The goddess of the household: the masquing politics of Lucy Harington-Russell, Countess of Bedford

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THE GODDESS OF THE HOUSEHOLD: THE MASQUING POLITICS OF LUCY HARINGTON-RUSSELL, COUNTESS OF BEDFORD

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Lucy Harington-Russell (1581–1627), from 1594 Countess of Bedford, was First Lady of the Bedchamber to Queen Anna of Denmark. History remembers her primarily as patroness of various literary luminaries, among them Michael Drayton, Ben Jonson, and John Donne.[1] While she had over 50 literary works dedicated to her in print and manuscript, she was also a poet in her own right, and an avid collector of art.[2] It is generally known, though rarely discussed, that she was also one of the most frequent and central performers in masques of the Stuart period in addition to Queen Anna herself.[3] Lady Bedford performed in five masques: one by Samuel Daniel, *The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses* (1604), and four by Ben Jonson,

* This research has been made possible by a VENI grant from the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research (NWO). I thank Dr Daniel Starza Smith for commenting upon earlier drafts of this article.

1 The scholarly writing on Lucy and the great pillars of the literary canon is extensive. For further details, see Barbara Kiefer Lewalski, "Lucy, Countess of Bedford: Images of a Jacobean Courtier and Patroness," in *Politics of Discourse: The Literature and History of Seventeenth-Century England*, eds. Kevin Sharpe and Steven N. Zwicker (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 52–77, later revised as "Exercising Power: The Countess of Bedford as Courtier, Patron, and Coterie Poet," in her monograph, *Writing Women in Jacobean England* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), 95–123; and most recently Marion O'Connor, "Godly Patronage: Lucy Harington Russell, Countess of Bedford," in *The Intellectual Culture of Puritan Women, 1558–1660*, eds. Johanna Harris and Elizabeth Scott-Baumann (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 71–83.

2 The sole surviving poem by Lady Bedford's hand, "Death be not proud, thy hand gave not this blow", which answers Donne's "Death I recant" on the death of Cecily Bulstrode, Lucy's kinswoman who since *c.* 1607 had also served in the Bedchamber of Queen Anna, is collected in *Early Modern Women Poets: An Anthology*, eds. Jane Stevenson and Peter Davidson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 131–2. For these elegiac exchanges see Claude J. Summers, "Donne's 1609 Sequence of Grief and Comfort," *Studies in Philology* 89, no. 2 (1992): 211–31. For Lucy as art collector see Karen Hearn, "A Question of Judgement: Lucy Harington, Countess of Bedford, as Art Patron and Collector," in *The Evolution of English Collecting: Receptions of Italian Art in the Tudor and Stuart Periods*, ed. Edward Chaney (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2003), 221–39.

3 O'Connor reminds us that "Of forty-five women who danced in Jonson's court masques, only two—the Queen and Lady Montgomery [aka Lady Anne Clifford (1590–1676)]—are known to have danced in as many as Lady Bedford": O'Connor, "Godly Patronage," 73. It seems strange, therefore, that even the most excellent of masque studies, Barbara Ravelhofer's

The Masque of Blackness (1605), *Hymenaei* (1606), *The Masque of Beauty* (1608) and *The Masque of Queens* (1609). For comparison's sake: Queen Anna performed in six masques. The queen shared the stage with Lady Bedford in the masques listed above, apart from *Hymenaei*, and also performed in Daniel's *Tethys' Festival* (1610) and Jonson's *Love Freed from Ignorance and Folly* (1611). When combined, this modest number nevertheless accounts for almost all those performances involving women during Queen Anna's time in England.[4]

The origins of the masque can be traced to mummeries and pageants of the Middle Ages. It was not until the early seventeenth century, however, and at the Stuart court, that it began to thrive as the leading form of theatrical activity, mainly under the influence of Queen Anna.[5] Boundaries between entertainers and spectators dissolved as the audience was invited to join in the dance near the end of the performance. Brought to the stage by acrobats and professional actors delivering the lines and aristocrats dancing their silent parts, a masque was a *Gesamtkunstwerk*, to use an anachronistic term, of choreographic dance, song, music, costume design, and philosophically-inspired librettos written by the leading authors of the day. It was a costly, grand theatrical spectacle which served various courtly factions and purposes simultaneously. Its glittering display reinvented and confirmed the might and power of the monarchy both to the monarchy itself and to those who received invitations, the most influential courtiers and foreign ambassadors. These invitations were fought over as they functioned as a yardstick that indicated which courtiers were rising to power, which falling from grace, and which diplomatic treaties would be pursued, which aborted. Its genre-based conventions, consisting of classically-infused texts, use of hieroglyphics and emblematic signs and costumes enabled writers and performers, moreover, to use the masque as a device to express criticism of courtly politics in an acceptable, coded manner.[6]

The Early Stuart Masque: Dance, Costume, and Music (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006; repr. 2010), mentions Bedford but once.

[4] Clare McManus, *Women on the Renaissance Stage: Anna of Denmark and Female Masquing in the Stuart Court (1590–1619)* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), 3.

[5] Queen Anna's role was first brought to the fore in Leeds Barroll, "Inventing the Stuart Masque," in *The Politics of the Stuart Court Masque*, eds. David Bevington and Peter Holbrook (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 121–43, later revised in his monograph *Anna of Denmark, Queen of England: A Cultural Biography* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001).

[6] This general introduction is indebted to David Lindley, ed., *Court Masques: Jacobean and Caroline Entertainments, 1605–1640* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995; repr. 1998).

The meaning and implications of Lady Bedford's taking centre-stage, literally as well as figuratively, have thus far only been superficially considered. This chapter will argue that by securing a role as a lead performer from the moment Queen Anna arrived in England, Lady Bedford cemented her position as the Queen's First Lady of the Bedchamber from 1604 to 1619, a position that enabled her to neutralise rivals while brokering other offices for her family at court. Her father was the Protestant John Harington, a wealthy landowner and MP for Rutland (1571; 1593; 1601); commissioner of the peace of Keveston, Lincolnshire (*c.* 1559–1593); JP for Rutland (from 1579) and Warwickshire (from 1583); keeper of Kenilworth Castle, Warwickshire (1588–1590); and deputy lieutenant of Rutland and Warwickshire (1590s).[7] Her mother Anne was a former lady-in-waiting to Elizabeth I, daughter of Sir Robert Keilway and Cecily Bulstrode. In 1594, the marriage of the thirteen-year-old Lucy to the twenty-one-year old Edward Russell was brokered by Anne Russell, another lady-in-waiting to Queen Elizabeth.[8] Lucy's family had always maintained political aspirations, which had in part been realised during Elizabeth's reign, if only within the county, but through her influence in Queen Anna's household they scaled to even greater heights at court. Lucy, home-schooled with Protestant zeal and well versed in Spanish, French, and Italian,[9] was the perfect "mediator and go-between" for use in the accomplishment of the family's more ambitious aspirations.[10] The following analysis of the first surviving Stuart masque, Samuel Daniel's *The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses* (1604), shows Lucy's political ambitions coming to the fore thereby suggesting that masques are a highly revealing source for the study of (female) households, with the configuration of the courtiers on stage conveying their hierarchical position within the household to the court at

[7] Jan Broadway, "Harington, John," *ODNB*.

[8] Lesley Lawson, *Out of the Shadows: The Life of Lucy, Countess of Bedford* (London: Hambledon Continuum, 2007), 16, 18.

[9] John Florio dedicated his Italian-English dictionary *A Worlde of Wordes* (London: By Arnold Hatfield for Edw. Blount, 1598; *STC* (2nd ed.) 11098) to Lucy, who "being at home so instructed for Italian, as teaching or learning could supplie, that there seemed no neede to trauell". Florio praised her "excellent Ladyship [...] who by conceited industrie, or industrious conceite, in Italian as in French, in French as in Spanish, in all as in English, vnderstand what [she] reade[s], write[s] as [she] reade[s], and speake[s] as [she] write[s]" (Sig. A3v).

