, the year after producing a panegyric on James I. That was a rapid about-face by a notoriously irascible poet, yet it underscores the point that across the Stuart era the pressure of business rapidly turned any successor into an incumbent.

28 See Andrew McRae, 'Remembering 1625: George Wither's *Britain's Remembrancer* and the Condition of Early Caroline England', *English Literary Renaissance*, 46.3 (2016), 433–56.

The literature of succession

This anthology is derived from a research project in which we surveyed all texts published in either the year of a succession or the year following one.²⁹ Our goals were to understand more fully the nature of succession literature and – by creating an online bibliographical database listing the works printed in response to each succession – to provide a map of the field for subsequent researchers. On the one hand, this research demonstrated a wide range of responses to successions, in forms that remain relatively consistent across the Stuart era. In every succession verse panegyrics, sermons and proclamations were printed to herald the arrival of the new monarch. On the other hand, it revealed points of distinction, succession by succession, and also underlying trends across the entire period. Succession literature, at any time, must find a balance between adherence to convention and attention to the particularity of the moment.

Perhaps the most conventional form of succession literature, heavily represented in this volume, is the poem. By contrast with the modern era, the seventeenth century was a time in which poetry mattered as a form of public, and often political, expression. The classic response to a succession took the form of poetry of praise, affirming in verse the authority of the incoming monarch. Interestingly, the term ‘panegyric’, used to describe this kind of poetry, was introduced into England in 1603, heralding its one great century in terms of both quantity and quality of output.³⁰ Panegyrics could vary considerably in length, but were most commonly published as independent pieces, often running into several hundred lines. They used various approaches to praise, and never entirely precluded forms of counsel, or even careful notes of criticism.³¹ While most panegyrics operated on the principle of address to the monarch, and were aimed at a relatively well-off and literate readership, other pieces aimed more directly at a popular audience. Ballads, most notably, had become established in the sixteenth century as a staple of the market in cheap printed texts. While succession ballads invariably praised, they were arguably most powerful in helping to articulate a popular response to the transition of authority. Like a range of other poetry, ballads also tended to be descriptive, fulfilling an appetite for political information and impressions.

The authors of succession poems ranged from renowned professionals through to unknown amateurs. Some of the authors were men and women carving out

29 On the Stuart Successions Project, see <http://stuartsexeter.ac.uk/> (accessed 1 February 2017).

30 James D. Garrison, *Dryden and the Tradition of Panegyric* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975).

31 Andrew McRae, ‘Welcoming the King: The Politics of Stuart Succession Panegyric’, in *Literature of the Stuart Successions*, ed. Kewes and McRae.

careers as writers, ranging from those like Jonson and Dryden, who moved easily within the corridors of power, down to hack writers who churned out ballads and pamphlets for the press. Other authors were usually involved in different kinds of activities – for instance, as clergymen, statesmen or simply educated members of the landed gentry – and were drawn into print by the occasion. It was conventional, for instance, for England's two universities to publish volumes of verse to mark major royal occasions, with individual pieces, often in classical languages, written by fellows and students.³² Many writers of succession poetry would never publish another word. While the convention in such verse was to present it as a free expression of loyalty, most writers had at least one eye on personal advancement, since this was a time in which poets relied heavily upon support from those with wealth and authority. Such patronage might come in the form of direct payments, though it could equally take the form of housing or other kinds of hospitality, advancement to positions within a household or at court or simply the degree of authorization to speak that comes with acceptance from above. Jonson managed this system adeptly in the reign of James I, emerging from social obscurity to become the leading court poet of the age. Later in the century, writers were faced with more challenging circumstances and urgent decisions, as power shifted hands rapidly. The young Dryden, for instance, wrote an elegy in praise of Cromwell; however, when he switched his allegiance to Charles in 1660, and later converted to Catholicism and supported James II, that youthful poem was referenced and reprinted by those seeking to paint him as a craven opportunist. But even Dryden had his limits. After a long career as a public poet, he marked 1688–89 with a meaningful silence, and in 1690 produced a play, *Don Sebastian*, that looked obliquely and critically upon events of the previous two years. Incapable of endorsing this final dynastic shift, Dryden, like so many of his fellow poets, was negotiating a pathway between his interests as a professional writer and his convictions as a citizen.

