

1-1-2010

# Performance, spectacle, text: The court masques of Samuel Daniel

Donica Martin Miller

*Eastern Illinois University*

This research is a product of the graduate program in [English](#) at Eastern Illinois University. [Find out more](#) about the program.

---

## Recommended Citation

Miller, Donica Martin, "Performance, spectacle, text: The court masques of Samuel Daniel" (2010). *Masters Theses*. 302.  
<http://thekeep.eiu.edu/theses/302>

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Student Theses & Publications at The Keep. It has been accepted for inclusion in Masters Theses by an authorized administrator of The Keep. For more information, please contact [tabruns@eiu.edu](mailto:tabruns@eiu.edu).

# THESIS MAINTENANCE AND REPRODUCTION CERTIFICATE

TO: Graduate Degree Candidates (who have written formal theses)

SUBJECT: Permission to Reproduce Theses

The University Library is receiving a number of request from other institutions asking permission to reproduce dissertations for inclusion in their library holdings. Although no copyright laws are involved, we feel that professional courtesy demands that permission be obtained from the author before we allow these to be copied.

PLEASE SIGN ONE OF THE FOLLOWING STATEMENTS:

Booth Library of Eastern Illinois University has my permission to lend my thesis to a reputable college or university for the purpose of copying it for inclusion in that institution's library or research holdings.



Author's Signature

9-30-10

Date

I respectfully request Booth Library of Eastern Illinois University **NOT** allow my thesis to be reproduced because:

---

---

---

---

Author's Signature

---

Date

**This form must be submitted in duplicate.**

Performance, Spectacle, Text:

The Court Masques of Samuel Daniel

(TITLE)

BY

Donica Martin Miller

**THESIS**

SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS  
FOR THE DEGREE OF

Master of Arts in English

IN THE GRADUATE SCHOOL, EASTERN ILLINOIS UNIVERSITY  
CHARLESTON, ILLINOIS

2010

YEAR

I HEREBY RECOMMEND THAT THIS THESIS BE ACCEPTED AS FULFILLING  
THIS PART OF THE GRADUATE DEGREE CITED ABOVE

 9-27-10  
\_\_\_\_\_  
THESIS COMMITTEE CHAIR                      DATE

 9-27-10  
\_\_\_\_\_  
DEPARTMENT/SCHOOL CHAIR                      DATE  
OR CHAIR'S DESIGNEE

 9/27/10  
\_\_\_\_\_  
THESIS COMMITTEE MEMBER                      DATE

\_\_\_\_\_  
THESIS COMMITTEE MEMBER                      DATE

 9/27/10  
\_\_\_\_\_  
THESIS COMMITTEE MEMBER                      DATE

\_\_\_\_\_  
THESIS COMMITTEE MEMBER                      DATE

# Performance, Spectacle, Text:

## The Court Masques of Samuel Daniel

Donica Miller



Tethys, from Daniel's *Tethys' Festival* (1610),  
by Inigo Jones. Source: Clare McManus,  
*Women on the Renaissance Stage*, 2002.

Copyright 2010 by Donica Martin Miller

## Abstract

This thesis is an examination of two early seventeenth century court masques commissioned by Queen Anna and composed by the court poet and playwright, Samuel Daniel. The thesis is divided into three chapters. The first chapter presents a brief history of the court masque as a genre and examines the context of each of Daniel's masques. The second and third chapters focus on *The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses* and *Tethys' Festival* in relation to the dancers, costumes, sets and politics surrounding the performances. By exploring the political events behind the composition of each masque, readers may gain a more comprehensive understanding of the atmosphere surrounding the original performances and come to grasp a deeper meaning with regard to certain artistic choices within the masques made by both Daniel and the queen. Examining the dancers in each masque aids in understanding how influential certain members of the queen's court were and the reasons behind choosing certain women to play specific roles in the masques. This thesis explores several aspects of the court masque as a genre including performance, spectacle and text, in addition to the socio-political context surrounding Daniel's composition of his masques. This thesis proves that Daniel's court masques were not only court entertainments, but political tools utilized by both Samuel Daniel and Queen Anna.

To my grandmother, M. Ann Crozier,  
and in memory of my grandfather, Bill W. Crozier

## **Acknowledgements**

I must first give thanks and gratitude to my director, Dr. Julie Campbell for her guidance and patience throughout the writing process. I also wish to thank my committee members, Dr. Jad Smith and Dr. Melissa Caldwell for their continued support. Additionally, I wish to extend my appreciation to the Graduate Studies Committee, the EIU English Department faculty and staff, and to my fellow English graduate students, especially Mary, for their support and encouragement.

And to Mom, Dad, Grandma, Jeremy, and Chelsea, I give my eternal gratitude for your love and patience throughout this process. Thank you for all of your help and dedication. I really could not have done this without all of you.



## Table of Contents

Title Page .....	1
Copyright .....	2
Abstract .....	3
Dedication .....	4
Acknowledgements .....	5
Table of Contents .....	6
Introduction .....	7
Chapter One: The Events Surrounding Daniel's Masques .....	15
Chapter Two: Key Dancers in <i>The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses</i> and Their Roles in the Jacobean Court.....	39
Chapter Three: Key Dancers in <i>Tethys' Festival</i> and Their Roles in the Jacobean Court	73
Conclusion .....	96
Bibliography .....	102

## Introduction

Court masques were a vital part of court life, in both a social and a political sense, during the reign of King James I of England, VI of Scotland. In *Court Masques of James I*, Mary Sullivan argues the political and social importance of court entertainments, stating, “In a monarchy so personal as that of England under James, 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” (3). Two of the masques performed under James’ rule, Samuel Daniel’s *The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses* (1604) and *Tethys’ Festival* (1610), were performed in celebration of two significant occasions at James’s court: James’s ascension to the English throne and his son’s investiture as the Prince of Wales. Many prominent women of the court, including the queen, danced in Daniel’s masques, and many important ambassadors anxiously awaited invitations to them. In this project I contextualize Daniel’s masques in terms of the events for which they were composed and the ongoing political situations surrounding the court at the time of each composition. I also provide biographical information about the women who danced in Daniel’s masques and their relationships to court politics. In so doing, I examine the links between the characters they danced and their own roles in court life. The result is a contextualizing portrait of Daniel’s masques that integrates new historicism and performance studies to construct an analysis of the text, performance, and socio-political environment of each masque, and the ways in which these three aspects work together to create a powerful political tool for both Queen Anna and Samuel Daniel.