[10] Lucy's role as political broker was first described by Margaret Maurer, "The Real Presence of Lucy Russell, Countess of Bedford, and The Terms of John Donne's 'Honour is so Sublime Perfection,'" *English Literary History* 47, no. 2 (1980): 205–34.

large. In the case of *The Vision* in particular, the masque shaped and propagated the formation of Queen Anna's female household in England.

New Household: New Opportunities

In 1589, former ladies-in-waiting of King James VI Stuart's late mother Mary, Queen of Scots, sailed to Denmark to escort Anna to Scotland.[11] In 1603, Anna travelled for a second time to a new country to join her husband, and again, a convoy of ladies-in-waiting to a deceased queen awaited her. Each of these escorts was perhaps less a sign of welcoming hospitality than an attempt to control the composition of this new and foreign queen's household from the start. The 1603 attempt at influencing the make-up of the new household was instigated not so much by the English Privy Council and Robert Cecil, Secretary of State and later 1st Earl of Salisbury, as has been suggested, but, just as in 1589, by King James himself.[12]

The king requested that Cecil and the English Privy Council arrange an escort for his wife, and that they select "some of the ladies of all degrees who were about the [old] Queen, as soon as the funerals be past [...] or some others whom you shall think meetest and most willing and able to abide travel".[13] Precisely a month later, on 15 May 1603, the Venetian secretary in England, Giovanni Carlo Scaramelli, wrote to the Doge and Senate that "Six great ladies of the Court with an escort of two hundred horse have [...] set out to meet her [Queen Anna] across the Scottish border [to Berwick-on-Tweed]".[14] These six ladies—Elizabeth Hastings, wife of Edward Somerset, 4th Earl of Worcester; Frances Howard, Countess of Kildare by her first marriage to Henry Fitzgerald (d. 1597), 12th Earl of Kildare; Philadelphia Carey, wife of Sir Thomas Scrope; Anne Russell, wife of Worcester's son, Henry Somerset, Lord Herbert; Audrey Shelton, wife of Sir Thomas Walsingham; and Penelope Devereux, wife (since 1581, divorced 1605) of Robert Rich, the later 1st Earl of Warwick—were chosen by the Privy Council to welcome Anna; and apart from Lady Penelope

[11] Rosalind K. Marshall, *Queen Mary's Women: Female Relatives, Servants, Friends and Enemies of Mary, Queen of Scots* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2006), 185.

[12] Barroll, *Anna of Denmark*, 41, suggests this was the intention of Cecil and the Privy Council.

[13] James's letter to the Privy Council of 15 April 1603, as cited in Barroll, *Anna of Denmark*, 41.

[14] *CSP Venice*, 10: no. 40.

Rich, they were all former ladies-in-waiting to Queen Elizabeth, as King James had stipulated.[15]

It was also James who insisted on the presence of Lady Rich. She had been sidelined in the previous reign because she had been identified as being complicit in the Essex rebellion. The conflict arose in February 1601 when Robert Devereux, Lady Rich's younger brother and 2nd Earl of Essex, falsely believed he could organise an uprising of the City of London against the queen and the Cecils in order for him to acquire pre-eminence at court. The rebellion was aborted as not enough men supported Essex; he was convicted of treason and beheaded. Lady Rich was briefly imprisoned, along with many others, but she was released after interrogation. James, who as King of Scotland had clandestinely corresponded with Essex and Lady Rich as early as 1589 about the possibility of succeeding Queen Elizabeth,[16] was more favourably inclined to Essex's associates than his predecessor. When he ascended to the English throne in 1603, the king removed the stigma from the Essex circle. These personae non gratae at Elizabeth's court now came into favour.

One of the noblemen associated with the Essex rebellion was Lucy's husband. The Bedfords had enjoyed courtly entertainments and favour, though at a great expense, until Edward became associated with the Essex rebellion. He denied all charges,[17] but Lady Rich had fetched him personally on the morning of the rebellion and brought him to Essex House.[18] When the plot unravelled, he was fined £20,000 (later reduced to £10,000), banished from the court by Queen Elizabeth and placed under house arrest in Buckinghamshire.[19] Lucy must have realised that Elizabeth's death could potentially end a period of exile from the court, and the change of regime, the arrival of a new monarch and his queen-consort, provided a rare opportunity to regain favour. When news of Queen Anna's imminent arrival reached London, Lady Bedford and her family quickly rose to the occasion.

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[15] Barroll, *Anna of Denmark*, 41–3. Jeane Klene, "Recreating the Letters of Lady Anne Southwell," in *New Ways of Looking at Old Texts: Papers of the Renaissance English Text Society, 1985–1991*, ed. W. Speed Hill (New York: Renaissance English Text Society, 1993), at 241–2, speculates that the poet Lady Anne Southwell was also among the ladies who welcomed the queen at Berwick-on-Tweed.

[16] Paul J. Hammer, "Devereux, Robert," *ODNB*.

[17] See Edward Russell's letter to the English Privy Council of 8 February 1603, as rendered in Lawson, *Out of the Shadows*, 37.

[18] Alison Wall, "Rich [née Devereux], Penelope," *ODNB*.

[19] Lawson, *Out of the Shadows*, 38–41.

Lady Bedford's father extended an invitation to King James to visit one of his estates in Rutland as part of his progress. The king accepted. While James was entertained at the Harington estate Harington-Burley (now Burley-on-the-Hill) on 23 April 1603—writer Samuel Daniel, who enjoyed Lucy's patronage, offered a presentation copy of his poem *A Panegyric Congratulatory* to the king[20]—Lucy and her mother Anne rode out to Edinburgh to meet his consort, their new queen.[21] Though not officially appointed by the Privy Council as the other ladies had been, Lucy and Anne got a head start on the party by not attending the state funeral on 28 April.[22] Mother and daughter had ample time to gain the queen's favour, accompanying her from Edinburgh to Berwick-upon-Tweed, at which *rendezvous* Cecil's official escort of six ladies and 200 horsemen were waiting. It had the desired effect. Lady Anne Clifford wrote in her diary: "my Lady of Bedford [...] was so great a Woman with the Queen as everybody much respected her, she having attended the Queen out of Scotland".[23] A hint of jealousy can be detected in Clifford's daily jottings: the Cliffords, servants under Elizabeth, were, unlike the Haringtons, not preferred candidates to continue as ladies-in-waiting during James's reign in England.[24]

In fact, James's Danish consort seemed to have disapproved of most of her husband's suggestions for her household, including Cecil's careful selection of Elizabeth's ladies-in-waiting, and appointed others to her household as she saw fit. It angered James that his ministers failed to stir Anna's decisions. On 15 June 1603, Sir Thomas Edmonds wrote to Gilbert Talbot, 7th Earl of Shrewsbury, from the court at Greenwich:

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[20] John Pitcher, "Daniel, Samuel," *ODNB*. In the printed version, *A Panegyrick* (London: Printed by Valentine Simmes for Edward Blount, 1603; *STC* (2nd edn) 6258), Daniel included a dedicatory verse letter to Lucy. The lines that are often cited contain the conceit that Lucy holds the "key" "t'unlocke that prison of [her] sex" (ll. 37–8), but Daniel also entices his patroness to reflect on the deceitfulness of life at court: "How oft are we constrained to appeare / With other countenance then that we owe, / And be our selues farre off, when we are neere? / How oft are we forc't on a clowdie hart / To set a shining face, and make it cleere [?]" (ll. 68–72).