Beyond poetry, there were numerous other kinds of succession writing. Many were overtly religious in nature, ranging from tracts advocating changes in direction for the Church under the new monarch through to the many sermons that were delivered to mark successions. Though not commonly studied today, the sermon demands recognition as one of the most ubiquitous and influential of all textual forms in early modern Britain. Funeral sermons for a deceased monarch, coronation sermons and the first sermon delivered before a new ruler were all important events. The opportunity to preach before a new king – as granted, unexpectedly, to John Donne in 1625 – was particularly prized. Such works can

32 Henry Power, "Eyes Without Light": University Volumes and the Politics of Succession', in *Literature of the Stuart Successions*, ed. Kewes and McRae.

appear bland, since a sermon before a new king was hardly an obvious vehicle for fresh argument; however, their profile was high and they could even be an opportunity for loyalists to air warnings or suggest caution to a new monarch.³³ Other kinds of religious texts sought variously to seize an opportunity to influence the new monarch or to inform public perceptions. Successions provided not only the hope for change but the opportunity for speech.

Many other succession texts, less overtly religious in character, sought simply to explain or contextualize the momentous events of their time. The British people were understandably hungry for information about affairs of state, especially at pivotal moments such as 1660 and 1688–89. Many texts worked on a purely descriptive basis; indeed in 1603 and 1625, a time when the publishing of news of domestic political affairs was outlawed, pamphlets describing the early days of a reign were nonetheless allowed and served a valuable purpose. For later successions, newspapers assumed this burden, tracing the transition of authority in detail. Other texts, though essentially descriptive, sought to explain or justify such changes, perhaps by looking for historical precedents or framing positions in terms of political theory. This was particularly the case in 1688–89. Many pamphleteers in these years debated whether James II's flight from the country represented a voluntary act of abdication or a forceful deposition, and considered what either explanation might mean for the future of hereditary monarchy. Others looked back to the medieval reigns of Richard II and Edward II, both to justify and to contest James's forcible removal from the throne.

Drama, meanwhile, has a curiously tangential relation to the category of succession literature. Some of the period's most powerful literary representations of succession were dramatic, yet they are virtually never directly concerned with the successions of Stuarts, and were only rarely staged at moments of transition.³⁴ Shakespeare's history plays, most notably of all, repeatedly centre attention on succession in its various forms, from the natural death of Henry IV which passed power to the anxiously hovering Prince Hal, through the violent overthrow of Richard III in the Wars of the Roses, to the mystery of the deposition of Richard II. What does it mean, Shakespeare's *Richard II* asks, for both the state and the individuals when a divinely ordained king passes his crown to another man? The relation between these plays and prevailing public anxiety over succession in the final years of Elizabeth is undeniable. There are also instances of plays that, at least in part, were written in response to a succession. Shakespeare's *Macbeth*, with

33 See the extracts from Francis Turner's coronation sermon for James II, V.5 below.

34 On drama see Martin Wiggins, *Drama and the Transfer of Power in Renaissance England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), and Lisa Hopkins, *Drama and the Succession to the Crown, 1561–1633* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2009).

its interest in Scottish history and nods towards the new king's ancestry, probably staged for the first time early in James's reign, is an obvious example.³⁵ Yet even here the engagement with the Stuart succession is indirect, whereas one of the main characteristics of the vast majority of succession literature is its explicit focus upon the moment. By comparison, the only kind of drama that operates in such a manner is the strictly occasional form of dramatic pageantry linked to the monarch's royal entry into the capital, an example of which is provided in our selection of material from 1603–04.