In order to better contextualize his works, it is necessary to get a sense of who Daniel was and his role in the Jacobean court. Samuel Daniel (1562-1619) was a poet and playwright at the time of James' ascension in March of 1603. Daniel found favor with King James (r. 1603-1625) and Queen Anna<sup>1</sup> (1574-1619) immediately after their arrival in England, thanks to his patroness and friend Lucy Harington Russell, Countess of Bedford. In addition to the Countess of Bedford, and King James and Queen Anna, Daniel had a long line of famous patrons and patronesses including Queen Elizabeth; the Earl and Countess of Pembroke; Fulke Greville; Lord Mountjoy; the Countess of Cumberland; Sir Tomas Egerton; the Earl of Hertford; and Viscount Carr (Seronsy 16-17). Daniel also addressed a seventy-two line panegyric<sup>2</sup> to the king, which helped him to gain favor at court. He delivered the panegyric to the new English monarch at Burleigh Harington during his journey from Scotland to England in the early part of 1603.

By 1604, Daniel was appointed as a groom of the privy chamber to Queen Anna and remained in favor with the queen for the rest of her life. It was the queen who chose Daniel to compose two masques for her court. Daniel's first masque was *The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses* (1604), which was also the first court masque performed during the Jacobean period. The queen and eleven of her ladies played the twelve goddesses, roles that Daniel composed specifically for the women of Queen Anna's choosing.

---

<sup>1</sup>In many instances Queen Anna is referred to as Queen Anne (the Anglicized version of her name), but I will follow Claire McManus's lead and refer to the queen as "Anna" throughout the entirety of this study, as this is the version of her name that the queen herself would have used.

<sup>2</sup>Daniel was one of the few English court poets who expressed his support for the new king and his Scottish heritage early on by writing poetry dedicated to the king and by traveling to Scotland in order to pay homage to James in the spring of 1603.

Daniel's commission as writer of the first court masque for James and Anna was the first of many honors bestowed upon him. Cecil Seronsy explains,

Shortly after this court entertainment [*The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses*] Daniel was appointed licenser for the Children of the Queen's Revels. All plays to be acted by the group had first to be submitted to him. On his appointment to the post, or shortly afterwards, he was made one of the grooms of the privy chamber to Queen Anne, for at this time the leading members of the various acting companies, including that of the Children of the Revels, were appointed to the honorary rank of Grooms of the Royal Chamber. (117)

Six years later Daniel wrote his second (and last) masque, *Tethys's Festival* (1610), in which the queen played the title character.

Though scholars have recently shown more attention to Jacobean court entertainments than in the past, scholarship on masques in general is limited, and scholarship that focuses on Daniel's masques is scarce. Daniel's masques have not been studied in depth regarding the issues of social and political contextualization, nor have the women who danced in these masques been studied in relation to the characters they played. In the twentieth century, a surge in masque studies brought about some of the earliest interpretations of Daniel's masques, which are found in such works as Felix Schelling's 1908 article "The English Masque" and C.H. Herford and Percy Smith's extensive study of Ben Jonson's masques, entitled *Ben Jonson*, from 1952. During the 1960s, there was another period in which masques were studied frequently in both literary and historical fields, a surge which tapered off by the early 1970s and did not

resurface until the 1990s. Most of the scholarship from the 1960s and 1970s focuses on the court masque as a genre instead of narrowing specifically on one writer or even specific masques. In addition to studying the masque as a genre, many scholars have studied masques by periods, most commonly focusing on the Tudor or Stuart masques, and sometimes specifically on Jacobean or Carolinian masques.

In their earlier study of Jonson's masques, Herford and Simpson focus on settings and style, claiming that Daniel's masques were antique and dated since he used what they claim to be generic allegorical settings for his masques. In the *Twelve Goddesses*, the settings are a mountain, a "Temple of Peace," and a "Cave of Sleep." These settings, they argue, are somewhat clichéd in court masques by the time Daniel was writing and these typical classical references do not add any originality to the genre. Herford and Simpson also note that the *Twelve Goddesses* was performed in the much older Hampton court (built in 1532-34) instead of in newer buildings such as James' Whitehall Banqueting House (built in 1606), or the Elizabethan Banqueting House (built in 1581), again linking the *Twelve Goddesses* to an out-dated dramatic style.

More recent masque studies from the 1960s, 1970s, and 1990s (including those by G.V.P. Akrigg and Mary Agnes Sullivan) tend to view Daniel's masques in the same ways as Herford and Simpson. These scholars often point out Daniel's flaws in masque writing and consider him unequal to his contemporaries such as Ben Jonson, John Fletcher, and Francis Beaumont. In fact, recent scholarship usually focuses on Daniel's masques in order to contrast them with the more popular and much more elaborate Jonsonian masques. Daniel's masques are frequently used in order to show a lack of poetic sophistication and in order to showcase Jonson's superior writing abilities.