[21] Mary Anne Everett Green, *Elizabeth, Electress Palatine and Queen of Bohemia* (1855; rev. version by S.C. Lomas, London: Methuen, 1909), 4.

[22] Anne Keilway-Harington might have felt entitled to claim a role in the welcoming committee because, like the officially-appointed ladies, she was also a former lady-in-waiting to Elizabeth I: see Lawson, *Out of the Shadows*, 1.

[23] Anne Clifford, *Diaries of Lady Anne Clifford*, ed. D.J.H. Clifford (Stroud: Alan Sutton, 1990), 23.

[24] Clifford, *Diaries*, 24. See also Barroll, *Anna of Denmark*, 77.

> I understand that the King is verie ill satisfied with the Duke of Len[n]ox for not having more effectually employed himself to disswade the Queene from some courses which she hath taken which doe verie muche discontent the Kinge; namelie, for conferringe the place of her Chamberleyn [...] on one M[aste]r Kennedy, a Scottishe gentellman, of whom the King hath very ill conceipt, and, as it is said, used these wourdes against him; that if he should fynd that she doe bring him hither to attend her in that place, that he woulde breake the staffe of his Chambrleynshipp [*sic*] on his hedd, and so dismisse him. It is sayd that the Kinge taketh the like offence at the coming of dyvers others that be in her companie; and therefore, the Duke of Len[n]ox was yesternight sent back in post unto her concerning all those particulars.

In disbelief, Edmonds adds "[i]t is [also] said that she [Queen Anna] hath hitherto refused to admitt my Ladye of Kildare, & the Ladye Walsingham, to be of her privye chamb[e]r, & hath onlie as yett sworne my Ladye of Bedfourd to that place".[25] By February 1604, Lady Walsingham would be admitted to Anna's Drawing chamber, as will become clear, but not to the innermost sanctum, the Bedchamber.[26] In June, Lady Kildare was appointed as the guardian of Princess Elizabeth instead, but that position, too, was transferred to the Harington family within the year. By July, Lady Kildare and Lady Harington shared the office of guardian to the princess, according to a diary entry of Anne Clifford. When Kildare's second husband Henry Brooke, 11th Baron Cobham, was charged with treason that very month,[27] this led to the office being entirely controlled by Lucy's parents in October.[28] The queen lost the battle over the position of Lord Chamberlain—and in October 1603, James appointed his man Cecil to the office of Lord High Steward of her household—but the wrestling over the female household had only just begun.[29]

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[25] Lambeth Palace Library, MS Talbot papers, Vol. K., fo. 83, as printed in Edmund Lodge, *Illustrations of British History, Biography, and Manners* (London: G. Nicol, 1791), 3: 163–5, at 163–4. The letter is also cited in Lawson, *Out of the Shadows*, 49 and Lewalski, *Writing Women*, 22.

[26] Barroll, *Anna of Denmark*, 49.

[27] Mark Nicholls, "Brooke, Henry," *ODNB*.

[28] Lady Kildare was appointed governess to Princess Elizabeth on 5 June 1603. On 25 June 1603 on her journey south, the princess, who travelled mostly separately from her mother with Lady Kildare from Edinburgh to London, had been put up at Coombe Abbey, the estate which Lucy's mother Anne had inherited in Warwickshire. In July Anne Clifford notes that Lady Harington received joint guardianship with Lady Kildare over the princess: see Clifford, *Diaries*, 24, 27, Everett Green, *Elizabeth*, 5–7 and Lawson, *Out of the Shadows*, 53.

[29] Pauline Croft, "Cecil, Robert," *ODNB*.

The First Surviving Stuart Masque

Even though Lady Bedford was originally the only lady admitted to Anna's Bedchamber, her position was far from secure in the first months after the English coronation. Lucy, overtaken by a mysterious illness that was mistakenly believed to be the plague, had been forced to leave Anna's side.[30] Lady Rich apparently had no hesitation in competing for her place. Anne Clifford, somewhat gloatingly, records the fickleness of favour in her diary. The diary fragment is from the time of Lucy's return to Hampton Court after her illness: "Now was my Lady Rich grown great with the Queen, in so much as my Lady of Bedford was something out with her, and when she came to Hampton Court was entertained but even indifferently, and yet continued to be of the Bed Chamber."[31] Lady Rich had already replaced Lady Bedford as the queen's favourite; it could only be a matter of time before she would replace her as Lady of the Bedchamber, or so Clifford seems to suggest.

The rivalries between Lady Bedford and Lady Rich for the position of First Lady of the Bedchamber found expression in one of the first masques at Hampton Court: Samuel Daniel's *Vision of the Twelve Goddesses*, performed on 8/18 January 1603/4. Lady Bedford knew that she needed to consolidate her position of favour as the only lady of the Queen's Bedchamber. What better way than to take hold of a grand theatrical entertainment which would command all eyes at court? After all, Anna's would be the first performance by a queen consort on stage in 40 years (masquing ordinarily being the prerogative of men).[32] Lady Rich would also dance in it, in the role of Venus, but Bedford exercised her own influence on the theatrical performance in three ways: she selected the writer of the libretto, directed the masque, and participated as a performer. Even though Jonson had already proved his literary aptitude for the genre by writing the masque's libretto for *A Particular Entertainment at Althorp* in June 1603, Lady Bedford brokered the commission for the first official public court masque for Daniel, a writer whom she had patronised since her youth.[33]

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30 Lawson, *Out of the Shadows*, 51.

31 Clifford, *Diaries*, 26; also cited in Lawson, *Out of the Shadows*, 52.

32 Barroll, *Anna of Denmark*, 10.

33 Ben Jonson, *A Particular Entertainment at Althorp*, ed. James Knowles, in David Bevington, Martin Butler, Ian Donaldson et al., *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Ben Jonson*, 7 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 2: 394–417. Knowles, at p. 396, points out that Jonson's masque revived "Elizabethan panegyric, stressing the new consort queen's continuity with, and difference from, her predecessor", which makes it the more

That the choice of a relatively unknown writer carried some risks becomes clear from Daniel's dedicatory letter to Lucy. It prefaced his octavo printed libretto, which was published only after the masque's performance. Countering a pirated, quarto edition from printer Edward Allde, he also gives other motivations for bringing to light an authorised introduction to the masque:

> I briefly [deliver] both the reason and manner of this masque, as well as to satisfy the desire of those who could not well note the carriage of these passages by reason [...] as also [...] [to] clear the reckoning of any imputation that might be laid upon your judgement for preferring such a one to her Majesty in this employment.[34]

Daniel's statement testifies that his thanks were due to Lady Bedford for having received the commission from Queen Anna to write the masque's libretto. Yet it also discloses that as a result of his script his patroness was on the receiving end of criticism from courtiers who had not understood the masque properly, according to Daniel because "present pomp and splendor" distracted them.[35]

What did the audience find so repellent that Daniel felt the need to apologise? Comparison of Daniel's authorised text to the pirated edition suggests that Daniel had wanted to remove Catholic elements, such as the stage appearance of nuns, which suggests that James's Protestant subjects might have taken offence at the implicit Catholic political subtext of the masque. The masque symbolised the union between the Crowns of England and Scotland, with the emphasis on Elizabethan iconography to "ameliorat[e] the trauma which James's succession involved by displaying in symbolic gestures the continuities between his reign and his predecessor's", as Martin Butler has argued.[36] The figure of Concordia, danced by

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peculiar that Jonson failed to obtain the next commission. After all, Queen Anna must have endorsed Jonson's chosen theme fully because the politics of *The Vision* continues the politics of *Althorp*. One can only speculate how Jonson must have felt about being passed over, that another writer got to elaborate on his work, but he in any case did not attempt to hide his displeasure: he and his friend Sir John Roe went to see *The Vision* and must have caused some kind of uproar because they were evicted from the masque hall: see Martin Butler, *The Stuart Court Masque and Political Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 35.