While there was a considerable degree of continuity in succession literature across the Stuart era, some of the identifiable changes reflect in valuable ways upon wider political and cultural shifts. It is perhaps unsurprising that there should have been a greater volume of material published for some successions than others. The years 1603, 1660 and 1688–89, moments when kings entered England from beyond its borders, their legitimacy heavily dependent upon an outpouring of popular support, stand out as those of greatest volume. For the Cromwells, by contrast, surprisingly little was written about their accessions to the role of Lord Protector; although those who did contribute, including Dryden, John Milton and Andrew Marvell, were among the most important authors of their century. The overwhelming lack of comment on Richard's assumption of the Protectorate in 1658 makes his downfall, in retrospect, appear almost inevitable. With other successions, one is struck less by the volume and more by the nature of publications. In 1688–89, for instance, there was a significant quantity of pamphlets engaged in detailed questions of political theory, concerned as much with the nature of British kingship as with the particular individual – or individuals – occupying the role. In 1702, finally, conventional panegyric was read alongside freshly divisive forms of political writing, including satirical reflections on William and openly sceptical assessments of Anne herself. Such writing was not entirely without precedent, especially in light of the confrontational pamphlet exchanges of the 1640s and 1650s. But it would have been unthinkable – or, certainly, unpublishable – at the accession of James I, ninety-nine years earlier.

Studying the Stuart successions

Historical reflection upon the Stuarts and their successions began almost as soon as the events had lapsed into the past. The most determined such effort

35 Malcolm Smuts, 'Banquo's Progeny: Hereditary Monarchy, the Stuart Lineage, and Macbeth', in *Renaissance Historicisms: Essays in Honour of Arthur F. Kinney*, ed. James M. Dutcher and Anne Lake Prescott (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2008), pp. 225–46.

took the form of *The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England* (1702–04) by Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, describing the events of the 1640s and 1650s. This was a classic work of conservatism; it was important for the later Stuart monarchs to be able set the momentous upheavals of the mid-seventeenth century in place as an isolated act of ‘rebellion’ rather than considering the possibility that the experiments in governing Britain without monarchy might be replicated. But there were other, more critical approaches. ‘Secret histories’, concerned with exposing illicit and scandalous truths about the recent past, emerged in the middle decades of the seventeenth century as a sub-genre of history writing.³⁶ And by the end of the century, when Jacobites were trying constantly to position the pretenders as the true Stuart monarchs, control over historical narratives could feel almost as important as the shaping of the present and future.³⁷

In the centuries that have passed since the end of the Stuart era, the study of Britain’s most turbulent royal dynasty has never lost its appeal. But such work has most commonly been conducted quite narrowly within existing paradigms, such as biography, political history and the history of political thought. It is only in relatively recent decades that researchers have turned their attention to the literature of power and the representation of monarchy. Such approaches, indebted to new forms of cultural history and literary analysis, are evident across a wide range of recent studies. Political history, in the skilful hands of authors such as Alastair Bellany, Thomas Cogswell, Tim Harris, Mark Knights and Steven Pincus, almost routinely now acknowledges the importance of literary and cultural production as evidence with which to paint a complex picture of early modern politics and religion. Ever since the pioneering work of Quentin Skinner and J. G. A. Pocock, meanwhile, historians of political thought can now hardly fail to recognize the textuality – the literariness – with which crucial debates about monarchy, sovereignty and power were articulated in works by key thinkers like Thomas Hobbes and John Locke, as well as a host of other theorists.

And just as historians have become more adept in their reading of literature, so literary scholars have become more sophisticated in their engagement with history. Major publications have attended, for instance, to the impact of James I’s accession on authorship at the turn of the seventeenth century, or the ways in which the restoration of the monarchy was welcomed by poets in terms that addressed and

36 Rebecca Bullard, *The Politics of Disclosure, 1674–1725: Secret History Narratives* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2009).

37 On Jacobitism, see Murray Pittock, *Poetry and Jacobite Politics in Eighteenth-Century Britain and Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

occluded in equal measure the political uncertainties of the moment.³⁸ Studies of the Cromwells, attending particularly to their uncertain relation with the imagery of monarchy, have thrown valuable fresh light not only on the crucial decades of the 1640s and 1650s, but also on their efforts to create new images of authority after the suppression of monarchy.³⁹ Political literature in the latter decades of the Stuart era has also been the subject of important recent studies that have addressed topics including the culture of the court, the fault-lines between political authority and religious commitment, and the emergence of partisan identities.⁴⁰ And drama, as we have already argued, has been the focus of some important work on the idea of kingship and the nature of succession. Dramatists, particularly in the age of Shakespeare, Jonson and Christopher Marlowe, were deeply engaged with political theory and arguments of their time.

