# From Rivers to Fountains: Henry Vaughan's Secular and Sacred Inaugurations

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# Abstract

Henry Vaughan began his poetic career in emulation of the occasional verse of the Jonsonian coteries; and the pastoral title poem "To the River *Isca,*" which opens his *Olor Iscanus* collection, evokes an explicit classicist pedigree of canonical river poets that Vaughan effectively sought to join. This self-canonizing effort was effectively revised and transfigured in Vaughan's conversion to sacred verse, with the introductory lyric to *Silex Scintillans*, "Regeneration," advancing a visionary pastoral sequence merging Vaughan's new devotional work with the sacred-canonical Song of Songs.

Literary figures conscious of residing on the margins of society often advance their works even more openly as responses to culturally definitive previous prose and poetry than writers resident at well-recognized cultural centers. Such perennial concerns can be seen very much at work in the publications of the seventeenth-century Anglo-Welsh cavalier poet Henry Vaughan, who became a medical doctor in Breconshire after his early training in Oxford and London. This paper will highlight how Vaughan proclaimed canonical aspirations in the first stages of his literary career, and how these aspirations matured and changed when he turned toward writing his much-noted devotional verse.

Henry Vaughan first prepared his classicist verse collection Olor Iscanus for the press in December of 1647, apparently intending the work to emerge as his second published volume, a timely performance that would establish and further his recent efforts in Poems (1646) to emulate amatory and occasional literary exchanges he had observed among fellow Royalists in Oxford and London. The new project, however, was interrupted by a war-related personal tragedy, the death of his younger brother William, and by a resulting spiritual change of heart under which his literary energies were rechanneled toward composing the devotional lyrics of Silex Scintillans, on which his current reputation as a poet largely stands. Through the interventions of his twin brother Thomas Vaughan, who acted as Henry's literary agent in London during the early 1650s, the non-devotional collection that Henry had envisioned at first did eventually emerge, though not with all of the contents originally intended.<sup>1</sup> The general tenor of the work so released remained consonant with the earlier Poems, showing efforts to propagate the goods of antebellum literary culture as a "more calme Ambition, amidst the common noise" (Works 11) of the ascendant Parliamentary regime. Thomas Vaughan published the volume as a work "Formerly written" (Works 167), implicitly acknowledging the emergence and primacy of his brother's sacred verse.

Here I will examine and compare the two modes Henry Vaughan sequentially chose to continue his poetic works, in first instance as a man of letters emulating the classicist ethos of the Royalist coteries, and in the second instance as a man pursuing authentic Christian faith through lyrics inspired by the letters and poems of the Latin patristic poet St. Paulinus of Nola and the devotional works of George Herbert, of "whose holy *life* and *verse*" Vaughan would later profess to be a convert (*Works* 558). In the introductory lyric to *Olor Iscanus*, "To the River *Isca*" (*Works* 173-75), Vaughan's speaker articulates and performs his own entry into a classicist literary canon, explicitly and implicitly citing the predecessors he means to join, transforming the Usk valley into a literary pastoral haven "*redeem'd from all disorders*" (l. 86). In "Regeneration" (*Works* 57-59), the introductory lyric for *Silex Scintillans*, Vaughan's speaker presents himself instead as an explorer of pastoral landscapes that manifest prior transcendent realities and provide means toward spiritual understanding; and the speaker finally joins the plea of the sacred-canonical Beloved in the Song of Songs, asking to become himself by God's intervention, through his new poetic offerings, a salubrious locale for spiritual transformation: "*Arise O North, and come thou South-wind, and blow upon my garden, that the spices thereof may flow out*" (*Works* 59; italics in original).

There is reason to believe that Henry Vaughan planned for "To the River *Isca*" to be the opening lyric of *Olor Iscanus* through all phases of the book's construction. The volume's title implicitly presents the author as "The Swan of Usk,"<sup>2</sup> and "To the River *Isca*" functions as a title poem, both explaining Vaughan's aesthetic ambition and also ostensibly accomplishing it. The first ten lines offer a catalogue of river poets descending from gods of antiquity to Vaughan's contemporaries John Milton and William Habington.