[34] Samuel Daniel, *The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses*, ed. Joan Rees, in Gerald Eades Bentley, *A Book of Masques in Honour of Allardyce Nicoll* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967), 30.

[35] Daniel, *The Vision*, 30.

[36] Martin Butler, "The Invention of Britain and the Early Stuart Masque," in *The Stuart Court & Europe: Essays in Politics and Political Culture*, ed. R. Malcolm Smuts (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 72.

the Scottish Lady Nottingham, was dressed up in "a parti-coloured mantle of crimson and white (the colours of England and Scotland joined)".[37] Yet the masque was also infused with Catholic imagery. The plague had forced James to postpone the opening of parliament; in parliamentary sessions the king had planned to begin negotiations to end the Anglo-Spanish war (the peace treaty ending 19 years of war was concluded during what would become known as the Somerset House Conference in August that year). Plague-infested London saw the politics of peace with Catholic Spain transferred from Westminster to the stage in Hampton Court.[38] All possible forms of courtesy were given to the Spanish ambassador Juan de Tassis, Count of Villa Mediana, to enhance the convivial relations between the Crowns: he and the Catholic Polish ambassador Stanislaus Cikowski de Voislanice were the masque's guests of honour. For similar reasons, because his presence would have offended the Spanish ambassador, the French ambassador, Christophe de Harlay, Comte de Beaumont, was denied admittance to the Tudor hall.

The meaning of receiving or being denied an invitation was well understood by the diplomatic corps: while the Spanish ambassador prided himself on being "inuited to the greatest masque", the French ambassador

> was greatly discontented that he was flatly refused to be admitted [...] about which he vsed vnmannerly expostulations with the King and for a few dayes trubled the Court, but the Queen was faine to take the matter vppon her who as a Masquer had inuited the Spaniard [...] and to haue them both there could not well be with owt blud-shed.[39]

By omitting in the authorised version, for instance, the fact that his lead, the Sybil, who delivered the most lines, was constantly on stage and directed the sacrifices the goddesses brought to the Temple of Peace, had been "deckt as a Nunne, in blacke vpon White",[40] Daniel seems to have wanted to de-emphasise this bow to the Spanish and placate his Protestant readers.

From Lady Bedford's perspective, Daniel's apology or self-censorship was uncalled for, because the masque was in all other respects a success

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[37] Ibid.; Daniel, *The Vision*, 27.

[38] For the significance of *The Vision* in the peace negotiations see Peter Holbrook, "Jacobean Masques and the Jacobean Peace," in Bevington and Holbrook, *The Politics of the Stuart Court Masque*, 67–87.

[39] Carleton to Chamberlain, 15 January 1604, TNA, SP 14/6, fos. 53–56, at fo. 53v; also cited in Barroll, *Anna of Denmark*, 88.

[40] *True Description* (*STC* (2nd ed.) 6264; Sig. B1r).

for her. In addition to promoting Daniel as a writer, Lady Bedford presided over the masque. Her use of this opportunity to realise her ambition of securing the post of First Lady of the Queen's Bedchamber becomes clear when we take into account that a similarly organisational role of director was filled by Ludovic Stuart, 2nd Duke of Lennox, who had recently secured the male equivalent, the office of First Gentleman of the King's Bedchamber: he directed the masque danced by the male household, *The Masque of Orient Knights* (of which the text no longer exists).[41] Bedford also participated in the dance at the end of the king's masque, which, held on New Year's Night, preceded the queen's masque.[42] Both Lennox's and Bedford's directorial roles are revealed by a letter from Dudley Carleton, at the time comptroller of the household of the 9th Earl of Northumberland, to his friend John Chamberlain, dated 21 December 1603. In anticipation, Carleton writes: "We shall haue a merry Christmas at Hampton-court[,] for both male and femal[e]—maskes are allready bespoken[,] whereof the Duke [of Lennox] is *rector chori* of th'one side, and the La[dy] Bedford of the other".[43] That the production of *The Vision* was recognised as hers is also evidenced by the fact that a musical score in manuscript for one of the dances is entitled "The Lady Lucies Masque", rather than 'Daniel's Masque' or 'The Queen's Masque'.[44]

This chapter will firmly establish that, in addition to choosing the scriptwriter and her duties as director, Lady Bedford danced the role of Vesta. Until 2011, Ernest Law's 1880 edition of *The Vision* was the only secondary work that pointed towards a source for the identification of the ladies' roles. Following Law, without accrediting him, Barbara Kiefer Lewalski noted that in a copy in the British Library of *The True Description of a Royall Masque* (London, 1604), an anonymous, unauthorised edition of Daniel's libretto: "the names of all performers are penned in by a contemporary hand."[45] Neither Law nor Lewalski give the British Library's

[41] The masque is named and reconstructed by Barroll, *Anna of Denmark*, 81–9, who points out that even though the text is lost, copious descriptions of costumes, scenery, and performers survive (usually it is the other way around). In other secondary sources, this lost masque is referred to as *The Masque of Indian and China Knights*.

[42] Carleton to Chamberlain, 15 January 1604, TNA, SP 14/6, fos. 53–56, at fo. 53r.

[43] Carleton to Chamberlain, 21 December 1603, TNA, SP 14/5, no. 20 (fo. 45r).

[44] Andrew Sabol, *Four Hundred Songs and Dances from the Stuart Masques* (Providence: Brown University Press, 1978), 231, 580, refers to BL, Add. MS 10444, fos. 39, 89v, as pointed out in Lewalski, *Writing Women*, 361 endnote 23.

[45] See Ernest Law, *The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses* (London: B. Quaritch, 1880), 22, 51, and Lewalski, *Writing Women*, 336 endnote 66. The scribbler might have been Sir Thomas Edmonds, because he sent such a marked up copy to the Earl of Shrewsbury. As Edmonds

catalogue number, but it can be identified as shelfmark 161.a.41.[46] That source clearly has Lady Bedford down as Vesta (see Figure 8). In 2012, Berta Cano-Echevarría and Mark Hutchings identified another document, however, authored by Spanish Ambassador Villa Mediana who switches the roles of Bedford and Hertford. In other words, the ambassador identifies Lady Bedford not as Vesta but as Diana instead.[47] In a footnote Cano-Echevarría and Hutchings assert that they

> believe that Villamediana's identification of Bedford as Diana is more likely to be the correct one because as sponsor of the masque, Bedford is most likely to have taken the central, more powerful position in the second trio, and moreover is a better candidate for the symbolically significant figure of Diana.[48]

Whereas Cano-Echevarría and Hutchings do not further explain themselves why they assume Bedford is "a better candidate" for Diana or why that role would be more "symbolically significant", this chapter will argue that no other role would have suited Bedford better than Vesta.

On the basis of order of appearance—Lady Bedford was "in the second rather than first triad of goddesses in the procession"—Lewalski has also argued that Vesta was a minor role.[49] Cano-Echevarría and Hutchings concur. It certainly would make no sense for Lucy as director of the masque to assign herself an insignificant part, but it seems that the order of manifestation was of little significance in *The Vision*. This is supported by Daniel's remark that "nor were [we] tied by any laws of heraldry to range them [i.e. the goddesses] otherwise in their precedencies than they fell out to stand with the nature of the matter in hand".[50] The narrative Daniel and Bedford set out to put across sought to focus on the order of

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writes to Shrewsbury, "Whereas your Lo. saythe youe wear neuer perticulerly advertesed of the maske, I have been at 6d charge which youe to send youe the booke, which wyll enform youe better then I can, having noted the names of the ladyes applyed to eche goddes": Edmonds to Shrewsbury, 2 February 1603/4, as printed in Lodge, *Illustrations*, 3: 227.

