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COURT MASQUES OF JAMES I

THEIR INFLUENCE ON SHAKESPEARE AND THE PUBLIC THEATRES

A THESIS PRESENTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE COLLEGE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF NEBRASKA

BY

MARY SULLIVAN

FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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To

DEAN L. A. SHERMAN

INTRODUCTION

THIS work was undertaken under the generous inspiration of Professor and Mrs. C. W. Wallace, whose accomplishments in Shakespearean research seem, to their co-workers, little less than marvelous. Through them came the impetus to work over the store of already examined material in the British Museum, together with some of the millions of unsearched documents in the Public Record Office and elsewhere. Very interesting it is to come upon the handwriting of Elizabeth, James I, and other members of royalty, nobility, ambassadors, etc., found in letters and other documents. To lay hands, among these documents, on tangible things for specific helpfulness in particular plays is, however, not easy.

The masque is the form of Elizabethan dramatic literature upon which external influences had most apparent effect. Although masques were given in private, they were the most public literary productions of their time, because they were the form of literature most closely associated with the public acts of royalty and of men who were in the popular eye. The political, social, industrial, and religious conditions influencing masques, and influenced in turn by them, offer a large field for investigation, and deserve no less than very extended treatment. It seemed well, then, to limit the present work to a consideration of those masques produced at the Court of King James, under influences connected with international questions.

Research for material upon such masques opened up new avenues of investigation. New documents, yet unpublished, were found, involving Shakespeare and his company with the Royal Masquers, the nobility, and foreign ambassadors. Though no genuine scholar to-day gives serious heed to the old cry which held actors to be of low estimate or morals, in the time of Elizabeth and James I, nevertheless few realise how false was such a charge, or what essential instruments of state actors and producers of literature really were. Few, therefore, evaluate correctly the position occupied by "The King's Players," "Grooms of the King's Chamber," and teachers and assistants to royalty, in presenting masques. Of interest also are stage plans, of Inigo Jones and other architects, for masques and plays presented in the Court, arrangements of Court halls, seating of audiences, etc. All these things shed at least a tiny ray of light upon the comparative darkness which surrounds the Shakespearean stage. Consideration of all these questions is under way, but many of them, though interesting and tempting, are excluded from the present discussion, for want of room, and because they are extraneous to the main purpose of the present investigation.

As far as possible, the original documents have been allowed to tell their own story; therefore many have been admitted into the text as well as into the notes. A studied attempt has been made to keep these reproduced documents as nearly like the originals as modern printing and the condition of the documents themselves will permit. Where the originals are torn, or partly destroyed, bracketed matter supplies conjecturally what was lost. Aside from this no intentional change has been made in spelling, abbreviation, etc. A

bibliography of the original documents, which justify practically all the decisions of the present chapters, seems unnecessary since the documents themselves are included in the notes, with all the data necessary for finding them.

Acknowledgments are due to investigators of the masque, already in the field, particularly to M. Paul Reyher, Dr. A. Soergel, Dr. Rudolf Brotanek, and more especially to Dr. Albert Feuillerat for courtesies for which the author is very grateful. The ever ready helpfulness of those in charge in the British Museum, in the Public Record Office, and in offices of State, especially those in the offices of the Duke of Connaught, have made investigation not only easy but pleasant. The author wishes to express her gratitude to Superintendent Davidson formerly of Omaha and to Superintendent Graff whose influences secured a generous leave of absence; to Dr. Louise Pound and Dr. Jones, both of the University of Nebraska, for favours given not only on the present occasion but in the past. The assistance of Professor and Mrs. C. W. Wallace, and the continued patience and inspiration of Dean L. A. Sherman, are of such quality and character as to forbid any adequate expression of appreciation.

Court Masques of James I

CHAPTER I

COURT MASQUES, 1603–1608—QUEEN ANNE THE CHIEF MASQUER—ASCENDENCY OF SPAIN

IT has been too much the custom for scholars of literature and history to treat these subjects as if they had no relation to each other. Those who gave most encouragement and assistance to the producers of literature, at least in the time of Shakespeare, were the chief social and political figures of the age.[1] In many cases, perhaps in most cases, their interest in literature had its inception in, was actuated by and involved with their political interest. But there is one species of literature of which this is especially true.

Those who have written on the masque have observed that an understanding and appreciation of this species of literature, more than of all others, depends upon a knowledge of the occasion upon or for which it was produced.[2] Yet no one has collected the materials

[1] See *infra, passim*, King James's encouragement of masques, etc.

[2] "In a word every masque is in its nature what the French call a *pièce d'occasion;* and no such piece can be thoroughly appreciated apart from the occasion itself." A. W. Ward, *English Dramatic Literature* (1899), ii, 389.

"Car une étude sur le 'masque' en soi, isolé du milieu social, de la

which enable us to know these occasions. Consequently the high favour and importance of the masque at Court has been erroneously attributed to such merely subsidiary causes as a love of splendour, "gratification of aristocratic exclusiveness," the adulation of royalty, etc.[1]

The real occasion for the production of all the greatest masques of the Jacobean Court lies as deep as the business of State.[2] When foreign ambassadors at the English Court officially insisted that a masque was a public action wherein one nation could not be favoured more than another without manifest testimony of bad faith to the nation neglected[3]; that a masque was a pub-

littérature, du drame, de l'art de l'époque, me fait l'effet d'un contre-sens et presque d'un non-sens." Paul Reyher, *Les Masques Anglais* (1909), viii.

[1] "But the favour so widely extended to this kind of entertainments in the Jacobean age was chiefly due to other causes. These must be sought in the love of an elaborate and in a sense refined splendour which was characteristic of the times, and in the signal advance noticeable in them to the decorative arts, whose foremost representative, Inigo Jones, was gifted with a genius of rare versatility and force. In addition the circumstances under which the masques were ordinarily produced gratified that aristocratic exclusiveness, which sets the stamp upon fashionable success; while these entertainments furnished the great nobles and ministers, and other pillars and pilasters of the throne, with constant opportunities for extravagant adulation of a sovereign beyond the top of whose bent in this respect it was not easy to soar." A. W. Ward, *English Dramatic Literature* (1899), ii, 390.

"Jacob I liebte Schaugepränge und wurde darin von seiner Gemahlin überboten, die gerade den Maskenspielen ihre Gunst gewährte, weil sie nie in der Englischen Sprache heimisch war, und ihnen den Stempel eines königlichen Vergnügens aufdrückte indem sie die erste Königin war, die selbst wirkend in ihnen auftrat. Der König aber war nicht allein prunkliebend, er war auch gelehrt, eine Eigenschaft, die eben so nothwendig war wie jene, um die Maske vollständig zu geniessen und zu verstehen." Alfred Soergel, *Die Englischen Maskenspiele*, Halle Dissertations, 1882.

[2] See *infra*, *passim*, the occasion given for each of the Twelfthnight masques.

[3] Cf. *infra*, 37

lic spectacle and solemnity which would be seen by ten thousand persons who would publish to all Christendom the diplomatic significance of the Court's least action during its performance[1]; when masques were held in one country to counteract or influence the diplomatic importance of a masque given in another[2]; when King James himself insisted that a masque was a diplomatic function, used to prove to a continental sovereign England's affection for him[3]; when prime ministers announced that deportment at a masque had a large influence in shaping a treaty of peace,[4] it seems time to examine such masques in connection with the historic conditions with which they were associated, for the effect of the diplomatic bearing upon the literature of the masque and of other dramatic forms.

In a monarchy so personal as that of England under James,[5] everything done by the monarch or by any of his family had a diplomatic as well as a social bearing, and in the case of the masque the diplomatic, under cover of the social, seems to have been of greatest significance. To know this significance, one must discover, with accurate historic detail, the diplomatic relations of the countries concerned.

When Elizabeth died, England, with the assistance of France, was making war upon Spain. James's succession was no sooner announced, than all Europe made especial effort to discover and influence the policy of

[1] Cf. *infra*, 38. [2] Cf. *infra*, 52. [3] Cf. *infra*, 56. [4] Cf. *infra*, 583.

[5] "Conceit of his office led James into thinking that nations have naught to do with high mysteries of State, which should be left to monarchs alone . . . the world was to be stilled by the marriage of a boy and a girl [Prince Charles, later Charles I of England, and the Infanta of Spain] and Emperor and Pope were to confine themselves within the bounds traced by the King of England." F. C. Montague, *History of England* (1907), 116.

the new administration. France and Spain, the two countries most concerned, were particularly active. Ambassadors vied with each other in giving rich and costly gifts to lords and ladies generally,[1] to the King's friends and advisers, to the royal family, and even to the King himself with the hope of gaining desired ends.[2] For like purposes they also gave elaborate dinners,[3] plays,[4] and other entertainments to those of high influence.

According to their own declaration, the efforts of France and Spain were part of a diplomatic struggle for the favour of the new King,[5] through whose assistance each hoped to establish its own state supremacy in Continental Europe. The gifts, dinners, plays, etc., were but preliminary skirmishes, for England's open recognition, for which each was playing. If this open recognition could be secured in no other way, King James's choice of ambassadors for social favours would proclaim it in due time. The masques of the Christmas season were the Court's greatest social functions.[6] To these, then, representatives of European powers looked for the announcement of England's attitude toward the

[1] See Appendix 1. [2] See Appendix 2.

[3] "The Spanish Ambassador invited Madame Beaumont, the French Ambassador's Lady to dinner, requesting her to bring some English Ladies with her, she brought my Lady Bedford, Lady Rich, Lady Susan (Vere), Lady Dorothy with her and great cheer they had. A fortnight after, he invited the Duke [of Lenox], the Earl of Mar and divers of that nation [Scotch], requesting them to bring the Scotch Ladies, for he was desirous to see some natural beauties. My Lady Anne Hay and my cousin Drummond went and after the weare presented, first with two pairs of Spanish gloves apiece—and after, my cousin Drummond had a diamond ring of the value of two hundred crowns given her and my Lady Anne a gold chain of links twice about her neck sent her." Lady Arabella Stuart to Shrewsbury, 8 Dec., 1603 in John Nichols, *Progresses of James I*, iv, 1060–1.

[4] See *infra*, I, 26. [5] See Appendix, 2. [6] See *infra*, 8[2]

belligerents, as indicated through James's choice of ambassadors for first favours at the masques.

In the distribution of its social favours, the Court distinguished between countries of differing importance. In theory, an ambassador took the place of the King whom he represented, and therefore European sovereigns expected for their ambassadors the same social attentions which they should themselves claim, were they to visit the English Court.[1]

When an ambassador of first rank was to be entertained at a masque, the King's coach, with the master of ceremonies or some person of note, was sent to escort him from his place of residence to the palace.[2] On arriving at the palace, he was assigned elaborate quarters until he should be taken to the dinner which preceded the masque.[3] He was given a place at table according to the rank of his sovereign.[4] After dinner he was "brought to retire himself" in elegant comfort.[5] Shortly after the banquet, when the masque was in readiness, he was conducted either to the King's apartments or to some other convenient place of waiting, whence the King took him to the hall,[6] where the masquers and audience had for some time been awaiting the royal entry. Lesser ambassadors, if any were invited, were also in the regal procession. Their respective positions about the King as they entered the hall announced to the assembly England's interpretation of the importance of each country represented.[7] All were seated according to rank,[8] and since, of course, there could be no two positions of equal pretensions, no ambassadors of equal importance could be invited

[1] See Appendix, 5 f. Cf. also 22 f. [2] See *infra*, 22 f. [3] See *infra*, 22 f; also Appendix 23 f. [4] See *infra*, 22 f. [5] See *infra*, 22 f; [6] See *infra*, 24; also 27[5]. [7] See *infra*, 24. [8] See *infra*, 24.

together.[1] To this circumstance, chiefly, we owe some of the best information we have concerning the masque.

During the performance, attentions to ambassadors from the King and members of the royal family varied according to the honour England wished to pay the country of each.[2] If the masque was given to show especial favour to some country, the King consumed the time of the entertainment in talking with the ambassador and showing him, before all the court, and other ambassadors, the most marked attention.[3] The Queen "took him out"[4] for the dance at the close of the masque. If his wife or members of his family or prominent friends were present, they were treated to especial notice by the Queen and Princes during the intervals of the masque and invited to dance with the royal masquers at the close.[5] After the masque, if the occasion was of exceeding importance, the ambassador was feasted alone with the King at the King's own table.[6] If not, he was accompanied by the King to the great banquet, which usually closed the evening's entertainment, and shown all honour during the feast.[7]

Such was the distinction given an ambassador of the first rank. Representatives of countries of lesser impor-

[1] "The like difpute was betwixt the French and y^{e} Spanish Ambafsadors and hard hold for y^{e} greatest honor, w^{ch} y^{e} Spaniard thincks he hath caried away by being first feasted (as he was y^{e} first holy-day and y^{e} Polack y^{e} next) and inuited to the greatest maſke: and y^{e} French ſeems to be greatly diſconcerted that he was flatly refuſed to be admitted to the laſt about w^{ch} he vſed vnmannerly expostulaõns wth the K: and for a few days troubled all the court, but the Q: was faine to take the matter vppon her who as a maſquer had inuited y^{e} Spaniard as y^{e} Duke before had done y^{e} French, and to haue them both there could not well be wth owt blud-ſhed." Letter from Carleton to Chamberlain, 15 Jan., 1603, in *State Papers Domestic, James I*, vi, No. 21.

[2] See *infra, passim.* [3] See *infra*, 56. [4] See *infra*, 15 and 57.
[5] See *infra*, 57. [6] See *infra*, 16. [7] See *infra*, Chap. IV.

tance were shown varying degrees of attention. A mere "agent" was permitted to find his own way, as best he could, to the palace. He was seated by order of the master of ceremonies, in the hall, where with other spectators he interested himself in the surroundings, until the coming of the King.[1] His presence was absolutely ignored by all members of the royal family and he was allowed to depart as he came.

Questions of precedence became at times matter for serious concern at the barriers, dinners,[2] and other entertainments. But if we trust the word of the French ambassador, no entertainment ever assumed such importance as a masque.[3]

Frequently the date of a masque or some other circumstance gave it unwonted importance.[4] Any increased importance always increased the rivalry for invitation, for the greater the importance, the greater the honour of invitation. From very early times, it had been the custom of the court to do special honour to ambassadors from Continental powers by entertaining them with masques (or the varied form of entertainments, called mummings, disguisings, etc., which preceded masques proper), especially at the Christmas time.[5]

[1] See *infra*, Chap. III.

[2] See *infra*, 79 [5].

[3] See *infra*, 8 [2].

[4] See *infra*, Appendix 5 f.

[5] "In this yere [1401] was here the Emperor of Constantinople and the Kyng helde his Christenmasse at Eltham, and men of London made a gret mummyng to him of XII Aldermen & here sones, for which they had gret thanke." J. P. Collier, *The History of Dramatic Poetry and Annals of the Stage* (1879), i, 26, from British Museum, *Harleian MSS.*, No. 565.

"On the XII[th] day" (he says, speaking of the year 1489) "the ambassatours of Spayne dyned at the Kyngs borde, and the officers of armez had ther largess as they were accustomed."—J. P. Collier, v.s., i, 58, from British Museum, *Cotton MSS., Julius, B.*, xii.

The greatest masquing night of all the year was Twelfthnight, Epiphany, or the Feast of the Three Kings as it was variously called.[1] This feast with its masque held the place of greatest honour in all the public court functions of the year.[2] Ranking next in importance, came the masques of Shrovetide (usually Shrove Tuesday, sometimes Shrove Sunday) and Candlemas. These were the big masquing dates around which almost all the great Court masques of the reign of James centred.[3] The importance of the date,

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"Trustye and welbeloued we grete you well. whereas the right excellent Prince King Henry vijth oure moſt naturall and lovinge father whoſe ſoul god pardõ by his late Trẽs comanded oure truſty and welbeloued S^{r} Andrew Windeſere Knighte kep of oure greate wardrobe to repaire vnto his grace for certen money to be Delyuered vnto him for certayne Pagents and garments and other things for diſguyſing and Revells to be made agaynſt the comyng vnto his highnes of thambaſſadors oute of flannders w^{ch} as yet is not contented to the ſaide S^{r} Andrew," etc. Public Record Office, Lord Chamberlain's Department, *Class* 5, *Miscellaneous*, No. lxxxvi, 39.

a warrant for money d° p^{r} mo henry viij

[1] "Nay, if one would argumentize thereupon it might be alledged that the laſt day ſhould be taken for the greateſt day, as it is underſtood in many other caſes, and particularly upon the Feſtivalls of Christmas wherein Twelfe day or the Feſtivall of the three kings which is the laſt is taken for the greateſt day: and in many places Tuesday is taken for the chiefeſt day of Shrovetide; wherefore the Mask at Court, compos'd for that day as being the greateſt of all the Feſtivalls." Translation of a French letter from James I to the Ambassador of the Arch-Duke as it is found in John Finett, *Finetti Philoxenis*, 8.

[2] "jour des festes de Noêl selon la facon d'ang^{e} et le plus honnorable tout pour la ceremonie qui f'y obserue de tout temps publiquement." Beaumont to Henry IV, 13 [O. S. 3] Jan., 160[3]4, in British Museum, *King's MSS.*, cxxiv, f. 675.

[3] See lists of masques in:

F. G. Fleay, *Chronicle History of the London Stage*, (1890), 179–83, 258–62.

Paul Reyher, *Les Masques Anglais* (1909), 519.

Rudolf Brotanek, *Die Englischen Maskenspiele* (1902), 342.

A. E. Evans, *English Masques*, lx.

however, was at rare intervals relegated to second place by some circumstance or occasion of the masque itself.[1]

The preliminary facts above stated enable us better to understand all masques. They give us a means of interpreting many of the references in masques and of explaining the attitude at masquing entertainments toward ambassadors resident at the English Court.

The first Christmas season in the reign of King James, 1603–4, was a holiday season of unusual magnificence. Thirty plays[2] and three masques, besides dinners and other forms of amusement, provided entertainment for the ambassadors.[3] But Twelfthnight was given unusual prominence this year from the fact that the masque was to be "danced" by the new Queen and the ladies in highest favour about her.[4] Moreover it was whispered about the Court that the Queen was "merely Spanish"[5] and it was common knowledge, as

[1] See *infra*, 14.

[2] Though plays were frequently given in the Court and many of them of great interest and note, in no case do they seem to have assumed the social or political importance or the magnificent spectacular effect of a masque. Whether this is due to the professional character of the one and to the presence of royal and noble amateurs in the other is yet a matter for speculation.

[3] "The court is like to Christmas at Windsor and many plays and shows are bespoken to give entertainment to our ambassadors." Dudley Carleton to John Chamberlain 27 Nov., 1603, O. S., in John Nichols, *The Progresses of King James the First* (1828), iv, 1059–60.

"Other stuff I can send you none from this place where now we are to feast seven ambassadors; Spain, France, Poland, Florence and Savoy besides masks and much more." Cecil to Shrewsbury 23 Dec., 1603, O. S., in Edmund Lodge, *Illustrations of British History* (1838), iii, 82.

[4] Gifford, whose errors are too numerous to be given space here, has overlooked this masque and placed Queen Anne's first entertainment in the coming year. See *The Works of Ben Jonson*, notes and memoirs by William Gifford, edited by Frances Cunningham (1903), iii, 2.

[5] "Let me tell you in your ear without offence, fhe [the Queen] is merely Spanish." Levinus Muncke to Mr. Winwood 29 October, 1605,

certain correspondence[1] and the sequel of this masque[2] show, that she was well disposed toward the representative of "His Catholic Majesty."[3] The diplomatic problem for solution concerned the disposition of the Low Countries. If it seems strange that the solution of so serious an international problem should hinge upon an affair of such seeming trivialness as a masque, one needs only to remember England's unwillingness under Elizabeth and James to declare her policy and the instability of any Continental combination which ignored her existence or disregarded her wishes.

During the last years of Elizabeth's reign, when England was waging war upon Spain, there was, of course, no ambassador at the English Court to dispute the French claims to the honours of Twelfth-night. Should England, under the new administration, continue Twelfthnight honours to France, Continentals, in their jealous efforts to ascertain the new King's attitude, would seize upon the event as an indication of policy. Such friendliness would be interpreted to mean a continuance of England's hostile alliance with France and the Low Countries against Spain. If Spain won first place at the Queen's masque, prepared for Twelfthnight, it would indicate that the Low Countries must seek new allies, in new Continental combinations, and European leagues must change. Masques of other dates were important; but they served rather as a means to entertain those who

O. S., in Sir Ralph Winwood, *Memorials of the Affairs of State in the Reigns of Q. Elizabeth and K. James I.* (1725), ii, 155.

[1] See *infra*, Appendix 23. [2] See *ibid*,

[3] It is commonly known that though several of the European sovereigns were Catholics, the King of Spain was usually referred to in the documents of the time as "His Catholic Majesty," while the King of France was known as "His most Christian Majesty."

could not be entertained at the great annual Twelfth-night masque.[1]

Invitations to the masques were secured through the solicitations of the ambassadors themselves.[2] For the great event of the Queen's masque on Twelfth-night, 1603–4, there was sharp rivalry between Beaumont the French Ambassador and Juan de Tassis the Ambassador from Spain. The preliminary skirmishes have been already suggested.[3] James's ministers found difficulty in attempting to manage the invitations without committing the King to the cause of either.[4] Three masques, as we have seen,[5] were in process of preparation. *A Masque of the Knights of India and China*, to be given by the Duke of Holst, was planned for the night of January first. *The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses*, prepared especially for the Queen by Samuel Daniel, was appointed for Twelfthnight. For the third, I am unable to find a date determined upon in the preparations, but a masque of Scots was given to mollify France as we shall see.[6]

Beaumont was made the guest of honour at the *Masque of the Knights of India and China*, which was especially prepared for him. He had good reason to feel as he watched the "maſke brought in by a magicien from China" and heard the eulogy of England[7] that he was doing all he could both publicly and "vnderhand to diueste vs [English] from makinge Pease wth Spaine."[8]

[1] See *infra*, 22 f. [2] See Appendix 4 *et passim*. [3] *Supra*, 4.

[4] This was probably in the hands of Salisbury, assisted by the Council, See *infra*, 39[2]. [5] *Supra*, 9. [6] *Infra*, 14. [7] See Appendix, 3.

[8] "All the embassadors were feasted at Courte this X$\tilde{p}$tmas first the Spanish and Sauoyan 2 the french and florentine 3 the Poloman and Venetian and all highly pleased but the french who is malecontent to see the Spaniard ſo kyndly vsed and it is plainly perceaued that he and

If some of his contemporaries are to be believed, his eyes opened wide with surprise when King James took advantage of the big function to advertise his own wealth and popularity to the French King by having one of the masquers present him with a pretended gift—a "Jewell of £40,000 value" (between $200,000 and $300,000 of our money to-day) which James had already purchased.[1]

Beaumont saw the byplay with the "colt of Bufephalus race"[2] and expressed his appreciation of the magnificent spectacle produced as the gold-embroidered, crimson satin robes of the masquers[3] blended with the elegant costumes of the Queen[4] and her ladies in the intricate steps of the dance. But the Spaniard, who was not invited to this first masque, was planning surprises for him, of deeper significance than those the Chinese magician had so elaborately prepared.

That the French Ambassador got some clue concerning the nature of one of those surprises, is indicated in his answer to an invitation to dine at the Court on the following Sunday night, January eighth.[5] This dinner, designed to give especial satisfaction to France, was to take place in the exclusive privacy of the King's own chamber, no other guest to share the privilege. But

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the florentine and in some sort the Venetian labour all they can Vnderhand to diueste vs from makinge Pease w^{th} Spaine." Calendared as letter from Ortelio Renzo to Geo. Ant. Frederico, 31 Jan., in *State Papers Domestic James I*, vi, No. 37.

[1] See Appendix 4. [2] Appendix 3. [3] *ibid.*

[4] "Theyr attire was rich but ſomewhat too heavy and cumberſome for dancers w^{ch} putt them beſides ther galliardes. They had looſe robes of crimſen ſattin embrodered w^{th} gold and bordered w^{th} brood ſiluer laces, dublets and baſes of cloth of ſiluer; buſkins ſwordes and hatts alike and in theyr hats ech of them an Indian bird for a fether w^{th} ſome Jewells." Letter from Carleton to Chamberlain, 15 Jan., 1603, in *State Papers Domestic James I*, (1604), No. 21. [5] Appendix 4.

Beaumont says he deferred accepting the dinner until he could satisfy himself concerning a matter which held him in suspense. So he sent word to King James that he saw the artifice of some of the Court, who thought by inviting him to the first masque to reserve for the badly founded claims of Spain the greater privileges of Twelfthnight—the night always selected for the greatest of all the public ceremonies of the Court of England. He remonstrated against the injury done to the King of France, if Spain should be accorded an honour which would proclaim for that country a preeminence, heretofore the undisputed right of France.[1] The English King answered that the French preeminence was undisputed. But, in this case, James pleaded, he was in trouble, since the Queen, his wife, greatly desired the Spanish Ambassador's presence at her masque.[2]

This threw the burden of responsibility upon the Queen, with whom, as well as with the King and prominent members of the nobility, there were frequent meetings and long consultations.

The stormy protests of the Frenchman brought finally a proposal for a compromise in which Beaumont was advised that both men might appear as private individuals, if they chose. Angered at this evidence of successful artifice in behalf of Spain, and by conviction of his own defeat, Beaumont sent word to King James

[1] "Que jamais les ambassadeur d'espagne navoient disputé lapreminence contre coux de France." *Ibid.*

[2] "Aquoy il me repondit que quant au point principal dela préeminence je ne fisse aucune jeune rencontrasse avec l'ambassad[r] d'espagne en sa presence il meme donnast la main droitte, Que pour ce fait particulier dont je luy parloir il se trouvoit en peine d'autant que la Reine sa femme eut bien desiré que l'ambassadeur d'espagne se fut trouvé en fon Ballet." *Ibid.*

that if the Spaniard presumed to appear with him to dispute his position at the masque, he would kill him at the King's feet at the risk of his own life.[1]

Finally Beaumont was outwitted by a second artifice. He based his right to be present at the Queen's masque on the French claim to the exclusive privileges of Twelfthnight. After much consultation, following his insistent pretensions, the letter of the French demand was granted. The Queen's masque was postponed to January eighth and Beaumont was invited for Twelfthnight to a dinner, running at the ring, a play, a masque of Scots (to whom his instructions required him to profess attachment), and the ordinary refreshments of comfits given there after.[2] The French Ambassador, feeling that it was unwise to make further protest, determined to conceal his chagrin by accepting the invitation and making the best of it.

Juan de Tassis having been "solemnly invited"[3] for January eighth, attended the magnificent *Masque of the Twelve Goddesses* and sat under the canopy called the "State" at the right hand of the King. He received

[1] "Que neantmoins ſ'il êtoit si outre cuidé al'espagnol que derieu pretendre en cette rencontre Sur ma place que je le tuerois à Ses pieds au hazard de ma vie." Letter from M. Beaumont to the King of France, 23 Jan., 1604, in *King's MSS.*, cxxiv, f. 706.

[2] "The twelfe-day the French Ambaſsador was feasted publikely; and at night there was a play in the Q^{s}: preſence w^{th}: a maſquerado of certaine Scotchmen who came in w^{th}: a ſword not vnlike a matachin, and performed it clenly." Carleton to Chamberlain in *State Papers Domestic James I*, 1604, No. 21.

"Je me resolu puisques aussibien le jour dela ceremonie me demourant libre jeue pouvois protester justement in pretendre dêtre jnjurée. . . ."

"et ainsy je mangeay avec luy, la Reine et Monsieur le Prince de Galles courus la Bagne apres diné assisté tout le soir a vn Ballet d'ecossois et au festin de confitures." Beaumont to French King, 23 Jan., 1604, in *King's MSS.*, cxxiv, f. 706.

Cf., *infra*, 22 f.

[3] See Appendix 10.

the most complimentary attentions from James. In the royal company he saw the "yong Prince" in the "galliardes and carantoes" "tost from hand to hand like a tennis bal."[1] He applauded the masquers, chief among whom "Pallas (which was the person her Majesty chose to represent) was attired in a blue mantle, with a silver embroidery of all weapons and engines of war with a helmet dressing on her head."[2]

He must have noted with the others all the splendour and all the scandal, all the good points and all the faults of her upon whom all eyes were turned, "Pallas," who "had a trick by herſelf for her clothes were not so much below the knee but that we might ſee a woman had both feete and legs w$^{ch}_{:}$ I never knew before. ſhe had a pair of buſkins ſett w$^{th}_{:}$ rich ſtones, a helmett full of Jewells, and her whole attire emboſsed w$^{th}_{:}$ Jewells of ſeuerall faſhions."[3]

At the close of the masque, he was "taken out"[4] by Lady Bedford, Queen Anne's greatest favourite,[5] to

[1] "For galliardes and carantoes they went by diſcretion, and the yong Prince was tost from hand to hand like a tennis bal. The La: Bedford and La: ſuſan tooke owt the two ambaſsadors; and they beſtirred themſelfe very liuely: ſpeceally the Spaniard for the Spanish galliard ſhewed himſelf a lusty old reueller." Carleton to Chamberlain, 15 January, 1603, in *State Papers Domestic James I*, vi, No. 21.

[2] See *The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses*, by Samuel Daniel, in H. A. Evans, *English Masques* (1898), 4.

[3] Letter from Carleton to Chamberlain, 15 January, 1603, in *State Papers Domestic James I*, vi, No. 21.

[4] "After this the maskers danced their own measures, which being ended, and they are ready to take out the Lords, the three graces sang." *Vision of Twelve Goddesses*, by Samuel Daniel, in H. A. Evans, *English Masques* (1898), 15.

[5] "I hear of none she [Queen Anne] hath admitted to her Privy chamber or in place near her save the La: Bedford who was sworn of the Privy-chamber in Scotland." Letter from Carleton to Thos. Parry, 28 Jan., 1603, in John Nichols, *Progresses*, i, 190.

whom the masque of the evening was dedicated.[1] There, as his beautiful red gown mingled with the sky-blue,[2] the sea-green,[2] and the other striking costumes of the "Goddeſses" "who did theyr parts,"[3] he gave such satisfaction that the English Court, in which he had been the centre of attraction for the evening, pronounced him "a lusty old reveller."[4] In richness of costume, in the sympathies of the audience, and in gracefulness, the commendations of the crowd gave him second place only to "Pallas" who "of all for goode grace and goode footemanship—bare the bell away."[5] But she who "bare the bell away" did not think it beneath her to wear a scarf and a red belt ("banderolle") in honour of the Spanish Ambassador for whom Beaumont reports the whole fête was given. Before the eyes of all the Court and of all the representatives of foreign nations, de Tassis thus advertised the good feeling between Spain and England. The King closed the entertainment by taking the Spaniard with him to a banquet at his own table in his private chamber contrary to a promise he had made the French on this point.[6]

While de Tassis was so brilliantly advertising the success of the Spanish cause in the English Court, while politicians were speculating that "ye French ſeems to be greatly diſcontented that he was flatly refuſed to be admitted"[7] to the Queen's masque,

[1] See *Vision of Twelve Goddesses.*

[2] See H. A. Evans, *English Masques* (1898), 3–5.