When Daphne's Lover here first wore the Bayes, Eurotas secret streams heard all his Layes. And holy Orpheus, Natures busie Child By headlong Hebrus his deep Hymns Compil'd. Soft Petrarch (thaw'd by Laura's flames) did weep On Tybers banks, when she (proud fair!) cou'd sleep; Mosella boasts Ausonius, and the Thames Doth murmure SIDNEYS Stella to her streams, While Severn swoln with Joy and sorrow, wears Castara's smiles mixt with fair Sabrin's tears. (ll. 1-10; Works 173)

Vaughan reinforces this proffered lineage with a discourse on the enduring gifts of literary fame that river poets have bestowed on their chosen landscapes, and he foresees for such "*Genii*" of rivers a pastoral apotheosis in Elysian fields merging with the natural beauties they described. Careful attention to Vaughan's allusions has shown that his learned citations include a significant component of collegial appropriation; see for instance this passage from Habington:

And though Imperiall *Tiber* boast alone *Ovids Corinna*, and to *Arn*<sup>3</sup> is knowne But *Petrarchs Laura*; while our famous Thames Doth murmur *Sidneyes Stella* to her streames. Yet hast thou *Severne* left, and she can bring As many quires of Swans, as they to sing Thy glorious love [...] ("His Muse speakes to him," ll. 5-11; Habington 73).

One notes that Vaughan borrows a rhyme and also a full line from this sequence of poetic lovers and their rivers, presented as a literary enshrinement of Habington's newly-married wife Lucy Herbert, styled Castara. Robert Wilcher has spotlighted this borrowing in his careful examination of Vaughan's "magpie thefts,"<sup>4</sup> the poet's habitual adoption of other writers' phrases, pointing out that the verbatim echoing of Habington's allusion to Sidney and the Thames cannot be taken as a covert plagiarism, since Vaughan openly gestures at his source, Habington's Castara, in the lines immediately following; and he also points out that the passage quoted from Castara is "intended to bring to mind the relevance of Habington's 'many quires of Swans'" (Wilcher 173) as a collegial antecedent to Vaughan's own new literary identity as Swan of Usk. As Wilcher also mentions, Vaughan's art of allusion, verbatim or otherwise, was a "play of words or fancy" (182) involving textual knowledge shared by his expected audience; and it is specifically the classicist canon of the posthumous school of Ben Jonson and Thomas Randolph that Vaughan means here to join, extending its migration westward to enable the literary ennoblement of the Usk valley.

When I am layd to *rest* hard by thy *streams*, And my *Sun sets*, where first it *sprang* in beams, I'le leave behind me such a *large*, *kind light*, As shall *redeem* thee from *oblivious night*, And in these *vowes* which (living yet) I pay *Shed* such a *Previous* and *Enduring Ray*, As shall from age to age thy *fair name* lead 'Till *Rivers* leave to *run*, and *men* to *read*. (ll. 27-34) Having stepped forward to perform his offices as a river poet bestowing immortality, Vaughan sets out in his poem so to do; and as Jonathan Post has observed, the transition is signaled by an incantatory "tightening of the verse into octosyllables" (32): blessings invoked here on the Usk include future literary acknowledgment and homage (ll. 35-38); the presence of proximate enchanted groves, vocal as with Orpheus, enabling veridical dreams in their shades (ll. 39-42); idyllic pastoral scenes with country dances and innocent courtships (ll. 43-50); freedom from unpleasant and treacherous animals, from contaminations, and from extreme heat:

May the *Evet* and the *Tode* Within thy Banks have no abode, Nor the *wilie, winding Snake* Her *voyage* through thy *waters* make. In all thy *Journey* to the *Main* No *nitrous Clay,* nor *Brimstone-vein* Mixe with thy *streams,* but may they passe Fresh as the *aire,* and clear as *Glasse* [...] (ll. 51-58)