Though it is true that Daniel only composed two comparatively less original court masques than his contemporaries, he was a distinguished writer of plays and poetry and was a friend to many serious, influential literary patrons of his time. These connections, along with his status as groom of the queen's privy chamber, made him a person of influence at court. His connections to other famous writers of the period include his first real mentor and patroness, Mary Sidney Herbert, sister to Sir Philip Sidney. According to biographer Cecil Seronsy,

By 1592, perhaps earlier, Daniel had found in Mary, Countess of Pembroke, the help, the guidance, and the encouragement that was to launch him upon his literary career. Her brother Sir Philip Sidney in the late 1570s had gathered round himself poets with such diverse talents as Fulke Greville and Edward Dyer, and by his own example and encouragement had opened a way for the new English poetry that was to be at flood tide in another decade. (Seronsy 20)

Since Sidney died in 1586, it is likely that Daniel and Sidney did not know each other personally, however, Daniel emulated Sidney's writing style, going so far as to fashion his *Defence of Rhyme* (1603) after Sidney's *Defence of Poesie* (1581). Geoffrey Creigh, in his 1971 article concerning *The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses*, states that "...the primary influence on Daniel's intellectual development as well as on his works was Sir Philip Sidney, especially his *Defence of Poesie*" (28). Though Daniel did not know Sidney personally, he was familiar with members of the famous "Sidney circle," including his future patron, Fulke Greville. His relationship with Mary Sidney Herbert was his most important relationship with the Sidney family. Without her encouragement

and financial support, Daniel may have never become acquainted with future patrons such as the Countess of Bedford, who introduced him to court life.

The combination of his literary background and famous patrons provided Daniel with the opportunity to write two of Queen Anna's masques. To get a sense of what it meant to compose and present a court masque in the early seventeenth century, it is necessary to provide a brief description of the court masque as a genre. The purpose of chapter one is to provide a short history of the court masque, its development as a genre on continental Europe, and its arrival in sixteenth century England. I will also introduce the situations for which each of Daniel's masques was written. In short, *The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses* introduced King James and Queen Anna as rulers of Scotland and England, and *Tethys's Festival* was written in celebration of Prince Henry's new position as Prince of Wales and heir apparent to the English throne. Chapter one will also include a brief synopsis of each masque. It is important to foreground the issues surrounding each masque's composition in order to further analyze the two masques in subsequent chapters. By knowing the reasons behind each masque's composition, it is easier to make connections to political situations of the time as well as to symbolism presented in the masques' performances and texts.

After chapter one, I will begin exploring Daniel's masques individually, beginning with *The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses* in chapter two. The second chapter is devoted to a socio-political analysis of Daniel's first masque. For this analysis, it is important to note the political context in which the masque was written. In addition to the details of the situation for which the masque was written, which is provided in chapter one, in chapters two and three I will examine the major political issues in England that

may have influenced the masques. Likewise, chapter two will also focus on the noble women who participated in the *Twelve Goddesses*. A brief biography for select women will be provided, along with their position at court at the time of the performance.

My analysis in chapters two and three follows the analysis begun by Clare McManus, one of the current leading scholars on Queen Anna's participation in Jacobean court masques. In *Women on the Renaissance Stage*, McManus approaches the queen's role in the *Twelve Goddesses* from a performance studies point of view. Her approach is based on theatricality and performance, specifically the use of the female body as a readable text in court masques commissioned by Queen Anna. Though in chapters two and three I will focus on noble women as dancers and the characters they played in the masques, I will focus both on the performance of the masques and on the women themselves, analyzing the characters the women danced along with their costumes and the text that introduces each woman into the performance. In addition to examining these women and their positions at court, I will analyze their roles in the masque and provide a link between each woman's character in the masque with the role she fills at court. I will also add to McManus's performance study by examining the queen's possible motives for her choices of wardrobe, character, and presentation in both *The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses* and *Tethys' Festival*. By examining the poetry and language of the masques as well as the performances, I also add a literary studies perspective to McManus' performance study.

The third and final chapter will focus on Daniel's 1610 masque, *Tethys' Festival*. As in chapter two, this chapter will consist of a socio-political contextualization of the masque as well as an examination of the women who participated in it. In both chapters



two and three, I will analyze historical and socio-political aspects of the Jacobean court, specifically James and Anna's differing political views on finances, war, and religion in relation to court masques in general and to Daniel's two masques in particular.

In my conclusion I discuss the arguments and concluding remarks that I have presented throughout the project in terms of text, performance, and spectacle, exploring questions such as: Is there a neat division between text and performance in court masques? Does a role in a court masque provide a noble woman political power or status? And, why publish a masque? In addition, I will examine the contrast between Daniel's intentions while composing his masques and the reality of needing Queen Anna's approval for the final product.

## Chapter One: The Events Surrounding Daniel's Masques

Before analyzing the performance, spectacle, and text of any particular masque, a brief examination of the history of the court masque, and its development as an established dramatic genre in seventeenth-century England is needed. The best way to contextualize Daniel's masques in this historical timeline is to start with his collaborative partner in *Tethys' Festival*, and perhaps *The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses* as well, Inigo Jones (1573-1652). Jones later became famous as the architect and set designer of Jonson's masques during the Jacobean and Caroline periods. He was highly influenced by Italian stage-designers of the period, especially his Florentine contemporaries Bernardo Buontalenti and Alfonso Parigi. Many of his set designs were based on Italian architecture, and his costume ideas were derived from the many Italian court masques that he observed firsthand. Not much is known about Jones' early life, but by 1603 he had traveled to Italy and studied Italian architecture. In particular, Jones was greatly influenced by the Italian architect Andrea Palladio, and he is known for bringing the Palladian architectural style to England (Harris, Orgel, and Strong 16-17). In 1604, it is likely that King James I and Queen Anna employed him as the set and costume designer for Daniel's *The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses*, though this is speculation and not fact.<sup>3</sup>

Jones' Italian architectural inspiration for masque designs is only one example of the European influences on the evolving English court masques. Alongside European