[3] See Carleton to Chamberlain, 15 Jan., 1603, in *State Papers Domestic James I*, vi, No. 21.

[4] See Carleton to Chamberlain, 15 January, 1603, in *State Papers Domestic James I*, vi, No. 21, *supra* 15[1].

[5] See *ibid.*

[6] See Appendix 6.

[7] See Carleton to Chamberlain, 15 January, 1603, in *State Papers Domestic James I*, vi, No. 21.

Beaumont was reporting every detail even to the matter of the red gown and the Spanish favours worn by the Queen, to the French Court, and asking for instructions as to his future procedure.[1] His attitude toward the Christmas entertainment, including his threat against the Spaniard's life, was not the result of sudden temper or mere personal enmity as has been erroneously supposed.[2]

Ambassadors were mere figureheads through whom the intricate game of European politics was played. When invitations to the masques were issued to them, it was stipulated that these invitations had for their purpose the honoring of the kings their masters,[3] and when the ambassadors accepted such invitations it was in the name of their sovereigns.[4] These men were in perfect touch with the governments they represented and followed the minute instructions sent them,[5] or suffered the serious consequences of the slightest deviation. It was dangerous business to tamper with

[1] See Appendix 6.

[2] "The reception of ambassadors, however, who had hastened to congratulate the King on his acceſſion was not unattended we shall find with those petty jealousies and continual bickerings in which representatives of foreign courts seem to have spent most of their time." Ernest Law, in his edition of *The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses* (1880), Introduction, 10–11.

Cf. also *supra*, 21.

[3] See Appendix 51 *et passim.*

[4] See *infra*, 79 *et passim.*

[5] See *infra*, 51 f.

See the conduct of Boderie, successor to Beaumont, who sent couriers express to France for instructions concerning the masque of 1608, refusing to act in any detail on his own initiative. Boderie, *Ambassades*, iii, 8–13.

"je lui porterois tout le respect quil me seroit possible au nom de vôtre majesté, maisque les Princes pouvoient ſe relascher a des choses qui m'estoient ni licites ni convenables a leurs ministers." Beaumont to Henry IV, 23 Jan., 1604 in *King's MSS.*, cxiv, f. 706. See also *King's MSS.*, cxiv, f. 695–6.

or blunder in the complicated international difficulties of the time and at least one ambassador to the English Court, during the reign of James I, narrowly escaped with his life for such an error.[1]

In the case just under discussion, the French Court was notified as early as October, 1603, of the coming event of the Queen's masque, then in process of preparation.[2] A long letter from Beaumont, 13 (O. S. 3) Jan. 160(3)–4, warned Henry IV of the coming struggle over the invitations to the masque.[3] Again, some five days after the close of the Christmas entertainment, the French Ambassador reviewed the entire situation in letters, one to Henry IV and one to his Prime Minister, recounting all the events of the preceding week with their diplomatic bearing, and asking for an expression of the attitude of the French King and his Council toward his procedure.[4] King Henry answered these inquiries on the second of February (22 Jan. O. S.), following, commending Beaumont for the manner in which he had represented him and had obeyed his orders.[5]

[1] See, *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xiii, p. xlvii, lii; xiv *passim*; xv *passim*, for the persecution of Antonio Foscarini (who had been Ambassador in England) unjustly charged with unfaithfulness to the Venetian cause. His trial was held before the *Council of Ten* and he was acquitted by a vote of eight to seven only.

[2] See *King's MSS.* [3] See *King's MSS.*, cxxiv, f. 675.

[4] *King's MSS.*, cxxiv, f. 706. To the King. The letter to Villeroy, not quoted, contains nothing not included in the letter to the King except the request quoted below: "en toute verité comment fa Majesté et Messrs de son conseil auront approuvé ma procedure." *King's MSS.*, cxxiv, f. 716. Beaumont to Villeroy, 23 [O. S. 13] Jan. 160[3]–4]. [5] "Monsieur Beaumont: . . .

Vous avez tres dignement et a mon contentement accompli les commdemens que je vous avois faits par mes precedentes." King Henry IV to Beaumon , 2 Feb., 1604 [O. S., 22 Jan., 1603] in *King's MSS.*, cxxiv., f. 727. Despite this commendation Boderie later points

Beaumont, though he tried to make the outlook as hopeful as he could, confessed himself and his country vanquished, outlined advices of changed policies to meet changed conditions, and received in exchange directions to placate Queen Anne (who had been found to be somewhat of a power in the new administration) to encourage her husband to bring restraint to bear upon her and also to impress upon her,[1] if possible, the injury done to the reputation of her person and of the state by her favours to the Spanish Ambassador.[2]

The entire matter of the Christmas masques, 1603–4, as detailed in the preceding pages was concerned with the peace which Spain was attempting to make,[3] and all the important powers of Europe were involved,[4] but the other Continental powers were so dependent upon France and Spain and so overshadowed by them that it is only occasionally that they are mentioned in the correspondence of the time, so far as it has been examined for the present treatment.[5] For example the presence of the "Polack" Ambassador with the Spaniard at the Queen's masque is mentioned by Carleton without comment.[6]

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out that Beaumont erred diplomatically in accepting the invitation for the masque of Jan. 1, 1603–4.

[1] See Appendix 7.

[2] See Appendix 8 and 9.

[3] *Supra*, 3, 9[5], 11[8] *et passim*.

[4] See Appendix 10.

[5] The correspondence of the ambassadors of lesser powers as Florence, Savoy, Denmark, Holland, the Netherlands the German states, Norway, Sweden, etc., must be carefully considered before the final word can be said concerning the significance of their presence at English Court masques. Little of this correspondence has been accessible for the present treatment.

[6] "The fonday following [Jan. 8, 1604, N. S.] was the great day of the Queen's masque at which was prefent the Spanish and Polack Ambafsadors wth their traynes and the most part of the Florentines and Savoyards; but not the ambassadors themfelfs, who were in so strong competition for place and precedence that to displeafe nether it was

In the case of the Queen's masque, the most important minor quarrel concerned the respective rights of the ambassadors of Florence and Savoy.[1] To avoid displeasing either by settling the "contention for precedence" between them it was thought best to invite neither, though their trains were admitted as spectators.[2]

The months following James's first Christmas in England brought small comfort to the French who saw the achievement of the Spanish wishes in the treaty of August 18, 1604. At the coming Christmas festivities, 1604–5, however, the French hoped to retrieve some of the prestige lost during the first holidays, and the year. The season was to be opened by a court masque given in honour of the marriage of Sir Philip Herbert and Lady Susan Vere, on December 27, 1604.[3] The preference of the English Court for one person rather than for another in the capacity of a private individual did not seriously concern the world. But preference for an ambassador advertised friendly relations with the country

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thought best to lett both alone." Carleton to Chamberlain, 15 Jan. 1603, O. S., in *State Papers Domestic James I*, vi, No. 21.

[1] "The embassadors of Sauoy and florenze were heare at great contention for precedence and our King could not accomodate it or at least would not, and by that occasion I suppose the Sauoyan made the less staye, beyinge goen from hence about 16 dayes past or rather more." Letter of Ortellio Renzo, 31 Jan., 1603/4, O. S. in *State Papers Domestic James I*, vi, No. 37. [2] *Supra*, 19[6].

It was quite the customary thing to invite the followers of an ambassador as mere spectators, even when the Ambassador was not invited. They were given a place usually in "scaffolds" built for their accommodation above the King. Ordinarily they were admitted promiscuously for the occasion, but at times when feelings of bitterness ran high between countries, to avoid contention or open rupture, separate scaffolds were erected or some division made to separate the contingents. Ambassadors were thus enabled to get from their followers a complete report of the evening's entertainment. [3] See Appendix II.

he represented. To avoid expressing such preference, therefore, the King invited both the French and Spanish ambassadors to this first masque as private individuals.[1]

The invitation to Beaumont was accompanied by the explanation that the Spanish Ambassador was pleased to be present at this masque, and that therefore neither man could be invited in his official capacity.[2] Beaumont found this invitation offensive because it subordinated him to the Spaniard. Moreover he feared lest his acceptance of the invitation to the first masque might, as on the former occasion, prejudice his invitation to the Queen's masque again arranged for Twelfth-night.[3] So he begged to be excused from attending, explaining to the King that he was so ill as to be unable to be out for a fortnight. As appears later, this illness was the common form of regret offered to excuse the absence of an ambassador from a masque where his presence would not coincide with his diplomatic plans.[4]

The English social obligation to the two chief ambassadors being removed by the pretended illness of the one and the acceptance of a private invitation by the other, the way was open for showing special favour to the Venetian Ambassador, who represented the power of next importance.[5] He was invited to attend the

[1] This meant that they should come dressed in the costume of their countries, usually disguised (see *infra*, 25 *et passim*) to prevent any embarrassment by confusion of the individual and the ambassador. They sat among their trains and received no recognition from the Sovereign or from any member of his family. They were merely spectators, not invited guests, for whose entertainment, no one assumed serious responsibility. [2-3] Appendix 11.

[4] See *infra*, 78[2], Appendix 51 *et passim*. See also Appendix 1[1].

[5] The fight between France and Spain for Continental supremacy, later involving not only the Low Countries but Bohemia and the German states, made Venice a power of importance because of its location. The

wedding dinner, the supper, and the masque. On the day appointed he was brought to the palace where he was received with gratifying attentions and seated in the place of honour, opposite the Prince at the bride's table. Although the King was evidently courting the good will of Venice in all this, an unfortunate circumstance threatened for a time to thwart his purposes. This is so well told by the Venetian Ambassador in his official report to the Doge and Senate, that it seems well to give his version of it here just as it stands.

The eve of the Epiphany, St. Stephen's day, old style, Sir Lewis Lewknor, the receiver of Ambassadors, visited me to tell me in his Majesty's name that the next day the marriage of Sir Philip Herbert (arber) Groom-of-the-Chamber and prime favourite of his Majesty would be celebrated at Court. Sir Philip is brother of the Earl of Pembroke, who is married to a niece of Secretary Cecil. The King invited me to be present and in the name of the couple begged me to honour their wedding. I replied that I felt highly flattered and would attend. I asked if any other ambassadors were to be invited; Sir Lewis replied that if they came at all it would be incognito, so as to avoid all quarrel about precedence. I asked if I was to dine at the King's table; he said that detail was not yet settled, but that when he came to fetch me next morning he would tell me. This he did, and informed me that the King and Queen would dine in their own private apartments, and I would sit at the bride and bridegroom's table along with the Prince of Wales and the Duke of Holstein. I enquired as to the arrangement of the guests and Sir Lewis said the bride would take the head of the table, the Prince on her right, I opposite and the Duke next to me; the rest of the

state which succeeded in holding Venice in its power, or in having that country as a friend, had an excellent gateway through which to attack or support the inland territories.

table would be filled with the Lords of Council and Court Officials and their wives. This seemed to me a position sufficiently honourable for your Serenity's ambassador, so I went to Court. After the service we took our places at table in the order explained. I could see that the Duke of Holstein was rather put out. After the banquet was over, and very sumptuous it was, everyone retired to his own apartments till the servants had prepared the room for dancing till suppertime. But so great was the crowd that dancing was out of the question, and so everybody kept his room till supper. As suppertime approached someone said to me that the crush was so great that he feared they would not be able to serve it. Presently someone said that the bride had taken her place, but such was the confusion that many guests had left. While I was waiting for the Chamberlain to conduct me to table, as he had done in the morning, I heard that the bride and the Prince were seated and that the Duke had got my place. I had just sent one of my suite to see whether it was true, when Sir Lewis arrived in a passion, swearing that he would go and find out what the Chamberlain meant by neglecting to conduct me to table; at that moment the Chamberlain himself appeared and begged most earnestly to be pardoned, as the error was great, it was true, but it had happened through inadvertence. I replied that such errors were easily pardoned, but that I feared this was a ruse; and anyway in order to avoid being exposed to further mistakes, I intended to go home. He implored me to wait till he had spoken to the King. I consented, but informed him positively that I would not attend the masquerade unless my place of the morning was secured for me. Meantime they served me supper in Cecil's rooms; and presently there came thither Sir (Roger) Aston, gentleman-in-waiting to the King, to beg me in his Majesty's name to excuse the occurrence and to believe that it was entirely due to the crowd and confusion, and to say that he was waiting for me in his own rooms to take me with him to the mas-

querade. I replied that I thanked the King, but that I was waiting an answer from the Chamberlain as to certain questions I had addressed to him. The Chamberlain shortly after appeared and said the King was still waiting for me, and assured me that I should have my place. I accordingly went at once to the King's rooms which I found full of ladies and the Lords of the Council. They one and all begged me not to take in bad part what was the result of pure accident, as I should presently be convinced. At this moment their Majesties left their rooms; I bowed to them, and the King took me by the hand and walking towards the hall, where the masque was prepared, he said that in such a confusion it was impossible to avoid some such accident but that I might rest assured that his intention was to do all honour to the representative of the Republic. I replied that the affection which the Republic bore to his person merited the regard he felt for her. With this we reached the hall of the masque: the Duke of Holstein walking in front uncovered. We entered a box by five or six steps; in it were two chairs; the King took one the Queen the other, a stool was prepared for me on the King's right, and another for the Duke on the Queen's left but he would not sit down; he preferred to stand uncovered, for the three hours the masque and *ballo* lasted. This has convinced me that the mistake was really an accident, or at least was not within the cognisance of his Majesty. If I had left the scene at once as I at first intended, I should not have discovered his Majesty's real feelings, nor demonstrated them to the whole court. London 12th January 1604 [5].[1]

This masque of the marriage of Sir Philip Herbert and Lady Susan Vere has not come down to us. The text, author, and title are still unknown, but Carleton

[1] Letter from Nicolo Molin to the Doge and Senate in *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, x, 206.

tells his friend Chamberlain that the masquers were among the biggest men about the Court.

Theyre conceit was a repreſentaon of Junoes temple at the lower end of the great hall, w$^{ch}_{:}$ was vawted and within it the maſkers feated w$^{th}_{:}$ ſtaves of lights about them, and it was no ill ſhew. they were brought in by the fower ſeasons of the yeare and Hymeneus: w$^{ch}_{:}$ for ſongs and ſpeaches was as goode as a play. Theyre apparel was rather costly then cumly; but theyr dancing full of life and variety; onely S$^{r}_{:}$ Tho: Germain had lead in his heales and ſometimes forgott what he was doing.

Carleton also notes the incident which Molin narrates in such detail. He says:

The Venetian Amb: was there preſent, and was a wedding guest all the day; but one thing he tooke ill and not w$^{th}_{:}$owt cauſe that being brought after diner to the cloſet to retire himself he was there forgotten and ſuffered to walke owt his ſupper w$^{ch}_{:}$ he tooke afterwards privately in my L$^{d}_{:}$ of Cranborns chamber.[1]

The Spanish Ambassador was not of course, present at the dinner or supper, but attended the masque privately as invited "and ſate among his men disguised."[2]

On the Thursday following, "the Spaniard made a

[1] Carleton to Chamberlain, 7 January, 1604–[5] in *State Papers Domestic James I*, xii, No. 6.

[2] "The Spanish Amb. was there likewiſe but diſguiſed." Carleton to Chamberlain, 7 Jan., 1604–[5], O. S., in *State Papers Domestic James I*, xii, No. 6.

"He [Spanish Ambassador] was privately at the first mask and ſate among his men disguiſed." Carleton to Winwood, Jan., 1604–[5] (no day given) in Sir Ralph Winwood, *Memorials of Elizabeth and King James I*, (1725), ii, 44.

For the custom of wearing masks by people who wished to attend a public function in a private capacity cf. *infra*.

folemne diner to the D: of Holst and the greatest part of the Court. The Ladies he presented wth fans and gloves, and ended his entertainment wth a play and a banquet."[1]

The Masque of Blackness, written under the Queen's direction by Ben Jonson[2] followed on Twelfthnight.[3] Though Beaumont and his country made every attempt to secure the coveted invitation to this masque, the Court seems to have intended to follow the same plans as in the case of the marriage masque and to invite the ambassadors to come "as private men to a private sport."[4] It will be remembered that in the preceding year the Court yielded to the French claim to Twelfth-night privileges without granting the spirit of the claim.[5] Beaumont had no instructions to forego the claim or to admit equality with the Spanish Ambassador by going to the present masque in the same rank with him. He had, however, previously given out the story

[1] Carleton to Chamberlain, 7 January, 1604–[5] O. S., in *State Papers Domestic James I*, xii, No. 6. For the probable significance of this cf. *supra*, 3–8.

[2] See Ben Jonson, *Works*, notes and memoirs by Wm. Gifford, edited by F. Cunningham (1903), iii, 3.

[3] See *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, x, 212.

[4] "At night we had the Queen's maske in the Banquetting Houfe . . . The Spanish and Venetian Ambaſſadors were both present and ſate by the King in ſtate; at which Monſieur Beaumont quarrels ſo extremely that he ſaith the whole court is Spanish: But by his favour he should fall out with none but himself for they were all indifferently invited to come as private men to a private sport; which he refuſing the Spanish Ambaſſador willingly accepted and being there, ſeeing no cause to the contrary he put off *Don Taxis* and took upon him El *Señor Embaxadour* wherein he outſtript our little monſieur." Carleton to Winwood, January, 1604–[5], in Ralph Winwood, *Memorials*, ii, 44.

[5] See *supra*, 14, also 14[2].

of his "illness"[1] and had failed to announce his recovery. This circumstance removed the question of precedence and enabled de Tassis through "vigorous representations at Court to secure for himself" the coveted invitation.

Not until January sixth, the day of the masque were the invitations issued.[2] It was then too late for Beaumont to correct his blunder. Conscious of his own mistake and angry that the Spaniard had profited by it, he abused the Master of Ceremonies, sent from the King on behalf of his Majesty to "enquire how the Ambassador was, and to say how much his Majesty, regretted" that the ambassador's illness prevented him "from attending the Queen's masque."[3]

Whether the King was really imposed upon by his officers in securing the invitation for Spain, as was alleged[3] or whether he was glad of the excuse to show favours to Spain, is not certain. The Spanish Ambassador was not only invited "to go publicly"[4] to *The Masque of Blackness* and permitted to hear the praises of "Britania" in all his ambassadorial glory at the right hand of "Albion"[5] (James I) under the state, but when the "azure and silver"[6] clad, masquers, "danced with their men several measures and corantos"[7] "he was taken out to dance and footed it like a lufty old gallant

[1] See *supra*, 21. [2] *Supra*, 26[3]. [3] See Appendix 12.

[4] "In obedience to his orders he [Lewkenor] came on to tell me that I was to go publicly to Court. He did not find me in, but left a message that I was to be at the Spanish Ambassador's house at the fourth hour of the night, and go together to the Court. This was done and we were conducted to the King's chambers, where his Majesty appeared about the seventh hour, and moved on to the place where they gave the masque, which was very beautiful and sumptuous." *Ibid.*

[5] Ben Jonson, *Works* (1903), iii, 7. [6] Ben Jonson, *Works* (1903), iii, 4.

[7] Ben Jonson, *Works* (1903), iii, 7.

with his country woman. He took out the Queen and forgot not to Kiſs her hand though there was danger it would have left a mark on his lips."[1]

If he felt that the masquers with their "black faces and hands w$^{ch}_{!}$ were painted and bare up to the elbowes, was a very lothſome ſight," it did not appear. No one observed it if he approved of the sentiment of one Englishman who failed to appreciate the heavy expense and who was "ſory that ſtrangers ſhould ſee owr court ſo ſtrangely diſguiſed."[2]

He saw the "landtschap"[3] in which "The indecorum was that there was all Fiſh and no water,"[4] He saw the unruly crowd in which "The confuſion in getting in was ſo great, that ſome Ladies lie by it and complaine of the fury of the white ſtafes."[5] He must have known that "In the paſsages through the galleries they were ſhutt up in ſeveral heapes betwixt dores and there ſtayed till all was ended."[5] He could scarcely have failed to see the crush when "in the cumming owt a banquet w$^{ch}_{!}$ was prepared for the K: in the great chamber was overturned table and all before it was ſkarce touched."[5] He must have known too of "what loſses there were of chaynes, Jewels, purces and ſuch like looſe ware."[5] but none of those things were important in the face of what he had achieved.

In the presence of all the Court and of all the repre-

[1] Letter from Carleton to Winwood, January, 1604–[5], in Ralph Winwood, *Memorials*, ii, 44.

[2] Letters from Carleton to Chamberlain, 7 January, 1604–[5], in *State Papers Domestic James I*, xii, No. 6.

[3] Ben Jonson *Works* (1903), iii, 3.

[4] Letter from Carleton to Winwood, January, 1604–[5], in Ralph Winwood, *Memorials*, ii, 44.

[5] Carleton to Chamberlain, 7 January, 1604–[5] in *State Papers Domestic James I*, xii, No. 6.

sentatives of European powers he had received and returned the compliments which announced to the world the supremacy of Spain in the matter of England's friendship.

Two days after the masque, Beaumont was received in audience by James to whom he "complained very loudly of what had taken place, though he laid the blame on five or six officials who had done him this wrong and his master this disservice. He charged them with being thoroughly corrupted by Spain, and declared with great vehemence that he must report all to his master." The King promised him redress but without satisfying him. He wrote to Villeroy that James's expressed displeasure toward the officials was simulated and that the Court was all under the influence of Spain.[1]

It is not to be supposed, that England alone, of European powers used the masque for diplomatic ends. In France and Spain especially most interesting complications were worked out through the popular medium. The scope of the present treatment, however, excludes most of those from consideration or even from mention but the present case is an exception.

Shortly after the diplomatic manœuvres just considered, the French Queen entertained the King, her husband, with a masque given at the Louvre. Henry IV took this occasion to impress upon the Duke of Lenox, English Ambassador extraordinary to France, with what serious displeasure he regarded the English treatment of his representative in London."[2]

The mission of the French Ambassador in England was clearly a failure. Beaumont was unable to further

[1] See Appendix 13.

[2] See Appendix 14.

the French-English marriage alliance, to bring about "the renewal of the ancient alliance between France and Scotland" or "to procure invitations to public ceremonies with precedence over the Spanish Ambassador."[1]

The Spanish preferment at the English Court was recognised on all hands. Other countries which had begun to talk of a Spanish marriage alliance at the conclusion of the treaty,[2] now spoke of that matter more publicly and with more assurance.[3]

Beaumont felt his disgrace and his failure most keenly. The details of all that had happened, he sent by Sieur D'auval to Henry IV and wrote both to Villeroy and to the King, explaining that the change of affairs in England produced upon him an unbearable "disgust and melancholy" and asking for his immediate recall.[4]

Not until November following his request was Beaumont permitted to return to France.[5] Three reasons were given to the world for his recall, "The seizure of cloth at Rouen; a libel on the King of England; the exclusion of the French Ambassador from the

[1] See Appendix 15. [2] Cf. *supra*.

[3] "The Ambassador of the Archdukes [Flanders] who will be a son of President Richardet, is expected here; some say as Ambassador extraordinary till d'Aremberg's son-in-law shall arrive. Any way there is a rumour that the Archduke has opinions concerning Flanders very different from those of Spain, and that he finds he must keep his own envoy at this Court to look after his interests; all the more so as rumour is rife that there will be a match between the Prince of Wales and the Infanta who will bring the Low Countries as her dower." Nicolo Molin to the Doge and Senate, 30 [O. S. 20], December, 1604, in *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, x 203. [4] See Appendix 13.

[5] "Finally they have a deep suspicion of France, whose Ambassador left eight days ago without awaiting his successor." Nicolo Molin to the Doge and Senate, 17 Nov., 1605, in *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, x, No. 443.

Court festival in London."[1] He took with him besides the displeasure of the English Court, the odium attached to a suspicion concerning his connection with the Gunpowder Plot.[2]

Since Beaumont's successor did not reach England until the following May (1606) the Spaniard was left wholly master of the situation during the Court festivities of the Christmas season 1605–6. In all his accustomed glory[3] de Tassis attended *Hymenæi*, the marriage masque of Twelfthnight written by Jonson to celebrate the healing of a great political breach between two of the greatest houses of England. The thirteen-year-old daughter of the House of Suffolk was united in marriage to the fourteen-year-old descendant of the House of Essex.

In the presence of the Spanish Ambassador the masquers courtesied to the King as "Reason" gave James I credit for the peace and union within his kingdom:

> Up youths! hold up your lights in air,
> And shake abroad your flaming hair.
> Now more united, and in gait,
> As you in pairs do front the state,
> With grateful honours thank his grace
> That hath so glorified the place:
> And as in circle you depart,
> Linked hand in hand, so heart in heart
> May all those bodies still remain
> Whom he with so much sacred pain
> No less hath bound within his realms
> Than they are with the ocean's streams.

[1] The Queen's masque. See A. Badoer, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate, in *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, x, No. 343. [2] See Appendix 16. [3] See Appendix 17.

Long may his Union find increase,
As he to ours hath deigned his peace![1]

When the "ladies" whose "attire was wholly new for the invention and full of glory,"[2] "took forth other persons (men and women)" to dance other measures, galliards and corantos[3] de Tassis was "taken out" for the dance together with the Prince, the Archduke's Ambassador, the Duke and others. "And the men gleaned out the Queen, the bride and the greatest of the ladies."[3] But the dress of the Spaniard so far surpassed that of the remainder of the company that the spectators measured the extreme elegance, the cost and beauty of the masquers' attire by the lesser elegance of his.[4]

English friendliness for Spain was marked by the attitude toward a marriage alliance. During the first year of James's reign it was not even openly suggested; the following year Spain timidly proposed it while at the present time it was being openly urged by England.[5]

The correspondence of the time concerns itself almost wholly with the Gunpowder Plot, which shook England from end to end, and gave that country a sufficient number of domestic problems to occupy it to the neglect of foreign affairs for a time. The sudden disappearance of the French Ambassador, coinciding with the time of the discovery of the plot, and the interruption of friendly diplomatic relations, gave the friends of Spain an opportunity to further the cause of Spain and to cast suspicion upon France. Henry IV, forced to assume the defensive, sent a special ambas-

[1] Ben Jonson, *Works* (1903), iii, 27.

[2] Ben Jonson, *Works* (1903), iii, 29, contrast with *The Masque of the Twelve Goddesses* for example. [3] Ben Jonson, *Works* (1903), iii, 26.

[4] See *supra*, 31 [3]. [5] *Supra*, 30 [3].

sador to congratulate James upon his escape, and wrote a personal letter in which he offered to make an example of Beaumont if the slightest particle of the charge against him were found to be true.[1]

To fortify himself against the opposition which published itself through the Gunpowder Plot, James arranged for the marriage of one of his most favoured Scotchmen with an English lady in very high standing. He appointed the marriage festivities for the Christmas season 1606–7 when the nuptials might be honoured by the masque of Twelfthnight. The masque, written by Thomas Campion for the marriage of Lord Hay[2] and his bride,[3] resounded with the extravagant praises of the recently threatened King—his love of Scotland and the successful union, under him, of the two countries.

> O then great Monarch with how wife a care
> Do you thefe bloods devided mixe in one,
> And with like conſanguinities prepare
> The high and everliving Union
> Tweene Scots, and English: who can wonder then
> If he that marries kingdomes, marries men?[4]

Occupied with these domestic troubles, England was forced to announce a change of policy toward conti-

[1] See *supra*, 30. See also Appendix 18.

[2] James Hay, first Earl of Carlyle, first Viscount Doncaster, and first Baron Hay (died 1636). See *Dictionary of National Biography*, 1908; Bullen, A. H., *Works of Dr. Thomas Campion*, 145 sq.; John Nichols, *Progresses of James I, II*, 103 sq.; Gardner, *History of England*, ii, viii; Lloyd, *State Worthies*, 774.

[3] Daughter and heir to Lord Denney. See A. H. Bullen, *Works of Dr. Thomas Campion*, 145.

[4] Thomas Campion, *The Description of a maske, Preſented before the Kinges maieſtie at White-Hall on Twelfth Night laſt, in honour of the Lord Hayes, and his Bride* (1607), A^2.

See also A. H. Bullen, *Works of Dr. Thomas Campion*, 145.

nental powers. Salisbury was at some pains to impress upon foreign representatives in the Court assurances of English neutrality. He shrewdly advertised that England was in position to accept favours from all countries without showing preference for any.[1] A close scrutiny of England's procedure, however, does not indicate indifference. The behaviour of the English Ambassador in Venice shows her acute concern over Spanish interference in Italy even while she was urging the marriage alliance and in other ways courting the favour of Spain.[2]

Besides this the coming of a new ambassador from Paris, gives evidence of a willingness to heal the breach with France, the known arch-enemy of Spain and friend of Scotland.[3]

The effect of these events upon the *Masque of Lord Hay and his Bride* on Twelfthnight, 1606–7, is seen in the fact that no ambassadors were invited.[4] For this the newly arrived French Ambassador, Boderie, remembering Beaumont's failure, offered a fervent "Thank God." Boderie's report of his first Christmas in the English Court indicates what he believed to be the cause of some of the Spanish success. He made significant comment on the smallness of his own gift to the married pair, compared with that of Spain.

[1] "But they [English] have an idea repeatedly impressed upon me by the Earl of Salisbury, namely that the crown of England is like a maiden, to whom two powerful princes are paying court; if she favours one she angers the other; her policy, therefore, is to preserve herself isolated and alone, more especially as she is in a position to so do quite easily, as she need neither fear nor want anybody; and in this way she may preserve the love of both her suitors." Nicolo Molin, *Report on England presented to the Government of Venice in 1607*, in *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, x, 518, No. 739.

See also *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, x, *passim*.

[2] See Appendix 19. [3] *Supra*, 14. [4] See Appendix 20.

Though he questioned the efficiency of such means, he later requested permission to follow Spain's example.

The masque was not wholly successful. The Queen who had always been known to be a friend to Spain,[1] refused to be present alleging illness and even the King failed to show the enthusiasm that the occasion warranted.[2]

As the Christmas season of 1607–8 approached, James I directed the Queen to prepare a masque.[3] Though it had been Ben Jonson's and probably Queene Anne's plan on Twelfthnight, 1605, to produce *The Masque of Beauty* or some other masque as early as Twelfthnight, 1606,[4] political conditions, as we have seen, prevented. It had been three years[5] since her

[1] *Supra.*

[2] "The Court is entirely occupied with preparations for the marriage, the King staying on for it very unwillingly, but as he himself says he consoles himself with dreaming of the chase." Zori Guistinian, Venetian Ambassador in England to the Doge and Senate, 11 Jan., [O. S. 1], 1607, in *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, x, 453, No. 660.