Vaughan's allusive gesturing toward fellow classicist poets continues through these passages. Editors have noted that Vaughan's friend Richard West praised the "Groves" of Thomas Randolph's pastoral Amyntas as "Propheticall" (Works 986),<sup>5</sup> and have also shown that Vaughan's lines here very closely follow a passage from William Browne's Britannia's Pastorals (1613).<sup>6</sup> This allusion, one of the most extensive and remarkable in Vaughan's published verse, seems to indicate that when "To the River Isca" was written, Vaughan considered his and Browne's literary work to be closely related. Indeed, Browne's career would have seemed at the moment quite similar to Vaughan's own. Browne, a son of minor gentry in Tavistock on the western edge of Devonshire, had gone to Oxford as a non-matriculated student and then down to London's Inns of Court, where he became friends with Ben Jonson and met Selden, Drayton, Chapman, Wither, and others (see Moorman 3-5). His facility for pastoral observation and sensuous natural description would be influential for Milton's earlier verse as well as for Vaughan's.

It is worth observing that Vaughan himself glances toward Milton in "To the River *Isca," Comus* apparently supplying, along with Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, the association of the River Severn with the nymph Sabrina. Vaughan's responses would of course become much less friendly in the following decade, once Milton set about releasing his voluminous political tracts.

Vaughan sums up his extended tetrameter blessing on the Usk with a valediction in dimeter couplets, but then provides a reprise including a characteristic gesture regularly practiced in his devotional verse and prose, a candid glance at the current historical situation.

What *gifts* more *Heav'n* or *Earth* can adde With all those *blessings* be thou *Clad*! Honour, Beautie, Faith and Dutie, Delight and Truth, With Love, and Youth Crown all about thee! And what ever Fate Impose else-where, whether the graver state, Or some toy else, may those lowd, anxious Cares For dead and dying things (the Common Wares And showes of time) ne'r break thy Peace, nor make Thy repos'd Armes to a new warre awake! But Freedome, safety, Joy and blisse United in one loving kisse Surround thee quite, and stile thy borders The Land redeem'd from all disorders! (ll. 71-86)

Louise Guiney and Gwenllian Morgan, pioneer researchers always on the lookout for Vaughan's civil war contexts, surmised from this conclusion that "To the River *Isca*" was probably written in "1646-7, when all was quiet in Breconshire" (see *Works* 988)<sup>7</sup> and the Usk valley briefly provided some opportunity for rest and peaceful literary endeavor after the poet's military service on behalf of the King's struggling cause. The ethos of Jonsonian occasional verse continues in a different vein as one moves into the second *Olor Iscanus* selection, "The Charnel-house" (175-77),<sup>8</sup> observations on an indiscriminate collection of exhumed bones, presented as an opportunity for the speaker to "season all succeeding Jollitie" (l. 62) and to enforce through meditations on the inevitability of death the classicist virtues of balance and moderation:

But should wild bloud swell to a lawless strain One Check from thee shall *Channel* it again. (ll. 65-66)

Vaughan's readers have remarked on the considerable difference in tenor between this poem and "To the River *Isca,*" to the point of viewing "The Charnel-house" as undermining the first lyric or facing it down.<sup>9</sup> I suspect that Vaughan meant the first poem's celebration and the second poem's sober counterpoise to demonstrate together the versatility and amplitude of his classicist poetic.

The "Check" that Vaughan would actually experience in 1648, when the Royalists' "*repos'd Armes*" indeed awakened with uprisings in Brecon and other South Wales towns, apparently induced him to question not so much the vision of "To the River *Isca*" as the viability of the whole *Olor Iscanus* collection. Unrest in Wales worried Parliament, where there was concern over the possibility of the King receiving aid from nearby Ireland. Colonel Thomas Horton was first sent west, and then Oliver Cromwell. Horton defeated the Royalists at St. Fagans on 8 May, and Cromwell took Pembroke Castle on 11 July (see Royle 434-41). It has been inferred that Henry Vaughan's younger brother William was a Royalist combatant, dying from war-related disease or injury on 14 July (see Hutchinson 95-97). Henry's conscience was stirred by his brother's manner of death, resolute in faith and Christian hope, and he began to write elegiac prayers in response.