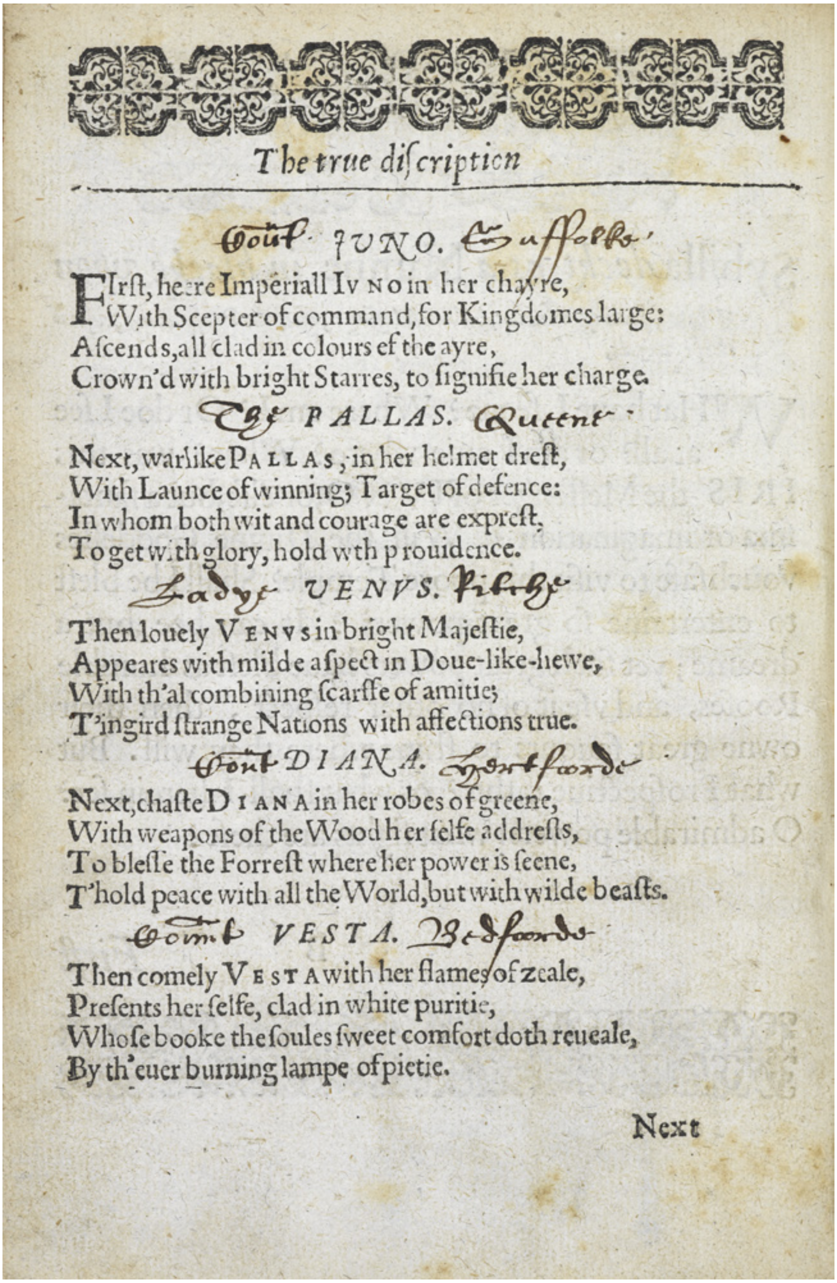
[46] I thank Dr Arnold Hunt for helping me trace the source.

[47] In his study, *Anna of Denmark*, Barroll also gives the names of the performers and their corresponding roles as a list at 91, without noting a source. It is possible that Barroll also worked from Villa Mediana's text because Barroll also switches the roles of Bedford and Hertford.

[48] Berta Cano-Echevarría and Mark Hutchings, "The Spanish Ambassador and Samuel Daniel's *Vision of the Twelve Goddesses*: A New Document [with text]," *English Literary Renaissance* (2012): 223–57 at 250 footnote 75. At p. 238 they also describe Diana "as the more important role".

[49] Lewalski, "Lucy, Countess of Bedford: Images of a Jacobean Courtier and Patroness," 56.

[50] Daniel, *The Vision*, 26.



The true discription

Suffolke IVNO.

FIrst, heere Imperiall IVNO in her chayre,
With Scepter of command, for Kingdomes large:
Ascends, all clad in colours of the ayre,
Crown'd with bright Starres, to signifie her charge.

The PALLAS. Queene

Next, warlike PALLAS, in her helmet drest,
With Launce of winning; Target of defence:
In whom both wit and courage are exprest,
To get with glory, hold with prouidence.

VENVS.

Then louely VENVS in bright Majestie,
Appeares with milde aspect in Doue-like-hewe,
With th'al combining scarffe of amitie;
T'ingird strange Nations with affections true.

DIANA. Hertforde

Next, chaste DIANA in her robes of greene,
With weapons of the Wood her selfe addrests,
To blesse the Forrest where her power is seene,
T'hold peace with all the World, but with wilde beasts.

VESTA. Bedforde

Then comely VESTA with her flames of zeale,
Presents her selfe, clad in white puritie,
Whose booke the soules sweet comfort doth reueale,
By th'euer burning lampe of pietie.

Next

Fig. 8. Printed copy of Samuel Daniel's masque with masquers identified in a contemporary hand
BL, 161.a.41, Samuel Daniel, *The True Discription of a Royall Masque* (1604), Sig. B1v

the goddesses, not necessarily their status or indeed that of the ladies. This might explain why Queen Anna in the guise of Pallas "attired in a blue mantle with a silver embroidery of all weapons and engines of war, with a helmet dressing on her head"[51] did not appear first on stage alone but was instead flanked by the Countess of Suffolk and Lady Rich. Suffolk and Rich accompanying Anna, and Lady Bedford following in a second "triad", could be interpreted as a sign that Bedford at the time of performance had not yet retrieved the status as favourite that she had lost during her illness.

There is, however, another possible reading. Carleton gives a detailed eyewitness account showing that the order in which the masquers appeared, normally of crucial import, was less significant for this particular performance. As he writes, "through the midst from the top came a winding stayre of breadth for three to march; and so descended the maskers by three and three; which *being all seene on the stayres at once* [my emphasis] was the best presentation I haue at any time seene".[52]

If there was an order of precedence, then visually Lady Bedford might well have presented herself to the audience second to the queen, in a direct vertical line created by the effect of standing on a staircase. Moreover, as Clare McManus reminds us, "[t]echnically speaking", Daniel's *Vision* was "not actually staged at all" because a "raised stage" was not introduced until 1605. Back in 1604 "masques and entertainments were [still] enacted on moveable pageants cars and the floor of the hall", and so a privileged perspective was lacking.[53]

Finally, although Carleton, like Daniel's printed text, notes the different colours of the ladies' costumes, he also notes that "theyr attire was alike, loose mantles and Petticotes";[54] it was their head ornaments which "did onely distinguish the differences of the Goddesses they did represent".[55] In a hall lit only dimly by torchbearers, their individual silhouettes created by different layers of fabric, loosely falling cloaks over wide petticoats, were indistinguishable. It was the tableaux which the ladies created *en masse* in the middle of the hall that caught the audience's attention. Only the queen stood out, erotically clad in the seventeenth-century equivalent of a mini-skirt. As Carleton cheekily remarks to his friend Chamberlain,

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51 Daniel, *The Vision*, 27.
52 Carleton to Chamberlain, 15 January 1604, TNA, SP 14/6, fos. 53–56, at fo. 53v.
53 McManus, *Women on the Renaissance Stage*, 97.
54 Carleton to Chamberlain, 15 January 1604, TNA, SP 14/ 6, fos. 53–56, at fo. 53v.
55 Ibid., at fo. 54r.