[3] "Un autre indice que je preus encore, qu'on tâche de faire paroître moins de mauvoiſe volonté envers leſ-dits Catholiques, eſt que le Roi en partout pour ſa chaſſe, ayant ordonné à lè Reine de preparer un bal pour ces fêtes de Noël, & s'etant chargé de la depenſe, lequelle vn dit devoir être de plus de ſix ou ſept mille ecus (car on neſ cauroit rien faire ici pour peu) on remarque, que preſque toutes les Dames que la Reine appellées pour en être ſoit Catholiques." Boderie to Puisieux, 20 Dec. [O. S. 10], 1607, in Le Fevre de la Boderie *Ambassades*, ii, 490.

[4] "So that this night the year gone round, you do again salute this ground." *The Masque of Blackness*, Ben Jonson, *Works* (1903), iii, 8. Cf. also *infra*, 36.

[5] "Two years being now past that Her Majesty had intermitted these delights, and the third almost come, it was her highness's pleasure again to glorify the court, and command that I should think on some fit presentment which should answer the former, still keeping them the same persons, the daughters of Niger, but their beauties varied according to promise, and their time of absence excused, with four more added to their number." *The Masque of Beauty.* Ben Jonson, *Works* (1903), iii, 10.

Majesty had given a great court masque and all eyes were turned toward the new event.[1] James was pleased to burden himself with the cost without stint[2] and the entire Court gave themselves over to the discussion of the magnificence of the preparations to the exclusion of all business.[3] Ben Jonson, who had achieved high fame as a masque writer was set to work by the Queen on *The Masque of Beauty* for which he says she gave "command that I should think on some fit presentment which should answer the former [*Masque of Blackness*] still keeping them the same persons, the daughters of Niger."[4]

The Frenchman was immediately concerned. He made note of the fact that the Queen had chosen Catho-

[1] "*Boreas.* To thee then thus, and by thee to that King,
That doth thee present honours, do I bring
Present remembrance of twelve Æthiop dames:
Who, guided hither by the moon's bright flames,
To see his brighter light, were to the sea
Enjoined again, and (thence assigned a day
For their return) were in the waves to leave
Their Blackness and true BEAUTY to receive.
Jame. Which they received, but broke their day: and yet
Have not returned a look of grace for it,
Shewing a coarse and most unfit neglect.
Twice have I come in pomp here to expect
Their presence: twice deluded, have been fain
With other rites my feasts to entertain;
And now the third time, turned about the year,
Since they were looked for, and yet are not here!"

[1] Ben Jonson, *The Masque of Beauty* in his *Works* (1903), iii, 11.

[2] See Appendix, 21.

[3] "The King came back to the city four days ago to keep Christmas. He and the Court are entirely absorbed in the festivities and in the Queen's Masque. She is giving it great attention in order that it may come up to expectation." Zori Guistinian to the Doge and Senate, 10 Jan., 1607, in *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xi, 82, No. 146. See also *infra*, i, 157.

[4] Ben Jonson, *Masque of Beauty* in *Works* (1903) iii, 10.

lic women for most of her masquing mates and in this saw favouritism toward his "Catholic Majesty."[1]

The first confirmation of Boderie's fears came with an invitation to a dinner at the home of the Duke of Lenox. Here he learned that the Spanish Ambassador was already invited to the Masque, and the blame again laid on the Queen.[2]

Boderie protested that the King of Great Britain should so easily yield in so important a matter. The King, he said, should be master in his own house; the masque was a public action wherein the Ambassador of Spain could not be favoured more than the Ambassador of France without manifest testimony of bad faith toward the French King. Feeling that Lenox's dinner had been given to sound him, and remembering Beaumont's fall, he determined to do nothing without specific orders, so he sent a courier express to Paris requesting immediate instructions for his procedure.[3]

In the meantime, through Lenox he inquired of Salisbury and Dombar what might be done.[4] They answered that the King was infinitely sorry but the Queen's promise to the Ambassador of Spain left him without means to remedy the matter. James offered Boderie a dinner instead. Boderie replied that there was no comparison between a dinner and a masque.[5]

"A dinner," he said, "was a private function while the

[1] *Supra*, 35 [3].
[2] See Appendix 22.
[3] See *ibid.*
[4] *Ibid.*; also Appendix 23.
[5] It must not be understood that a dinner with a King was considered a small honour, but only that a masque outranked it much. In the negotiations for the Spanish-English treaty (1604), one of the English demands was the privilege of permitting the English Ambassador to eat at the King's table. The manner in which Philip III refused shows how a dinner with a King was considered, in Spain at any rate.
Cf. also Appendix 23.

masque was a public spectacle and solemnity. If he should dine with the King, the Spaniard would take supper with His Majesty at the masque. De Tassis would be seen by ten thousand persons in whose presence he would receive the favour of publicly dancing with the Queen and of assisting at the collation given thereafter. Since all the spectators at the masque would be the judges of England's action in giving such honour to Spain, and since they would publish the manifestations of England's friendship for Spain to all Christendom, he was unwilling to consent to an arrangement which so prejudiced the cause of his Master. Therefore he resolved," he said, "to refuse the invitation to the dinner."[1]

The following day a new message was sent to Boderie requesting him to reconsider the matter of the dinner. Boderie answered that he was sorry, but France could be satisfied only with one of two things; either England must invite him to the masque or deny the Ambassador of Spain an invitation.[1]

One day more passed and Salisbury sent his secretary to say that the King was extremely sorry for the inconsiderateness of the Queen. He again asked Boderie to reconsider, explaining that the masque was only an affair of the Queen whom every one knew to be Spanish,[1] and who had power over her husband, while the dinner proceeded from the King. Boderie retorted that since the Queen was Spanish and had so much influence with her husband, the King of France had little to expect from a Court in which the interests of the House of Austria were supreme.[1]

The French goodwill was too vital to be readily sacrificed, so Salisbury next sent Lenox to say that the English Court would make the proffered dinner a public affair to which they would invite the Venetian

[1] See Appendix 23.

Ambassador for the greater honour of France. They also made offer to refuse the Spaniard the supper which usually preceded the masque and to invite with Spain the lesser Ambassador of Flanders. Again Boderie refused. After further futile attempts to come to an agreement, Salisbury called a meeting of the Council and kept them up until eleven o'clock at night in an effort to find some way out of the difficulty, but all to no avail.

The masque was put off from day to day with the excuse that all was not in readiness.[1] Finally the English, probably through Salisbury,[2] determined upon a bold stroke. The Queen who had been kept waiting with her eleven noble companions for four days after all was in readiness, the long trains of assistants, actors, dancing-masters, musicians, costumers, machinists, stage-hands, etc., with the rooms set aside for purposes, pertaining to the masque, the nobility of England who had flocked to the city for the great event of the year, the long trains of ambassadors who were kept at the tensest pitch of excitement and intrigue[3]; all were quieted by the sudden order to per-

[1] "The ſhew is put of till ſonday by reaſon all things are not redy." Chamberlain to Carleton, "8th of January late 1607," in *State Papers Domestic James I*, xxxi, No. 4.

"The court is still occupied by festivities. The Queen has put off her masque for a few days." *Ibid.*, xi, 83, No. 149.

[2] Note the fact that James was constantly at the chase and that most of Boderie's discussions took place with Salisbury and the Council.

"His Majesty's own hand was seldom to be discovered in his measures and those by whom they were accomplished were rarely conscious of having been his instruments." Edmund Lodge, *Portraits of Illustrious Personages* (1821–34), ii, See *Salisbury*.

[3] Note for comparison: "The Archduke's Ambassador having failed to obtain an invitation to the Masque, though he made handsome presents for this purpose to the Queen's first Ladies-in-waiting, has been obliged to accept the invitation to the wedding." Guistinian to the

form the masque without further negotiation or delay.

The Masque of Beauty was one of the most serious exploitations of the wealth and power and influence of the English Court, yet attempted. The Queen of Beauty and her ladies were so splendid as to cause representatives from continental powers to proclaim to their home governments that "no other Court could have displayed such pomp and riches." "The apparatus and the cunning of the stage machinery was a miracle, the abundance and the beauty of the lights immense, the music and the dance most sumptuous. But what beggared all else and possibly exceeded the public expectation was the wealth of pearls and jewels that adorned the Queen and her ladies."[1] For jewels "one Lady and that vnder a baronneſse is ſaide to be furnished for better then one hundred thouſand pounds [between $2,500,000 and $4,000,000 of our money] and the Lady Arabella goes beyond her, and the Q. must not come behinde."[2] No small share of the grandeur of the masque was due to the fact that the King "intended this function to consecrate the birth of the Great Hall which his predecessors had left him built merely of wood, but which he had converted into stone."[3]

Doge and Senate, 21 Feb., 1607, in *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xi, 97, No. 176.

[1] Zori Guistinian to the Doge and Senate, 27 January, 1607, in *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xi, No. 154.

[2] Chamberlain to Carleton "the 8th of January late 1607" in *State Papers Domestic James I*, xxxi, No. 4.

"The habit and dressing for the fashion was most curious, and so exceeding in riches as the throne whereon they sat seemed to be a mine of light struck from their jewels and their garments." Ben Jonson, *Works* (1903), iii, 14.

[3] Zori Guistinian to the Doge and Senate, 24 January, 1607, in *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xi, No. 154.

The Queen sent an invitation to the wife of the French Ambassador. Her husband answered that his wife was too wise to receive favour where her husband was in disfavour and too courageous to have any desire to add by her presence to the lustre of the Spanish Ambassador.

No one seems to have disputed the fact that it was a Spanish occasion and it was a joyous one.[1] The "orange-tawny" and "sea-green"[2] costumes of the masquers "after some time of dancing with their lords"[2] contrasted in the common dances with the rich gown of the envied[3] Spanish Ambassador. "The King's Majesty" was so happy over the dances that he "required them both again."[2] Surely it was a Spanish opportunity, exercised to the full.

The centre of all the splendour was the Spanish Ambassador with whom the Venetian Ambassador "was invited along with Spain the more to honour Spain."[4] If the detailed history of this event is ever written it will disclose plans fraught with world-wide policy. The master mind of Salisbury never countenanced such a spectacle without scenting far-reaching results.

So that no one would have access to him, for complaint, "He [James I] left the day after the masque. Before he left, however, he sent to his Ambassador in France instructions as to his answers [demanding payment of debts][5] should anything be said to him on

[1] "She [Queen Anne] reaped universal applause and the King constantly showed his approval." Guistinian to the Doge and Senate, 24th January [O. S. 14], 1607, in *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xi, 154.

[2] See Ben Jonson, *Works*, iii, 4.

[3] See *supra*; also Appendix 30.

[4] Zori Guistinian to the Doge and Senate, 17 January, 1607, in *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xi, 83, No. 149.

[5] See Appendix 23, 24, 25, and 26.

the question of precedence. The King also closed the passage between Dover and Calais in order to intercept the message which the French Ambassador here was sending to his master."[1]

These drastic measures had the desired effect. Spain was completely successful even to the extent of having the Venetian Ambassador invited with her own.[1] Queen Anne was forced, as we have seen, to bear the odium of the affair.[2] Boderie's friends tried to placate him by reporting that they remonstrated against his absence on the evening of the masque and that the King's displeasure with the Queen kept James I awake all night and sent him off the following morning to the chase without anything to eat and without bidding adieu to the Queen.[3] Though these conciliatory reports were carried to Boderie by his friends, we find by the results that Salisbury's diplomatic move was successful. The French clamour ceased. Henry IV and his chief minister, in their next letters, turned their attention to the discussion of the debts demanded and ordered Boderie to take no further note of the

[1] Zori Guistinian to the Doge and Senate, 24 January, 1607, in *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xi, 87, No. 155.

[2] Appendix 22, 23 f.

[3] "J'ai ſçu depui qu'ils ſont marris de ce que s'en eſt paſſé; & que le Roi, le jour des Ballet, ayant demandé à ceux de ſa chambre a qui leur en avoit ſemble, tous, mais principalement Ramzai, &, Aduiton ſon parent, lui repondirent que rien ne s'y pouvoit deſirer, ſi l'Ambaſſadeur de France y eût été; mais qu'y voir celui d'Eſpagne & l'autre non, avoit fait parler & preſque murmurer tous ceux qui l'avoient vu. De forte que ledit Roi avoit taut plus reconnu lors la faute qui avoit été faite, & s'en étoit montré ſi piqué contre la Reine, que toute la nuit il n'en avoit point dormi, & que des le lendemain matin, ſans la voir, ni lui dire adieu, ni même ſans vouloir manger, s'en etoit allé à la chaſſe, où il a demeure cinqou ſix jours." Boderie to King Henry, 5 February, 1608, in de la Boderie, *Ambassades*, iii, 74–5.

masque except to let it be known that the French King was not pleased.[1]

The world, informed of the Spanish victory, again speculated on the probability of a marriage alliance between Spain and England.[2]

Boderie accepted his defeat with what grace he could. He notified Villeroy that it was no wonder the Spanish got all they wished for. They were paying for it in the amount of money de Tassis was spending. He had just given a grand feast to the Queen, all her dancing mates and their friends at which he presented each of the masquers with a beautiful gift.

By way of recompense for the Twelfthnight Masque, Boderie was invited to the marriage dinner and masque of the Viscount Haddington, one of the most intimate of the Scotch friends of James I.[3] He begged that the French King would send a valuable ring as a gift to the groom. Henry IV refused to give the ring and ordered Boderie to accept the invitation only upon condition that all other ambassadors should be excluded.[4]

Boderie accepted the invitation but without insisting upon the exclusion of the Ambassador from Flanders. He explained that the Ambassador of the Archduke was

[1] See Appendix 24, 25, and 26.

[2] "During these festivities I have observed from certain signs which passed between the Spanish Ambassador and some of his confidants that they are pushing forward the hopes of a matrimonial alliance between these Sovereigns." Zori Gustinian to the Doge and Senate, 24 January, 1607, in *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xi, 87, No. 155.

[3] "When treason would have burst a soul
To-day renowned and added to my roll
Opposed: and by that act to his name did bring
The honour to be saver to his King."
Hue and Cry after Cupid, Ben Jonson, *Works* (1903), iii, 40.

[4] See Appendix 27 and 28.

present but unnoticed.[1] King Henry's anger was aroused however over the disobedience and the chagrin of having been unable to get even this much satisfaction for the neglect of the first masque.[2] The correspondence of the French King and of his Ministers for the months following concerns itself with this detail. Though Boderie reported that at *The Masque of the Viscount Haddington* marks of the highest favour were shown to all the family, that even his little daughter was taken out by the Duke of York, in whose company she behaved so pleasingly that the whole audience gave evidence of approval to the little couple,[3] though Boderie added that he gained the good will of the Scotch and even of the Queen, Henry IV permitted his Ambassador to feel his indignity for some time over the one thing in which he had failed.[4]

[1] "L'Ambaſſadeur de l'Archduke fut préſent à tout, mais ſi ne particepa-t-il ni à l'entretien, car le Roi ne lui parla jamais, ni à aucune des careſſes particulieures dont il a plu sudit Roi de me favoriſer eſquelles, encore que je viſſe bien qu'il y avoit quelque contrainte, ſi les reçus-je comme venant du fond du cour." Boderie to Henry IV, 27 Feb., 1608, in de la Boderie, *Ambassades*, iii.

[2] "Ou vous avoit permis déj entendre, ſans vous arreter pouron que l'Ambaſſadeur des Archiducs en fût exclus, ainſi que vous-même reconnoiſſiez être neceſſaire pour rendre recevable cette réparation & ſatiſfaction, & telle qu'elle eſt dûe S. M: tellement que ſi cette açtion s'eſt paſſé ſelon votre premier projet, je vous aſſure que ſadite Majeſté l'aura agréable." Villeroy to Boderie, 28 Feb., 1608, in de la Boderie, *Ambassades*, iii, 134.

[3] "Il [King James] voulut même que ma petite fille vînt prendre à danſer monſieur le Duc d'Vorck, qui s'en acquiterent ſi bien tous deux, qu'ils ne firent moins rire la compagnie qu'avoit fait l'Ambaſſadeur d'Eſpagne, mais de façon toute diverſe." Boderie to Puisieux, 27 Feb., 1608, in de la Boderie, *Ambassades*, iii, 125.

[4] "En un ſeule choſe crains-je d'avoir faille, vn même ce qu'il a plu à V. M. m'en écrire, en ſouffrant que l'Ambaſſadeur des Archiducs ſe ſoit trouve à la plupart de tout cela avec moi." Boderie to Henry IV, 4 March, 1608, in de la Boderie, *Ambassades*, iii, 144.

Boderie's troubles were not confined to dramatic productions in the Court alone. A company of actors had been forbidden, on Boderie's complaint, to continue insulting France by presenting Chapman's *Duke of Biron*. As soon as the Court closed its Christmas festivities and removed from London, as was its custom, the actors, instead of obeying the orders forbidding them to play the *Duke of Biron*, added to the play the characters of the French Queen and the French King's mistress, causing the latter to receive a box on the ear.[1] Boderie sought out Salisbury and renewed his complaint against the company, reporting the added insult which he said was wholly without justification since it had nothing to do with the play and was false as well. Salisbury arrested three of the actors and made search for Chapman, who was not anywhere to be found. The same company of players had, a day or two before their arrest, portrayed the favourites of the English King in a strange manner, had ridiculed James's Scotch features, together with his fondness for hawking and hunting, and had depicted him tipsy at least once a day.

Boderie, finding that France had plenty of trouble without looking for more, reported to the French Minister that it seemed wiser to have the actors' punishment attributed to the irreverence they had shown their own King, than to anything they had said about the French Queen and Madame Vermeuil. So he proposed, with the French government's approval, to take no further note of the matter.

When the whole affair was reported to James, he is said to have been greatly irritated. He ordered all London theatres closed, a search to be made for Chapman, and the actors to be punished.

[1] See Appendix 29.

To be relieved from the first order, the French Ambassador reports, "four other companies offer one hundred thousand francs which will easily obtain permission for them; but at least it will be upon condition that they will not represent any modern history nor speak of things of the time under penalty of death." One cannot help remembering in this connection how hard pressed for money James was.

The French Prime Minister congratulated Boderie upon treating the insolence of the comedians so lightly, lest resentment against France should have been increased thereby, "although" he adds, "I assure you, people on this side found that act very audacious."[1]

By 1608, approximately five years had passed since the accession of King James. Spain had made strides worth recounting since the days of open hostility under Elizabeth. France had failed to captivate Queen Anne, who was made to bear the odium[2] of the new diplomatic trend; but there were other powers at work, soon to force the English statesmen to show their hands in another way.

[1] "Vous avez bien fait de vous moquer de l'infolence de ce Comédiens, avec la meſure que vous y avez tenue, puiſque le Roi de la Grande Bretagne n'y a pas été en plus grande conſideration. Vous n'en devez pas faire plus grand reſſentiment, encore, je vous aſſure, qu'on ait trouvé de deça cette procédure bien audacieuſe." Puisieux to Boderie, 25 April, 1608, Boderie, *Ambassades*, iii, 198.

The credit for the discovery of this letter should be given to Professor C. W. Wallace, who first found it in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

[2] See *supra*.

CHAPTER II

1608–1614—THE MASQUE AN INSTRUMENT IN EUROPEAN RELIGIOUS COMBINATIONS—ASCENDENCY OF FRANCE

THE avowed object of the French King Henry IV's policy was the destruction of the House of Austria.[1] As we have seen in the preceding chapter, Henry failed to secure the co-operation of England in this policy during the first five years of the reign of James. Events on the continent had, however, been shaping themselves for his success, until in the year 1608, one part of his plan seemed ready for execution, namely the rendering of the Dutch absolutely independent of Spain.[2]

But the burden of the struggle against Spain was too heavy for France alone, especially since the Dutch were only half-hearted in their desire for independence.[3] To share the expense and the ill-will of Spain, Henry manœuvred for the assistance of England. James, never very positive, found a policy especially hard to choose. On the one hand the English people were crying out for the rich gains of privateering

[1] See Bethune (Maximilien de), Duke of Sully, *Memoirs* (Dublin, 1751), 1–35 *et passim*. Cf. also *supra*.

[2] "De rendre les Provinces-Unies absolument independants de l'Espagne." Bethune (Maximilien de), Duke of Sully, *Memoirs* (London, 1752), iv, 45.

[3] See *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xi, Nos. 365, 391 *et passim*.

that had come to them during the war with Spain under Elizabeth.[1] Besides this James, like Elizabeth, posed as benefactor and protector of small Continental states, and he feared the loss of prestige if the Dutch should acquire independence through France.[2]

James had his reputation as peacemaker to maintain,[3] however, and the policy of non-interference still appealed to him. Neither money nor ships were to be had for war[4] and England feared the increase of the Dutch navy and their growing commerce.[5]

While James remained inactive, France was so successful in making the world believe that England planned to assist her against Spain that some months before Christmas, 1608, the Spanish government sent Don Pedro de Toledo to Paris with an offer of a bribe in the shape of a Franco-Spanish marriage alliance which would bring the Low Countries into the French possession as a dower to the bride.[6] This manœuvre instead of helping Spain was used by France in an attempt to force James into a more positive attitude.[7]

[1] See *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xi, No. 468.

[2] "I have discovered that the real reason why the King of England favours the truce is in order to prevent its being concluded without his participation through the instrumentality of France," Marc' Antonio Correr to the Doge and Senate, 4 Dec. (O. S. 24 Nov.), 1608, in *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xi, No. 376.

[3] See Ben Jonson, *Masques, passim*.

[4] See *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xi, No. 126.

[5] "They fear that the growing power of the Dutch by sea will eventually seriously damage the trade of England." Zori Guistinian to the Doge and Senate, 27 March (O. S. 17), 1608, in *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xi, No. 204. See also *ibid.*, No. 376.

[6] See *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xi, No. 271. Note also the same offer made to England earlier.

See also Samuel R. Gardner, *History of England, 1603–1642* (1883), ii, 27.

[7] "There is news that Don Pedro de Toledo is ordered to pass through

While she was making an offer of alliance by marriage to France, Spain kept in close touch with English feeling. A new outbreak in Ireland, encouraged perhaps by her, aided her interests.[1] To discover, and possibly to influence the English attitude more definitely, Spain sent Don Ferdinando Giron, as Ambassador Extraordinary, to England in December.[2]

Ben Jonson, under Queen Anne's direction,[3] was preparing *The Masque of Queens* for presentation by her Majesty on Twelfthnight 1608–9. Giron was no sooner landed than he began to manœuvre[4] for an invitation

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to France on his way to Germany; he to raise the question of alliance between the two crowns. This rouses great suspicion here, and the subject has been broached to the French Ambassador. He has used the opportunity to heighten the suspicion, with a view to inducing the English to accept the proposals he had already made to them about the affairs in Holland." Zori Guistinian to the Doge and Senate, 25 June (O. S. 15) 1608, in *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xi, No. 269.

See also *idem*, Nos. 278, 285, 288, *et passim*. Cf. also *infra*, 57.

[1] "He [the French Ambassador] has found them [the English] more determined than ever to avoid mixing in anything that could cause annoyance to Spain, especially now that the rising in Ireland compels them to act with reserve and in truth for some time past they have treated the Spanish with much more respect than heretofore." Zori Guistinian to the Doge and Senate, 25 June (O. S. 15), 1608, in *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xi, 269.

[2] "Monday Don Ferdinando Giron, Knight of Malta, arrived in London." Correr to the Doge and Senate, 26 December (O. S. 16), 1608, in *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xi, No. 393.

[3] "And because Her Majesty (best knowing that a principal part of life in these spectacles lay in their variety) had commanded me to think on some dance, or shew, that might precede hers, and have the place of foil or false-masque: I was careful to decline, not only from others, but mine own steps in that kind since the last year." Ben Jonson, *Works* (1903), iii, 45–6.

[4] "The Spanish and Flemish Ambassadors are now manœuvring to be invited to the masque. They declare it would be a slight to the Embassy-Extraordinary to be left out." Correr to the Doge and Senate, 9 Jan. (O. S. 31 Dec.), 1608–9, in *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xi, No. 404.

to this masque and the world looked to the outcome for a clue as to which of the belligerents England was willing to join in the coming contest.

An Ambassador Extraordinary from one of the important countries took precedence, according to established custom, over all other ambassadors,[1] and it began to be whispered about that again the French must be excluded from "hearing the glories of Bel-Anna so well told"[2] on Twelfthnight.

But France was at this time more sure of her position. Informed by Salisbury, the former friend of Spain,[3] of the Spanish designs concerning the Queen's masque, Boderie sent his wife to the Queen and enlisted the influence of the Countess of Bedford. He was happily surprised to find her Majesty so ready to lend an ear to his wife's ridicule of the Spanish Ambassador's dancing at the last masque. Queen Anne did not even show resentment at Madame Boderie's suggestion that it would be more charitable to leave the Spaniard at home in bed on the occasion of the coming masque than to expose him to the danger of getting the catarrh to which he was subject.[4]

Boderie was not wholly assured, however. He wrote to Henry IV's chief adviser "twenty-three" or "twenty four" days before Twelfthnight begging for immediate and explicit instructions concerning his procedure. So important did he feel it that he redoubled precautions by writing Puisieux also, entreating consideration and haste.[5]

Henry did not leave so important a matter to his advisers. He answered in person and his instructions were most positive.

[1] See *infra*.
[2] Ben Jonson, *Masque of Queens*, in *Works* (1903), iii, 59.
[3] See *supra*, 39 [2]. [4] See Appendix 30. [5] See Appendix 31.

I say to you [he wrote], that I persist in the maintenance of my dignity and reputation, and it is my command that if there is any diminishing of the rank that belongs to me, I order your recall from the King of Great Britain and his chief ministers. Take care then that nothing happens on the occasion of the Masque to the disadvantage of my dignity.[1]

Such clear and positive orders could not easily be mistaken; but the English Court could not, without serious insult, invite Boderie while a Spanish Ambassador Extraordinary was in residence.

If Giron would only leave the Court before the masquing season, England might be saved the necessity of advertising her choice of sides, but this the Spaniard had no intention of doing; and James I who was his host could not of course dismiss him without giving serious offence.[2]

In the meantime nothing was left undone that would influence the English in their choice of guests for *The Masque of Queens*. Both ambassadors kept in constant touch with members of the Court and even of the royal family. Money was spent lavishly by both France and Spain and every possible means of gaining the desired end was resorted to.[3]

[1] Appendix 32. Cf. Appendix 38.

[2] "As the Ambassadors of Spain and the Archdukes continued to insist on being invited to the Masque the Court announced that their Majestys wish the French Ambassador and myself to be present. We were informed of this by many that have the King's ear. I hear that his Majesty was anxious to dismiss the Ambassador Extraordinary and told the Queen so who was quite willing; but the Ambassador neither asks to take leave nor shows any signs of going and so his Majesty has put off the Masque, which ought to have been given to-morrow, to the 12th of February, the Feast of the Purification." Correr to the Doge and Senate, 15 Jan. (O. S. 5), 1609, in *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xi, No. 413.

[3] See Appendix 33 and 34.

In France plans were made for two presentations of the same masque. It was hoped that these would have influence upon the English situation.[1]

To the first production of this masque given at the Arsenal in Paris, by the Queen of France, of foreign representatives, only the English Ambassador and his wife were invited. Henry IV did these the special honour of seating them behind the chairs of their Majesties and giving them other marks of favour. To make the French purpose more apparent, the Papal Nuncio, the Ambassador of Spain, and the Venetian Ambassador were invited to a second production of the same masque at the home of the "lesser" Queen Marguerite. The repetition of the masque, the Queen of "lesser quality," and the number invited enforced the subordination of Spain to England.[2]

The reports of Henry's two chief ministers put especial stress upon this subordination and pointed out that the treatment which the English Ambassador received at the masque of the Arsenal in Paris should surely be of great advantage to the French cause in London.[3]

The insult which France intended for Spain is more apparent if we consider a Frenchman's answer to an invitation to the second production of the *Masque of Augurs* given in London on May 5, 1622.

"The French Amb^r. Mons. de Illieurre receiving a kind of invitation by way of offer to be present at this Masque [*Masque of Augurs*] returned answer, that he

[1] See Appendix 35. [2] See Appendix 35, 36, and 37.

Cf. also "Je vous croire que le bon acceuil & traitement qui a été fait deçà à l'Ambaſſadeur d'Angleterre au ballet d l'Arfenal, n'a pas peu ſervi à vous taut avantager par dela." Puisieux to Boderie, 23 Feb. (O. S. 13), 1609 in de la Boderie, *Ambassades*, xi, 246.

most humbly kiſsed his Majesties handes for the honour intended him; but his stomach would not (he said) agree with cold meat."

There were numerous signs of the waning influence of Spain at both the French and English courts, and ambassadors from lesser powers made no effort to conceal a declining respect. This so irritated the Spaniards that they sometimes indulged in ill-advised altercations with representatives of smaller powers. A dispute between Don Pedro de Toledo and the Venetian Ambassador occurred at Queen Marguerite's home on the evening of the masque and caused such amusement to the French Court and King that Henry declared it better than a comedy. On a later occasion the two men actually came to blows, and almost caused bloodshed in the very palace of the French King.[1]

The Spanish Ambassador Extraordinary remained in London for a whole month longer than was expected, greatly inconveniencing "Bel-Anna" and her sister "Queens." Practice on *The Masque of Queens* was continued.[2] Elaborate scenery was kept in place,

[1] "Don Pedro de Toledo is returned to Spain not greatly satisfied (as they say), and for a parting blow these foul words betwixt him and the Venetian Ambassador at a ball at Queen Margaret's; when the French King took such pleasure, that he could not forbear to say, *cette farce vaut mieux que la Comedie.*" Chamberlain to Carleton, 21 Feb., 1608–9, in Thomas Birch, *Court and Times of James I* (1848), i, 88.

"On the night of the last of January the Nuncio Don Pedro and I were invited to a ballet which the Queen danced at the Palace of Queen Marguerite, and there Don Pedro and I exchanged some slight words about titles." A. Foscarini, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate, 24 Feb. (O. S. 14), 1608–9, in *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xi, No. 446.

For the details of the open fight between these two men, see *idem*, No. 905.

[2] "It is thought that he [Giron] is staying on to compel the King to

halls,[1] set aside from state purposes, were in constant readiness, and the whole working of governmental machinery was retarded. Society leaders, accustomed to retire from London after Christmas with their long trains of followers, were forced to continue their London residence, all because the Spaniard would not go home.