---

<sup>3</sup> Roy Strong notes Jones's arrival in England as being in mid-1603 in *The King's Arcadia* (17), which places him in England at the time of Daniel's first masque. Jones had recently returned to England from Denmark after spending time in the court of the Queen Anna's father, Christian IV of Denmark. This fact makes it probable that Jones traveled from court in Denmark to court in England seamlessly, as his connection to Denmark's king gave him a connection to James and Anna. Jones also began work with Jonson on set designs for *The Masque of Blackness* in early 1604, meaning he was employed as a court architect around the time of Daniel's first masque.

origins in the court entertainments and architecture of Renaissance Italy and France, the English court masque was inspired partially by the traditional festivals and celebrations of Medieval England. Italy is well recognized by scholars as the court masque's country of origin. Beginning with the fifteenth century *intermezzo*, a masque-like court entertainment, Italy was the first to embrace the court masque tradition. By the 1530s, the *intermezzo* had evolved into an entertainment of elaborate spectacle that consisted of drama, music, and sometimes dance (Harris, Orgel, and Strong 17), which are three components that make the English court masque.

The earliest form of the *intermezzo*, originating sometime during the early fifteenth century, was usually performed between acts of a play or larger dramatic work. Plays for which *intermezzi* were included were almost always court celebrations of some sort, most commonly weddings.<sup>4</sup> Some distinguishing characteristics of the *intermezzi* include recitations of popular verses, singing in choruses, and dancing, at first in the popular *moresca* styles and in later centuries evolving into more elaborate and more complex dances. In the early 1500s, the *intermezzo* also included some sort of allegorical ending used to explain the purpose and moral of the drama (Strong 5).

Italian influence on English court masques began to expand in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, in most cases via the French court. This influence is most noticeable during the Jacobean period, but flourished under the influence of Queen Henrietta Maria (wife to Charles I, r.1625-1649). Henrietta Maria's performances were highly influenced by French masques, and she is usually credited with bringing the

---

<sup>4</sup> The most famous examples of *intermezzi* from the sixteenth century were staged for the Medici weddings. For further reading, see Konrad Eisenbichler's 1998 article "The Medici Wedding of 1589," University of Toronto; also see Roy Strong's 1984 work *Art and Power: Renaissance Festivals 1450-1650*, The Boydell Press.

French influence to the English court since she had performed in many wedding masques before leaving the French court for England.<sup>5</sup> But her predecessor, Queen Anna, also enjoyed the French and Italian styles in her masques. John Peacock, scholar of costume and set-design, explains that even before Henrietta Maria, Jones integrated French architecture and costumes into the court masques that he designed during the Jacobean period. The first masque by Jones that is recognized by scholars to have contained French references was his collaboration with Jonson, *The Masque of Queens* (1609). His masque *Oberon* (also a Jonson-Jones collaboration) was composed eighteen months later in January of 1611, after Jones returned from France on business for King James. While staying true to his typical Italian style, Jones mixed French architecture into *Oberon*, including references to well-known French buildings and other architectural structures, such as direct references to a portico and a fountain in Anet, France.

Although most scholars would identify Italian and French court entertainments as the two major predecessors of the English court masque, there were distinctly English predecessors as well. Enid Welsford explains that traditional English festivities, most stemming from the Middle Ages, are also forerunners of the English court masque. In *The Court Masque*, Welsford explains that these festivities add a distinct and local or regional atmosphere to the masques. The English predecessors of the court masque, according to Welsford, derive for the most part from Christmas mummers, or mummeries, that were originally performed by common villagers throughout the Medieval period (15-17). Welsford also identifies three distinct groups of entertainments that surfaced after the rise of Christianity in the Middle Ages. These entertainments

---

<sup>5</sup> For more on Henrietta Maria and her participation in both French and English court masques, see Karen Britland's 2006 *Drama at the Courts of Queen Henrietta Maria*, Cambridge University Press.

“which concern the history of the masque” (20) became popular in England and influenced the later development of the English court masque:

(1) the king-game, a convenient and ancient name for the ceremonies connected with the election of a mock-ruler; (2) the sword-dance, a mimic rhythmic combat, often accompanied by song or dialogue, and; (3) the mumming, a procession of people disguised by mask, beast heads, or discolored faces, who enter into their neighbors’ houses to dance or play at dice—often in complete silence. (20)

These English games and entertainments could have influenced royal participation in court masques. For example, Henry VIII, the first English king to perform in court masques, liked to participate in tilting tournaments and hunting games as well.

After a century of popularity in Italy, the court masque arrived in England, making its first appearance in the Tudor court of King Henry VIII (r. 1509-1547) in the early sixteenth century. Historian Carolly Erickson describes Henry VIII early in his reign as a jovial, young king who loved to participate in many types of court entertainments, including jousting, dancing, pageants and mummeries (4-8). He also sent ambassadors throughout Europe, who in turn brought back descriptions of court masques from the French court in particular, and from Italy as well (14-15). It is no surprise that his court was the first in England to produce masques. Henry not only supported the production of masques, he also participated in the entertainments, often taking a lead role. Henry set a precedent for future rulers such as Elizabeth I and Queen Anna, who participated in court entertainments as well.