"Onely Pallas [Queen Anna] had a trick by her self; for her clothes were not so much below the knee, but that we might see a woeman had both feete and legs, which I neuer knew before".[56]

The ladies circling the stage would also create the impression of a unified whole, with the queen at the centre. After each of the goddesses offered their gifts "at an Altar in a Temple which was builte on the left side of the hall towards the vpper end", they walked "two rounds" and commenced dancing, which culminated in their inviting various high-placed nobles and ambassadors sitting in the audience to join in. Lady Bedford danced with Villa Mediana.[57] The masquers' exit also created circular movement and closure: the measures were brought to an end when "[t]hey retired themselfs towardes midnight, *in order as they came in* [my emphasis]".[58] McManus sums it up: "[t]he performance in the Great Hall was a circular procession of the royal and aristocratic female body on the hall floor, which held its performers in the gaze of their peers and subjects in the audience for as long as possible."[59]

Yet although only the queen's silhouette stood out, and entry via a circular staircase and spherical movement on the hall floor denied further hierarchical status among the ladies, the performers embodied different goddesses. Their varying roles found expression in different headpieces and props, as Carleton's letter detailed. A male actor, playing the part of the Sybil, introduced their virtues to the audience.[60] After the performance, all ladies "quickly returned vnmaskt, but in theyr masking attire".[61] As they returned still in costume, but with their masks removed, and even enjoyed a banquet thereafter as Carleton's letter also reveals, the audience would be able to identify the individual masquers, if they had not already recognised them by their posture and movements during the performance.

Unmasked, but still in her masque costume, audience members would have noted which role the Lady Bedford had danced—at least, those audience members who would have been acquainted with her. Even though one could argue that an English insider would have been more likely to have recognised Bedford unmasqued than a foreign ambassador who had

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[56] Ibid. For the erotic display of the female body during masque performances see McManus, *Women on the Renaissance Stage*, 127.

[57] Mary Sullivan, *Court Masques of James I: Their Influence on Shakespeare and the Public Theatres* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1913), 15.

[58] Carleton to Chamberlain, 15 January 1604, TNA, SP 14/6, fos. 53–56, at fo. 54r.

[59] McManus, *Women on the Renaissance Stage*, 105.

[60] Daniel, *The Vision*, 29.

[61] Carleton to Chamberlain, 15 January 1604, TNA, SP 14/6, fos. 53–56, at fo. 54r.

only been at the court less than a fortnight, it seems impossible to determine with absolute certainty which author assigns Lady Bedford the correct role. Still, one could weigh why Lady Bedford would have chosen to represent a particular goddess. Would it have been more plausible for her to have danced as Diana or Vesta? Goddess Diana was Queen Elizabeth I's persona.[62] As said before, Lady Bedford danced with Villa Mediana. Would it not have been too much of risk to put a Spanish ambassador on the spot to dance with Elizabeth I incarnated, the queen who defeated the Armada? Admittedly, such a dance would be the ultimate sign of peace, but it could also easily have been taken as offensive and broken off delicate peace negotiations. In addition, Anna certainly wanted to pay tribute to the reign of her Protestant predecessor to ease tension but ultimately she wanted to break away from it. The choice of Diana would therefore not necessarily have been beneficial to Bedford's ambition to gain long-lasting influence in Anna's household. The role of Vesta, on the other hand, would have unequivocally foregrounded such ambition. Vesta is, in Lewalski's words "not at first glance the most honorific role",[63] but even though Lewalski tries to argue it was not secondary either, she fails to see Vesta's most significant symbolic function, a function one may assume did not escape a seventeenth-century audience. Vesta was not simply Religion but also personified the Roman goddess of the hearth and household. If one accepts that as *rector chori* of the masque, Lady Bedford's purpose was to consolidate her position as First Lady of the Queen's Bedchamber, then no other role would have suited her better.

Daniel speaks about the "Goddesses, under whose images former times have represented the several gifts of heaven". To Vesta, they "attributed" religion.[64] In other words, Vesta is often justly interpreted as representing Religion in *The Vision*, but this interpretation should be nuanced: it is Vesta, commonly recognised as goddess of the household, an entity in her own right, invested or adorned with the power of religion. In *The Vision*, this duality of power is not only cleverly reflected in the two gifts she offers at the altar, "a burning lamp in one hand, and a book in the other", but also clearly in her costume: Vesta wore a mantle "embroidered with

[62] For Queen Anna's manipulation and modification of Elizabethan imagery see James Knowles, "'To Enlight the Darksome Night, Pale Cinthia Doth Arise': Anna of Denmark, Elizabeth I and the Images of Royalty," in *Women and Culture at the Courts of the Stuart Queens*, ed. Clare McManus (Houndsmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 21–48.

[63] Lewalski, "Lucy, Countess of Bedford: Images of a Jacobean Courtier and Patroness," 56.

[64] Daniel, *The Vision*, 25–6.

gold-flames", the fiery blazes symbolising the hearth, and "a dressing [i.e. headpiece] like a nun", the cap denoting religion.[65] Note also how the props would have suited Bedford: a light is reminiscent of her name Lucy, a book would pay homage to her learnedness. The colours of Vesta's costume, the embellished "golden flames", presumably golden in the centre but flaring out in burning red, matched Villa Mediana's colours, a similar gesture of tribute as the red feather Queen Anna wore in her headpiece.

Vesta's headpiece, a nun's hood, symbolises Religion in general, but Catholicism in particular. The desire of James, and to a lesser extent the English Privy Council, to control the make-up of Anna's household might have been stirred by anxiety about the queen fostering pro-Catholic, pro-Spanish sympathies. Elsewhere in this volume Cynthia Fry discusses Anna's covert Catholic diplomacy, influenced by certain ladies who had joined her household in Scotland, such as Henrietta Stuart, Countess of Huntly, and Jane Drummond, Countess of Roxburghe. It is telling that Huntly and Roxburghe, Anna's unequivocally Catholic ladies who had followed her to England, did not participate in the masque. Instead, Daniel presented a goddess of the household to the court who was Calvinist at heart in the person of Lady Bedford: even if the household was dressed up as Catholic, its centre was still of the right religious creed. As an act of reconciliation, in line with the masque's theme of peace with Spain, she had only decked herself out as a Catholic.

Daniel's masque was a visualisation of the composition of Anna's household, which was officially to register appointments only a fortnight later. Iris, the character who announced the masquers' exit in a closing speech, explained:

> these deities [that is, the twelve goddesses] [were controlled] by the motion of the all-directing Pallas [danced by Queen Anna], the glorious patroness of this mighty monarchy, [who] descending in the majesty of their invisible essence upon yonder mountain found there the best (and most worthily the best) of ladies, disporting [that is, entertaining] with her choicest attendants [...] (knowing all their desires to be such) as ever more to grace this glorious monarchy with the real effects of these blessings represented.[66]

Iris, who gets the final word, makes it plain that Anna had personally selected her ladies-in-waiting: these were "the best"—and Iris adds "most worthily the best" allowing no room for argument. There certainly could

[65] Daniel, *The Vision*, 27.
[66] Ibid., 36–7.

be no mistake: these twelve were "*her* choicest attendants [my emphasis]" who would for "ever more grace this glorious monarchy".