Finally, feeling that they were making enemies by retarding the machinery, of government and society and baffled in their efforts to secure invitation to *The Masque of Queens*, the Spaniards turned their attention toward procuring a place for the representative of their ally of Flanders. They hoped in this way at least to lessen the honour to France by causing the exclusion of the Venetian Ambassador.[2]

In this latter Spain succeeded in her real purpose. The Flemish Ambassador was not invited, but the claims urged in his behalf succeeded in preventing the invitation of the ambassador from Venice.[3] The

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invite him to her Majesty's masque, which in consequence of this may be put off again. All the same the Queen holds daily rehearsals and trials of the machinery." Correr to the Doge and Senate, 22 Jan. (O. S. 12), 1608–9, in *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xi, No. 420. Cf. Appendix 39

[1] "To Sir Richardo Coningeſbye . . . for makeinge readie the banquettinge houſe at Whitehall for the maſke by the ſpace of fower daies menſs Januarij 1608, lxxviij^{s} viij^{d}." *Audit Office, Declared Accounts, Treasurer of the Chamber*, B. 389, R. 46. *Apparelling, etc.*

[2] The Venetian and the Flemish ambassadors ranked with each other as closely as the Spanish and the French and therefore were never invited together. The presence of an ambassador from an important power was supposed to add to the publicity and credit of the ambassador who was being given chief honour (see 4 [5]) except, of course, at times when the privacy and exclusiveness of the occasion advertised a greater honour still. See 52. Cf. also 41, 39 and the present occasion. Boderie reports to his government that the only thing lacking in his entertainment was the absence of the Venetian Ambassador. "Une ſeule choſe m'y a fâché, c'eſt que l'Ambaſſadeur de Veniſe n'eu a point été." de la Boderie, *Ambassades*.

[3] See Appendix 38.

Queen had promised to secure an invitation for the Venetian. Now, however, she "let it be understood that she would be pleased if I [Venetian Ambassador] came incognito to the Masque and Lady Arabella invited my suite and offered them a place apart."[1]

No invitation was offered to the French until the departure of the Spanish Ambassador. Even so late as January twenty-eighth, five days before the time set for the masque, Boderie informed Villeroy that he had not yet been asked to attend. But the Spaniard, he said, was then on the point of leaving and he believed the English would surely invite him in exchange for the favours just given the English Ambassador at the French Court. These favours, Boderie writes, he had taken pains to bring to the notice of "Count Salisbury."[2]

Finally Giron ("seeing that the King was determined to invite to witness the dance, the French Ambassador who was omitted last year and had orders from his Master that if that happened again, he was to leave the Court at once"),[3] decided not to increase the ladies' feeling of unpleasantness for himself by causing the masque to be again postponed.[4] So he went ten miles out to Theobald's on Tuesday to take final leave of James I, and on Wednesday he left London.[5] Immediately after Giron's departure, the King returned to the city, called the Council, decided to invite the French and the French only, and Anne and her masquing mates wearied from their extra month's practice, finally performed the long deferred *Masque of Queens* on Candlemas Day, Thursday, February the second.[6]

[1] Cf. *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, ix, No. 439.
[2] See Appendix 39.
[3] See Appendix 38.
[4] See *supra*, 53.
[5] See Appendix 38.
[6] See *ibid.*

The French Ambassador, filled with glee, wrote two long letters to the French Court on Friday, February third (O. S.). Not only were he and his wife invited but he had the honour of supping with the King, the Prince of Wales, and the Duke of York, while his wife supped with the Princess. The masque he pronounced more superb than ingenious, but the thing in which he was interested was the behaviour of the King, who declared that the masque was intended to announce the English partiality for the King of France and the French Ambassador over all others. He had never wished, James said, to invite any one else to *The Masque of Queens*, not even the Venetian Ambassador, for he wished this fête to be wholly for Boderie.[1] He rejoiced infinitely that his own wishes and those of the King of France were in such conformity as was evinced by the recent treatment of James's Ambassador in Paris, for whose entertainment and that of the "Viscomte de Cramborne" he charged Boderie to extend his thanks to Henry IV.

Boderie thanked James for his expressions of kindliness toward France and begged pardon for the vehemence of his own behaviour on the occasion of *The Masque of Beauty*, citing Spanish impudence as the cause.

The French Ambassador bragged to the home court that before and after supper and during all the masque James spent the entire time in entertaining him, and that during an intermission of the masque the gorgeous "Bel-Anna," chief Queen of the masquers, approached his wife and before all the company poured upon her a thousand demonstrations of affection. Even Boderie's little daughter, the father announces, shared the Queen's

[1] See Appendix 40.

caresses, for the young Charles, Duke of York, having been taken out to dance by one of the masquers, sought out the little Mademoiselle and "took her out."

Queen Anne had intended the same honour for Boderie but the Ambassador explains that since he was no dancer and since he had no desire to make a laughing stock of himself as the Spanish Ambassador had done, the year before, he had early begged the Queen, through one of her women, to excuse him. Queen Anne took out Bressieux instead.

During the evening, Boderie declares, he was treated always with such demonstrations of good will that Henry IV should be fully satisfied. For himself, "if he did not know the story of the ass that bore the relics, he should be most vain."

The Frenchman closed the recital of his victory with a comparison of the favours shown to himself at the *Masque of Queens* and the treatment of the Spanish Ambassador the year before at *The Masque of Beauty*, Spain he declares was not invited by the King, nor did the Spanish Ambassador eat with his Majesty. Neither the King nor the Queen spoke to the Spaniard during the entire performance of *The Masque of Beauty*. and as he departed everyone looked askance at him.

Boderie reiterates that James and Salisbury made public that *The Masque of Queens* was given because of the English love of France. Both the King and Salisbury took occasion during the masque, under cover of the friendly influence of the evening's entertainment, to discuss international diplomatic conditions and to inquire five or six times, why an Ambassador from Spain should remain so long in Paris. To the great relief of Boderie, no word was said about the debts which had been so successfully used in silencing the French com-

plaint for being excluded from *The Masque of Beauty* the year before.[1]

The Masque of Queens was the fourth great Court masque of Queen Anne. Invitations to the first three were captured and used by Spain as an advertisement of close friendliness between Spain and England. Historians will be able to read the full significance of the French conquest in the fourth.

King Henry IV sent his thanks to Boderie and to James I, to whom he promised a continuance of fraternal friendship between the two countries, in testimony of his appreciation for the favours shown him through his Ambassador on the masquing evening.[2]

Puisieux sent with his congratulations to Boderie, a statement that the masque had a large influence in shaping the conditions of the treaty of peace, then in process of making, in which all the Powers of Europe were expected to concur,[3] and Villeroy observed that

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[1] *Supra* 41, Appendix 40. Cf. also Appendix 41.

[2] "S. M. s'eſt rejouie en général avec ledit ambaſſadeur des temoignages que le Roi ſon bon frere a vouler lui rendre en votre perſonne dansce derniere ballet de la Reine ſa bonne ſoeur, de la continuation de ſa fraternelle amitié & l'en a remercié; lui diſant après que quand elle auroit vn vos lettres elle redoubleroit ledit remerciment." Villeroy to Boderie, 27 Feb. (O. S. 17), 1608–9, in de la Boderie, *Ambassades*, iv, 251.

[3] "J'estime auſſi que le demonſtration que vous avez faite de vous retirer plutôt que de ſouffrir une indignité [cf. *supra*], n'y a peu avancé en cette conjuncture des affaires publiques; pour le bien deſquelles, au traité des Pays-Bas, M. Jeannin, que vous avez ſçu être arrivé à Anvers, ſe loue grandement de la préſente conduite des Députés Anglois, & ne laiſſe toutefois de veiller ſoigneuſement à ce qu'ils ne braſſent quelque cas particulier, comme ils out accoutumé de faire quand ils en voient l'opportunité, taut pour traverſer le bien public & la gloire d'autrui, que pour tâcher à s'attribuer le gré l'honneur du ſuccés." Puisieux to Boderie, 23 Feb. (O. S. 13), 1608–9, in de la Boderie, *Ambassades*, iv, 246–7.

the affair would cement the friendship of England and France while it would serve to check the covetousness of Spain.[1]

The correspondence between the French Ambassador and his government, approximately half of which had been devoted to the masque for the past three months or so, now took up questions concerning the peace and other matters of state.[2] Speculation over a Spanish-English marriage alliance ceased, and in its stead attention was turned toward a rumoured union between France and England.[3]

Notwithstanding all Boderie's gleeful declaration of complete understanding, notwithstanding the friendly exchange of gratulation between Henry and James, matters at Court were not wholly satisfying. Whether England was unwilling to be forced further from her negative policy, or whether there was other cause, does not appear. In any case no public Court masques are recorded for the Christmas season, 1609–10. However the following June (1610) had been appointed for the "Creation" of the Prince of Wales. So great an event called for the most elaborate entertainment. The Queen set herself to the preparation of *Tethys' Festival*, written by Samuel Daniel in the Prince's honour, and the King issued a warrant of unlimited amount upon his treasury for her use.[4]

What the struggle over *Tethys' Festival* might have

[1] "et enfin ſur cela il a été tenu pluſierses bons propos ſur la conſervation & augmentation de la conne amitié intelligence qui doit être entre les deux Rois, pour ſervir de bride à la convoitiſe d'Eſpagne." Villeroy to Boderie, 27 Feb. (O. S. 17), 1608–9, in de la Boderie, *Ambassades*, iv, 251. [2] See de la Boderie, *Ambassades*, iv, *passim*.

[3] "Pour le mariage de monſeigneur le Dauphin avec leur Princeſſe," etc. Boderie to Villeroy, 22 Feb. (O. S. 12), 1608–9, in de la Boderie, *Ambassades*, iv, 242. [4] See Appendix 42.

been is only a matter for conjecture for the sudden death of the King of France removed the question of the French Ambassador's invitation, during the period of mourning, and left the English Court no excuse for refusing an invitation to Spain. There was a slight altercation when the Spanish Ambassador objected to the presence of the representative of the Dutch, whose independence Spain was not yet willing to recognise. He was quieted however by having the Dutchman placed at the masque in a box lower than his own, and near the Venetian.[1]

The recent assassination of the King of France, which terrorised the English Court, the struggle between James and his Parliament for money, and the affair of Cleves, occupy most of the correspondence of the time.

The death of the French King and the consequent regency of Marie de Médici called for a new political adjustment in Europe.[2] The destruction of the House of Austria,[3] which had been the pet scheme of Henry IV, was put aside and France listened with apparent satisfaction to a proposal from Spain for a double marriage alliance.[4]

[1] See Appendix 43.

[2] "The death of Henry IV, early in 1610, postponed for thirteen years the development of the anti Spanish-Austrian policy which would have governed the course of events. Marie de Médici, the Queen Regent, and her ministers Villeroy and Sillery, were Spanish in sympathy and firmly resolved that no breach should occur during the King's minority." Horatio F. Brown in *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xii, *Preface*, xxvii and xxviii.

[3] See *supra*, 47.

[4] "Immediatement après le mort d'Henri IV, l'idée d'une alliance de famille entre les deux cours [Spain and France], avait reparu. Le Duc de Feria envoyé en France comme ambassadeur extraordinaire pour faire à Louis XIII les compliments, était autorissé par ses instructions à parler d'une double mariage." Ernest Lavisse, *Histoire de France*, par Jean H. Mariejol (Paris, 1905), tom. sixième, ii, 147.

See *infra*, Chap. III, marriage of Louis XIII et D'Anne D'autriche

During the minority of Louis XIII, the Queen Regent and her ministers were unwilling to stir up trouble with anyone. The advent of a new King to the French throne and the change in policy, necessitated new treaties. One treaty drawn up by the ministers of England and France was presented for the French King's signature in September, 1610. The English wished for this treaty the widest publicity, so that the continued friendliness between England and France might be acclaimed to all the world. But France was inclined to spare the feelings of Spain and to minimise the importance of the treaty by accompanying the signature with as scant ceremonial as possible.[1]

When the treaty had received the signature of France, Monsieur de Laverdin was appointed from the French Court to carry it to England for the signature of James. The English Court planned for such an entertainment of de Laverdin that all the world should know of his presence in England and of the purpose of his coming. With this end in view, the English announced that the two great masques in process of preparation were "particularly directed to honour this mission."[2] The Queen was given unlimited order

(28 Nov. 1615) See also Samuel R. Gardner, *History of England, 1603–1624*, (1883), ii, 99.

[1] "The Ambassadors extraordinary and ordinary of England on learning that their Majesties were to go to Monceaux before going to Rheims suspected that this was done so as to swear the treaty with England in a small village to avoid offending the Spanish Ambassador." Antonio Fascarini, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate, 21 Sept. (O. S. 11), 1610, in *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xii, No. 58.

[2] "The masques which the Queen and Prince are preparing are particularly directed to honour this mission [de Laverdin's] which has been sent on purpose at this Christmastide so as to admit of still greater favour being shown to the marshall." Correr, Venetian Ambassador in

upon the exchequer for all sums required for the use of the masquers,[1] and men high in office were occupied with masquing matters to the neglect or delay of other business of state.

To insure de Laverdin's presence in England during the masquing season when the masques might be used to proclaim more loudly the purpose of his presence, King James requested the French government to postpone the Ambassador's departure from France for some weeks after the date originally intended. This they did, but to the chagrin of the English, de Laverdin continued to postpone his coming until the masquing season was well-nigh over.[3] The delay may have been caused by business, or by Court mourning, as the Venetian Ambassador suggests; or possibly,

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England to the Doge and Senate, in *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xii, No. 153.

[1] See Appendix 44.

[2] "My duty to your lo. most humbly remembered. Your lo. brẽ came hither to day about noone but his maty was abroad so as I could not sooner dispatch and wold not haue sent yr part so late but that I haue order to send to my lo. of Worcester about the maske matters which requireth some speed . . .

"From the Coart at Royston this 22 Nouember, 1610.

"Your lo. most humbly to cõmand,

"Tho: Lake."

Endorsed:

"To the right honourable my singular good Lo. the Earle of Salisbury lo. high Thrẽs. of England."

In Public Record Office, *State Papers Domestic James I*, lviii, No. 27.

[3] "The court passed these days of Christmastide in festivity and rejoicing. The King wished the Marshall de Laverdin, Ambassador Extraordinary of France, to arrive here at this juncture and accordingly he caused the Marshall to postpone his departure some weeks ago; but now M. de Laverdin either kept back by business or resolved not to go to dances, as he is still in mourning, did not reach Calais till Monday last, and is kept there by the wind." Marc' Antonio Correr, to the Doge and Senate, 14 January (O. S. 4), 1611, in *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xii, No. 159.

as the outcome would seem to indicate,[1] by the same motive which induced the French to seek as much secrecy and lack of display as possible for the ratification in France.[2]

De Laverdin's long delay caused the Court to make such changes in the Christmas programme as to prevent the season from being entirely bare of festivity, and, at the same time, to save the greatest function for its original purpose. Therefore the Queen's masque, Ben Jonson's *Love Freed from Ignorance and Folly*, which was to have preceded the Prince's,[3] was put off to await de Laverdin's coming.[4] *Oberon* by the same author, the last great masque played by Prince Henry, was given on the night of January first. To Prince Henry's masque, the Ambassadors of Spain and Venice were invited.[5] But there was no loud acclaim, as in the diplomatic correspondence of the early years of James I, of the Queen's favouritism,[6] or of the elegant dress[8] or successful dancing of the Spanish Ambassador.[7]

Whether James turned to his foreign guest for approval of the gratulation tendered himself and his son

[1] See *infra*. [2] See *supra*, 61 [1].

[3] "The King is pleased that the approaching Christmas she [Queen Anne] should give another masque of Ladies; it will precede the Prince's masque and neither will be so costly as last year's which to say sooth was excessively costly." Marc' Antonio Correr, Venetian Ambassador in England to the Doge and Senate, 2 Dec. (O. S. 22 Nov.) 1610, in *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xii, No. 125.

[4] "The Queen's masque is put off to the Feast of the Purification; either because the stage machinery is not in order or because their Majesties thought it well to let the Marshall [de Laverdin] depart first" (probably from France since he had not yet arrived at the English Court). Marc' Antonio Correr, Venetian Ambassador in England to the Doge and Senate, 21 January (O. S. 11), 1611, in *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xii, No. 164. [5] See Appendix 45.

[6] See *supra*, 9 [5]. [7] *Supra*, 15. [8] *Supra*, 16.

the "princely Oberon"[1] by the "Faies," whether the little "Duke's" dancing in the centre of the fairy circle[2] caused comment, or whether the "great empress" when called forth for the dance,

> *I Faie* and these beauties will suspect
> That their forms you do neglect,
> If you do not call them forth.

offered the Spaniard and his family the same favours as she poured upon the French Ambassador at *The Masque of Beauty* two years before,[3] there is at present no means of knowing. The reader must himself be judge of the significance of the omission of such remarks from the correspondence of the time.

The Venetian reported that the Ambassador of the United Provinces was given invitation but "feigned displeasure."[4]

[1] "So that true to call
Him by his title is to say, He 's all," etc.
Ben Jonson, *Works* (1903), iii, 76.

[2] See Ralph Winwood, *Memorials* (1825), 180–1.

[3] See *supra*, 56.

[4] See Appendix 45.

Since the English Court could not invite together Ambassadors from two powers between which there was a dispute over the matter of precedence, it was not unusual where possible, to conciliate the ambassador who was not to be present by extending to him an invitation upon condition that he would refuse it. See *infra*.

Indication of change in Spanish influence may be found by comparison of the following:

On 29 July (O. S. 19) 1609 Correr wrote to the Doge and Senate; "The Spanish and the party of the Archduke do not like to hear him [Caron, Dutch Ambassador] called Ambassador," in *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xi, No. 564.

On 15 January (O. S. 5), 1610, Correr wrote again; "The Ambassador of the States has never been in the same company with the Spanish Ambassador, and so in order to avoid a scandal, instead of being invited to the tourney he will be invited to dine with the King on Sunday," in *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xi, No. 763.

Finally, after a long period of waiting, which almost exhausted the patience of the English Court,[1] de Laverdin arrived.[2]

On the Sunday preceding the first of February the ceremony of "swearing the treaty" took place. The remainder of the day was spent in feasting and in dancing. The understanding between France and Spain is measured by the unseemly haste with which France attempted to recall her Ambassador, almost if not quite as soon as the treaty was signed. The message was brought by "couriers express" who caused a rumour to be spread that France believed herself to be on the verge of war and she wished de Laverdin to hasten home.[3]

But for reasons before shown,[4] Queen Anne and her masquing mates had been impatiently awaiting his

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At the Masque of the Prince's Creation, Caron was invited and present but in a subordinate place, See *Supra*, 60; also Appendix 43.

On the present occasion he was again refused invitation.

[1] See *supra*, 63 [4]

[2] "M. de Laverdin after waiting eleven days in Calais and putting to sea four times crossed over yesterday, but with so much difficulty that one of his escort and part of his crew are held for lost. He had to land on the beach and he has sent up for carriages and other necessaries." Marc' Antonio Correr to the Doge and Senate, 21 January (O. S. 11), 1611, in *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xii, No. 164.

[3] "After the ceremony of swearing the treaty in the Royal chapel on Sunday last, his Majesty kept the Marshal de Laverdin and the Lieger to dinner with him and the Prince, his son; and the day was passed in the usual dancing. . . . The Marshall is hurrying his departure, urged, as he says by couriers express; nothing keeps him but the Queen's Masque, which takes place the day after to-morrow. The couriers from France have caused a rumour to spread that peace will not last long in that kingdom. Here they regret it, because they desire its continuance and because the renunciation of Sully causes alarm as to the suppression of the Huguenots." Marc' Antonio Correr to the Doge and Senate, 11 Feb. (O. S. 1), 1610–11, in *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xii, 115 No. 175.

[4] *Supra*, 63.

coming and practising, *Love Freed from Ignorance and Folly* for more than a month after all was in readiness.[1] De Laverdin was therefore induced to remain for some days after signing the treaty in order that he might lend his presence to the exploitation of the greatness of "Britain" and her King "Albion."

> Britain 's the world, the world without.
> The King 's the eye, as we do call
> The sun the eye of this great all.
> And is the light and treasure too;
> For 't is his wisdom all doth do.
> Which still is fixèd in his breast,
> Yet still doth move to guide the rest.
> The contraries which time till now
> Nor fate knew where to join, or how,
> Are Majesty and Love; which there
> And nowhere else, have their true sphere.
> Now, Sphinx, I 've hit the right upon,
> And do resolve these All by one:
> That is, that you meant *Albion.*[2]

If there was really urgent business of state it was forced to wait the Queen's masque. The magnificence of his entertainment may be guessed from the fact that "Lambeth Houſe remains in readineſs to lodge him, and the revenues of that Biſhoprick may ſerve to entertaine him,"[3] and from the fact that some days after the masque, he departed laden with "upwards of four thousand ounces of silver-gilt plate [from the King] and from the Queen a diamond of great value."

De Laverdin seems to have been personally very

[1] Cf. 65[4]; also 63[3].

[2] Ben Jonson, *Works*, iii, 80.

[3] Mr. John More to Sir Ralph Winwood in John Nichols, *Progresses of King James the First* (1828), ii, 371–2; also in Ralph Winwood, *Memorials*, iii, 239.

much flattered over the grand reception which England had given him[1] and France did not seem inclined toward unfriendliness. But if England had hoped to make trouble between France and Spain, she was doomed to disappointment.

Less than two months elapsed after the return of de Laverdin from London before a defensive alliance was signed between France and Spain (30 April, 1611), in which the two countries mutually agreed to help each other against all enemies from within or without.[2]

To celebrate this treaty a Franco-Spanish marriage alliance was announced by Marie de Medici in the French Council, 26 Jan. (O. S. 16), 1611.[3] The policy of the French Queen had triumphed. Marie de Medici celebrated this triumph and the betrothal with an elaborate series of masques and fêtes famed throughout France for their magnificence. The French Court was full of unusual gaiety during the Christmas season, 1611–12, and every Sunday in February a masque was danced at the Louvre by the Dukes of Vendôme and of Chevreuse and Bassompiere.[4]

It was a season of most unusual activity in the French Court. The indoor masques of the Sunday evenings were only the nucleus of the big masques which, as was the custom on big occasions,[5] proclaimed

[1] "We have no account of the Marshall's entertainment here; but Feb. 28, 1610–11, Mr. Beaulieu thus writes from Paris to Mr. Trumbull at Brussels; The Mareschall de Laverdin is so extraordinary well satisfied with his usage in England, as no man ever spake more in the commendation of the King and the Country than he doth, and generally all those of his company. And to make his Majestie's liberalitie appear the better towards him, he hath openly set up his present of rich plate, which is valued at 7 or 8000 crowns, to be seen by the Queen and the whole Court," in Ralph Winwood, *Memorials*, iii, 262–3.

[2] See Appendix 46. [3] See Appendix 47. [4] See Appendix 47.

[5] Cf. *infra*, *The Masques of the Inns of Court*, 74 f.

the new European policy to the world. At the "Palace Royale," the fêtes under the patronage of the Queen, the Princesses, and the Ladies of the Nobility, lasted three days "(5, 6 et 7 avril)" and were seen by two hundred thousand people. The "Château de la Félicité" was exhibited by the Dukes of Guise and of Nevers, with their followers decked out in gold and silver embroidery, carrying lances and red standards, the reign of felicity being proclaimed by trumpets, drums, clarions, etc.[1]

This was followed by a sham battle of symbolic purpose, a parade of various troupes, horsemen, musicians, captive kings, two elephants, two rhinoceroses, etc., and sibyls singing the praises of the Queen Regent. At night the Palace of Felicity was fired and disappeared amidst the sound of trumpets, drums, and clarions, in wondrous figures of flame.

On Friday, in order that all Paris might get the benefit of the show, the brilliant cavalcade paraded the streets on either side of the Seine to the "Pont-neuf" where they dispersed. On Saturday the Parisians had running at the ring, and in the evening a salute of two hundred cannon; fireworks in front of the Hotel de Ville and an illumination of the city with coloured paper lanterns so numerous that to people of that day the whole city seemed ablaze.[2]

These French masques and fêtes were used in much the same way and served much the same purpose as the masque which the English Court had used the year before to announce to the world the English-French treaty[3]; or as the celebrated series of masques through which England proclaimed a change of policy in the following year.[4]

[1] *Supra*, 67[4].
[2] See Appendix 47.
[3] See *supra*, 61 f.
[4] See *infra*, 72 f.

The French celebration covered a period from the Christmas time to some time in April, and was of sufficient length and elaborateness to attract the attention of all the courts represented in Paris. As in England, the French employed the best efforts of writers, musicians, artists, etc., among whose products the still famed effort of Rubens in the Louvre will perhaps be best remembered. Since the present treatment limits itself to English masques, it seems unwise at this point to spend more time upon the masques of other European courts.

While such gaiety proclaimed the betrothal of France and Spain, the English Court seems to have been unusually quiet. The expense accounts indicate that a masque was performed during the Christmas season, 1611–12,[1] and Brotanek[2] (followed by Reyher[3]) has concluded that Ben Jonson's *Love Restored* was presented at this time. Whatever may have been the conditions surrounding this masque, it seems to have been lacking in diplomatic significance, since no single word, so far found, in all the correspondence, makes mention of it, nor of the presence or absence of Ambassadors.

From about 1608[4] to 1610, England had sided, so far as her peace policy would allow, with Henry IV, whose sympathies were against Spain and with the Huguenots. Henry's death in 1610, and the triumph of the Catholic party under Marie de Medici, deprived James I of his best continental ally.

There had been much speculation concerning James's

[1] See *Lansdowne MSS.*, 164 f. 2, 12, 14, 28, and 30. *Additional MSS.*, 12498 f. 61. *Cotton MS. Titus B.*, iv f. 373.

[2] See Rudolf Brotanek, *Die Englischen Maskenspiele* (1902), 346–9.

[3] See Paul Reyher, *Les Masques Anglais* (1909), 521.

[4] See *supra*, 47.

final attitude toward the political differences between Catholicism and Protestantism. Some historians think that Protestantism had more to offer James's vanity, as head of the combined Protestant forces. But there were questions concerning England's wishes in the matter and the needs of national preservation—all of which, however, belong to the realm of history proper.[1]

It is sufficient to note here that England saw fit to join its political forces with those of Protestantism by a marriage alliance with the Count Palatine of the Rhine[2]—the head of the Protestant League. To announce to the continent so important a diplomatic venture required such elaborate entertainment as almost impoverished the English King.[3]

But France had just spent some three months in loudly proclaiming her policy; and England, always noted for the lavishness of her entertainment, must not be behind. The Thames must thunder louder than the Seine.[4] Magnificent spectacular displays were arranged for the avowed purpose of letting strangers know that though England's policy was toward peace, she was able to enforce respect if need be through war.[5]

Costumes were provided of such "gorgeousness" that one Ambassador says "the imagination could

[1] "A gentleman in Lord Salisbury's confidence said to me that in Spain they found chicanery and in France indecision. The Friendship of the United Provinces is sure and lasting." A. Foscarini, Venetian Ambassador in England to the Doge and Senate, 30 Sept. (O. S. 20), 1611, in *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xii, 341.

[2] See S. R. Gardiner, *History of England, 1603–1642*, ii, 162.

[3] *Ibid.*, Gardiner places the cost at £60,000, $15,000,000 to $18,000,000 of our money to-day.

[4] See *supra*, 68; *infra*, 75.

[5] See Appendix 48.

hardly grasp the spectacle. The King's cloak, breeches and jacket were all sewn with diamonds, a rope and jewel of diamonds also in his hat, of inestimable value. The Queen had in her hair so great a number of pear-shaped pearls,[1] the largest and most beautiful there are in the world; and there were diamonds all over her person, so that she was ablaze."[2]

Nor were the Royalty alone extravagant. "Lady Watton had a gowne that cost fifty pound [between $1,250 and $2,000] a yard the embroidering—the Lord Montague—bestowed fifteen hundred pound [between $37,500 and $60,000] in apparell for his two daughters,"[3] and even one of the foreign Ambassadors wrote home that in order to ingratiate himself and his country into the goodwill of England;

"I must put my grooms and coachmen into liveries and cloaks of velvet and gold; and I myself have worn a different dress each day, as is the custom of this Court. I have bought very fine horses and have given several banquets to the leading gentlemen and ladies, to the complete extinction of the one thousand five hundred crowns which were voted me by your excellencies' kindness; nay, I have even spent something over and above. I will continue to entertain others. Everything that is done to honour this wedding is very pleasing to their Majesties, the Prince and all the Court."[4]

"The 4 honorable Innes of Court, aſ well the elders and graue Benchers of each houſe, as the towardly yoong

[1] See Portrait of Queen Anne in National Portrait Gallery.

[2] Antonio Foscarini, Venetian Ambassador in England to the Doge and Senate, 1 March (O. S. 19 Feb.), 1613, in *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xii, 498, No. 775.

[3] Chamberlain to M^{ris} Carleton, 18 February, 1612–3, in *State Papers Domestic James I*, lxxii, No. 30.

[4] Foscarini to the Doge and Senate, 1 March, 1613, in *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xii, 498, No. 775. Cf. Appendix 52.

actiue gallant Gentlemen of the ſame houſes, being of infinite deſire to expreſſe their ſingular loue and duteous affection to his maieſtie, and to performe ſome memorable & acceptable ſervice worthy their own reputation, in honor of this nuptiall, & thereupon conſulted, and agreed amongſt themſelues to ſette out two rich and ſtately maſks, and to performe them brauely, without reſpect to charge or expences." [1]

Successful masque writers vied with each other to tell the story of the great diplomatic union in a series of three masques, the beauty, extravagance and display of which the world had probably never known.

The Masque of Lords, written by Thomas Campion for the marriage evening, February 14, 1613, celebrated the "Additur Germaniæ Robur Britannicum: ecquid esse par potest?" [2] proclaimed by the sibyl as she had the year before sung the praises of the Queen Regent in Paris.[3]

The Venetian Ambassador says this first masque, "which was at the King's charges, and was danced by ladies and gentlemen of title, was remarkable for the decoration of the theatre, for three changes of scene, for the dresses, and for nine choruses of voices and instruments";[4] and again he writes:

"In the evening I was at the Masque which was very beautiful, with three changes of scene. First of all certain stars danced in the heavens by a most ingenious device; then came a dance of children; finally of lords and ladies." [5]

[1] John Stowe, *Annales* (1615), 916.

[2] Thomas Campion, *Masque of Lords*, in the "Sibylla's" speech.

[3] See *supra*.

[4] Antonio Foscarini to the Doge and Senate, 10 May (O. S. 1), 1613, in *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xii, 531, No. 832.

[5] Antonio Foscarini to the Doge and Senate, 1 March (O. S. Feb. 19), 1613, in *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xii, 498, No. 775.