O let me (like him,) know my End! And be as glad to find it, And whatsoe'r thou shalt Commend, Still let thy Servant mind it! Then make my soule white as his owne, My faith as pure, and steddy, And deck me, Lord, with the same Crowne Thou hast crownd him already!<sup>10</sup> Neither the laureate crown of the poets nor the crown of legitimate kingly authority that he and his brothers defended in arms could compare with the eternal crown of Christian salvation gained through divinely-aided penitence and a spiritual life of conversion. A different genre of verse performance would be needed for this higher calling, one of which Henry Vaughan was quite aware but which he had hitherto sidelined. Now the worldly classicism of Ausonius, whom Vaughan had honored and included in his forthcoming non-devotional collection, was to be abandoned in favor of the sober and transcendently-oriented lyrics and elocutions of Ausonius' pupil, the Roman senator turned saint, Paulinus of Nola; and the ethos of the coteries would give way to the searching and personal testimonial verses of the university orator turned pastor, George Herbert. Placed in the context of these men's endeavors, Vaughan now viewed his personal ambition to become the Jonsonian genius of the Usk and to invest his home valley with a literary crown as mere vanity.

Vaughan thus issued the collection which did emerge as his second published volume, *Silex Scintillans* (1650), consciously and publicly as a redirection of his poetic career, effectively superseding *Olor Iscanus*, which he was now not inclined to publish at all. One sees this dynamic clearly in the devotional collection's short verse dedication, modeled in brevity and title after the introductory lyric to Herbert's *The Temple*, but differing from Herbert's piece in its emphatic repudiation of former work, characterizing earlier non-devotional poetic efforts as a land "curs'd, and void of store" (*Works* 56, l. 8). The introductory poems "Regeneration" (57-59) and "Death. *A Dialogue*" (59-60)<sup>11</sup> correspond with "To the River *Isca*" and "The Charnel-house" in dealing with life and death from either classicist or sacred points-of-view; and as I shall attempt to show in concluding this analysis, "Regeneration" especially reconfigures for sacred use the canonical concerns and pastoral themes explored in the non-devotional collection's title poem.

In "To the River *Isca*" the speaker first establishes a line of literary canonicity, and entering that line is enabled to bestow pastoral bless-

ings. In "Regeneration" Vaughan's speaker does not orchestrate a pastoral; rather, he finds himself within one, experiencing a sequence of spiritual insights figured through natural images.<sup>12</sup> With some difficulty—the poem's movements indicate a young personality quick in pursuit but slow to understand—these images gradually build awareness of a need for spiritual help, and with increasing clarity imply that such help is available but not always accepted. The poem ends with a tetrameter couplet that stands outside of the poem's metrical frame, a plea for divine intervention; and the epigraph from *Canticles* shows that, in making his request, the speaker has joined his sensibility with the greatest of all sacred amatory pastorals.

The first three stanzas of Vaughan's opening lyric dramatically enact the poem's inward turn, juxtaposing the speaker's external and unreflective youthful élan with his turbulent inner life impacted with vice and sin, and they also relay his inability to change his wrongful bents through his own efforts.

### Regeneration.

A Ward, and still in bonds, one day I stole abroad, It was high-spring, and all the way *Primros'd*, and hung with shade; Yet, was it frost within, And surly winds Blasted my infant buds, and sinne Like Clouds ecclips'd my mind.

2.

Storm'd thus, I straight perceiv'd my spring Meere stage, and show, My walke a monstrous, mountain'd thing Rough-cast with Rocks, and snow; And as a Pilgrims Eye Far from reliefe, Measures the melancholy skye Then drops, and rains for griefe,

3. So sigh'd I upwards still, at last 'Twixt steps, and falls I reach'd the pinacle, where plac'd I found a paire of scales, I tooke them up and layd In th'one late paines, The other smoake, and pleasures weigh'd But prov'd the heavier grains; (ll. 1-24)

Once the scales have shown the speaker that he remains in need of spiritual help, he responds obediently to what seems to be an angelic prompting<sup>13</sup>—"Away" (l. 25)—and the poem's visions move into a pastoral-symbolic recapitulation of salvation history, beginning with "*Jacobs Bed*" from the Old Testament and modulating into the "new spring" of the Christian church, presented through imagery that implies Vaughan's respect, in line with St. Paulinus and Archbishop Laud, for the helps provided to Christian holiness by sacred architecture and liturgy. Perhaps it is not surprising that the sensuous natural descriptions here not only incomparably surpass the spiritually compromised "high-spring" of stanza one, but also very much exceed in splendor the Elysian Fields and lyric springtime blessings delivered by Vaughan's speaker in "To the River *Isca*" (ll. 19-24, 61-72).