Unfortunately, no substantial records of these early masques survive; scholars have only snippets of information provided by court historians and journals of court nobles who attended such affairs. Erickson describes one particular pageant hosted by Henry, which is very similar to the court masques of the decades to come. In this pageant, Henry and several of his close noble friends disguised themselves as outlaws. The six “outlaws” came into the court and demanded to dance with six of the queen’s ladies. After the deception was revealed, a pageantry on wheels, resembling a “fairytale world of chivalric romance” rolled into the hall and the pageant began. The pageantry on wheels was a set called “the garden of pleasure” for which artificial trees and flowers such as hawthorn, roses, and flowering vines, were made. Erikson describes the spectacle of the pageant:

[the trees and flowers] were made of green damask, silk and satin, enclosed by pillars covered in cloth of gold. In the gilded arbor stood six ladies in green and silver gowns, their skirts overlaid with a network of golden letters H and K laced together. The dresses and high headdresses of the women and the rich coats of their six companions were covered with glittering spangles, and the caps, hose and purple satin garments of the men bore both the golden monograms and letters spelling out their names: Loyal Heart (the king), Good Valour, Good Hope, Valliant Desire, Good Faith and Loyal Love. (11)

Erickson continues to describe the atmosphere in court after the pageant’s completion:

When the crowd had had time to admire them the twelve performers came down out of the pageant, which was rolled into a corner to make room for

them to dance. Minstrels in matching costumes began to play, and the six couples paced out the intricate pattern of steps they had been learning for weeks. (11-12)

The pageant that Erickson describes resembles the later court masques of the Jacobean and Caroline periods in several ways and demonstrates several common elements represented in court masques such as Daniel's. Henry's entertainment began with a deception (the six nobles dressed as outlaws), which is related to what is called an antimasque. The antimasque is a short introduction or conclusion in which the plot of the masque is distorted in some way. In this case the outlaws—rude interlopers—demand to dance with the noble ladies. The antimasque is then transformed from disorder and grotesqueness into order and goodness, which happens in this example when the pageant vehicle enters, decked in silks and ornaments. After the actual performance, the noble and sometimes royal actors then engaged in a rehearsed dance. After their dancing was completed the rest of the court audience was invited to dance in the revels at the end of the masque. The revels represented a breakdown between spectacle and spectator and were more common in court masques of the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

After Henry VIII's death, his son, King Edward VI (r. 1547-1553), and daughter, Queen Mary I (r. 1553-1558), both endured short reigns littered with economic setbacks and social unrest. After the deaths of her half-brother and half-sister, Henry's younger daughter Elizabeth I (r. 1558-1603) took her place as Queen of England. Her love of drama, including plays and court masques, was something that she shared with her father. Clare McManus explains the transformation of the court masque before, during and after Elizabeth's reign:

During the greater part of the Tudor period the English revels were in a fluid condition, and it is not always possible to draw hard and fast distinctions between mimerie, masque, tourney, and entertainment; towards the end of Elizabeth's reign, however, the masque, having acquired the setting and poetic quality of other revels and of the drama, was shaped into a definite genre... (168)

Henry and Elizabeth's court entertainments did not reflect the sophistication and development that Italian and French courts possessed at the time. Elizabeth's love and patronage of drama, however, helped the evolution of the court masque throughout her reign, and at the end of the Elizabethan period, the English court masque began to contain many of the typical elements of masques in the later Jacobean and Caroline periods.

After Queen Elizabeth I, masquing burgeoned in England during the reign of King James I, resulting in some of the most elaborate and costly court entertainments in English history. McManus explains the development of the Jacobean masque following the Tudor period:

During the Stuart period this new masque was developed and elaborated under the patronage of two successive queens, Anna of Denmark and Henrietta Maria of France, and, since the new royal family were ready to expend vast sums on pleasure and diplomatic advertisement, the Court of England soon rivaled Paris and Florence as a center of splendid reveling. (168-69)

James and Anna spent more money and used more resources for court entertainments than Elizabeth had. This excessive spending on entertainment did have its downfall, not



only by depleting royal funds, but also by the loss of popularity for James and Anna among the English people. That being said, court masques were good indicators of the political situation at the time in which they were written, as well as indicators of key concerns of the royalty and those residing at court. This was important for people at the time because often foreign ambassadors were invited to court entertainments in order to analyze the current political situation at court.

While court masques were used as a means of celebration, they were also social and political tools for their hosts. Understanding the importance and significance of a masque, therefore, “depends upon a knowledge of the occasion upon or for which it was produced” (Sullivan 1). As of yet, no one has collected the information surrounding every Jacobean court masque. Though many scholars and historians view English court masques as elaborate entertainments demonstrating the wealth and indulgence of royalty (especially in the case of James and Anna), according to Mary Sullivan, “The real occasion for the production of all the greatest masques of the Jacobean court lies as deep as the business of State” (2). Sullivan lists multiple examples to support her statement in *Court Masques of James I*, including the following:

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; that a masque was a public 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; when masques were held in one country to counteract or influence the diplomatic importance of a masque given in another;

when King James himself insisted that a masque was a diplomatic function, used to prove to a continental sovereign England's affection for him; when prime ministers announced that deportment at a masque had a large influence in shaping a treaty of peace... (3)

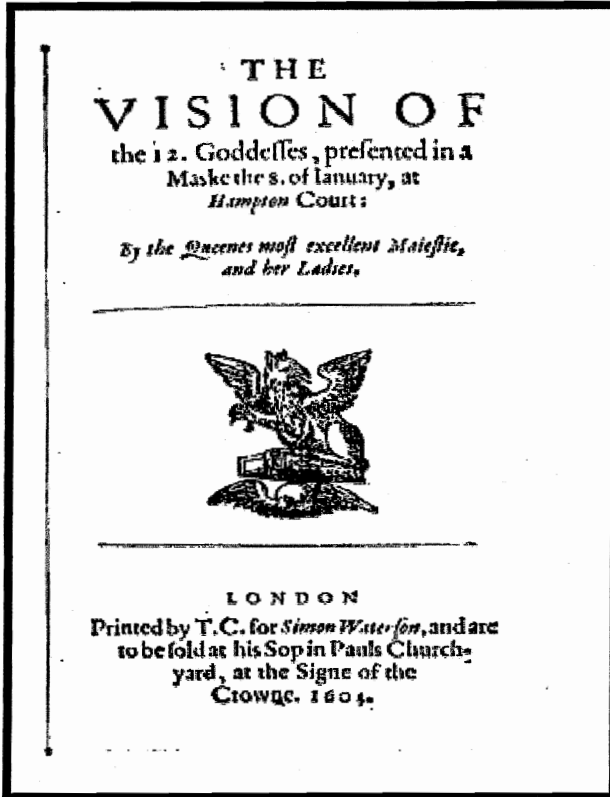
Sullivan's list goes on for nearly a page and a half, as she cites multiple reasons that the court masque is not simply an entertainment or even simply a demonstration of power, but is a political statement or a political affair in and of itself. It is important to study the surviving records from these events, as David Bergeron explains:

However we regard them, the texts exist in part as reports of their respective events, records of the occasions, after the fact. Unlike conventional dramatic texts, these depend on the actual moments and provide accounts in the past tense, Daniel's providing the only public access to the entertainment. Pageants and masques thus contain both dramatic fictions and historical reality, a reality...that points toward the court. (439)

This "reality" that Bergeron identifies is congruent with Sullivan's argument that every court masque is a political statement or affair of the state. Though the publications that we have today were written after the masques' performances, the accounts of events in these publications are all scholars have to work with. By establishing the political context for each of Daniel's masques, as Sullivan suggests, the many instances of symbolism in each are illuminated. In order to accomplish the task of contextualizing each of Daniel's masques, I will synthesize several scholars' descriptions and interpretations of the events

surrounding *The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses* and *Tethys's Festival*. I will also provide a synopsis for each masque.

### *The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses*



Left: Title page for the original 1604 publication of Daniel's *The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses*. As can be seen from the printing at the bottom of the page, this version is to be sold at a specific place by a specific publisher. Daniel claims in the preface to this first edition that unauthorized versions of his masque were being sold in London at the time. Illustration from Early English Books Online.

Daniel's *The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses* was the first masque performed after King James I's and Anna's coronations (July 25, 1603). The masque was dedicated "to the right honorable the Ladie Lucie, Countesse of Bedford" (Daniel, A3) and was held on January 8, 1604 at Hampton Court in the Great Hall. The *Twelve Goddesses* has a relatively simple plot and set design. The settings consist of an artificial mountain, a Temple of Peace, and a Cave of Sleep. There is no record of the set architect, but it may

well have been Inigo Jones. Daniel's masque begins with a personified Night and her son Sleep. Night asks Sleep to present a vision to the audience members with his wand. The vision that he creates begins with Iris, who descends from a mountain top into the Temple of Peace. In the temple, Iris reveals information about the coming of twelve goddesses to a character referred to as "a Sybil." The Sybil is then given a telescope from which she views the goddesses before they enter the masque.<sup>6</sup> Afterward, the Graces appear on the mountaintop and descend, followed by the goddesses in threes. Each goddess is also followed by a torchbearer. As they descend, the goddesses dance to music provided by satyrs.

The roles of Night, Sleep, Iris, the Graces and the Sybil were played by professional actors—boys and men—and the satyrs were paid musicians. The noble women, along with the Queen of England, were not given speaking roles for their parts as goddesses,<sup>7</sup> as was typical for English court masques. They wore elaborate costumes and headdresses, and each goddess presented the kingdom with a token of the power in her possession which she bestowed upon the new king and queen. These props ranged from scepters to silk scarves.

The twelve goddesses portrayed in Daniel's masque are as follows: Pallas, Juno, Diana, Vesta, Proserpine, Concordia, Venus, Macaria, Astraea, Flora, Ceres, and Tethys. In his preface to the first edition of the *Twelve Goddesses*, Daniel describes his reasons for choosing these specific goddesses for his masque. After honoring the Countess of

---

<sup>6</sup> Having the Sibyl character describe each woman before she enters the masque is an odd and often criticized choice on Daniel's part.

<sup>7</sup> Speaking roles would have been viewed as highly improper for nobles, and the queen, because it would too closely identify them as "actors," whose socioeconomic class and lifestyle were often viewed pejoratively.

Bedford, and paying homage to the king's "most gracious majestie," Daniel explains that he wants each goddess to represent a certain power of the state. He expresses his wish to associate certain traits and powers of the state with each goddess. In the preface Daniel describes: "there were devised 12 Goddesses, under whose Images former times have represented the severall gifts of heaven, and erected Temples, Altars, & Figures unto them, as unto divine powers, in the shape & name of women" (A3). He concludes his description of the goddesses by saying that he wishes to "express the same [attributes of the goddesses] for James I's kingdom" (A3). Each goddess presents King James with a gift that symbolizes her power, a power that she has now bestowed upon the new court.

Since this masque tells the story of twelve goddesses of classical antiquity, the set designs and characters are derived from classical mythology. In his preface to the *Twelve Goddesses* Daniel addresses the use of mythological figures and locations as mere symbols that should not be taken too literally by saying, "And though these Images have oftentimes divers significations, yet it being not our purpose to represent them, with all those curious superfluous observations, we tooke them only to serve as Hieroglyphicqs for our present intention" (A4). In other words, Daniel only wishes the goddesses to possess the attributes that he would impose upon them and not any hidden, deeper meanings. Daniel also says of himself and those who worked with him on the masque, "...we were left at libertie to take no other knowledge of them [the goddesses], then fitted our present purpose" (A4). Daniel's goddesses were not meant to be perfect replicas of classical mythology, his goddesses were meant as superficial references used for the production of the masque. This dissociation with other aspects of each goddess may also have been a means of disconnecting the goddesses from any negative connotations or

traits associated with them as well as a means of focusing on what Daniel felt was important. That being said, this dissociation is something that Daniel could only mention in print. During the presentation of the masque, it is unlikely that audience members would have dissociated all classical connotation associated with each goddess.