Chamberlain alone is less enthusiastic. He says, "that night was the Lords Maſke whereof I heare no great commendation ſave only for riches, theyre deviſes being long and tedious and more like a play than a maſke."[1]

The masque of the second evening, February fifteenth, was written by George Chapman for the Middle Temple and Lincoln's Inn. It proclaimed the English interest in America, and prophesied for the married pair honour and riches such as they believed would come from the great gold mines of "Virginia."[2]

But the audience which could be accommodated in Whitehall (even though "there was a courſe taken and ſo notified that no lady or gentlewoman ſhold be admitted to any of theſe ſights wth a verdingale, w^{ch} was to gaine the more roome,"[3] and even though, "there were more ſcaffolds and more proviſion made for roome then ever I ſaw both in the hall and banketting roome, beſides a new roome built to dine ſup and

Cf. "In the end of the first part of this song, the upper part of the scene was discovered by the sudden fall of a curtain; then in clouds of several colours (the upper part of them being fiery, and the middle heightened with silver) appeared eight stars of extraordinary bigness, which so were placed as that they seemed to be fixed between the firmament and the earth. In the front of the scene stood *Prometheus*, attired as one of the ancient heroes." Thomas Campion, *The Masque of Lords*, in H. A. Evans, *English Masques*, 76.

[1] John Chamberlain to M^{ris} Carleton, 18 February, 1612, in *State Papers Domestic James I*, lxxii, 30.

[2] "In August, 1613, favourable news reached England from Virginia of the capture of the chief Powhatan's daughter, the famous Pocahontas, and the consequent readiness of the chief to make terms of peace, with an offer to show the settlers some rich gold mines. The Earl of Arundel told Barbarigo what excitement this news had caused in England, where large sums had been promised for a fresh return." Allen B. Hinds, in *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xiii, *Preface*, xxv.

[3] See Chamberlain to M^{ris} Carleton, 18 February, 1612–13, in *State Papers Domestic James I*, lxxii, No. 30.

daunce in") was not large enough for England's advertising purposes. Paris had shown its "Château de la Félicité"[1] to two hundred thousand people and then felt the need of parading the streets on either side of the Seine in order to make its proclamations loud enough, so "Upon Shroue-mundaie at night the gentlemen of the middle Temple and Lincolnes Inne with their Trayne for this buſineſſe aſſembled in Chancery-Lane, at the houſe of Sir Edward Philips, Maiſter of the Rolles, and about eight of the clocke, they marched thence through the ſtrand to the Court at Whitehall."[2]

The Venetian Ambassador in London gave official notification to his government that

> First came a hundred gentlemen on horseback, accompanied by a hundred grooms with lights in their hands. Then followed a little Masque on horseback with a large number of torches all alone; then two triumphal cars with musicians dressed in silver with turbans on their heads. These represented the priests of the Sun in Virginia. Then came the great Masque, all being dressed in cloth and silver, golden suns and plumes. They represented Princes of Virginia with crowns of feathers and pearls on their heads, and their hair down to their shoulders as is the custom of that country; their horses, too, were all caparisoned in silver and suns. Then came a hundred blacks dressed in gold and blue, the dress of Indian slaves. Then came a great number of lights borne by men on horseback, dressed in silver and gold, like the great Masque except the crowns. Then a triumphal car with figures inside representing Honour and Riches, and round it marched two hundred halberdiers. When the King entered the Hall one saw a mountain all full of crags and on the top the Temple of Honour, made of Silver; an octagon with silver statues round the cornice; on its summit two golden wings sprang from

[1] See *supra*, 68.

[2] John Stowe, *Annales* (1615), 916.

a silver ball, signifying that Fortune and her son Honour had resolved to settle forever in this Kingdom. Hard by the Temple was a wood and in it a huge tree-trunk which contained the whole of the little Masque. Hardly had the King appeared when the crags came forward five paces towards his Majesty; Clouds gathered and the mountain split, and there appeared a rich mine of gold with all the Masque inside and a vast number of torches; it all took place in a moment. Then appeared the sun as at its setting; the priests adored it and part of them sang to lutes; they were answered by voices and instruments from the Temple, and from other parts of the Hall. Then Riches began to speak and again the crags moved; then after great eulogies of the couples, pronounced by Riches and Honour, all the Masque began to dance a ballet, with such finish that it left nothing to be desired.[1]

The third masque produced for the occasion was written by Beaumont and presented by Francis Bacon for the Inner Temple and Gray's Inn. It was conceived by Bacon[2] to announce the union of England and the Palatine by "a marriage of the river of Thames to the Rhine."[2]

Of this last masque, Chamberlain writes:

On teuſday yt came to Grayes Ynne and the inner Temples Turne to come wth theyre maſke, wherof S^{r} Fra: Bacon was the chiefe contriuer, and becauſe the former came on horſe backe, and open chariots they made chuſe to come by water from winchester place in ſouthwark: (w^{ch} ſuted well enough wth theyre deuiſe, w^{ch} was the mariage of the riuer of Thames to the Rhine: and theyre ſhew by water was very gallant by reaſon of infinite ſtore of lights very curioufsely ſet and placed: and many boats and barges

[1] Antonio Foscarini to the Doge and Senate, 10 May, 1613, in *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xii, 531, No. 832. Cf. also Appendix 49 and 50.

[2] See *infra*.

w^th deuiſes of light and lampes w^th three peales of ordinance one at theyre taking water, another in the temple garden, and the last at theyre landing, w^ch paſsage by water cost them better then three hundred pound: they were receued at the priuie stayres: and great expectation theyre was that they shold euery way exceed theyre competitors that went before them both in deuiſe daintines of apparell and above all in dauncing (wherein they are held excellent) and esteemed far the properer men: but by what yll planet yt fell out I know not, they came home as they went w^th out doing anything, the reaſon whereof I cannot yet learne thoroughly, ſo but only was that the hall was ſo full that yt was not poſsible to auoyde yt or make roome for them beſides that most of the Ladies were in the galleries to ſee them land. and could not get in, but the worst of all was that the king was ſo wearied and ſleepie w^th ſitting vp almost two whole nights before that he had no edge to yt, wherupon S^r Fra: Bacon aduentured to interest his maiestie that by this diſgrace he wold not as yt were bury them quicke and I heare the king ſhold aunſwer that then they must burie him quicke for he could last no longer, but w^th all gaue then very goode wordes and appointed them to come again on ſaterday: but the grace of theyre maſke is quite gon when theyre apparell hath ben already ſhewed and theyre deuiſes vented ſo that how yt will fall out God knows for they are much diſcouraged, and out of countenance, and the world ſayes yt comes to paſse after the old prouerb the properer men the worſe lucke.[1]

Notwithstanding the disappointment of the masquers, the masque was successfully performed on the following Saturday:

At the entrance of their Majesties and their Highnesses, one saw the scene, with forests; on a sudden half of it

[1] John Chamberlain to M^ris Carleton, 18 February, 1612–3, in *State Papers Domestic James I*, lxxii, No. 30.

changed to a great mountain with four springs at its feet. The subject of the Masque was that Jove and Juno desiring to honour the wedding and the conjunction of two such noble rivers, the Thames and the Rhine, sent separately Mercury and Iris, who appeared; and Mercury then praised the couple and the Royal house, and wishing to make a ballet suitable to the conjunction of two such streams, he summoned from the four fountains, whence they spring and which are fed by rain, four nymphs who hid among the clouds and the stars that ought to bring rain. They then danced, but Iris said that a dance of one sex only was not a live dance. Then appeared four cupids, while from the Temple of Jove, came five idols and they danced with the stars and the nymphs. Then Iris, after delivering her speech, summoned Flora, caused a light rain to fall, and then came a dance of shepherds. Then in a moment the other half of the scene changed, and one saw a great plateau with two pavilions, and in them one hundred and fifty Knights of Olympus, then more tents like a host encamped. On the higher ground was the Temple of Olympian Jove all adorned with statues of gold and silver, and served by a number of priests with music and lights in golden Candelabra. The knights were in long robes of silk and gold, the priests in gold and silver. The knights danced, their robes being looped up with silver, and their dance represented the introduction of the Olympian games into this kingdom. After the ballet was over their Majesties and their Highnesses passed into a great Hall especially built for the purpose, where were long tables laden with comfits and thousands of mottoes. After the King had made the round of the tables everything was in a moment rapaciously swept away.

London 10th May 1613.[1]

During all these magnificent nuptial festivities,

[1] Foscarini to the Doge and Senate in *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xii, No. 832.

there was no serious quarrel over the question of precedence between the two great powers most concerned. It was Spain, his "Catholic Majesty," who was most in danger from the policy proclaimed,[1] and though the English offered the Spanish Ambassador the courtesy of an invitation to the wedding, it was probably expected that he would absent himself, as he did, on the usual excuse of illness.[2]

The English admitted into the ceremonies themselves, on at least two occasions, things which must have grated upon the feelings of Spain; first, in the naval display on the Thames the Saturday before the wedding, they depicted a sea-fight in which the Spaniards were defeated by the Turks,[3] and again, the new marriage room was decorated with tapestries proclaiming the naval victory of England over Spain in 1588.[4]

The absence of the Spanish Ambassador from the

[1] "The Council have asked several gentlemen what help they would give if this kingdom were ever harassed by foreigners, meaning the King of Spain. Many replied that they would keep at their own charges some two, some four and some even more infantry or horse during the whole time they might be needed. They were thanked and the offer accepted, should the need ever arise, and they say it may be nearer than is expected." A. Foscarini, Venetian Ambassador in England to the Doge and Senate, 8 March, 1613, in *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xii, 782.

[2] "The Spaniard, was or wold be ſicke." John Chamberlain to Sr. Dudley Carleton, 25 February, 1612–3, in *State Papers Domestic James I*, lxxii, No. 48. See also Appendix 51.

[3] "They had sight of another argosay or galliaza which seemed to be Spain, which likewise, after a fierce conflict, they made prize of, and with much triumph tendered the same up also to the Turkish admiral." John Nichols, *Progresses*, ii, 540. See also *ibid.* 529.

[4] "All the great Lords of the priuie counſell = the chiefe ladies of the Court & others, dined that day in the newe large roome, builded for ye purpoſe, which roome was adorned with ſtately hangings, curiouſlie wrought, representing the ſea fight between ye English and Spanish fleets in the yeere 1588." John Stowe, *Annales* (1615), 916.

wedding festivities easily gave the French Ambassador the lead,[1] and reduced the quarrel over precedency to a struggle between the representatives of Venice and of the Archduke.[2]

An invitation was sent to the Ambassador of the Archduke telling him that since the French and Venetian Ambassadors were invited for the first day's solemnity of the marriage, the King requested his attendance at a later date. This Boiscot (the Archduke's Ambassador) refused, because he said he was unable to accept an invitation to a later function, when Venice was given priority of date, without prejudicing the cause of the Archduke.[3]

James answered this complaint in French explaining that the Venetian Ambassador had "extraordinary allowance appointed" him from Venice to add to the pomp of the English occasion and that he paid the English the honour of putting his men into livery with like purpose, "Therefore his Majesty had all reason to correſpond with the ſaid Republic in like civilities."[4]

Having gained invitation with little opposition, France and Venice spent their time in efforts to heighten the honour paid them. The French Ambassador attempted to secure the privilege of preceding the Prince, and the Venetian objected to being seated at the wedding dinner on a stool; though the Prince was provided with nothing better, the bride and groom only, sitting on chairs.[5]

[1] See *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xii, 498.

[2] *Ibid.* [3] See Appendix 51. [4] See Appendix 52.

[5] "At this time the French & Venetian Ambaſsadors invited to the marriage, were not free from punctillios, that made an offer to precede the Prince. This stood upon it, that they were not to sit at the Table without chaires (though the Prince, (the King not present) had but a ſtoole (the Count Palatine, & the Princeſs only for the honour of the day, having chayres) and insisting upon a formality that the carver

Serious embarrassment was caused to the wife of the French Ambassador, because the lady to whose seat she was assigned refused to move down until the French Ambassador threatened to go home.[1]

Sir Noel Caron, Ambassador from the United Provinces, was a "continually entertained guest during the ſolemnitie of the marriage" though of course in a minor place. He was the only member of the diplomatic corps who seems to have made no trouble.[2]

King James was so happy over the success of the masques (for which the masquers had

"imployed the beſt wits and ſkilfulleſt artizens in deuiſing, compoſing and creating their seuerall ſtrange properties, excellent ſpeeches, pleaſant deuiſes and delicate muſique, braue in habite, rich in ornaments, in demeanor courtly, in their going by land and water very ſtately and orderly: all which with their rare inuentions and variable entertainments of time were ſuch as the like was neuer performed in England by any Societie, and was now as gratiouſly accepted off by his Maieſtie the Queene, the Prince, the Bride and Bridegroome"),[3] [that he] "inuited the maſkers wth theyre aſsistants to the number of forty to a ſolemne ſupper in the new marriage roome where they were well treated and much graced wth kiſsing his Ma^{ties} hand and euery one hauing a particular accoglienza from him the K. Q. P. Palatin and Lady Elizabeth ſat at a table by themſelues: and the great

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was not to stand above him but neither of these prevailed in their reasonleſse pretences." *Sir John Finet's Observations* in Lord Chamberlain's office, *Class Miscellaneous* 5, No. 1, page 1 f.

[1] See Appendix 53.

[2] "The Ambaſſador of the United Provinces (Sir Noel Caron) kept himſelfe all this while quiet without queſtion of *prius* or *poſterius*, or thruſting for publique note, being a continually entertained gueſt during the ſolemnitie of the marriage." *Ibid.*

[3] John Stowe, *Annales* (1615), 916.

Lords and Ladies wth the maſkers (aboue fowre-ſcore in all) ſat at another long table."[1]

So England closed one of the most successful advertising campaigns, that the world had ever known. Considered aside from the diplomatic significance, the English were justified in complaining with John Chamberlain that "this extreem cost and riches makes vs all poore,"[2] for even so early an estimate of the masques as that made by Foscarini in January, placed their "cost upwards of one hundred thousand crowns."[3] In addition to the initial expense England spent much for the demonstrations on parade; and private expenses were very heavy. Considered, however, as instruments of international policy for which the masques were used,[4] the cost of their production dwindles perceptibly.

The present chapter has pointed out how, during the years between 1608 and 1614, the masque continued to be used, both in England and on the continent, as an instrument of state. Whether arranged for the specific and avowed purpose of achieving some diplomatic advantage for England, or having a diplomatic significance forced upon it by continental representatives in the English Court, the masque is closely involved with the policies which finally ranged England

[1] John Chamberlain to S^{r} Dudley Carleton, 25 February, 1612–3, in *State Papers Domestic, James I*, lxxii, No. 48.

[2] See, John Chamberlain to M^{ris} Carleton, 18 February, 1612–3, in *State Papers Domestic, James I*, lxxii, No. 30.

[3] See, Antonio Foscarini to the Doge and Senate, 11 January [O. S. 1], 1613, *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xii, 473.

[4] "Yesterday I recalled the question of audience to the Chamberlain, who told me to come to the Palace to-morrow evening to see the Masque and that we would settle about the audience. I am so highly honoured that there is nothing left for me to desire." Antonio Foscarini to the Doge and Senate, 1 March [O. S. 19 Feb.], 1613, *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xii, 500, No. 776.

for the time being on the side of Protestantism. Its connections with the further workings of this policy remains for later treatment.

Shakespeare was especially active as a dramatic writer in the early years of James I. The author hopes eventually, by showing how Shakespeare was employed in the masques and plays at Court, at least to open up a new field for further research. European archives and European collections are just beginning to yield their treasures, and the true literary history of the period of Shakespeare, with all its significance, is not yet wholly written. If each student of the period contributes but a mite of real truth, that real history may eventually be known.

Appendix

Appendix

1

"I wrote to you of the reason of the delay of Taxis' [the Spanish Ambassador] audience; it remaineth to tell how jovially he behaveth himself in the interim. He hath brought great store of Spanish gloves, hawk's hoods, leather for jerkins, and moreover a perfumer; these delicacies he bestoweth amongst our Lords and Ladies, I will not say with a hope to effeminate the one sex, but certainly with a hope to grow gracious with the other, as he already is. The curiosity of our sex drew many Ladies and gentlewomen to gaze at him betwixt his landing place and Oxford his abiding place; which he, desirous to satisfy (I will not say nourish the vice) made his coach stay, and took occasion with petty gifts and courtesies to win soon won affections; who accompanying his manner with Monsieur de Rosy's [M. Rosny, French Ambassador Extraordinary] hold him their far welcome guest." Lady Arabella Stuart to Shrewsbury, 16 September (O. S. 6) 1603, in Edmund Lodge, *Illustrations*, iii, 26.

2

"But I should before have mentioned the Presents which I made in England in the name of his most Christian Majesty [King Henry IV]. That to King James was ſix fine horses richly caparisoned; to which Henry also added another Gift, which ought to be eſteemed still more considerable: this was the person of Saint-Anthony, in all reſpects the beſt and moſt compleat horſeman of the Age. That to the Queen of England was a large and moſt beautiful Venetian Glaſs, the Golden frame of which was covered with diamonds; and that to the Prince of Wales, was a Golden Lance and Helmet, alſo enriched with diamonds; a fencing-master and a vaulter. The Duke of Lenox, the Earl of Northumberland, in a word all thoſe whom I have occaſionally mentioned beſides ſome others, were preſented, ſome with Boxes, and others with Buttons, caps of Feathers, Rings, and chains of Gold and Diamonds: Several Ladies alſo received Rings and Pearl Necklaces. The value of all theſe preſents, including twelve hundred crowns which I left

with Beaumont, to be diſtributed in certain places amounted to ſixty thouſand crowns. Henry's views in making ſo many rich Preſents, a conſiderable part of which were even continued as penſions, to ſome Engliſh Lords were to retain them and attach them more ſtrongly in his interests." Duke of Sulley, *Memoirs*, (printed in Dublin, 1757), 198–9.

"I rendered his Britiſh Majeſty my thanks in a ſecond Letter: and to employ all ſorts of counter-Batteries againſt the Spaniards, who ſet no bounds to their Preſents: we imitated them in this reſpect, and even gave Penſions to all the moſt diſtinguiſhed Perſons in the Court of King James." *Ibid.*, 211. Cf. also *supra*, 4.

3

"On Newyeares night we had a play of Robin goode-fellow and a maſke brought in by a magicien of China. There was a heaven built at the lower end of the hall owt of w^{ch}: owr magicien came downe and after he had made a long ſleepy ſpeech to the K: of the nature of the cuntry from whence he came comparing it w^{th}: owrs for ſtrength and plenty, he ſayde he had broughte in cloudes certain Indian and China Knights to ſee the magnificency of this court. and theruppon a trauers was drawne and the maskers ſeen ſitting in a voulty place w^{th}: theyr torchbearers and other lights w^{ch}: was no vupleaſing ſpectacle. The maſkers were brought in by two boyes and two muſitiens who began w^{th}: a ſong and whilſt that went forward they presented themselves to the k: The first gave the k: an Impreſa in a ſhield w^{th}: a ſonet in a paper to exprese his deuice and preſented a Jewell of 40,000£ valew w^{ch}: the K: is to buy of Peter Van Lore, but that is more than euery man knew and it made a faire ſhew to the French Ambaſsadors eye whoſe master would have bin well pleaſed with ſuch a maſkers present but not at that priſe. The rest in theyr order deliuered theyr ſcutchins w^{th}: letters and there was no great stay at any of them ſaue onely at one who was putt to the interpretaõn of his deuiſe. It was a faire horſe colt in a faire greene field w^{ch}: he meant to be a colt of Buſephalus race and had this virtu of his ſire that none could mount him but one as great at lest as Alexander. The k: made himself merry w^{th}: threatening to ſend this colt to the ſtable and he could not breake looſe till he promised to dance as well as Bankes his horſe. The first meaſure was full of changes and ſeemed confuſed but was well gone through w^{th}: all, and for the ordinary meaſures they tooke owt the Q: &c." Carleton to Chamberlain, 15 Jan., 1603, in *State Papers Domestic, James I*, No. 21.

4

"Sire;

"Et d'autant que le soir auparavant jl m'avoit fait l'honneur de m'inviter au Dimanche à Souper avec luy en privé dans ſa chambre,

et que j'avois differé de luy promettre jusques a ceque je luy eusse fait entendre le sujet qui me tenoit en suspens, je luy dis que m'appercevant bien de l'artifice de quel ques vns de sa cour pousser et gagner de l'ambassadeur d'espagne qui luy avoient conseillé sous couleur de préeminence mal fondeé de me prier pour voir le premier Ballet à fin que plus Justement jls luy reservassent la place en celuy de la Reine qui se devoit danser au vendredy dernier jour des festes de Noël selon la facon d'ang^e et le plus honnorable tout pour la cérémonie qui f'y obserue de tout temps publiquement." Letter from M. Beaumont to the French King, 13 January, 1604, in British Museum, Manuscript Room, *Kings MSS.*, cxxiv, f. 675.

5

"Je luy envoiay le Sieur de Platteville auquel jl [Jas. I] promit en mon nom avec vne extrême franchise ceque depuis lapresdineé jl me confirma à moy même, lorsque luy déclarant comme je ne pouvois souffrir destre exclus par led~ ambassad^r et le grand jnterést que j'avois pour la reputation de vôtre majesté à ne luy laisser prendre aucun avantage Sur moy, jl m'assura qu'il avoit le matin expressm^t pour ce ſujet demandé à la Reine ſi elle êtoit point engagé de promesse avec luy, et que led~ Dame ayant repondu que non mais que ſeulement led~ ambassadeur luy avoit fait tesmoigner vn extrême desir de voir son Ballet, alors il lavoit prieé dene luy point promettre davantage qu'il êtoit aussi malaisé que luy et moy y fussions ensemble comme il jugeoit peut seánt et raisonnable de mén esconduire pour les considérations que je luy avois raporteés neanmoins afin que la Reine eut lemême ſujet de féxcuser de son costé qu'il me conseilloit de l'en requerir par courtoisie a quoy je consenty volontiers mais avec cette condition que de rechef il me donneroit Sa parole D'autant que pour suivant cette chose par droit et non par faveur je ne me pouvois avec mon honneur mettre au hazard en estant refusé par la Reine d'en estre esconduit par luy et perdre mon Rang ainsy il me promit denouveau, et ſur ſa promesse, je priay la Reine laquelle ne voulant ni rejetter ni accorder ma demande me dit assez jndifferemment qu'elle ſ'en remettoit à la volonté du Roy, ceque luy ayant depuis raporté il me réitera encore de rechef Sa parole et m'assura que ſi l'ambassadeur d'Espagne venoit à le prier a près moy détre aud~ Ballet de la Reine qu'il luy laisseroit la liberté de S'ytrouver, Sur quoy je luy dis qu'encore que je ne doutasse point qua l'exemple des autres Ministres d'Espagne qui navoent jamais disputé a Rome la preeminence qu'en fuyant jl sexcuseroit plûtôt que de comparoistre, Que neantmoins ſil êtoit si outre cuidé al'Espagnol que derien pretendre en cette rencontre Sur ma place que je le tuerois à Ses pieds au hazard de ma vie, De Sorte que je partis le dit Jour du Dimanche au soir avec cette assurance Laquelle je garday jusque au mercredy XV^e [N. S.]

ensuivant que le Sieur Cecil m'ayant convié à ſouper en presence des Sieurs Admiral Comte de Suffoc comte de neucher et Millord Henry hannard me declara que le Roy estoit a grand perplexité d'autant qu'il scavoit la promesse qu'il m'avoit faite. Et que d'ailleurs la Reine protestoit dene vouloir danser son Ballet que l'ambassadeur d'Espagne n'y fût présent, auquelle elle S'estoit secrettement engagée de parole." Beaumont to Henry IV, 23 January, 1604 (N. S.) *King's MSS.*, cxxiv, f. 706.

6

"je me suis résolu de ma part continuer avec le Roy et eux la même façon de vivre que j'ay fait jusques j'cy Dimanche dernier L'Ambassadeur d'Espagne fut au Ballet de la Reine selon son desir et souper avec le Roy en sa chambre contre la promesse qu'il m'avoit donne du contraire ceque vous ajoûterez s'il vous plaist a l'histoire jl estoit vetu de rouge et dansa la gaillarde fort gaiement en jeune homme de vingt ans aussy en avoitil ſubit, car la feste ſe faisant pour luy et la Reine portait en sa faveur vne escharpe et vne banderolle rouge ainsy qui morisset vous contera qui y fut present et lequel ſur cette occasion j'ay pris la liberté sous vôtre faveur de gratifier de ce voiage vous ſupliant de la meme renvoyer au plutost et me mandre par luy si lors que le Sieur Dannal sera arrivé je donneray le portrait de la Reine car vû ceque s'est passé, je me résout d'attendre la volonté de sad^t majesté." Letter of Beaumont to Villeroy, 23 Jan., 1604/5 in *King's MSS.*, cxxiv, f. 720.

7

"Et certe je ne doute aucunement de son [James I] jnclination et bonne fay jaçoit que je sois averty de divers endrois que je ne m'y dois pas fier a laenir comme j'ay en occasion de faire cy devant pour l' autorité et puissance qu'ont les Espagnols Sur ses volontez Lesquels ballacent clairement du costé d'Espagne comme vous avez eprouvé enla journée du Ballet de la Reine Laquelle s'est tant declarée et engagée en cette occasion que je dois dovénavant non feulement tenir ses vœux pour suspects, Mais aussy desirer que Son autorité et puissance Soit contrepoisée et refrenée par la prudence de son Mary et de ceux qui vraiement affectionnent sa prosperité." King Henry IV to Beaumont, 2.^e fevrier, 1604, in *King's MSS.*, 124, f. 728.

8

"Me prometant Quand toute l'angleterre et l'ecosse seroient conjurez et bandez pour nous desunir qu'il ne permettra jamais que cela advienne, Monstrez luy aussy que j'ay bien pris le traittement et l'honneur qu'il vous a fait le jour des Rois sans faire paroistre aucun

ressentiment de n'avoir assisté au Ballet ou bien ne luy parlez plus du tout ni aux siens de ce qui s'est passé si vous jugez qu'il soit plus apropos." *Ibid.*, f. 730.

9

"Ce que vous avez a faire est de contenuer de vous tenir le plus près de ce Prince que vous pourrez, et si vous jugez qu'il en soit capable et ne puissiez remettre l'esprit de la Reine luy donner doucement jalousie de son Intelligence avec lez Espagnols et leurs adherans afin de luy ouvrir les yeux et luy faire reconnoistre et apréhender les jnconveniens qui en peuvent arriver à sa personne à sa réputation et a son etat"—*Ibid.*, f. 736—Villeroy to Beaumont, 2 Feb., 1604.

10

"2 maskes were famous th'one acted by noble and principall men on New Yeares daye, th'other by the Queene and 11 honorable Ladyes the ſonday after twelfe daye. The French Ambassador was preſent at the first and the Spanish ſolemply invited come to the second albeit much against the french his will who labored all he coulde to have crossed hym. All the embassadors were feasted at Courte this Xptm̃as first the Spanish and Sauoyan 2 the french and florentine 3 the Poloman and Venetian and all highly pleased but the French who is malecontent to see the Spaniard ſo kyndly vsed, and it is plainly perceaued that he and the florentine and in some sort the Venetian labour all they can vnderhand to diueste vs from makinge Pease w^th^ Spaine and for that purpose the Duke of florenze maketh overture of a marriage for our Prince w^th^ a daughter and a million in dowrye, but if money may suffice it is deemed the Kinge of Spaine will double or treble the million w^th^ a daughter of Sauoy ſo as other good condicons may be concluded for reducing the Hollanders to obedience and ease of the Catholics at home." Letter of Ortellio Renzo, 31 Jan., 1603, O. S., *State Papers Domestic, James I*, vi, No. 37. "alors il me repartit derechef qu'il luy sembloit que au me faire tort je pouvois me trouver au Ballet de la Reine avec l'ambassad^r^ d'Espagne au Rang ni cérémonie estans tour deux comme jnconnus et que jaurois de mon costé celuy de Florence et luy celuy de Savoie." Beaumont to Henry IV, 23 Jan., 1604, [N. S.,] *King's MSS.*, cxxiv, f. 706.

11

"Monsieur:—

Il y à quelques jours qu'il m'envoya dire sur ce que Monsieur L'-ambassadeur d'Espagne l'avoit prie de luy permettre de voir vn ballet qui se faisoit le jour des nôces du S^r^ Philippe Hebbert; que si j'y voulois venir jnconnu, et non comme Ambassadeur, qu'il donneroit ordre que j'y aurois vne bonne place, mais comme je trouvay cette sermonce fort

inciville et extraordinaire, aussi je pensay de m'excuser assez à propos, sur vn fascheux mal, lequel m'a retenu en la chambre depuis quinze jours, et depius je n'ay point esté invité à aucun festin, ainsi que l'-année passee, et ne crois pas nonplus de l'estre pour le superbe Ballet que la Reine s'apreste de faire; dont je ne me soucierois pas plus que de raison en mon particulier, si ce n'estoit que ce changement de façon et de traitement tesmoigne à tout le monde quelque mespris envers sa Majesté." Beaumont to Villeroy, 12 (O. S. 2), Jan. 1605, in *King's MSS.*, cxxvii, f. 116.

12

"Sir Lewis Lewkenor presently went to visit the French Ambassador who having got wind of what the Spaniard was about, received Lewkenor very haughtily. Lewkenor said he had come on behalf of his Majesty to enquire how the Ambassador was, and to say how much his Majesty regretted that the Ambassador would be prevented from attending the Queen's masque. The Ambassador burst into a fury and said he knew what was going on and that it was all the work of seven or eight officials of whom Lewkenor was the chief, whose sole object was to discredit the French and aggrandise the Spanish Ambassador who was so insolent that the Ambassador of France had to put up with some fresh slight every day. He said he was well aware that it was impossible for him to stay long in a country corrupted with Spanish doublons if the honor and reputation of his master were to be cared for; and that the King of France was quite aware that he was held in but little esteem at this Court." Nicolo Molin to the Doge and Senate, 27 Jan. (O. S. 17), 1605, in *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, x, 212, No. 332.