But the cultural turn in political history is perhaps nowhere more apparent than in the work of Kevin Sharpe. A major study of Charles I's Personal Rule from the early 1990s was noteworthy for its embrace of the cultural dimensions of power.⁴¹ His more recent three-volume study of images and representations of authority, across the Tudor and Stuart eras, meanwhile, now stands as the major reference work in this field.⁴² In this trilogy Sharpe argued that it had not sufficiently been noted how early modern English monarchs mediated their power through written and visual media, just as much as they sought to establish themselves in battles or through acts of diplomacy. Sharpe aimed to write a history of the arts of early modern 'spin', showing how monarchy was sustained by recurrent sets of images but also how such images could become a source of criticism. While in this context Sharpe surveyed some material produced when new rulers came to

38 Curtis Perry, *The Making of Jacobean Religious Culture: James I and the Renegotiation of Elizabethan Literary Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Nicholas Jose, *Ideas of Restoration in English Literature, 1660–71* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1984).

39 Laura Knoppers, *Constructing Cromwell: Ceremony, Portrait, and Print, 1645–1661* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

40 See, for example, Steven N. Zwicker, *Lines of Authority: Politics and English Literary Culture, 1649–1689* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993); Philip Connell, *Secular Chains: Poetry and the Politics of Religion from Milton to Pope* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016); Matthew Jenkinson, *Culture and Politics at the Court of Charles II, 1660–1685* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2010); Abigail Williams, *Poetry and the Creation of a Whig Literary Culture, 1680–1714* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

41 Kevin Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992).

42 Kevin Sharpe, *Selling the Tudor Monarchy: Authority and Image in Sixteenth-Century England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009); *Image Wars: Promoting Kings and Commonwealths in England, 1603–1660* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010); *Rebranding Rule: Images of Restoration and Revolution Monarchy, 1660–1714* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013).

power, he felt a need for more concentrated attention to the matter of succession. Before his untimely death in 2011 he was committed to taking a leading role in the research project that has led to the present anthology. The companion volume to this anthology, *Literature of the Stuart Successions*, aims to extend and consolidate the kinds of investigation that Sharpe envisaged. It includes a chapter on each succession, aiming in every case to take a specific and fresh angle of analysis, and a number of chapters considering different kinds of writing and representation across the period. But there remains scope for much more research. It is hoped that the joint publication of this anthology, the volume of essays and the online ‘Stuart Successions Database’ will inject fresh life into this field by opening up multiple new lines of enquiry.⁴³

The anthology

The texts in this anthology have been selected in order to demonstrate the wide range of succession writing, and also the remarkable quality of some pieces. We have tried to include at least one example of each significant kind of writing: a proclamation announcing a change of reign, diary entries, sermons, a newspaper report, two speeches by incoming monarchs and so forth. But there is also a consistent focus on poetry. In our selection, from many hundreds of possible pieces, we have represented the different approaches to succession poetry, from ballads to satires, but the volume returns repeatedly to panegyric, the genre of praise. Readers can study individual pieces by some of the greatest writers of the age, and can also consider changes in approach and emphasis across the period. We contend that the volume demonstrates the sophistication and breadth of this genre, which has too often been dismissed as bland and highly conventional.

The texts are presented in full wherever possible, and in extracts where their length simply makes full reproduction unfeasible. Parts I, II and IV–VII each cover one of the successions, while Part III covers the respective investitures to the lord protectorship of Oliver and Richard Cromwell. Although the Cromwells were manifestly not Stuarts, it would seem perverse to omit them from the story of succession literature in the Stuart era. At the same time, it would seem equally perverse to devote a whole part to Richard, given how little attention his accession in 1658 was accorded. Each part begins with an introduction, while each text is given a headnote and an additional note on its source. All texts are annotated in order to explain historical and literary references and clarify meanings that may be opaque simply because of the age of the literature. Our aim, throughout, is to make this material as accessible as possible, to as wide a range of readers as possible.

43 <http://stuartsexeter.ac.uk/database/>.