The reuse of the dresses and jewellery of the late Elizabeth I by Anna and her ladies for their masque costumes has received copious critical commentary.[67] McManus urges caution, however: "[t]oo much weight cannot be given to the decision to use existing costumes [...] Anna's actions [...] had their basis in elite practice".[68] Clothes were often reused. However, if this were standard "elite practice", it would not have elicited reactions from contemporaries, such as Arbella Stuart and again Carleton.[69] The dresses of Elizabeth would have fitted one of the masque's purposes: to underscore the continuity between reigns.[70] Yet for Anna it could also have symbolised her own control over 'the dressing up' of her own household, not simply taking over the ladies of the deceased queen but selecting and remoulding what, or rather who, she could use and disregarding other 'material'.

A comparison of two lists, the dramatis personae of Daniel's masque of 8/18 January 1603/4 and the first surviving appointments list of the queen's household of 2/12 February 1603/4,[71] reveals that Anna admitted all the female masquers who were married to the innermost circles of her household, the Bedchamber and Drawing chamber, with the exception of Lady Hatton.[72] The unmarried Dorothy Hastings, who had danced as Goddess Ceres, and Elizabeth Howard, daughter of the Countess of Suffolk, who had danced as Goddess Tethys, would not be directly admitted to the household but enjoyed favour by being continually invited back to court.[73]

Marriage seems thus to have been a precondition for admittance to the female household, presumably because the queen wanted to have

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[67] See for instance Law, *The Vision*, 23–4; Alison Findlay, *Playing Spaces in Early Women's Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 120–1; Ravelhofer, *The Early Stuart Masque*, 143–4; and Butler, *The Stuart Court Masque*, 101.

[68] McManus, *Women and the Renaissance Stage*, 107.

[69] See Lady Arbella Stuart to Gilbert Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, 18 December 1603, in *The Letters of Lady Arbella Stuart*, ed. Sara Jayne Steen (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 197, letter no. 36.

[70] See n. 36 above.

[71] The household list, recorded by the 4th Earl of Worcester, is fully printed in Barroll, *Anna of Denmark*, 49; in addition to the Ladies of the Bedchamber, and Drawing chamber, the names of four maids of honour are also given. The list of female masquers is rendered in Lewalski: see n. 45 above.

[72] Barroll, *Anna of Denmark*, 92, suggests that Hatton had only been allowed to perform as a courteous gesture to Robert Cecil (she was his niece).

[73] Barroll, *Anna of Denmark*, 93.

prior knowledge of the familial and marital allegiances of her ladies-in-waiting. In a footnote Sandra Logan refutes Simon Adams who in *Leicester and the Court* repeatedly refers to Elizabeth I's "sexual jealousy" which "made the lives of her gentlewomen miserable, but also threatened the careers of favoured men when they made marriage of which she did not approve".[74] Logan rightly asserts that Elizabeth I's interventions in marriages were politically motivated and do not simply reflect the queen's sexual frustration.[75] Elizabeth's reign had shown that controlling love and familial interests was difficult; Anna's choice of married women to fill the most politically charged roles within her household shows her political astuteness. In this manner, she would be familiar with the loyalties of her women in advance and would have less chance of being surprised by newly-forged familial allegiances.[76]

Lady Hatton, Edward Coke's wife, who kept the name of her first husband, seems to have been a special case, as she was the only married lady who had danced in the masque (she had performed the role of Goddess Macaria) but was not admitted to Anna's household thereafter. Hatton had joined Bedford and her mother in accompanying Anna from Edinburgh, circumventing the ladies who had been officially appointed by the Privy Council to do so.[77] A letter of Sir John Stanhope addressed to Secretary Cecil reveals that Hatton had aspired to a specific office, that of keeper of the jewels and the queen's dresser:

> I received a letter very lately from my Lady Hatton, wherein she earnestly moved me to interest your lordship to procure for her the King's letter to the Queen, that if her Majesty like of the Lady Hatton's service, he then consent that she have the place with the Queen to keep her jewels and help to make her ready.[78]

The desired place went instead to Katherine Knyvett, Countess of Suffolk (since July 1603) by her marriage to Thomas Howard, 1st Earl of Suffolk. She had served in Elizabeth I's privy chamber since 1599. Under Anna she

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[74] Simon Adams, *Leicester and the Court: Essays on Elizabethan Politics* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), 37, 124, 146.

[75] Sandra Logan, *Text / Events in Early Modern England: Poetics of History* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 166.

[76] A reversed politics is also possible to control familial connections and loyalty: elsewhere in this volume, Katrin Keller describes how ladies-in-waiting in the Imperial household were only admitted while unmarried and dismissed after they married.

[77] Barroll, *Anna of Denmark*, 47.

[78] Salisbury MSS, 15: 388, as quoted in Barroll, *Anna of Denmark*, 48.

continued as lady of the Drawing chamber and keeper of the jewels (from 1603 to *c.* 1608).[79]

That Lady Suffolk enjoyed special favour is clear: in *The Vision* Queen Anna even relinquished the role of Juno, Queen of all Goddesses, to this countess.[80] The fact that Queen Anna did not dance the role of Juno herself, "which would have been an appropriate enough role, this goddess being queen of all the other Roman gods and goddesses and spouse of Jupiter" has baffled most critics.[81] In 1617 Anna would cancel a masque organised at great cost by Lucy Percy, Lady Hay, when she found out that this future lady-in-waiting of Henrietta Maria had been so presumptuous as to appropriate the role of Queen of the Amazons.[82] Yet in the context of the politics of *The Vision*, it makes perfect sense: Suffolk was a secret confidante of Spanish Ambassador Villa Mediana, underhandedly advising him around the time of the performance of the masque on how to convince King James to tolerate Catholicism, a religion which was then still penalised. She fed the ambassador the plan that "if the Catholics would give to the crown, in one payment, seven years' worth of the fines then collected for recusancy, James would remove or remit the fines for the next twenty-one years".[83] It was a daring proposal: potentially it "would open a Pandora's box because there were thousands of crypto-Catholics still undeclared", but the suggestion was that James might consider it because at a minimum it would line his coffers with £40,000.[84] Anna placing her regal status in Suffolk's hands for the duration of the masque performance would in coded terms have conveyed a powerful message to Villa Mediana, who after all was guest of honour for this entertainment: Suffolk and her covert, Catholic diplomacy enjoyed Anna's full support. In May to June 1604 Villa Mediana drew up a list of ladies-in-waiting who he wanted to see rewarded for their assistance in the peace negotiations. While the Ladies Rich, Hertford, Derby, Susan de Vere, and Bedford

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79 Helen Payne, "Howard, Katherine, countess of Suffolk," *ODNB*.

80 Daniel, *The Vision*, 26–7.

81 Barroll seems reluctant to "argue [...] for or against the suitability of this selection", but notes that in other productions Anna also danced as Pallas "to promote her English, as opposed to her Scottish persona": see Barroll, *Anna of Denmark*, 199 n. 35.

82 Lita-Rose Betcherman, *Court Lady and Country Wife: Two Noble Sisters in Seventeenth-Century England* (New York: HarperCollins, 2005), 51.

83 Albert J. Loomie, "Spanish Secret Diplomacy at the Court of James," in *Politics, Religion & Diplomacy in Early Modern Europe: Essays in Honour of DeLamar Jensen*, eds. Malcolm R. Thorp and Arthur Joseph Slavin (Kirksville, Mo.: Sixteenth Century Journal Publications, 1994), 231–2.

84 Loomie, "Spanish Secret Diplomacy at the Court of James," 233.

received gifts of £200–£400, Suffolk was granted a staggering £9,130 worth of jewels and cash.[85]

While the office of keeper of the jewels might have been reserved for the Countess of Suffolk for good reason, it is uncertain why Hatton did not receive another position, in the Drawing chamber for instance. Had Lady Hatton overstepped a boundary? In 1617 Anna would dismiss Lady Drummond for soliciting the position of Lord Chamberlain in Prince Charles's household for her husband on her own initiative:[86] direct or indirect communication with James, in which she was not consulted, seems not to have been appreciated by Anna. It could of course also have been the case that James did not approve of Lady Hatton and favoured Lady Southwell instead: the latter was the only lady admitted to the Drawing chamber not having danced in the masque.