13

"Monsieur

"Je remettray au Sieur D'auval à vous compter particulièrement ce qu'il a vu en cette cour du Ballet de la Reine, de la surprise et indignité qui m' a esté faite sur le sujet dj'celuy, et la façon et les termes dont j'ay vsé pour m'en plaindre, car le discours en seroit trop long et fascheux; aussi que j'estime qu'il vaut mieux que Sa Majesté dissimule par delà, le juste desplaisir qu'elle en doit avoir, que non pas qu'elle le fasse paroistre, d'autant que c'est toujours donner à l'avantage aux Espagnols, et plus de sujet à ceux qui les favorisent icy, de les embrasser, relevant les querelles et se plaignant des jnjures qu'ils nous font neantmoins parcequ'il est necessaire que vous soyés informé de tout. J'ay chargé led~ Sieur D'auval de le vous rapporter de point en point, en quoy je m'assure que vous admirerez l'impudence et l'imprudence et la mauvaise volonté tout ensemble des Ministres de ce Prince, car certes il y a grand sujet d'admiration, et prévois que s'ils continuent à se

montrer si partiaux, et à rendre si peu de respect aux ambassadeurs de France, qu'il sera difficile que sa Majesté les y puisse retenir avec son honneur, ny qu'eux, aussi ayans du courage, y demeurent qu'avec beaucoup de fascherie et de malcontentement. Ce n'est pas du tout ce qui me fait désirer de me retirer, et qui m a donné occasion de demander mon congé à sa Majté car connoissant l'humeur et la conduite de cette nation, il me seroit plus facile de m'y accomoder qu' à tout autre qui y sera moins accoutumé, mais il faut que je vous confesse ingénuement qu'outre le desgoût, et la melancholie que j'ay vus les affaires changer en ce Royaume, que j'ay ressent y tant de nouvelles incommodités depuis vn mois en ma santé, et reconnu tant de désordres et de necessité en mes affaires domestiqes, que je suis contraint pour éviter le danger et la ruine de tous deux de souhaiter et presser mon retour en France. C'est pourquoy je vous supplie très humblement en tant que vous affectionnéz mon bien et ma conservation d'avoir agréeable cette resolution que j'ay prise conforme à l'avis que le sieur D'auval m'en a rapporté de vostre part et de me tant favoriser, que de m'aider envers sa Majesté à obtenir mon congé." Letter from Beaumont to Villeroy, Janvier, 1603 (no day of month given) in *King's MSS.*, cxxvii, f. 126.

14

"Monsieur . . .

Jl [Duc de Lenox] fut convié à se trouver au Ballet de la Reine qui fut dansé dimanche dernier au Louvre, ou j'entens que la presse fut si grande que l'on y eût peu de plaisir. Le Nonce et les autres ambassadeurs y estoient en vn eschaftant à part, et led~ Duc en vn autre accompagné des seigneurs et Gentilshommes Anglois et Escossois qui sont avec luy. Sa Majesté fait estat de luy faire paroistre du ressentiment du changement de traitement que vous recevez par de là despuis que L'Ambassadeur d'Espagne y est arrivé il est vray que si led~ Duc de Lenox n'obtient ce qu'il poursuit par ses parents, il en sera si mal content, que je crois que difficilement fairail profit de ce que sa Majesté luy commettra. Or pourvuque le Roy d'Angleterre continue à favoriser Messieurs des Estats et à n'observer ce qu'il à promis aux espagnols nous nous abstiendrons de nous plaindre et formaliser de vostre rang et preseance." Monsieur de Villeroy to Beaumont du vingt-sixiesme janvier (1605) in *King's MSS.*, cxxvii, f. 143.

"Led~ Duc de Lenox à voula excuser cequi s'est passé sur l'occasion du Ballet de lad~ Reine sur les susd~ causes particulières, dequoy j'ay fait contenance me contenter, pour n'avoir sujet d'en faire autre ressentiment; joint que j'ay opinion qu'ils ne laisseront pour cela de reparer et amender cette faute, a la premiere feste qu'ils feront, mais quand ils en vseroient autrement, nous ne devons pour cela nous en esmouvoir

d'avantage car nostre but doit tendre à des fuis plus solides et importantes, soyés donc en patience de ce qui succedera des esperances qu'ils ont conçües de la paix d'Espagne. Et de leur gouvernem^t naturel, et évitons d'entrer en aucune altération avec eux, principalement pour choses légères." Beaumont to King Henry IV, 19 Feb., 1605, in *King's MSS.*, cxxiv, f. 176.

15

"The Question of the marriage of the Prince of Wales with the Infanta is not only kept on the tapis but is publicly discussed, though the Spanish Ambassador has not opened the subject to his Majesty yet. I am told that a few days ago a number of Privy Councillors were in the Queen's apartments, and either by accident or on purpose the subject was touched on. Almost all of them and the Queen foremost, showed themselves favourable to this match; much more so than to the French match. They say that the daughters of France can bring no dower but a little money, and that by the Salic law, which is most rigidly observed in that kingdom, they cannot inherit any territory; whereas the daughters of Spain may not only bring territory in dower but may even succeed to the throne. This has caused great suspicion in the mind of the French Ambassador. This jealousy is increased by the French Ambassador's inability to make progress with two negotiations; one, the renewal of the ancient alliance between France and Scotland; the other, to procure invitations to public ceremonies with precedence over the Spanish Ambassador, and he bases his claim on the practice at Rome and Venice. He has obtained nothing yet." Nicolo Molin, Venetian Ambassador in England to the Doge and Senate, 13 (O. S. 3) Jan., 1605, in *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, x, 208, No. 325.

16

"The conduct of the French Ambassador is much criticised, not only on the ground of what I have already reported, but because he would not wait for the letters the Queen was writing to France. He insisted on crossing on Monday evening, though the weather was bad, and the French ship, which he was expecting, had not arrived. He embarked three hours before the King's orders to put off his departure reached Dover, and his passage was both troublesome and dangerous. They argue from this that the Ambassador, if he had not a share in the plot, at least had some knowledge of it; and there is no doubt but that these suspicions, though resting upon very weak evidence, may still produce a bad effect, especially if fomented, as they will be, by the Spanish, who never lose an opportunity to sow suspicions and differences between the English and the Crown of France." Nicolo Molin to the Doge and Senate, 21 Nov., 1605, in *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, x, No. 445.

17

"Sr . . .

"I haue seen both the mask on Sunday and the barriers on Munday night. The bridegroom carried himſelf as grauely and gracefully as if he were of his fathers age. He had greater guiftes given him then my lord Montgomery had, his plate being valued at 3000£ and his jewels, mony a[nd] other guifts at 1600£. more. But to returne to the maske; both Inigo, Ben, and the actors men and women did their partes wth great comendation. The conceits or soule of the mask was Hymen bringing in a bride and Juno pronubas priest a bridegroom, proclaiming thoſe two should be sacrificed to Nutpial vnion, and here the poet made an apostrophe to the vnion of the kingdoms. But before the sacrifice could be perform[ed] Ben Jonson turned the globe of the e[arth] standing beh[ind] the altar, and wthin the concaue sate the 8 men-masker[s] representing the 4 humours and the fower affections wh[ch] leapt forth to disturb the sacrifice to vnion; but amidst their fur[y] R[eason] that ſate aboue them all, crowned wth [burning tapers, came down and silenced them. These eight] together wth Reason their moderatresse mounted aboue their heades, sate somewhat like the ladies in the scallop shell the last year. Aboue the globe of erth houered a middle region of cloudes in the center wherof stood a grand confort of musicians, and vpo~ the cantons or hornes sate the ladies 4 at one corner, and 4 at another, who descended upon the stage, not after the state downright perpendicular fashion, like a bucket into a well; but came gently sloping down. Theſe eight, after the sacrifice was ended, represented the 8 nuptial powers of Juno pronuba who came downe to confirme the vnion. The men were clad in crimzon, and the weomen in white. They had euery one a white plume of the richest herons fethers, and were so rich in jewels vpo~ their heades as was most glorious. I think the[y] hired and borrowed all the principal jewels and ropes of perle both in Court an[d] citty. The Spanish ambassador seemed but poore to the meanest of them. They danced all variety of dances, both seuerally and promiscue; and then the woeme~ took in men as namely the Prince (who danced wth as great perfectio~ and as setled a Maty as could be deuiſed) the Spanish Ambassador, the Archdukes Ambassador, the Duke, etc., and the men gleaned out the Queen, the bride, and the greatest of the ladies." Letter from J. O. Pory to Sr. Rob't Cotton, Tuesday, Jan. 7, 1605[6], in *Cotton MSS., Julius C*, iii, 301. Printed but considerably changed in Godfrey Goodman, *Court of King James the First* (1839), ii, 124.

18

"His most christian Majesty has, I hear, written an autograph letter to the King congratulating him on his escape. At the close he says that

he understands that rumors are flying about to the effect that his Ambassador (de Beaumont), who has just left England, may have knowledge of the plot. He says he cannot believe that any minister of his could ever be so iniquitous and perverted as to have a hand in such wickedness. No Prince is safe against traitors. He gave his word of honour that should he at any time discover the very smallest indication that his Ambassador had had the tiniest part in this plot, he would make such an example of him as that they should clearly see how he hated and abominated all such actions and their authors. But for all this the suspicion of the Ambassador does not diminish, nay, it grows daily; and especially on account of news arrived from France that the moment the Ambassador reached Calais, that was on Tuesday (his most christian Majesty) with a letter, in which he said, "To-day a crushing blow against the King, his house, and all the nobility of England is to be delivered, but the issue is still uncertain." If that were true it would undoubtedly follow that he must have had knowledge of the plot; but he is in such disgrace in the court, the ministers, and even with the royal family that they will lend an ear to any charge against him." Nicolo Molin, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate, 22 Dec. (12 O. S.), 1605, as edited by Horatio F. Brown in *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, x, 304–5, No. 457.

19

"After mid-day the English Ambassador sent to ask audience that evening or next morning through the mouth of a gentleman of his suite.

"The Doge replied that the Senate was sitting that afternoon, and so he did not see how the audience could be granted that day unless it was a matter of great urgency; . . . half an hour after the Ambassador himself was announced at the door of the Cabinet. . . . 'He [the messenger] told me,' continued the [English] Ambassador that if the question were not urgent, I was begged to defer my audience till the morning. I holding that the question was not only urgent, but superlatively so, have come here at once under the impulse of that zeal and devotion which I bear to the Republic and which teaches me that I ought to come to the Cabinet not only at this hour, but at every hour, and not only to knock at the doors, but to burst them open in order to get in. . . .'

"The Ambassador then communicated the news that the King of Spain was resolved to lend armed aid to the Pope unless an accord were reached with Venice. . . ." Copy from Collegio Secreta Esposizioni Roma, dated Jan. 15 (O. S. 5) 1607, Venetian Archives, by Horatio F. Brown in *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, x, 454, No. 661.

See also *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, x, *passim*.

20

"Les cérémonies des Fêtes de Noël ſont achevées ſe ſont fermeés par le mariage du ſieur Heydt qui fut fait Mardi: la où la Reine, ni en un bal qui donnât le ſoir & qui a été la ſeule choſe de remarque qui ſe ſoit faite, ne ſe voulut point trouver, ayant finit dêtre malade, bien que dès le lendemain elle fût debout. Je n'en ſçais point encore la cauſe, mais je fuis après pour la decouvrir. Pas un des Ambassadeurs n'y ont été conviés Dieu Merci; ſeulement en ai-je eu vne belle, paire de gants de la part du marie, pour la livreé des noces, qui ne m'a pas coute ſi cher comme une pareille à l'ambaſſadeur d'Eſpagne, car il a donné une bague de cinq mille ecus en place: en quoi continue la liberalite de ſon mâitre par-decà, que j'y trouve neanmoins assez mal employeé." Letter from Boderie to Puisieux, 18 Jan., 1607 (N. S.) in de la Boderie, *Ambassades*, ii, 30–1.

See also Thomas Carlyle, *Historical Sketches* (1898), 50.

21

"His h. commanded me further to advertise your lo. that where he had by my former bre~ sent your lo. a warrant for the maske wth a blanck but limited the same to a thousand pounds, he was pleased if it were not already filled your lo. wth opinion of the rest of the lords mentioned in the warrant might enlarge it to some reaſonable encrease as you should thinke meet. I moued his Mats thereuppon that if it pleased him there might be a new warrant made wthout limitation of a somme but left to such bylz as by your Ils should be signed and allowed His Mats seamed to like it well and if it please your lo. to think it a fitt way it may be done. . . . This 27 Nov., 1607 Your lo. most humbly to coñand "Thos: Lake."

In *State Papers Domestic James I*, xxxvii, 96.

22

"Monsieur,

"Ce que je répons à M. de Puiſieux ſatiſfera, s'il vous plaît, à ce qu'il vous a plu m'écrire par la vôtre du 11 du paſſé, puiſqu'auſſi bien votre lettre & la ſienne ne touchent qu'une même choſe. Je vous dirai par celle-ci que M. le Duc de Lenox m'a fait le faveur de venir diner céans, pour m'avertir que la Reine de la Grande Bretagne étant avant hier allée au devant du Roy ſon mari, elle lui avoit dit que l'Ambaſſadeur d'Eſpagne l'avoit prieé qu'il vît ſon bal, & qu'elle lui avoit promis; de quoi le Roi étoit demeuré un peu étonné, & lui avoit répondu ſeulement: mais que dira l'Ambaſſadeur de France, vn même qu'an dernier que vous fîtes, l'autre Ambaſſadeur d'Eſpagne s'y trouva, & celui de France ne s'y trouva point. Que pour cela elle ne s'étoit point ſentie rebutée, & faiſoit toujours état que ledit, ambaſſadeur y aſſiſteroit, de

quoi il avoit eſtimé devoir m'avertir, & pour le reſpect qu'il a au Roi, & pour l'amitié qu'il me porte. Je l'ai remercié de ce bon office; & jugeant qu'il alloit en cela quelque cas de la dignité de ſa Majesté, òu il ne feroit point mauvais de remédier, s'il etoit poſſible, j'y ajoutai, que je ne pouvois me perſuader que quand le Roi de la Grande Bretagne auroit bien penſé à ce qui ſe pouvoit enſuivre de choſe de ſi peu de moment en apparence, il ſe laiſſât ſi facilement emporter à la volonté de la Reine; que ce bal étoit une action publique, òu l'Ambaſſadeur d'Eſpagne ne pouvoit être favoriſé plus que celui de France, ſans un manifeſte temoignage, de mauvaiſe affection envers ſa majeſté; que je ſçavois combien ce qui s'étoit passé au fait du Roi de Dannemarck, lorſqu'il étoit ici, l'avoit offenſé; que ceci l'offenſeroit ſans compariſon davantage, & que quelque couleur qu'on eſſayât d'y donner pour faire croire que ceci ne vînt du Roi, mais de la Reine, n'eblouiroient jamais ceux qui auroient bonne vue joint que cela ne ſe ſçauroit dire ſans faire un manifeſte tort audit Roi, qui doit etre le maître en ſa maiſon: que pluſieurs étoient en peine de cequi pouvoit mouvoir leurs Majestés à faire ce bal; mais que chacun auroit grandement occaſion de croire que ç'auroit été ſeulement pour faire cette défaveur à mon maître, & poſſible pour venger par ce moyen le paſſage du Comte de Tyrone par ſon Royaume: que ledit Roi & meſſieurs de ſon conſeil étoient bons & ſages; & que je ne pouvois croire que quand ils auroient bien penſé à tout ceci & à tout ce qui s'en pourroit dire aux étrangers, ils conſentiſſent aiſement de fournir de matèire à tant de diſcours; que pour moi je n'étois pas délibéré de m'én plaindre pour redoublir l'injure qu'en recevroit le Roi mon maître, ſi l'on venoit àp aſſer outre après ce que j'en aurois dit; mais que tous ceux qui aimeroient l'union de leurs Majestés & deſireroient de confirmer leur bonne intelligence étoient obligés de s'en remuer & faire entendre combien une action que la Reine eſtimoit peut-être légere & indifférente, pouvoit attirer de conſequence. Il m'a dit que ce n'etoit pas encore choſe bien réſolue & qu'aujours hui il verroit les Comts de Saliſbury & de Dombar pour eſſayer par leur moyen de rompre ce coup. Je crois qu'il a été envoyé pour me ſouder, & pour voir de quelle façon je le prendrois, afin de s'y gouverner par après entr'eux ſelon cela. Et comme en vérité je n'eſtime pas que choſe ſemblable ſe puiſſe faire ſans que le Roi y ſoit offenſé, j'ai eſtimé auſſi lui en devoir parler de cette ſorte; ſur quoi il m'a promis me faire ſçavoir ce qu'il en aura remporté de ces Meſſieurs. Après cela je ne vois point que je m'en doive remuer davantage, ſi ce n'est poſſible d'en dire un mot au comte de Saliſbury, de peur qu'il ne penſe que je le mépriſe, mais ſi davantage ſa Majeſté trouve bon que je paſſe à d'autres remontrances & d'autres proteſtations envers cedit Roi, ou envers les ſiens, je vous ſupplie très-humblement, Monſieur, me le faire ſçavoir par Courier exprès; car comme ce bal ne ſe doit danſer que le jour de leurs

Rois, qui fera le 16 à notre maniere de compter, ledit courier aura encore tout loiſir de venir. C'eſt une bagatelle, & qui mendiée par l'Ambaſſadeur d'Eſpagne, doit plutôt tourner à mépris qu'autrement. Mais comme il ne ſe ſçaura pas partout qu'il l'ait mendiée, & qu'on pourroit poſſible dire que je ne m'y fuis porté aſſez vertement, je vous prie très-preſſamment me tant obliger que je ne faille point; car ſelon que vous me commanderez, ne doutez point que je ne faſſe. Sans doute que c'eſt une partie faite par la Reine, ou ſi ce Roi n'eſt retenu de la crainte d'offenſer le nôtre, il eſt ſi bon qu'il ſe laiſſera porter; car il n'eſt pas croyable, du pouvoir qu'elle prend tous les jours ſur lui, & des artifices qu'elle y apporte. Mais ſi ne puis-je croire que quand ledit Duc de Lenox aura repreſenté ce que je lui en ai dit, ce Roi & les ſiens n'y penſent plus d'une fois . . .

De Londres, le 1 Janvier, 1608."

La Boderie, *Ambassades*, iii, 8–13.

23

"Monsieur,

Votre lettre du 29 du paſſé me fut rendue dès le du prèſent; mais comme l'affaire de ce certain ballet, dont j'ecrivis dernierement, s'eſt toujours agitée depuis, ſans que j'y aye pu voir rien d'aſſuré juſques à hier, j'ai différé pour cela à vous y faire plutôt réponſe. Je diſois par mes précédentes, comme ſur l'avis que m'avoit donné le Duc de Lenox de la promeſſe faite par cette Reine à l'Ambaſſadeur d'Eſpagne de le faire intervenir à ſon ballet, je lui avois remontré combien cela pouvoit offenſer le Roi mon maître, ſi je n'y etois convié auſſi; & comme ayant bien reçu les raiſons que je lui en avois dites, il s'étoit chargé de les repreſenter aux comtes de Saliſbury & le Dombar, & me faire ſçavoir ce que s'y réſoudroit. De-là à trois jours, il me manda que le Roi de la Grande Bretagne étoit infiniment marri de la facilité dont la Reine ſa femmes 'étoit laiſſé engager envers ledit Ambaſſadeur, & avoit fort bien pris les raiſons qu'il n'y avoit plus de remède, & qu'au lieu, ledit Roi me vouloit donner à diner. Tout ſur l'heure je dis à celui qui m'enporta la parole, que tant s'en faut que ce fût pour guerir le mal, c'étoit pour l'accroître davantage. qu'il n'y avoit point de proportion entre un diner que me donneroit le Roi & l'honneur que recevroit ledit Ambaſſadeur par l'intervention audit ballet; que l'un étoit une action privée, & l'autre un ſpectacle & une ſolennitén publique; que ſi je dinois avec le Roi, l'autre y ſouperoit, & de plus ſervit vn par dix mille perſonnes ſeoir auprès dudit Roi, & recevoir la faveur de voir danſer la Reine & aſſiſter a la collation qui ſe fait apres; & comme tous ces ſpectateurs ſeroient les juges de cette action, & ceux qui la publieroient par toute la chrétienté, il n'y en auroit pas peut-être la centieme partie qui ſçuſſent que j'euſſe diné avec le Roi, & entre ceux qui le ſçauroient, pas un ſeul qui n'eût occaſion de me tenir pour un ignorant & mauvais ſerviteur,

ſi par ma préſence je montrois conſentir au préjudice que recevroit ſa Majeſte en cette occaſion: que partant je le priois ſupplier ledit ſieur Duc de ma part de rompre le coup dudit diné, parce qu'en effet j'étois tres-réſolu de la refuſer. Le lendemain ledit Duc me renvoya à celui même (c'étoit le ſieur de Kier) me dira qu'il me-priait de bien penſer au refus que je voulois faire; que ledit Roi croyoit faire plus pour moi en m'appellant en ſon feſtin, qu'il ne feroit pour l'Ambaſſadeur d'Eſpagne; & qu'il me prioit m'accomoder à cet expédient. Je lui fis répenſe y avoir fort bien penſé; que j'étois fort marri de ne pouvoir recevoir l'honneur que ſa Majeſtè m'offrait; qu'en un autre temps je l'euſſe eſtimé auſſi grand, & l'euſſe autant fait valoir, comme en cette occaſion j'étois contraint de le refuſer; que ſi ſa Majeſté trouvoit que j'euſſe occaſion de me douloir de la promeſſe faite à l'Ambaſſadeur d'Eſpagne, il n'y avoit que deux expedients pour me contenter, l'un de m'appeller audit ballet auſſi bien que lui, & me donner le lieu qui m'appartient, ou me le laiſſer prendre, comme je ſçaurois fort bien faire, ou bien n'y admettre ledit Ambaſſadeur ni moi; qu'encore qu'en ce dernier je reçuſſe du préjudice, pour me voir ôter une poſſeſſion en laquelle ſont tous les Miniſtres du Roi mon maître par les autres Cours de le Chrétienté non intereſſées; ſi m'en accommoderois—je plus volontiers, que de troubler le plaiſir de S. M.

Cette réponſe faite, & la procédure que j'avois tenue juſques-la louée par leſdits Comtes de Saliſbury & de Dombar & beaucoup d'autres du Conſeil, le lendemain ledit Comte de Saliſbury ne laiſſa point de m'envoyer ſon Secretaire pour me prier de m'accomoder à l'expédient dudit feſtin; me diſant que le Roi étoit extremement marri de la légereté de la Reine, mais qu'elle prenait ceci ſi haut, que pas un d'eux, ni le Roi même ne lui en oſoient parler; que chacun, ſçavoit aſſez combien elle étoit Eſpagnole, & le pouvoir quelle avoit ſur ſon mari; & que cette faveur qu'elle vouloit faire à l'Ambaſſadeur d'Eſpagne ſeroit réputée d'un chacun venir d'elle, mais le dîner que le Roi me donneroit, procéderoit de lui, & pour ni empêcher d'être préjudicié en ce qu'elle feroit: que ſans cela S. M. avoit auſſi bien réſolu de me banqueter durant ces fêtes, & que je ne mépriſaſſe point l'honneur qu'elle me vouloit faire. Je lui fis les mêmes reponſes que j'avois faites à du Kier, mais encore plus reſſenties; & j'y ajoutai que puiſqu'il m'avouoit que la Reine étoit Eſpagnole, & qu'elle avoit un ſi grand pouvoir ſur ſon mari, le Roi mon maître auroit peu d'occaſion de bien eſpéroit dorénavant de ce côté-ci ains ſeroit, à mon opinion, conſeillé de ſe gouverner ci-après avec eux comme il fait avec ceux de la Maiſon d'Autriche, leur ôter ce moyen de lui faire ces petits déplaiſirs en la perſonne de ſes Ambaſſadeurs, & laiſſer auprès d'eux ſeulement un Secretaire: que j'étois marri de donner ce mécontentement au Roi ſon maître; mais que ce n'étoit pas moi qui en avois fait naître la cauſe. qu' outre ce qui ſe paſſa lorſque

le Roi de Dennemarck étoit ici il s'etoit encore paſſe du depuis tout plein de petites choſes dont j'aurois bien pu me formaliſer, & que toutefois, pour ne me montrer hargneux ni pointilleux, j'avois différé de faire; que de mes yeux j'avois vu le Caroſſe du grand Chambellan entrer chez l'Ambaſſadeur d'Eſpagne, lorſque le dernier Tournoi se fit, & mes gens l'avoient vu en deſcendre chez le gendre du grand Chambellan & premier maître d'Hotel de la maiſon du Roi, où la femme dudit Chambellan & ſes filles l'attendoient pour lui faire voir ledit Tournoi; que je ne m'en étois point plaint, ne trouvant du tout étrange qu'il fût ſervi pour ſon argent, comme je ne m'etois plaint auſſi de ce que je n'avois une ſeule fois envoyé demander audience du Roi ou de la Reine aux deux grands Chambellans, que toujours ils n'euſſent dit que celui d'Eſpagne y avoit envoyé deja, afin qu'il eût toujours l'avantage d'y aller de premier: que ces choſes-la ſe pouvoient diſſimuler comme auſſi je les avois diſſimulées; mais que l'action dont il s'aggiſſoit étoit trop publique pour la laiſſer paſſer de cette sorte: que je ne pouvois pas contraindre ledit Roi d'en uſer autrement que comme il voudroit; mais qu'il ne me pourrait pas empêcher auſſi de remarquer ce qui s'y feroit, & le repréſenter fort fidèlement à mon maître qu'il confidérât, s'il lui plaît, en quelle conjoncture ceci ſe fait; que l'on eſt maintenant en Holland ſur la concluſion d'une Legue, ou l'offenſe qui ſe fera à S. M. en cette occaſion, apportera peu de réputation & peu de vigueur; que d'une bagatelle & d'un plaiſir de ſi peu d'importance, ledit Roi n'en fit pas un point d'etat, & ne fit paroître que la crainte qu'il a d'irriter les Eſpagnols, fut plus forte en ſon endroit, que l'amité qu'il doit à mon maître.

Je le renvoyai avec cela; & au ſortir il dit lui-meme à mon Secrétaire, que j'avois raiſon, & que M. le Comte de Saliſbury le jugeoit ainſi. Sur ſon rapport le conſeil s'aſſembla, où la plupart inclinoient à contremander ledit Ambaſſadeur. Mais la Reine le ſçachant fit la furieuſe plus que devant, & envoya dit que c'étoit à elle à qui l'on s'adreſſoit; qu'ils fiſſent ce qu'ils voudroient, mais que plutôt elle ne danſeroit point, ſi elle ne maintenoit audit Ambaſſadeur ce qu'elle lui avoit promis. Sur cela ils prient le Duc de Lenox de me venir lui-même trouver, pour m'engager derechef d'accepter le tempérament de ce feſtin, puiſqu'ils ne voyoient autre moyen de me ſatiſfaire; que ce feſtin ſe feroit le plus publiquement qu'il ſeriot poſſible, où l'Ambaſſadeur de Veniſe ſeroit convie avec moi, & que celui d'Eſpagne ne ſouperoit point avec Roi, mais viendroit ſeulement après ſouper lui, & celui de Flandre pour voir le bal. Je lui répondis de même qu'aux autres; y ajoutant ſeulement que bien qu'il ne ſoupat, il auroit la collation, qui étoit choſe d'autant de faveur que je ſçavois que pareil traitement avoit été fait à M. de Beaumont, comme on me vouloit faire, lequel n'avoit été loué de l'avoir accepté; que lors la principale excuſe que l'on y prit, étoit la haine que la

Reine lui portoit; que cela ceſſoit maintenant, parce que non ſeulement je ſçavois ne lui en avoir donné d'occaſion, mais avoir trop de preuves du contraire par les démonſtrations qu'il lui avoit plu encore me faire depuis huit jours; que ceci regarderoit deſormais purement & ſimplement le Roi mon maitre & que je ſuppliois tres-humblement leurs Majeſtés y penſer plus d'une fois: que je n'eſtimois point qu'il pût y avoir aucune proportion entre ce feſtin & le bal; mais que néanmoins, pour ôter l'opinion que je fuſſe ſeul qui formaſſe cette difficulté, puiſque ledit Ambaſſadeur de Veniſe étoit en meme cauſe que moi, je le priois me donner une heure de temps pour en aller conférer avec lui, & que ſi ledit Ambaſſadeur jugeoit de pouvoir s'accommoder de cet expédient, poſſible m'y accommoderois-je; & que dans le ſoir je lui en rendrois réponſe. De ce pas j'allai trouver ledit Ambaſſadeur a qui ayant propoſé le fait, & repréſenté tout ce qui s'étoit paſſé ſur ici lui de part & d'autre, il loua la procédure que j'y avois tenue, & reconnut qu'à la verité nous recevrions un extrême déſavantage, & lui & moi, par les expédients qui ſe propoſoient; que pour lui il n'étoit non plus resolu d'accepter le feſtin que je pouvois être, & qu'il valoit beaucoup mieux ſouffrir que l'Ambaſſadeur d'Eſpagne ſe trouvât ſeul audit ballet, où la plupart des ſpêctateurs ſçauroient qu'il n'auroit, été convié que par la Reine & par ſon importunité, que d'accepter une condition ſi inégale: que nous ne laiſſerions à la vérité d'y être offenſés, mais que le refus du feſtin nous ſeroit une proteſtation à l'encontre; & pour le moins que nous n'y mettrions rien qui pût être préjudiciable à la dignité de nos maîtres, en n'y conſentant point.

"Je fis incontinent ſçavoir cette réponſe au Duc de Lenox, ſur laquelle derechef le Conſeil fut appellé. Il fut aſſemblé juſqu'à onze heures du ſoir; & finalement par les menaces & menées de la Reine, il fut reſolu que puiſque nous ne voulions l'Ambaſſadeur de Veniſe ni moi nous trouver audit feſtin, nous n'y ſerions point conviés; mais que l'on en ſeroit excuſe à nos maîtres, & qu'on leur repréſenteroit les offres qu'on nous avoit faites; & que cependant la Reine étant de cette ſorte engagée à l'Ambaſſadeur d'Eſpagne, ce qu'elle lui avoit promis lui ſeroit maintenu: de force qu'il danſera, & nous ne mangerons point, encore que nous aurions en meilleure grace à mon avis, à l'un qu'il n'aura à l'autre.

"La Reine ſe prend maintenant au Duc de Lenox du refus que j'ai fait d'être de leur feſtin, & jura hier deux bons cordieux qu'elle l'en feroit repentir; diſant que je les bravois, & m'oppoſois à la volonté, & que ce ne pouvoit être que par ſon conſeil: en quoi je trouve qu'elle m'offenſe plus qu'en tout le reſte; car auſſi le bon Duc n'at-il nulle coulpe de ce côté-la.