Besides describing the symbolism of the characters in his masque and the purpose for writing it, Daniel further explains his reasons for publishing the masque so soon after its performance. Daniel explains that he did not want the public to be confused by unauthorized copies, and he writes in the preface to *Twelve Goddesses*,

In respect of a very unmannerly presumption of an indiscreet Printer, who without warrant hath divulged the late shewe at Court, presented the 8. of January, by the Queenes Majestie and her Ladies, and the same verie disorderly set forth: I thought it not amisse seeing it would otherwise passe abroad, to the prejudice both of the Maske and the invention, to describe the whole forme thereof in all points as it was then performed, and as the world well knowes, very worthily performed... (A3)

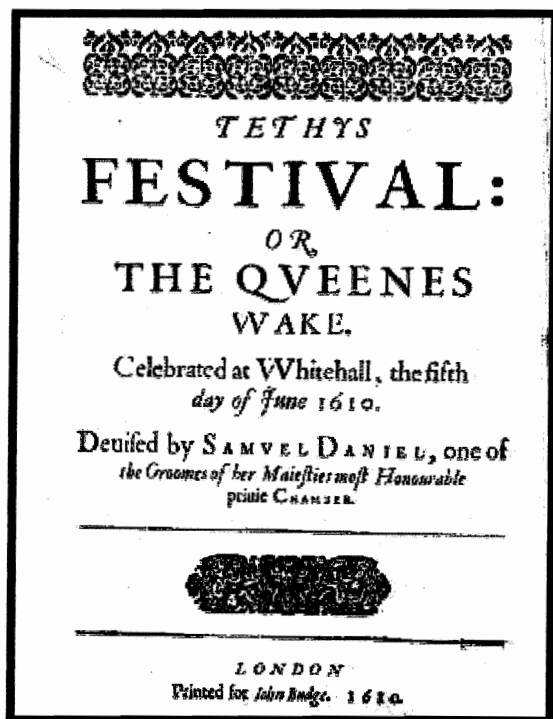
Clearly some sort of publication that contained a copy of *The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses* not written by Daniel had circulated around England shortly after the masque's performance at court. Most likely a court poet or some other guest who had observed the masque thought he or she would profit from publishing his or her own copy of the masque. Since no record of an earlier version of Daniel's masque exists, Daniel may have invented the story about unauthorized publication of his masque, first in order to give him an excuse to publish his masque, and second in order to generate more publicity for his publication. Cecil Seronsy, a biographer of Daniel, states, "It almost

seems that Daniel profited from these piracies inflicted upon him; at least, he turned them to account” (115). Support for this conjecture can be found in Daniel’s preface to the *Twelve Goddesses* as he states, “...these ornaments and delights of peace are in their season, as fit to entertaine the worlde” (A3). This quote makes it clear that Daniel wanted to publish his masque not only because he thought someone else had presented a false rendition of its presentation at court, but also for entertainment. Seronsy notes that Daniel’s claim of unauthorized publication of *Twelve Goddesses*, “takes us back to a similar occasion in 1592 when Daniel first published his sonnets following the surreptitious edition of a ‘greedie Printer’” (115). Whatever the case may be, Daniel clearly believes that his masque contains a universal message that is “fit to entertain the world.” Though this claim does not prove that Daniel concocted a story about an unauthorized publication of his masque, it certainly does prove that he thought his masque should be published and could be enjoyed by everyone.

Daniel’s assertions in his preface have not been studied in depth, nor have his masques in general. Most current studies involving the *Twelve Goddesses* mention it as the first masque performed during the Jacobean period and quickly move on to discuss other masques of the period that have received more scholarly attention than Daniel’s. A few studies, however, have taken a closer look into specific aspects of the *Twelve Goddesses*. For instance, as mentioned in the introduction, McManus approaches the queen’s role in the *Twelve Goddesses* from a performance studies point of view. She also takes a close look at one major critique of the masque from a scholarly point of view, which is that the *Twelve Goddesses* is an antique or outdated masque using old fashioned motifs and settings. McManus explains that the *Twelve Goddesses* was one of only two

Jacobean masques held outside of Whitehall Palace, the other being White's *Cupid's Banishment*. According to McManus, the location of the masque bears its own significance: "*The Vision [of the Twelve Goddesses]* was danced in a retrospective space, resonant of a style of monarchy and court which fitted neither the Elizabethan nor the Stuart reign but which offered the new rulers an opportunity to appropriate the physical reality of previous English government" (103). In other words, the Great Hall as the setting for this masque, which was designed in order to compliment and welcome the new monarchs of England, subliminally connected these new monarchs to past rulers. McManus' contemporary study shows that even a detail such as which building a masque was performed in could change its mood and meaning. McManus' study takes Daniel's masque seriously and though she admits that Daniel lacks the poetic prowess of Jonson, she does not dismiss his masques entirely.

### *Tethys' Festival*



Left: Title page for the first edition of Samuel Daniel's *Tethys's Festival*. Picture taken from Early English Books Online



Daniel's first masque consisted of a simplistic plot and set design, but his second masque proved to be far more sophisticated. The underdeveloped poetic style of *The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses* was replaced by more detailed and complex poetry in *Tethys' Festival*. Daniel's second masque was designed by Inigo Jones and presented in the Banqueting Room at Whitehall Palace on June 5, 1610. *Tethys' Festival* is the fictional representation of Queen Anna's "public congratulations to her husband and to her son" (Pitcher 35) for Henry's creation as Prince of Wales. The main characters in *Tethys's Festival* are all part of the royal family. Queen Anna is Tethys, Queen of the Ocean; Prince Henry is the British Prince Meliades, also referred to as Prince of the Isles; King James is the Ocean King; and the younger royal son, Charles, plays Zephyrus, messenger to Tethys. The plot of *Tethys' Festival* is as follows: Queen Tethys sends her messenger, Zephyrus, through Milford Haven to bring a sword of justice, a scarf of love and a trident to the prince and king as gifts. During the next scene of the masque, Tethys and her river nymphs celebrate "the glory of the Ocean King" by singing and dancing in Tethys' underwater cavern. Afterwards, Tethys and the ladies complete their tributes by bringing offerings of sea flowers to a mountain top where Apollo's Tree of Victory grows. After returning to the sea, Tethys is ushered back by Zephyrus (who was commanded by Jove's messenger Mercury to do so) and the two of them re-enter the banqueting hall as their true selves, Queen Anna and Prince Charles. These two lead the whole company towards James and Henry to offer congratulations on Henry's investiture as Prince of Wales.