4. With that, some cryed, *Away*; straight I Obey'd, and led Full East, a faire, fresh field could spy Some call'd it, *Jacobs Bed*; A Virgin-soile, which no Rude feet ere trod, Where (since he stept there,) only go Prophets, and friends of God.

5.

Here, I repos'd; but scarse well set, A grove descryed Of stately height, whose branches met And mixt on every side; I entred, and once in (Amaz'd to see't,) Found all was chang'd, and a new spring Did all my senses greet; 6. The unthrift Sunne shot vitall gold A thousand peeces, And heaven its azure did unfold Checqur'd with snowie fleeces, The aire was all in spice And every bush A garland wore; Thus fed my Eyes But all the Eare lay hush. (ll. 25-48)

The visions that Vaughan's speaker encounters here are spectacular and impressive, but his own relationship with what he sees remains undetermined, and the final showings of the poem serve to sharpen the question of how the speaker himself will relate to what he has seen. The poem's narrative has gone forward with quick and restless movement; then stanza eight highlights the speaker's repeated failures to comprehend by echoing the first chapter of Ecclesiastes, where it is said that "the eye is not satisfied with seeing, nor the ear filled with hearing" and "there is no new thing under the sun" (Eccles. 1:8-9). The visions, engaging as they are, emerge and are superseded by others: has there been any inner progress toward overcoming the "frost within"? The fountain in the speaker's stately grove appears to be weeping.

#### 7.

Only a little Fountain lent Some use for Eares, And on the dumbe shades language spent The Musick of her teares; I drew her neere, and found The Cisterne full Of divers stones, some bright, and round Others ill-shap'd, and dull.

## 8.

The first (pray marke,) as quick as light Danc'd through the floud, But, th'last more heavy then the night Nail'd to the Center stood; I wonder'd much, but tyr'd At last with thought, My restless Eye that still desir'd As strange an object brought;

9. It was a banke of flowers, where I descried (Though 'twas mid-day,) Some fast asleepe, others broad-eyed And taking in the Ray, Here musing long, I heard A rushing wind Which still increas'd, but whence it stirr'd No where I could not find;

10. I turn'd me round, and to each shade Dispatch'd an Eye, To see, if any leafe had made Least motion, or Reply, But while I listning sought My mind to ease By knowing, where 'twas, or where not, It whisper'd; *Where I please*. (ll. 49-80)

Here the ten eight-line stanzas of the poem come to an end, but Vaughan adds a tetrameter couplet in which his speaker finally makes a definitive response to the series of visions, one that combines the image of God's Spirit as wind<sup>14</sup> with St. Paul's injunction to die to sin in order to live in Christ<sup>15</sup>:

Lord, then said I, *On me one breath, And let me dye before my death!* (ll. 81-82)

Once the speaker has made this request to the Holy Spirit, Vaughan deploys in turn an epigraph that merges the request with the words of the Beloved in Canticles: "*Arise O North, and come thou South-wind, and blow upon my garden, that the spices thereof may flow out*" (59), a sacred-canonical prayer that becomes for his new verse collection what the catalogue of river poets had been for *Olor Iscanus*. The outcome of "Regeneration" supplies a warrant and a blessing for the lyrics in *Silex Scintillans* to follow.

The Vaughan Association

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#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup>See Vaughan, *Works* (149-53) for an account of the evidence surrounding Thomas Vaughan's unapproved 1651 publication of his brother Henry's *Olor Iscanus*. Quotations from Henry Vaughan's poetry and prose below are cited from this edition, which throughout this paper will be abbreviated as *Works*.

<sup>2</sup>Vaughan's relative John Aubrey and Vaughan's Oxford correspondent Anthony Wood afterward used "Olor Iscanus" as Vaughan's sobriquet; see *Works* 793-94.