"J'ai été extrêmement marri de cette rencontre, & encore plus qu'elle ſoit ſur venue en cette ſaiſon, où je vous de part & d'autre aſſez de ſujets

de mécontentemens ſans y ajouter encore celui ci. Mais ce n'eſt moi qui l'ai fait naître; & je me ſerois réputé toute ma vie tres-malheureux, ſi je m'etois laiſſé fléchir à quelque choſe d'indigne & de préjudiciable à la réputation de S. M. Elle ne laiſſe de recevoir injure, ou pour le moins un grand témoignage de la mauvaiſe affection de cette Princeſſe, & de la foibleſſe de ſon mari en ce que ſe fait. Mais ſi j'avois l'honneur d'en être cru, ils n'auraient d'ici en avant non plus moyen de lui en faire de ſemblables, comme ils ne l'ont de lui en faire d'autres: car tant qu'ils ne lui donneroient le lieu qui lui appartient, ils n'auroient qu'un Secrétaire auprès d'eux; & ſi S. M. ſe réſolvoit une fois d'en venir-là, jamais gens neſe trouveroient ſi étonnés. Ils ſont foibles & gloireux à toute outrance; & par la procédure qu'ils tiennent avec l'Eſpagne, il eſt facile à reconnoître ſont ſans comparaiſon plus capables de crainte que de reconnoiſſance ou d'amitié.

"Ils n'ont encore, à mon opinion, aucun vent de leur Ambaſſadeur ſur la ſatiſfaction qu'on lui a donneé de leurs prétendues dettes, au moins ne m'en ont-ils rien fait paroitre en cette occaſion, & difficilement s'en ſeroient-ils paſſés, s'ils l'avoient ſçu. S'ils m'en parlent, ce que je ne crois pas à cette heur, je ſçaurai que leur répondre. . . .

"De Londres, le 14 Janvier, 1608."

Lettre de M. de la Boderie M. de Puisieux, in de la Boderie, *Ambassades*, iii, 13–25.

24

"Le Roi eſt à bon droit tres-mal contente du bon traitement que l'on fait par dela à l'ambaſſadeur d'Eſpagne, par deſſus & au préjudice de celui qui eſt dû autrement en votre perſonne. Il a trouvé bon ce que vous en avez dit au Duc de Lenox; & ſi ſur cela ils n'ont changé de Conſeil, il ne veut pasque vous en temoigniez autre reſentiment, ni même que vous vous en plaigniez. Il ſuffira qu'ils ſcachent que S. M. n'en eſt contente, ni vous auſſi, ſans faire autre bruit. Ils veulent nous engager en la diſpute d'une compétence avec l'Eſpagne, contre toute afin deſe faire courtiſer davantage." Villeroy to Boderie, 20 Jan., 1608, in de la Boderie, *Ambassades*, iii, 33–4.

25

"Monſieur de la Boderie, l'Ambaſſadeur de mon frére Roi de la Grande Bretagne a deſiré être ouï en mon Conſeil ſur le ſu et des dettes qu'il prétend lui être dûes par moi, . . .

"Cependant je vous dirai m'avoir été repréſenté ce que vous appréhendez qu'ils pretendent faire en votre endroit au ballet qui ſe prépare; de quoi j'eſtime que vous devez faire démonſtration que j'aurai occaſion juſte d'être offenſé, ſans toutefois vous en remuer davantage, ni en faire plus grand bruit, qui eſt peut-être ce qu'ils déſirent. Il ſuffira

qu'ils connoiſſent que vous le remarquiez; & s'ils veulent paſſer outre, le mépriſer plutôt que d'entrer en plus ouvert reſſentiment. Je prie Dieu Monſieur de la Boderie, qu'il vous ait en ſa ſainte garde. Ecrit à Paris le 20 Janvier, 1608. Signé Henri, & plus bas de Neufville." De la Boderie, *Ambassades*, iii, 31–3.

26

"Monſieur:.

"Ce Ballet dont vous n'avez deja que trop ouï parler a été ce qui a entièrement occupé le Bureau en cette Cour. & devant & depuis mes précédences. M. du Hollier y ayant aſſiſté, & vu & entendu ſans doute plus que moi ce qui s'y eſt fait, & ce qui s'en eſt dit de tous côtés, je me remettrai à lui à vous en entretenir. Tant y a que non obſtant toutes mes bonnes raiſons, l'ambaſſadeur d'Eſpagne y a comparu, & un peu defrayé la compagnie. Celui de Veniſe y a été auſſi, invité ſeulement du matin, pour, comme j'eſtime, ne donner loiſir à celui de Flandre de crier à l'éncontre. La femme de ce dernier y aſſiſta auſſi; mais elle fut ſi mal vue & ſi mal reçue, qu'elle voudroit en avoir été à cent lieues loin. On l'avoit convieé de ſouper avec la Princeſſe; elle ſoupa avec ſa Gouvernante, & fut placeé pour voir le ballet à plus de dix pas de ladite Princeſſe, & ſans une ſeule Dame auprès d'elle qui lui fît compagnie. La Reine ni au partir de là, ni durant le ballet ni à la collation, ne lui dit pas une parole, encore qu'elle fût aſſez près d'elle, ce qui fut remarque: ni même à l'Ambaſſadeur d'Eſpagne, ayant en ſa préſence & tout joignant lui, du long de ladite collation, continuellement entretenu l'Ambaſſadeur de Veniſe. Je ne ſçais ſi c'eſt pour cela, ou pour autre choſe, que ledit Ambaſſadeur d'Eſpagne a dit depuis, qu'il voudrait lui en avoir coûté mille écus, & n'y avoir point été. On envoya deux jours devant ſçavoir de moi, ſi ma femme y étant conviée de la part de la Reine, elle s'y trouverait. Je fis reponſe qu'elle étoit trop ſage pour pouvoir recevoir faveur en la défaveur qui m'étoit faite, & trop courageuſe pour vouloir ſervir de luſtre à l'Ambaſſadeur d'Eſpagne: que ſi on la voyoit là auprès de lui, moi n'y étant point, cela ne ſerviroit que pour faire diſcourir encore le monde, & qu'il valoit mieux que l'on ne s'y ſouvînt du tout point de nous. Chacun a loué par-decà la façon que j'y ai tenue encore que l'on ſe ſoit un peu piqué de mes refus. Dieu veuille que par dela c'en ſoit de meme. Tout y a qu'ils en ſont réduits aux excuſes; & par aventure qu'en s'excuſant, ils s'eſſayeront de m'accuſer: Je m'aſſure que le Roi eſt trop bon maitre, pour me denier ſa protection en une choſe où je ne me ſuis rien propoſé que ſa dignité. De cela vous aſſurerai-je, Monſieur, qu'ils y ſeront une autre fois plus circonſpects; & qu'en tout ce que je vous ai dit, j'ai été le plus véritable qu'il m'a été poſſible." Lettre de M. de la Boderie à M. de Puisieux, 29 Jan., 1608, in de la Boderie, *Ambassades*, iii, 42.

27

"Suivant cela, celui qui fait ici l'office que fait chez nous M. de Gandy, & qui eſt auſſi bon eſpagnol qu'il eſt Anglois, me vint hier au ſoir trouver, me dit qu'il étoit envoyé du Roi ſon maître pour me fair ſçavoir que Mardi prochain ſe faiſoient les noces de M. le Vicomte d'Adinton avec la fille de M. cle Comte de Suſſex; & qu'étant ledit ſieur d'Adinton un des ſerviteurs qu'eût ſa Majeſté qu'il aimoit autant, & à qui il eſtimoit devoir le plus, comme à celui à qui il étoit obligé de la vie, & il deſiroit non ſeulement lui faire tout l'honneur qu'il lui ſeroit poſſible en cette occaſion, mais y convier avec lui les Miniſtres des Princes qu'il eſtimoit s'être le plus réjoui de ſa conſervation; & que comme il s'aſſuroit que le Roi mon maître avoit été l'un de ceux qui en avoient reçu plus de contentement il me prioit de vouloir aſſiſter au feſtin public qui ſe feroit Mardi au ſoir pour les noces, en la compagnie de M. le Prince, & ou partir de la à un ballet qui ſe preparoit par M. le Duc de Lenox, & autres principaux Seigneurs de cette Cour: qu'il y en avoit eu d'autres, qui par la recherche qu'ils en avoient faite, avoient aſſiſté à un ballet, dont il ſcavoit que j'avois recu quelque déplaiſir mais que ç àvoit été par leur importunité, le contre ſa volonté, & ſans y être rien intervenu du ſien; & que comme il me prioit de le croire, il me prioit auſſi de ne défférer pour cela de me trouver audit feſtin; m'aſſurant qu'il m'y feroit traiter de telle ſorte, que chacun reconnoitroit le reſpect & l'amitié particuliere qu'il portoit au Roi mon maître." Boderie to Villeroy, 14 Feb., 1608, in de La Boderie, *Ambassades*, iii, 94–5.

28

"Monſieur de la Boderie, j'ai appris par les lettres que vous avez ecrites aux ſieurs de Villeroy & de Puiſieux, l'offre qui vous êtê faite pour réparer en votre perſonne, aux noces du ſieur d'Adinton, l'avantage qui avoit été donné à l'Ambaſſadeur d'Eſpagne au ballet qui ſe fit dernierement par ordre & en preſence de la Reine de la Grande Bretagne, laquelle je fuis d'avis que vous acceptiez, tant pour ne paroitre par le refus que vous en feriez, hargneux ni pointilleux, & moi peu déſireux de la conſervation de leur amitié, que parce qu'elle ſemble ſuffiſante & convenable à ma dignité & au rang qui m'eſt dû & à mes miniſtres. Mais j'entens que ce ſoit avec la condition que vous-même avez jà jugée prégnante & néceſſaire, que vous comparoitrez ſeul Ambaſſadeur en la cérémonie du ballet ou du feſtin, ou de tous deux, ſans que celui des Archiducs [of Flanders] y ſoit admis, comme il ſemble qu'ils avoient quelque envie de faire, & à quoi vous avez pris bon conſeil de vous oppoſer fermement, comme je veux que vous faiſſiez derechef. ſi d'aventure ils continuent en la même volonté, pour les raiſons fortes &

pertinentes que vous répreſentez. S'ils vous donnent cette ſatisfaction entiére & complette, de laquelle vous jugiez que j'aye occaſion de demeurer content, ainſi que je le ferai en cette forme, acceptez la, ſans, en ce cas, leur temoigner autrement que j'aye beaucoup de reſſentiment de la derniere action en laquelle j'ai été intereſſé ſi hors de propos. Nous verrons de la façon qu'ils en uſeront ce'-après aux autres occaſions, ſelon leſquelles je me reglerai & conduirai en leur endroit, ainſi que j'eſtimerai utile & honorable." King Henry IV to Boderie, 21 Feb., 1608, in de la Boderie, *Ambassades*, iii, 113–4.

29

"Environs la mi-carême, des comédiens, à qui j'avois fait défendre de jouer l'hiſtoire du Maréchal de Biron, voyant toute la cour dehors, ne laiſſérent de le faire & non ſeulement cela, mais y introduiſirent la Reine & Madame Verneuil, traitant celle-ci fort mal de paroles, & lui donnant ſaufflet. En ayant en avis de la à quelques jours, auſſi-tôt je m'en allai trouver le comte de Saliſbury, & lui fis plainte de ce que non ſeulement ces compagnons la contrevenoient à la défenſe qui leur avoit été faite, mais y ajoutoient des choſes non ſeulement plus importantes, mais qui n'avoient que faire avec le Maréchal de Biron, & au partir delà étoient toutes fouſſes. Il ſe montra fort courroucé & des l'heure même envoya pour les prendre. Toutefois il ne s'en trouva que trois, qui auſſi-tôt furent menes à la prison où ils ſont encore; mais le principal qui eſt le compoſiteur échapa. Un jour ou deux devant, ils avoient dépêché leur Roi, ſa mine d'Ecoſſe, & tous les Favoris d'une étrange ſorte; car apres lui avoir fait dépiter le Ciel ſur le vol d'un oiſeau, & fait battre un Gentilhomme pour avoir rompu ſes chiens, ils le dépeignoient ivre pour le moins une fois le jour. Ce qu' ayant ſçu, je penſai qu'il feroit aſſez en colere contre leſdits Comediens, ſans que je l'y miſſe davantage, & qu'il valoit mieux faire reférer leur châtiment à l'irrévérence qu'ils lui avoient portée, qu'à ce qu'ils pourroient avoir dit deſ dites Dames, & pour ce, je me réſolus de n'en plus parler, mais conſiderer ce qu'ils ont fait. Quand le Roi a été ici, il a temoigné être extremement irrité contre ces marauds-là, & à commandé qu'ils ſoient châtiés, & ſur-tout qu'on eût à faire diligence de trouver le compoſiteur. Même il a fait défenſe que l'on n'eût plus à jouer des Comédies dedans Londres. Pour lever cette defenſe, quatre autres Compagnies qui y ſont encore offrent deja cent mille francs, lequels pourront bien leur en ordonner la permiſſion; mais pour le moins fera-ce à condition qu'ils ne repreſenteront plus aucune hiſtoire moderne, ni ne parleront des choſes du temps à peine de la vie. ſi j'euſſe cru qu'il y eût-eu de la ſuggeſtion en ce qu'avoient dit les Comédiens, j'en euſſe fait du bruit davantage; mais ayant tout ſujet d'eſtimie rle contraire, j'ai penſé que le meilleur étoit de ne point le remuer davantage, & laiſſer audit Roi la vengeance

de ſon fait. Toutefois ſi vous jugez de de-la, Monſieur, que je n'en aye fait aſſez, il eſt encore temps." Lettre de M. de la Boderie à M. de Puisieux, 8 Avril, 1608, Boderie, *Ambassades*, iii, 196–8.

Credit for this document should be given Professor C. W. Wallace, who found the original some years ago in Paris.

30

"Les voici tantôt a Noël, c'eſt-a-dire au temps de leurs fêtes. La Reine fait encore un ballet, & dejà l'Ambaſſadeur d'Eſpagne l'a été prier que lui & un Ambaſſadeur extraordinare qui vient, le puſſent voir, dont j'ai peur qu'elle lui ait donné quelque eſpérance. Le Comte de Saliſbury eſt celui même qui m'en a averti, me diſant que pour l'honneur de S. M., & pour l'amitie qu'il me porte, il ne pouvoit voir ſe paſſer telle choſe ſans me le dire, ni ſans s'y oppoſer autant comme civilement & prudemment il le pouvoit faire; qu'il ne voyoit point de moyen d'y remedier plus facile que le faire prier moi-même la Reine d'y être appellé, & que ſans que je m'en mêlaſſe, cet office ſi poúvoit faire par ma femme, ou quelque Dame de mes amies; que ſur cela la Reine ne failliroit point de lui en parler, & que lors il auroit occaſion de lui en dire plus librement ſon avis; m'aſſurant que ce ſeroit, ou à faire que j'y fuſſe convié avec la dignité due à mon maître, ou à ce que nous n'y fuſſions appellés ni l'un ni l'autre, qui eſt bien, à mon opinion, le mieux, qui en puiſſe arriver. Je me fuis étonné que ladite Reine s'y ſoit engagée en quelque ſorte; car il n'y a que huit jours qu'elle même parlait avec ma femme dudit ballet. Elle lui dit que ledit Ambaſſadeur lui avoit envoyé demander audience, & que ſe doutant que c'etoit pour lui faire télle requête, elle s'etoit excuſée, & qu'elle ne le verroit point, s'il etoit poſſible, que ledit ballet ne fût danſe, ajoutant qu'elle ne lui pourroit accorder ce qu'il lui demanderoit ſans ſe déclarer trop partiale; qu'elle ne l'étoit point, & qu'elle avoit été trop marri l'année paſſée de ce qui étoit arrivé; maisque ſans conſiderer la conſéquence, elle s'y étoit trop engagée pour s'en pouvoir dédire; que le Roi s'en étoit fort courroucé contre elle, & qu'elle ne vouloit plus tomber en ce danger. Ma femme tourna cela en gaufferie, lui diſant que ledit Ambaſſadeur avoit, celui ſembloit, aſſez fait rire la compagnie l'autre fois par ſon beau danſer, ſans la vouloir défrayer encore; & qu'elle feroit beaucoup plus pour lui de le laiſſer dormir dans ſon lit, que de lui donner occaſion de gagner quelque catarre, comme il n'y eſt auſſi bien que trop ſujet, La Reine s'en mit à rire, & lui parla toujours de façon que j'avois ſujet de croire qu'on me laiſſeroit en paix. Néanmoins me revoici en ces accoutumées brouilleries ou ſans mentir je me trouve bien empêché. Je ſuis le Conſeil dudit Comte, & préſentement ma femme va voir madame la Comteſſe de Bedfort, qui eſt aſſez de mes amies, & a aſſez de part avec la Reine, pour faire le ſuſdit office. A ſon retour je verrai ce que je m'en devrai

promettre; & encore que le langage de ladite Reine, & la façon dont m'a parlé ledit Comte me doivent faire eſpérer qu'il ne ſe fera rien à mon préjudice, ſi n'en ſuis-je pas ſi aſſuré que ce qui ſe paſſe au fait des pretendues dettes, & l'envie qu'ils auront toujours de nous embarraſſer avec l'Eſpagne ne leur en puiſſe donner l'occaſion. Or comme je ne voudrois pas vivre un jour après, ſi pour le moins je n'y avois fait tout ce qui peut dépendre d'un bon & courageux ſerviteur, je vous ſupplie tres-humblement, Monſieur, me faire ordonner la réſolution que j'y devrai prendre; ſi arrivant qu'ils faſſent chose en quoi la dignité de S. M. ſoit tant ſoit peu offenſée, je devrai rompre & m'en aller; ou bien ſi je devrai diſſimuler & patienter, attendant quelque nouvel ordre. Je ne me délibère pas cependant d'en faire grand bruit, ni d'en parler à outre qu'audit Comte de Saliſbury, ayant auſſi bien reconnu l'année paſſée trop de foibleſſe en ceux qui s'y devroient le plus employer; encore que pour le particulier dudit Comte, cette nouvelle alliance du Grand Chambellan & de lui, la femme duquel, ou poſſible deſquels, tire penſion dudit Ambaſſadeur, outre celle de ſes autres parens, ne m'en donne la confiance ſi aſſurée, que je prendrois peut-être en autre choſe. Ce ballet ne ſe fera encore de vingt-trois ou vingt-quatre jours. Je vous ſupplie, que je puiſſe ſçavoir l'intention de S. M. entre ce & là, me conſervant l'honneur de votre bonne grace auſſi entière, comme je ſerai toute ma vie;

De Londres le 13 December, 1608."

Boderie to Villeroy in de la Boderie, *Ambassades*, iv, 104.

31

"Les brouilleries des ballets recommencent. J'en écris a M. de Villeroy, & le ſupplie me faire ſcavoir ſi j'y devrai éclater ou non. Je vous prie tenir la main que je puiſſe être inſtruit à temps, afin que s'il eſt poſſible, je ne faille au trop, ni au peu." Boderie to Puiſieux, 13 Dec. (O. S. 3), 1608, in de la Boderie, *Ambassades*, iv, 111.

32

"Monſieur de la Boderie, je ſuis marri que vous vous trouviez en la même peine que l'année paſſée à l'occaſion de ces ballets, dont jà il ſe murmure par-delà; car telles rencontres ſont toujours fâcheuſes entre Miniſtres de Princes amis, mais ſur-tout en l'etat où ſont à preſent les affaires publiques, & en temps que l'union & bonne intelligence ſont tres-utiles au bien & avancement d'icelles. Neanmoins il y a moins de blâme de rechercher expédient devant que de s'y engager que s'y laiſſer ſurprendre, & poſſible embarraſſer honteuſement, je vous dirai que je perſiſte en la délibération que je vous fis ſcavoir l'année derniere ſur ſemblable ſujet; qui eſt que ſi vous jugez & preſſentez qu'en ce fait ma dignité & réputation ſoient intereſſées, vous faſſiez entendre à ceux

qu'il ſera beſoin, avoir de tout temps commandement de moi, de me revenir trouver plutôt que de ſouffrir qu'il ſoit diminué choſe aucune du rang qui m'appartient. Et de fait, ſi vous reconnoiſſez que ſur cette declaration, ils ne ſe mettent en devoir de vous donner contentement, vous prendrez congé du Roi de la Grande Bretagne & ſes principaux Miniſtres; laiſſant ſeulement votre Secretaire ſelon qu'il eſt accoutumé d'être pratiqué, pour me tenir averti des occurrences qui concernent le public & le bien de mon ſervice en particulier, juſqu'à ce que j'en aye autrement ordonné. Mais je ſuis d'avis que, préalablement après la réception de la préſente, vous faiſſiez doucement ſçavoir que vous avez ce commandement; afin de les intimider & convier d'être plus circonſpects à me rendre ce qui me convient, & que j'ai toujours attendu de la bonne & fraternelle amitié dudit Roi. Vous prendrez donc garde qu'il ne ſe paſſe rien en cette action un déſavantage de ma dignité. Sur quoi je prie Dieu, Monſieur de la Boderie, qu'il vous ait en ſa ſainte garde. Ecrit à Paris le 23 Decembris, 1608. Signé Henri, & plus bas De Neufville." de la Boderie, *Ambassades*, iv, 123–5.

33

"mon alarme de ce certain Ballet s'eſt beaucoup diminuée depuis que ma femme a revu la Reine. Elle lui a avoué que l'Ambaſſadeur d'Eſpagne avoit vivement été la prier de convier lui & ledit Don Fernandez de Girone à le voir; mais qu'elle ne le lui avoit nullement accordé, ains l'avoit du tout renvoyé au Roi: ajoutant qu'elle déſireroit beaucoup plutôt que ce fût moi qui le viſſe; & que ſi je l'en faiſois prier par le Comte de Saliſbury, mais ſans qu'il ſçut que cela vînt d'elle, Elle y feroit tout ſon effort." Boderie to Puiſieux, 27 Dec. (O. S. 17), 1608 in de la Boderie, *Ambassades*, iv, 136–7.

34

"Seventy thousand crowns have been sent to Flanders at the disposal of the Spanish Ambassador here. It is not six months since he received other hundred and sixty thousand. Almost all this, I am told by those who are in a position to know after deducting the Ambassador's salary and expenses will go in large pensions to many of the more prominent personages of the court including some prominent ministers (compreso anco qualahe signore principale); a part perhaps will go to Holland." Correr to the Doge and Senate, 9 Jan., 1609, *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xi, No. 404.

35

"Notre Reine doit danſer ſon ballet Dimanche mais ce ne doit être qu'un eſſai pour un plus grand & ſuperbe qu'elle doit faire dedans ce Carnaval. Il ne ſe danſera qu'en deux lieux, premièrement à l'arſenal,

& après au Palais de la Reine Marguerite, car on ne danſe plus au Louvre. On m'a dit que la Reine a fait prier par madame de Sully Madame L'Ambaſſadrice d'Angleterre de voir ledit ballet à l'Arſenal, ôu l'on parle de ſemoudre encore ſon mari & même l'Ambaſſadeur de Veniſe. Le Roi s'y trouva. Nous avons opinion que la Reine Marguerite priera le Nonce, Don Pedro de Toledo, & l'Ambaſſadeur de Flandre avec ſa femme, ôu S. N. pourra auſſi bien ſe reſoudre d'aller, apres qu'elle aura été à l'arſenal. Ce ne ſont point leurs Majeſtés qui ſont cette ſemonce, puiſqu'aussi bien on ne danſe point dans leur Palais. L'Ambaſſadeur d'Angleterre qui ſera accompagné du Vicomte de Crambourn en aura le premier la vue en préſence du Roi; & il faudra que les autres veillent plus tard pour le voir chez ladite Reine Marguerite. Il eſt vrai qu'ils ſont priés & appellés par une Reine & que les autres ne le ſont que par une autre Reine de moindre qualité. Je ne ſçais pas encore ſi tout le myſtére paſſera ainſi; mais J'ai voulu vous en avertir par avance, & vous en ſçaurez la confirmation après l'effet." Villeroy to Boderie, 23 Jan. (O. S. 13), 1609, de la Boderie, *Ambassades*, iv, 196–7.

36

"Monsieur,

Ce mot n'eſt, après avoir accuſé la reception de votre lettre du 22 du mois paſſé que pour vous donner avis de la bonne part & contentement qu'a eu l'Ambaſſadeur d'Angleterre au ballet de notre Reine, qui fut danſé Dimanche dernier, auquel il fut convié par le Roi d'Aſſiſter, & ſa femme par la Reine. Ils eurent leurs places & ſeánces derriere les chaiſes de leurs Majeſtés. Le Roi, outre cela, favoriſa d'une autre grace particulière leur préſence, qui eſt du part de l'ordre de la Jarretiere, dont ledit Ambaſſadeur ſe ſentit tres-honoré. Il étoit ſeul Ambaſſadeur en cette compagnie, qui fut la première a l'Arſenal. Le Nonce les Ambaſſadeurs d'Eſpagne & de Veniſe furent au logis de la Reine Marguerite où ces deux derniers eurent quelques priſes aſſez après, pour les titres qu'ils ſe donnerent, dont le Nonc fut extremetteur & médiateur. Celui d'Angleterre fit pluſieurs admirations, tant de la gentilleſſe du ballet que de la magnificence d'icelui; & il n'aura manqué, je m'aſſure, à en rendre très-bon compte à ſon maître; ce qui ſe doit danſer par-delà, ainſi que depuis peu M. Carrew nous a aſſurés de nouveau que vous y feriez traité & accueilli à votre contentement. J'oubliois à vous dire le Vicomte de Crambourn ſe trouva auſſi audit ballet & qu'il ſortit très-ſatiſfait." Puisieulx to Boderie, 6 Feb. (O. S. Jan. 27), 1608–9, in de la Boderie, *Ambassades*, iv, 211, 2.

37

"La Reine n'a encore danſé ſon ballet à cauſe de l'indiſposition de la Reine Marguerite & de M. de Sully. S. M. a fait prier l'Ambaſſadrice d'Angleterre de le voir à l'Arſenal, àu ſon mari a été convie auſſi par

M. de Sully avec le Vicomte de Crambourn & ſes deux beaux freres. L'on dit que ce fera pour demain, & il ſembla que la Reine a grande envie d'en être dechargée." Villeroy to Boderie, 24 Jan. (O. S. 14), 1609, in de la Boderie, *Ambassades*, iv, 209.

38

"Don Ferdinando Giron, Embassador-Extraordinary of Spain and Flanders, went to Theobalds, ten miles off, on Tuesday, to take his leave of the King. The day following he left London for Flanders. Thursday was appointed for the Queen's Masque. The Ambassador seeing that the King was determined to invite to witness the dance, the French Ambassador who was omitted last year and had orders from his Master that if that happened again he was to leave the court at once, now undertook to support the pretensions of the Flemish Ambassador in-ordinary, who also had been omitted last year. Don Ferdinando was at such pains in the matter that, thanks to the means he can dispose of at this court, he succeeded in obtaining a partial satisfaction. When the King came to London on Wednesday, Council sat and an invitation was issued to the French Ambassador only, to the general surprise as it was universally understood that I was to be invited." Correr to the Doge and Senate, 13 Feb. (O. S. 3), 1608–9, in *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xi, No. 439.

See *ibid.*, xi, No. 443, 20 Feb. (O. S. 10), 1608–9.

39

"Avec l'occasion d'un Courier que le Baron de Breſſieux arrivé ici depuis huit jours, dépêcha à Paris, je vous fais celle-ci qui eſt pour répondre à la vôtre du 24 du paſſé, & pour vous dire qu'enfin l'opiniâtreté de Don Fernandez de Girone s'eſt laiſſé vanicre, avant depuis le retour de ſon Courier qui n'a point paſſé à Bruxelles, parlé de quitter la place. Dès devant hier il fut ſe licencier de la Reine: hier il dit adieux au Prince de Galles & au Duc d'Yorck: aujourd'hui il eſt allé voir la Princeſſe qui eſt à quatre lienes d'ici; & Lundi il doit aller à Theobalds où le Roi ſe trouvera ſur ſon retour pour faire le même avec lui, & s'en revenir ici en réſolution de partir Mercredi pour ſon voyage. C'eſt la vérité quil a remué tout ce qui lui a été poſſible pour pouvoir etre admis à ce certain ballet; & tant qu'il lui en eſt reſté, quelque peu d'eſpois, il a toujours parlé de tenir ferme. Voyant enfin que cela ne lui tournoit qu'à moquerie, & que ſon ſéjour ne ſervoit qu'à retarder le plaiſir des Dames, il s'eſt réſolu de les laiſſer danſer: ſi bien que Jeudi qui eſt le jour de leur Chandeleur, ce digne ballet ſe fera, où je ne puis vous dire encore ſi je ſerai appellé ou non; car je n'en ai pas dit une parole depuis ceque vous avez ſçu, me ſemblant devoit ſuffire que ceux qui s'y prétendoient introduire à mon préjudice en fuſſent exclus, & que

pour ce qui devroit être de moi, il y avoit plus de dignité à l'attendre qu'a à le demander. Toutefois je crois certainement qu'ils m'y appeleront, quand ce ne ſeroit que pour ſe revencher de ce qui a été fait par delà en faveur de leur Ambaſſadeur, que j'ai fait parvenir aux oreilles du Comte de Saliſbury, mais par autre organe que le mien. Par mes premières je vous en dirai devantage." Boderie to Villeroy, 7 Feb. (O. S. 28 Jan.), 1608–9, in de la Boderie, *Ambassades*, iv, 214–6.