Lucy accomplished her goals: by means of masquing, as the Earl of Worcester wrote, she was able to "howldethe fast to the bed chamber". Worcester, who drew up the list of household appointments, also revealed other names in his colourful letter to the Earl of Shrewsbury. Written from the court shortly after performance of the masque, it deserves to be quoted at length as it reveals the descending degrees of favour and the intense rivalry for positions in the "feminine comonwelth" as Worcester terms it:

> Nowe, […] having doon with matters of state, I must a littell towche the feminine comon welthe, that agaynst youer coming youe bee not altogether like an ignorant countrey fellow. First, youe must knowe we have ladyes of divers degrees of favor; some for the privat chamber, some for the drawing chamber, some for the bedchamber, and some for neyther certeyn, and of this nombre is only my Lady Arbella [Stuart] and my wife [Elizabeth Hastings]. My Lady of Bedford [Goddess Vesta or Diana] howldethe fast to the bed chamber; my Lady Harford [Goddess Diana or Vesta] would fayn, but her husband hathe cawled her home. My Lady of Derbee the yonger [Goddess Proserpina], the Lady Suffolke [Goddess Juno], Ritche [Goddess Venus], Nottingham [Goddess Concordia], Susan [Goddess Flora], Walsingham [Goddess Astraea], and, of late, the Lady So[u]thwell, for the drawing chamber; all the rest for the private chamber, when they are not shut owt, for mayny times the dores are lokt; but the plotting and mallice amongst them is sutche, that I thinke envy hathe teyd an invisibl[e] snake abowt most of ther neks to sting on another to deathe. For the presence there are nowe 5 mayds, Cary, Myddellmore, Woodhouse, Gargrave, Roper, the sixt is

[85] Gustav Ungerer, "Juan Pantoja de la Cruz and the Circulation of Gifts between the English and Spanish Courts in 1604/5," *Sederi* 9 (1998): 63.

[86] Payne, "Ker [Kerr; née Drummond], Jane [Jean], countess of Roxburghe," *ODNB*.

> determyned but not come; God send them good fortune, for as yet they have no mother [i.e. no mother of the maids / governess].[87]

The letter reveals that Worcester's own wife, who had been among the six ladies chosen by Cecil, had not secured a position. It also confirms that Bedford had been able to secure the highest position, Lady of the Bedchamber. The Countess of Hertford was also selected for the Bedchamber, the most preferred chamber of all, for which others would kill, according to the above letter. Lucy's cultural efforts had been financially assisted by Edward Seymour, 1st Earl of Hertford, who was married (since 1601) to Lady Frances Howard, widow of Henry Prannell: the earl paid £40 to Daniel, for the six weeks in which the writer worked on the masque, and £250 to his own steward to set up the scenery.[88] Lady Hertford's appointment might have been a reward for her husband's loyalty and financial assistance, but the jealous sixty-four-year-old earl called off the honourable appointment, wanting to have his twenty-five-year-old wife home in the country rather than the city.[89] Jane Drummond, whose name is absent from the household lists, seems to have taken Hertford's place.[90]

As luck would have it, a poem has survived commemorating Lucy's victory:

> Bedford hee ranne awaie / When ower men lost the daie, / Yet must his honor paie / So 'tis assigned. / Except his fine dancing dame / Do theyr hard hartes tame, / And swear it is a shame / Fooles should be fined.[91]

The Earl of Bedford, seen as a coward after the Essex rebellion, was admitted again at court through the good offices of his "dancing dame". Her father was elevated to the peerage, made 1st Baron of Exton in July 1603, and he and her mother received the exalted appointment of guardians to Princess Elizabeth, the only daughter of James and Anna to survive

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[87] Lambeth Palace Library, Talbot Papers, Volume K, fol. 182, Edmonds to Shrewsbury, 2 February 1603/4, Lodge, *Illustrations*, 3: 226–8, at 227–8, also cited in Lewalski, *Writing Women*, 23.

[88] John Pitcher, "Daniel, Samuel," *ODNB*.

[89] Barroll, *Anna of Denmark*, 49–50. Donald W. Foster, "Stuart [née Howard; married name Prannell], Frances, duchess of Lennox and Richmond [other married name Frances Seymour, countess of Hertford]," *ODNB*.

[90] Barroll, *Anna of Denmark*, 49, suggests that "Anna (characteristically) never appointed a new lady of the Bed Chamber to take [Hertford's] place", but then also in the attached endnote that Jane Drummond's duties corresponded with that of a Lady of the Bedchamber. The Spanish ambassador identified Drummond as Lady of the Bedchamber in 1604: see Ungerer, "Juan Pantoja de la Cruz," 64.

[91] Maurer, "The Real Presence," 214.

infancy. The family's unremitting support for Princess Elizabeth, whom they followed to Heidelberg when she married the German Elector Palatine Frederick in 1613, brought them fame (Harington rescued her from the clutches of the Gunpowder plotters), but not fortune. They were £30,000–£40,000 in debt by 1613.[92] Lucy would also dance for this Winter Queen (and her Protestant cause).[93] Lucy pursued her masquing politics, performing in *The Masque of Beauty* (1608) in "robe of flame colour", reprising the persona of Vesta, goddess of the household, another indication that it is likely that she had danced this role in *The Vision*.[94] Her brother found a position in Prince Henry's household and she brokered other positions in her mistress's household for kinswomen Cecily and Dorothy Bulstrode and Lady Markham.[95] Is it a coincidence that Lucy's growing resentment of Queen Anna for dismissing her fellow Lady of the Bedchamber, Lady Drummond, Countess of Roxburghe, occurred around the same time as Lucy's acting as *recto chori* of two masques again, after eight years of inactivity? Jonson's *Lovers Made Men* (February 1617) was a masque for James Hay, the future 1st Earl of Carlisle, organised by Lady Bedford who in doing so acted as match-maker for Hay's marriage with Lucy Percy,[96] and she also orchestrated Robert White's *Cupid's Banishment* (May 1617). The tasks of lady-in-waiting would press heavily on Lucy in later years.[97] She did not seem to have wanted to serve the next queen, but by that time her health may have not permitted it: gout and the loss of an eye to smallpox, which had left her badly disfigured,[98] would have made masquing impossible. At Twickenham, she had created a literary 'salon' and continued her patronage,[99] but her masquing days were over and this "dancing dame" withdrew from the court.

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92 Broadway, "Harington, John," *ODNB*.

93 See Ariel Franklin, " 'I haue written to the Queene': the Countess of Bedford's Performance of Power," *Lives and Letters* 3, no. 1 (2011): 1–18.

94 Lewalski, *Writing Women*, 100.

95 Payne, "Russell [née Harington], Lucy," *ODNB*.

96 See Michael I. Wilson, "Lanier, Nicholas," *ODNB*. Lady Bedford might have been a role model for Lucy Percy: see Michael G. Brennan, Noel J. Kinnamon, and Margaret P. Hannay, eds., *The Correspondence (c. 1626–1659) of Dorothy Percy Sidney, Countess of Leicester* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), "Introduction," 6.

97 See letter nos. 33, 34, and 41 in Joanna Moody ed., *The Private Correspondence of Jane Lady Cornwallis Bacon, 1613–1644* (London: Associated University Presses, 2003).

98 Betcherman, *Court Lady and Country Wife*, 100.

99 Lawson, *Out of the Shadows*, 94; Lewalski, "Lucy, Countess of Bedford: Images of a Jacobean Courtier and Patroness".