<sup>3</sup>The river near which Laura reclines in Petrarch's 126th Sonnet would seem to be the Rhône near Avignon, though Habington calls it the "*Arn.*" Vaughan chooses to associate Petrarch's amatory verse with "*Tybers* banks," perhaps misremembering Habington's lines while making casual allusion to them (*Works* 985).

<sup>4</sup>Wilcher takes this description of Vaughan's habit of verbatim allusion from Bird 12.

<sup>5</sup>See also Randolph 63 (ll. 143-44). West's poem "*To the pious Memory of my deare Brother in-Law M<sup>T</sup> Thomas Randolph*" was the publisher's commendation for Randolph's posthumous collection, and it also characterized "*Helicon*" as "a Spring" (l. 68), a usage Vaughan picks up in "To the River *Isca*" (l. 38).

<sup>6</sup>The lines Vaughan borrows belong in Browne's poem to the shepherdess Marina, who uses them to bless a river god for his offer to rescue her from unrequited love for the shepherd Celandine. See Browne 28 (*Britannia's Pastorals*, Book I, Song 2). Vaughan also seems to interact in "To the River *Isca*" (l. 43), with Browne's refusal in the first lines of *Britannia's Pastorals* to add to already overcrowded pastoral sites: "What neede I tune the Swaines of *Thessalie*? / Or, bootlesse, adde to them of *Arcadie*?" (Browne 2).

<sup>7</sup>Quoted from Guiney's and Morgan's notes compiled by F. E. Hutchinson in the unpublished typescript "A Commentary on the Poems of Henry Vaughan"; see *Works* xxiv.

<sup>8</sup>I find it likely that this lyric, along with "To the River *Isca*," is one of the earliest poems in *Olor Iscanus*, and that its printed position, second in the collection, reflects Vaughan's intentions in 1647.

<sup>9</sup>See especially Jonathan Post's and Peter Thomas's responses, summarized in the headnote to this lyric in *Works* 988.

<sup>10</sup>"Thou that know'st for whom I mourne," ll. 57-64 (*Works* 80).

<sup>11</sup>For his sacred sequence, Vaughan fittingly follows the body-soul dialogue in "Death" with a similar dialogue on "Resurrection and Immortality" (*Works* 60-62).

<sup>12</sup>It will be noted that my readings from this much-discussed poem largely follow the lead of Vaughan's latest editors in *Works* 877-85. For "the heavier graines" on the "paire of scales" in stanza three figuring the speaker's need for divine aid to truly overcome sin, see Halewood 130. For the grove "of stately height" in stanza five, see West 40, and Garner 59, who see the image functioning as "a church interpreted as a grove"; and see also Jonathan Post's intuition that the synthesis implicit in Vaughan's pastoral image reflects on Vaughan's endorsement of the longstanding aesthetic openness in Christian art to the pre-Christian, which Thomas Fuller called "Christian thrift" (197-98). As the editors of *Works* have shown, most critical responses to "Regeneration" take the poem as a learned seventeenth-century man's personal religious testimony aesthetically deployed, and as such open to analysis as a manifestation of relevant Biblical, theological, and mystical texts and traditions. I have always been inclined to read the poem's opening lines as referencing Vaughan's own minor status as a non-matriculated Oxford student afterward "sent to London, beinge then designed by my father for the study of the Law" (*Works* 800).

<sup>13</sup>Durr 86-87 takes "some" in line 25 as singular and identifies the directive "*Away*" as the voice of Christ, who said that Jacob's vision of angels ascending and descending from Heaven would through His ministry be manifested again (John 1:51).

<sup>14</sup>In addition to John 3:8 (*Works* 884), see Isaiah 40:7-8, "The grass withereth, the flower fadeth: because the spirit of the LORD bloweth upon it: surely the people is grass. The grass withereth, the flower fadeth: but the word of our God shall stand forever."

<sup>15</sup>See Colossians 3:2-3, "Set your affections on things above, not on things in the earth. For ye are dead, and your life is hid with Christ in God." See also Galatians 2:20, and Romans, chapters 6 and 7.

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