40

"Je penſois vous envoyer celle-ci par un Courier que le baron de Breſſieux m'avoit dit, il y a trois jours, vouloir dépécher tout en hâte; mais comme il n'eſt pas homme à un mot, & qu'il y a peut-être encore quelque poulet à faire où il ne peut trouver le verbe, j'ai cru ne m'y devoir plus attendre, & revenir à notre voie accoutumée. C'eſt monſieur, pour vous dire qu' enfin le ballet fut hier danſé, où non ſeulement ma femme & moi fûmes conviés, mais j'eus l'honneur de ſouper avec le Roi en compagnie de M. le Prince de Galles le de M. le Duc d'Yorck, & ma femme avec Madame la Princeſſe Ledit ballet fut fort riche, & s'il m'eſt loiſible de le dire, plus ſuperbe qu' ingénieux. Des que je fus entré auprès du Roi, il me dit que je me ſouvinſſe de ce qu'il m'avoit fait dire par Meſſieurs de Lenox & de Saliſbury, qui etoit qu'il feroit en cette occaſion paroître la différence qu'il faiſoit du Roi ſon frere à tout autre Prince, & de moi en particulier à tout ce qu'il y avoit ici d'Ambaſſadeurs: que j'avois bien témoigné l'aſſurance que j'en avois priſe, en ce que depuis je n'en avois point parlé; ce qui l'obligeoit d'autant plus à recompenſer ma modeſtie, qu'il n'avoit voulu y appeller autre que moi, ni même celui de Veniſe, voulant que chacun reconnût que, comme il étoit vrai en effet, cette fête ne ſe faiſoit que pour, moi; ſe rejouiſſant infiniment que les volontés du Roi ſon frère & les ſiennes ſe fuſſent rencontrées ſi conformes qu'en même-temps que S. M. faveroiſoit ſon Ambaſſadeur par-dela, il penſoit à en faire ici le mêm eenvers moi: que s'il y eût eu quelque grand intervalle entre l'une & l'autre de ses faveurs, on eût pu croire qu'il y est de la revenche; mais que ſi S. M. avoit été la première en l'effet, il l'avoit été en la délibération, me jutant que dès qu'il commanda ledit ballet, ce fut en intention de m'en reſerver tout l'honneur. Je le remerciai avec toute la révérence qu'il me fut poſſible lui diſant qu'à la vérité la nouvelle que j'en donnerois au Roi ſon bon frere, ne lui pourroit etre que tres-agréable, non ant pour l'aſſurance qu'il prendroit de-la de l'affection du Prince du monde dont il a toujours été le plus jaloux, que pour l'occaſion que ce ſeroit à toute la Chrétienté d'en faire le jugement qu'il convient an bien commun de leurs affaires: que ſi j'avois apporté quelque véhémence en cette recherche, & forti peut-être de la bienſéance où ma charge m'obligeoit, je le ſuppliois tres-humblement de m'en excuſer, & conſidérer que l'impu-

dence de ceux contre qui je combattois en cette occaſion, m'y avoit forcé. Il m'aſſura qu'il connoiſſoit, & me témoigna par toutes fortes de bonnes paroles & demonſtrations de bonne chère qu'il étoit très-ſatiſfait de moi. Depuis, tant devant qu'après le ſouper, & durant tout le ballet, il m'entretint preſque toujours; & entr' autres diſcours, il me chargea de remercier S. M. de ſa part des faveurs qu'il lui avoit plu faire au Vicomte de Crambourn, ne pouvant ſur cette occaſion ſe laſſer de me dire du bien de ſon père, & de l'eſtime qu'il faiſoit de lui. Aprés cela, il me parla du congé qu'avoit pris de lui Don Fernandez de Girone, qu'il avoit preſque, me dit-il, fallu chaſſer par les epaules; me déſant qu'il ne ſçavoit de quel eſprit il pouvoit avoir été mu, en ce que ne lui ayant jamais demandé en toutes ſes autres audiences qu'il voulût aider le Roi d'Eſpagne à obtenir la tréve pure & ſimple, il l'en avoit vouler prier en partant: qu'il lui avoit montré s'étonner de ce qu'il en diſoit, & lui avoit répondu qu'il étoit trop tard, & que le Roi ſon maître ne pouvoit davantage différer d'accomplir ce qu'il avoit promis dès le commencement, ſans ſe faire tort. Le Comte de Saliſbury étoit préſent à ce diſcours; & l'un & l'autre me témoignèrent reconnoitre une étrange foibleſſe & irréſolution au conſeil & aux affaires d'Eſpagne. Avec tout cela, ſi reconnus-je que la demeure de Don Pedro de Toledo à Paris ne leur plaît point; car ledit Roi me demanda cinq ou ſix fois ce qu'il y faiſoit, & pourquoi il y demeuroit ſi long temps: ſur quoi ce que je lui pus dire fut qu'il n'attendoit, à mon avis, ſinon que le traité des Pays-Bas fût fait ou failli, afin de requérir aux occaſions le Roi notre maître d'y contribuer les offices qu'il jugeroit y être néceſſaires, mais je crois qu'ils ſe doutent qu'il y a quelques pratiques attachées à la queue dudit traité qu'ils voudroient ien qui ne fût point. Ce qui me plut davantage en tout cet entretien, fut que jamais ils ne me dirent un mot ſur le particulier de leurs dett s, encore qu'il ſe paſſat forces choſes qui les pouvoient faire venir à propos. Je prie Dieu, qu'ils ne s'en ſouviennent jamais plus, & qu'il vous donne monſieur. . . .

De Londres, le 13 Febrier, 1609."

Boderie to Villeroy, 13 Feb., 1609 (N. S.), in Boderie, *Ambassades*, iv, 228–32.

41

"Monſieur,

Par celle qu'il vous a plu m'écrire du 6 de ce mois, vous m'avez fait faveur de m'avertîr de l'honneur fait à M Carrew & á Madame ſa femme au ballet de la Reine notre maitreſſe. Par le préſente vous ſçaurez celui que Madame de la Boderie & Moi avous reçu en celui de celle-ci. Hier la nuit il fut danſé, & le jour de devant Don Fernandez de Girone avoit fait voile, après avoir reçu l'arrêt que s'il ne hâtoit de partir, il auroit l'affront que j'y ſerois appellé a ſa barbe. Comme il

partoit, on m'y vint convier & ma femme auſſi, tant de la part du Roi de la Grande Bretagne que de celle de la Reine, ſans nous parler de ſouper; & neanmoins comme nous y fûmes, ledit Roi me fit ſouper avec lui en compagnie des Princes ſes deux fils, & ma femme ſoupa avec Madame la Princeſſe. Durant le ſouper, il me fit une brinde à la ſanté de S. M, & voulut que je la portaſſe à M. le Prince de Galles, & qu'ily fît raiſon. An ballat il me fit ſeoir auprès de lui, & ma femme au banc préparé proche de-la, où étoient auſſi Meſſieurs du Conſeil, n'ayant pu demeurer près de Madame la Princeſſe pour la grande preſſe qui y étoit. Durant que ledit ballet ſe danſa, il me fit toujours l'honneur de m'entretenir; & dans un des intermèdes, comme il n'y en eut que trop & d'aſſez triſtes, la Reine s'approcha auſſitôt de ma femme, & lui fit la même faveur, s'appuyant ſur elle, & lui faiſant mille démonſtrations de privauté. Ma petite fille même eut part en ces careſſes; car le Duc d'Yorck ayant été pris a danſer par une des Dames du ballet, il vint auſſitôt chercher madite fille où elle étoit, & l'y mena. La Reine avoit délibéré d'en faire le même de moi; mais comme c'eſt un métier que je n'entens guère & que je ne voulois faire rire la compagnie, comme fit l'an paſſé l'Ambaſſadeur d'Eſpagne, je la fis prier dès le matin par une Dame de mes amies qui devoit danſer avec elle de ne m'y point obliger. Du ballet, nous fûmes à la collation; & en tout cela & au départir fûmes traités avec tant de démonſtrations de bonne volonté, & avec un applaudiſſement ſi général de tous, que S. M. a grande occaſion d'en être ſatisfaite, & moi, ſi je ne ſçavois l'hiſtoire de l'Ane qui portoit les Reliques, d'en devenir bien glorieux.

En la faveur que reçut l'Ambaſſadeur d'Eſpagne l'an paſſé, il n'y eut rien de ſemblable: il ne fut point convié du Roi & ne Mangea point avec lui, mais en une chambre ou pas un du Conſeil ſeulement ne l'accompagna. Le Roi ni la Reine ne furent jamais vus lui dire un mot que le bal dura, & au partir de-là, tout chacun le regardoit de travers. J'ai outre tout ceci, que je fus incontinent après convié à un autre ballet avec toutes les meilleurs ſatisfactions qu'on me put donner: & de plus que ledit Roi & le Comte de Saliſbury ont déclaré & rendu comme public que cette fête ne ſe faiſoit principalement que pour l'amour de moi, Une ſeule choſe m'y a fâché, cèſt que l'Ambaſſadeur de Veniſe n'en a point été, encore qu'on lui en eut donné dés le commencement de grandes eſperances; ayant fait tomber ſur lui les Ambaſſadeurs d'Eſpagne & des Archiducs, ce qu'ils Gentilhomme eſt infiniment offenſé, Comme il est que j'étois prié & qu'il ne l'étoit point, il s'en voulut eſcarmoucher, & alla trouver le Comte de Salisbury pour lui en faire ſes plaintes. La réponſe fut que ledit ballet n'étoit fait que pour l'Ambaſſadeur de France, & qu'il ſe devoit contenter que celui de Flandre, qu, n'avoit point aſſiſté à celui de l'an paſſé, comme fit ſon prédéceſſeuri n'étoit non plus convié à celui-ci. Cela ne le ſatiſfait point; de ſorte

que ſi ſes maîtres le veulent croire, ils lui donneront bientôt charge de faire décider la diſpute que lui veut former l'Ambaſſadeur de Flandre, ou bien de ſe retirer; & je crois certes que ſi on en venoit-là, ces Meſſieurs —ci ſe trouveroient bien embarraſſés.

Tout ceci donne un grand choc par deçà à la réputation des Eſpagnols, mais en même temps, il eſt ſurvenu une autre choſe qui, comme bien plus importante, achèvera fort de les décrier, c'eſt que l'Ambaſſadeur ayant dernièrement, ſur l'occaſion de la mort de ſa femme, aſſemblé dix ou douze tailleurs tous Flamande pour faire ſon deuil, ainſi qu'ils eurent achevé, & qu'il leur eut fait donner partie de leur payement, s'étant delébérés, ſelon le ſtyle du pays, d'en mettre partie en bonne chère, il leur fit envoyer certaines confitures pour les régaler, & trois ou quatre bouteilles de vin, dont s'étant donnés au coeur joie, ils commencèrent en même temps à ſe trouver mal & le maître de tous, comme celui qui en avoit eu meilleure part, au bout de deux heures en rendit l'ame, le lendemain trois autres, & trois autres encore depuis: le reſte eſt en mauvais état. Toutefois comme depuis l'on a comme la cauſe du mal, on leur a donné du contrepoiſon, & on a opinion qu'ils en pourront échapper. Le murmure en eſt fort grand & fort public part oute la ville: ſi bien que ledit Ambaſſadeur, ni aucun des ſiens ne s'y promènent guere. Et diſent les Anglois que s'il y avoit eu parmi leſdits Tailleurs quelqu'un de leur nation, ils l'iroient aſſommer dans ſa maiſon. Je ne ſçaurois croire qu'il ait eu part en une grande méchanceté; mais ſi ne ſe ſçauroit-il bonnement laver d'avoir fait proviſion de telles drogues. C'eſt pour la ſeconde fois, & Dieu nous garde de telles collations.

J'oubliois à vous dire que la faveur de ce ballet s'entendit tellement ſur tous les Francois, que le Baron de Breſſieux qui ſe gouverne très-bien ici, & parle certes de ce qui l'y a amené avec grande démonſtration de la révérence qu'il porte a S. M, fut mené danſer, & mena danſer la Reine; comme auſſi que le Roi me dit de lui-même, & ſans que je lui en ouvriſſe l'occaſion, infinis biens de M. de Soubiſe, & nommement de ce qu'il avoit reconnu étant ici, qu'il portoit beaucoup de zèle au ſervice & à la particulière perſonne de S. M. Je rens compte à M. de Villeroy du reſte des diſcours qui ſe paſſerènt entre ledit Roi & moi qui me gardera d'en faire redite, pour vous baiſer les mains, comme étant, Monſieur, votre très humble & tres-affectionné ſerviteur.

De Londres, le 13 Fevrier, 1609."

Boderie to Puisieulx in de la Boderie, *Ambassades*, iv, 233.

42

"After o^{r} verie heartie cõmendations unto y^{or} verie good Lo^{r}p: &c: Whereas by vertu of his ma^{ts} warrant bearing date the 4th of March 1609 yo^{r} Lo^{rp} is required and authorized to iſſue ſo much of his ma^{ts} treaſure at ſuch tymes and by ſuch proportions as we ſhall require

under our handes and to ſuch pſons as we ſhall aſſigne to receue the ſame for the defraying of the charges apptaining to the Queens Ma^{ts} Maſke: theſe are therfore verie hartily to pray yo^{r} good Lo^{rp} that you would be pleaſed to give ower that this gent: M^{r} Inego Johnes may receave two hundreth pounds more by way of Impreſt towards the neceſſary pviſions to be made by him for the pformance of that imployment. And in the meane tyme we reſt as ever

Yo^{r} good Lo^{rps} moſt aſſured Loving friends to remaine

25th of Maye 1610 T Suffolke E Worceſter.

In *State Papers Domestic James I*, liv, No. 74.

43

"I was also invited to a masque given by the King and to a jousting match; and this will prove of great advantage to the prestige of this office, for I had observed that on various occasions neither I nor my predecessors were treated with the same punctuality which was observed towards France and Spain, and that sometimes it was not enough to have endeavoured to secure proper treatment beforehand, for the result turned out quite different from what had been agreed on. On this occasion when I was told that, at the creation of the Prince, the Ambassador of Spain was to have a box and the Ambassador of the States another, I, suspecting some injury, showed surprise that we were not put, all three together, close to the King, or at least in the same box; in a cautious yet firm manner I let it be understood that if I were not treated in the fashion followed by all other courts and as became the dignity of the Republic which is Sovereign over kingdoms and mighty in every aspect, either I would not be present at all, or if I did come I would leave at once. I touched on certain variations which had been introduced at the Court. In this I found considerable help from the private complaints which I had made in the course of conversation with gentlemen intimate with the King, for his Majesty gave orders that I was to be entirely satisfied on this point. The Lords of the Council accordingly sent to me the Master of the Ceremonies and another gentleman, who informed me that the variation had taken place owing to the incompatibility of Spain with the United Provinces. They begged me not to raise difficulties, for they would be compelled either to offend Spain or injure the prestige of the other. They sent me a plan of the place and of the boxes which are to be equal to and in proportion to the royal baldachino, and they assured me on their honour that they would treat me in such a fashion that I should be completely satisfied. I, knowing the King's difficulties and being unwilling to seem little solicitous for the prestige of the United Provinces, showed that I fully grasped their arrangement and that I had no desire to doubt their

prudence and sincerity, upon which I threw myself, in the conviction that all their promises would be faithfully kept. Both the King and Council were highly pleased with my answer, and without any further pressure they have omitted nothing that could conduce to my honour. On the first day the Ambassador of the States arrived before I did and they engaged him in a place apart; after the Spanish Ambassador and I were settled with all our suites in our respective boxes, which were exactly alike in size and decoration, they introduced the Dutch Ambassador into mine, with only two persons in attendance. Yesterday after the Spanish Ambassador and I had been for some time with the King and other gentlemen, we were conducted to our boxes in the ball-room and these boxes were again exactly alike, while the Dutch Ambassador was accommodated with a box a little lower than mine and beside it. To-day at the joust, we two had places apart in advance of the royal seats, while the Dutch Ambassador had a place behind them." Marc' Antonio Correr, Venetian Ambassador in England to the Doge and Senate, 16 (O. S. 6) June, 1610 in *Calendar State Papers Venetian*, xi, No. 945.

44

"James by the grace of god king of England ffrance and Ireland defendor of the faith &c. To the Trer and Undertrer of or Excheqr greeting. Whereas the Queene our deareſt wife hath reſolued for our greater honour and contentement to make vs a maſke ſhortly attended by moſt of the greatest Ladyes of the kingdome ffforasmuch as ſhee is pleaſed that the Earle of Suffolk chamberlayne of our houſes and the Earle of Worcester Maſter of or horſe ſhall take ſome paines to look into the omptions and proviſions of all things neceſſarie for the ſame Wee doe hereby require and authorize you to yſſue ſo much of our treaſure at ſuch tymes and by ſuch porcõns as they ſhall require vnder their hands and to ſuch perſons as they ſhall aſsigne to receaue the ſame for doing whereof this ſhalbe yor ſufficient warrant and diſcharge. Given vnder or priuy ſeale at or Pallace of Westmr the fourth day of March in the ſeaventh yeare of or raigne of England ffrance and Irelande and of Scotland the three and fortith." *Exchequer of Receipt, Warrants for Issue*, Bundle, 141.

45

"On Tuesday the Prince gave his Masque which was very beautiful throughout, very decorative, but most remarkable for the grace of the Prince's every movement.

The King was pleased that the Spanish Ambassador and I should be present. The Ambassador of the United Provinces was also invited, but perhaps by agreement he feigned displeasure, as he is accustomed to find himself with the Ambassador of his Catholic Majesty, to whom

it is unpleasant that by this title of Ambassador other Sovereigns should authenticate the independence of those states. The Queen next whom I sat said that on Sunday next she intended to give her Masque, and she hoped the King would invite me to it. She then said some words in English to the Earl of Salisbury, from which I gathered that they are not pleased at M. de Laverdin's delay which looked as though he had not understood the honour done him by the King and the Prince." Correr to the Doge and Senate, 14 January (O. S. 4), in *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*, xii, No. 159.

46

"Pendant cette période d'agitation, intérieure, Marie de Medicis s'etait rapprochée de l'Espagne. Au commencement de 1611 Elle avait dite à Madrid que volontiers Elle entendrait reparler des mariages pourvu que Louis XIII, obtînt la main de l'aînée des infantes et que les deux couronnes conclussent une ligue défensive. L'idée de cette ligue était de Villeroy qui voulait être sur de Philippe III contre le mécontentement possible des puissances protestantes. La cour d'-Espagne accepta les deux conditions. Des articles préliminaires signés à Fontainebleau par Villeroy et don Inigo de Cardenas, Ambassadeur d'Espagne règlaient la question des mariages au gré de Marie (30 Avril 1611) Le meme jour, et dans le meme lieu, fut signé entre les deux rois un traité d'alliance défensive par lequel ils se promettaient de se secourir 'mutuellement contre ceux qui intreprendroient quelque chose contre eux et leurs états de même que contre ceux qui Se revolteroient contre leur autorité.' " Ernest Lavisse, *Histoire de France*, Tome sixieme, ii, par Jean H. Mariejol, 153–4.

47

"Pour ne pas irriter les huguenots qui élisaient en ce moment l'-Assemblée de Soumur, les négociations avoient été tenues secrètes. Mais quand Marie crut n'avoir plus rien à crandre d'eux, elle annonça l'accord franco-espagnol dans un conseil ôu elle réunit les ministres et les grands (26 Janvier 1612)." *Ibid.*, Lavisse, 154.

"Marie triomphait. Aussi passa-t-elle gaiement le carnaval et le carême de 1612. Tous les dimanches de février elle fit danser un ballet au Louvre par les ducs de Vendôme et de Chevreuse et Bassompiere. Les fêtes qu'elle donna, Place Royale, à l'occasion des finançailles, furent célébrées pour leur magnificence. Elles durèrent trois jours (5, 6 et 7 avril). Le jeudi, à trois heures d'après—midi, devant la Reine, les princesses et les dames assises 'aut echafauds et sous les yeux de deux cent mille spectateurs défilèrent vingt-quatre trompettes, douze tambours à cheval, cinq gaénts avec arcs et flèches, et deux machines, l'une 'fait[e] en rocher et couvert[e] d'arbrisseaux' plus les ducs de Guise et

de Nevers, et les autres 'chevaliers de la gloire' et 'soustenans du château de la Félicité' habilles de broderie d'or et d'argent, portant lanses étandards rouges." *Ibid.*, 154–5.

"Venaient ensuite dix compagnies d'assaillants, menés par Conti, Vendome, etc., et snivies d'une troupe bigarreé: écuyers, musiques, chevaux dardés, rois captifo, deux éléphants, deux 'reinocerot' (rhinoceros), un chariot traîné par des cerfs et nombre de machines.

Des sibylles parurent, chantant des vers que Malherbe avait composés à la gloire de la Régente.

La calvalcade finie 'les tenants coururent contre les assaillants' A la nuit, après une sonnerie de trompettes, tambours et clairons le feu fut mis au château de la Felicité 'plein d'artifice' et tandis qu'il brûlait 'on voyoit changer plusieurs sortes de figures tout en feu.'

Le vendredi, nouveau défilé. Comme tout le peuple de Paris n' avoit pu voir cette fête, la brillante cavalcade se promena par les rues, sur la rive droite et la rive gauche, jusqu'au Pont-neuf ôu elle se dispersa. Le Samedi vn courut la bague. La soir, feu d'artifice, salve de deux cents coups de canon, grand feu de joie devant l'Hotel de Ville et illumination de Paris avec 'lanternes faites en papier de couleur en si grande quantité et à chaque fenestre que toute la ville sembloit estre en feu!'" *Ibid.*

48

"A Description of the Sea-fights and Fireworks with other Royal occurrences which were accomplished at the Princely celebration [marriage of Princess Elizabeth] I did not write nor publish this description of Fire and Water Triumphs to the intent that they should onely reade the relation that were spectators of them; for to such persons it will relish somewhat tedious, like a tale that is too often told, but I did write these things, that those who are farre remoted, not onely in his Majestie's dominions but also in forraine territories, may have an understanding of the glorious pomp and magnificent dominion of our high and mighty monarch King James; and further to demonstrate the skills and knowledges that our warlike nation hath in engines, fire-workes and other military discipline, that thereby may be knowne, that howsoever warre seemes to Sleepe yet (upon any lawful ground or occasion) the command of our dread Soveraigne can rouse her to the terrour of all malignant opposers of his Royall state and dignity." By John Taylor the water poet in John Nichols, *The Royal Progresses of James I*, ii, 527–8.

49

"The Memorable Masque of the Two Honourable Hovses or Innes of Court; the Middle Temple, and Lyncolnes Inne.

As it was Performed Before the King, at White-hall on Shroue-Munday at night; being the 15. of Febr. 1613.

At the Princely Celebration of the Moſt royall Nuptials of the Palſgraue, and his thrice gratious Princeſſe Elizabeth, etc.

With a deſcription of their whole ſhow, in the manner of their march on horſe-backe to the Court, from the Maſter of the Rolls his houſe; with all their right Noble conſorts, and moſt

ſhowfull attendants.

Inuented, and faſhioned, with the ground, and ſpecial ſtructure of the whole worke:

By our Kingdoms moſt Artfull and Ingenus
Architect Innigo Jones.
Supplied, Applied, Digeſted, and written
By Geo. Chapman.

At London.
Printed by F. K. for George Norton, and are to be ſold
at his ſhop neere Temple-barre.

At the houſe of the moſt worthelie honour'd preferrer and graces of all honourable Actions, the vertues, (Sir Edward Philips Knight, Maſter of the Rolls) all the Performers and their aſſiſtents made their Rendesvous, prepar'd to their performance, and thus ſet forth.

Fiftie Gentlemen, richly attirde, and as gallantly mounted, with Foot-men particularly attending, made the noble vant-guarde of the nuptiall forces. Next (a fit diſtance obſerued betweene them) marcht a mock-Maſque of Baboons, attired like fantaſtical Trauailers, in Neapolitane ſutes, and great ruffes, all horſt with Aſſes; and dwarfe Palfries, with yellow foot-cloathes, and caſting Cockle-demois about, in courteſie, by way of larges. Torches borne on either hand of them; lighting their ſtate as ridiculouſlie, as the reſt Nobly. After them was ſorted two carres Triumphall, adorned with great maske-heads, feſtones, ſcroules, and antick leaues, euery part inricht with ſiluer and golde. Theſe were through varied with different inuention, and in them aduanc't, the choice muſitions of our Kingdome, ſixe in each; attir'd like Virginean Prieſts, by whom the Sun is there ador'd; and therefore called the Phoebodes. Their Robes were tuckt vp before; ſtrange Hoods of feathers, and ſcallops about their neckes, and on their heads turbants, ſtucke with ſeuerall colour'd feathers ſpotted with wings of flies, of extraordinary bigneſſe; like thoſe of their countrie: and about them march't two ranks of Torches. Then rode the chiefe Maskers, in Indian habits, all of a reſemblance; the ground cloath of ſiluer, richly embroidered with golden Sunnes, & about euery Sunne, ran a traile of gold, imitating

Indian worke; their baſes of the ſame ſtuffe and worke, but betwixt euery pane of embroidery, went a rowe of white eſtridge feathers, mingled with ſprigs of golde plate; vnder their breaſts they wore bawdricks of golde, embroidered high with purle; and about their neckes Ruffles of feathers, ſpangled with pearle and ſiluer. On their heads high ſprig'd-feathers, compaſt in Coronets, like the Virginian Princes they preſented; Betwixt euery ſet of feathers, and about their browes, in the onder-part of their Coronets, ſhin'd Sunnes of golde plate, ſprinkled with pearle; from whence ſprung rayes of the like plate, that mixing with the motion of the feathers, ſhew'd exceedingly delightfull and gracious. Their legges were adorn'd with cloſe long white ſilke ſtockings: curiously embroidered with golde to the middle-legge. The King being come forth, the Maskers aſcended vnſeene to their ſcene. Then for the works—

Firſt there appear'd at the louer end of the Hall, an artificiall Rock, whoſe top was neere as high as the hall it ſelfe. . . . All this Rocke grew by degrees vp into a gold colour; & was run quite through, with veines of golde: . . .

At the ſinging of the firſt Song, full, which was ſung by the Virginian Prieſts; called the Phœbodes, to ſixe Lutes (being vſed as an Orphean vertue, for the ſtate of the Mines opening): the vpper part of the rock was ſodainly turn'd to a Cloude, discouering a rich and refulgent Mine of golde; in which the twelue Maskers were triumphantly ſeated: . . .

In which Iſland [Poeana] (being yet in command of the Virginian continent.) A troupe of the nobleſt Virginians inhabiting, attended hether the God of Riches, all triumphantly ſhyning in a Mine of gould. For hearing of the moſt royal ſolemnity, of theſe ſacred Nuptialls; they croſt the Ocean in their honor; and are here arriu'd."

50

"on monday night was the middle temple and Lincolns ynne maſke presented in the hall at Court wheras the Lords was in the banketting roome, yt went from the Rolles all vp fleet-ſtreet and the ſtrand and made ſuch a gallant and glorious ſhew that yt is highly commended. they had forty gentlemen of best choiſe owt of both houſes rode before them in theyre best array vpon the ks horſes; and the twelue Maſkers wth theyre torch-bearers and pages rode likewiſe vpon horſes excedingly well trapped and furnished, beſides a douſen litle boyes drest like babones that ſerued for an antimaſke (and they ſay performed yt exceedingly well when they came to yt), and three open chariots drawn wth foure horſes apeece that caried theyre muſicians and other perſonages that had parts to ſpeake, all wch together wth theyre trumpetters and other attendants were ſo well ſet out, that yt is generally held for

the best ſhew that hath been ſeen many a day. the king ſtoode in the gallerie to behold them and make them ride about the tilt-yard and then were receued into ſt James Park and went all along the galleries into the hall, where themſelues and theyre deuiſes (wch ſay were excellent) made ſuch a glittering ſhew that the king and all the companie were excedingly pleaſed and ſpecially wth theyre dauncing., wch was beyond all that hath been yet. the king made the Maſkers kiſse his hand at parting and gaue them many thanckes, ſaying he neuer ſaw ſo many proper men together, and himſelf accompanied them at the banket, and tooke care yt ſhold be well ordered and ſpeakes and ſtrokes thanks to the maſter of the rolles and Dicke Martin who were the chiefe dooers and vndertakers." John Chamberlain to M^ris^ Carleton, 18 February, 1612–3, in *State Papers Domestic James I*, lxxii, No. 30.

51

"The 13^th^ of Feb^r^ following I was sent by the Lord Chamberlaine (Earl of Suffolke) from his Majesty to the Arch-Dukes Ambaſsador, Monsieur de Baiscot, with the formal invitation to the mariage of the Princeſse that his Majeſty (who desireth to performe all things with conveniency) having invited the french Ambaſsador, & the Venetian, to aſsist at the first dayes solemnity, requested him to honour the second, or third dayes, either dinner, or supper, or both, with his presence. After some time of pause, his first queſtion was (with a troubled countenance) whether the Spanish Ambaſsador were invited? I answered (answerable to my instructions in case of such demand) that he was sick, & could not be there; he was yesterday (quoth he) so well, as that the offer might have very well been made him & perhaps accepted. To this I replyed that his Majestie having observed that the french and Venetian Ambaſsadors holding between them one course of correspondence, & the Spanish and Arch-Dukes another, their invitations had been usually joynt. This he denied (saying) the French had been sundry times invited to Masques &c. & not the Venetian, the Venetian and not the French, the Spaniard the like: but He the Arch-Dukes Ambaſ:~ never: that for his owne particular Person (as he was Boiscot) he should think himselfe honoured to be called by his Majesty upon any termes were it to ſerve up a Diſh to the Princeſſes Table; but as he was the repreſentant of ſo great a Prince, as the Arch-Dukes (one who would never allow (he ſayd) ſo much as a queſtion or thought of competition betweene him, a Monarchall Soveraigne, and a mean Repul lique, governed by a ſort of Burghers, who had but an handful of territory in compariſon of his maſter; and (as would be averred, he ſayd, by ancient proofes, had ever yielded precedence to the Arch-Dukes Predeceſſors, when they were but Dukes of Burgundie) he could not be present at the Solemnity. That further hee knew not wherein

he had deſerved ſo ill of his Majeſty, as not to have received any countenance or favour in all the time of his reſiding here, and the Venetian (as he himſelfe had bragged) many; that for theſe, and the like conſiderations, he would never be received to a ſecond place, or day, after one that ſhould have the firſt beſtowed on him ſo unworthily." *Sir John Finett's observations*, Lord Chamberlain's Office, *Class Miscellaneous* 5, No. page 1 f.

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"Or quant au fait préſent touchant l'Ambaſſadeur de Veniſe ſa Majeſte fait ſcavoir au dit Ambaſſadeur des Archducs qu'ayant le dit Ambaſſadeur de Veniſe quatorze ou quinze joins anant le iour des noces fait entendre a ſa Majeſté qu'il auoit ordre de par la dicte Republique de congratuler aux dictes noces qu'il déſiroit faire ceſt' office le jour meſme d'icelles, & d'autant que pour donner meilleure grace, et manifeſtation plus ouverte que porte la dicte, Republique a ſa Majeſté, on luy auoit ordonné frays pour la pompe, et liurées a ſes gens aux despens publiés (bonneur que ſa Majeſté n'auoit reçu de nul autre Prince, et qui eſt bien extraordinarie et plus de coſtume entre les Princes) ſa Majeſté auoit toute raiſon de rendre à la dicte Republique la pareille de l'honneur qui par demonſtration ſi ſignaleé elle luy fairoit." King James to Boiscot, John Finett, *Finetti Philoxenis* (1656), 4–7.

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"Neither was the wife of the French Amb[r] cleere of these disputes, for when I had ushered her up amongst the counteſses, & left her there to the ranging of the Lord Chamberlaine, he ordered she should be placed at the Table next beneath the Counteſses, & above the Baroneſses; but the Viscounteſse of effingham standing to her woman's right, & poſsest already of her proper place (as she called it) would not move lower so held the hand of the Ambaſsatrice, till after dinner the Ambaſsador her husband informed of the difference, and opposition, tooke it for an indignity, and calling for his wives Coach, that by her departure it might be seen he was sensible, she was by others persuasions stayed, & was at Supper placed beneath the Counteſse of Kildare, and above the Viscounteſse of Haddington who made no scruple of it, the Lady of effingham in the interim forbearing (with rather too much than too little stomach) both her supper & the company." *Ibid.*

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