Henry's creation as Prince of Wales was a significant event not only for the royal family, but for all of England and Scotland. As the eldest son of the king and queen, Henry was heir-apparent to the English throne. Upon his birth in 1594, he was made Prince and Great Steward of Scotland, Duke of Rothesay, Earl of Carrick, Baron of Renfrew and Lord of the Isles, and upon his parents' succession to the English throne in 1603, he became Duke of Cornwall. Finally, in 1610 he was invested Earl of Chester and Prince of Wales.<sup>8</sup> The most important of these titles was—and still is—Prince of Wales, which was the final investiture of Henry as heir apparent to the English throne. It was this “creation” of the new Prince of Wales that sparked a weeklong court celebration including tournaments, banquets, pageants, and Daniel's masque *Tethys' Festival*. In his essay “Creating Entertainments for Prince Henry's Creation (1610),” David Bergeron states that, “Henry's ‘creation’ [as Prince of Wales] came about partly through dramatic entertainments that in 1610 surrounded the actual ceremony in Parliament” (433). At the time of Prince Henry's creation, no royal son had held the Prince of Wales title since Henry (later Henry VIII) in 1504, which made the event even more exciting for the England.

Henry's creation began on Wednesday May 30<sup>th</sup> as he headed by water from St. James's to Richmond where the festivities were to begin the following evening. The next evening he traveled from the Richmond palace down the Thames towards Chelsea. When Henry completed his journey to Chelsea, the first of the celebratory entertainments, the water pageant, took place. Henry was greeted in Chelsea by the Lord Mayor of London and “a fleet of richly decorated barges” (Akrigg 125) including one boat adorned as a dolphin and another representing a whale. Henry's barge entered the waters in Chelsea,

---

<sup>8</sup> These eight titles went on to be the traditional titles held by all heirs-apparent after Henry's death.

“riding in front of and behind the City boats were artificial sea monsters” (Pitcher 35), which were used in the pageant. After the celebration, the fleet escorted Henry along the remainder of his journey, which ended at Whitehall Palace. It was there that on June fifth, the day after Henry’s investiture, Daniel presented the king and his son, the new Prince of Wales, with *Tethys’ Festival: or The Queenes Wake*.<sup>9</sup>

Henry’s journey represented one that was made by kings before him. His journey by water also made it possible for many decorated boats and other spectacles to join him as he moved closer to the place and his investiture. John Pitcher describes the significance of Henry’s journey by water as follows:

Coming by water from Richmond with only a few followers, this Jacobean Prince of Wales was the typological, as well as the dynastic successor of Henry VII, that other prince who in 1485 had landed in Wales as Earl of Richmond, accompanied by only a small number of men. And just as the Tudor Henry of Wales drew support as he moved inland, so in 1610 his Stuart namesake attracted crowds of Londoners who packed the river banks to acknowledge the succession.<sup>10</sup> (34)

As Pitcher describes, Henry’s journey connected him with previous kings of England. The culmination of his journey, his investiture and the masque that celebrated it, looked forward to his future reign as a great king.

---

<sup>9</sup> John Pitcher asserts that some clues point to the possibility that Daniel actually arranged not only *Tethys’ Festival*, but the entire plethora of festivities surrounding Henry’s creation as Prince of Wales. This assertion comes mainly from Munday’s mention of “Neptune’s prophet or poet” as the orchestrator of the events (because Daniel is the name of a biblical prophet and Samuel Daniel was a popular court poet).

<sup>10</sup> Pitcher’s account of the proceedings and entertainments surrounding Henry’s creation are inspired by the writings of dramatist Anthony Munday, who observed and recorded the events firsthand.

*Tethys' Festival* is in some ways less distinguished than the *Twelve Goddesses* because it was presented as part of a group of performances and was not a Twelfth Night presentation. This may be the reason that more scholars tend to focus on Daniel's first masque. Bergeron, who albeit has a biased view towards the masque, favoring and emphasizing the importance of Anthony Munday's riverside pageant, explains that *Tethys' Festival* was never published on its own. The masque appeared in a publication called *The Order and Solemnitie of the Creation of the High and Mightie Prince Henrie*, which was a collection of the court entertainments performed in celebration of Henry's investiture as Prince of Wales. According to Bergeron, "The masque appears as the last text, with its own separate title page, which does identify Daniel as the author and his position as Groom of the Queen's Privy Chamber. But the title page for the whole volume indicates all the various events of 'speciall regard' and adds, 'Whereunto is *Annaxed* the Royall Mask'" (439). This offhand reference to the last text in the compilation has caused Bergeron to doubt the importance of Daniel's masques; however, Daniel's masque was certainly one of the most important entertainments at the festivities as it was commissioned by the queen to represent her congratulations to Prince Henry and King James.

Though detailed analyses of Prince Henry's investiture are abundant, *Tethys' Festival* has not been studied in depth regarding the masque's importance in the festivities, however major or minor it was. In his preface to *Tethys' Festival* Daniel calls the creation of Henry as Prince of Wales "among the memorable acts of the time," and Daniel explains that he composed this masque

both to show the magnificence and to celebrate the feasts to our greatest respects; it is expected (according now to the custome) that I, beeing employed in the business, should publish a discription and forme of the late Mask, wherewithal it pleased the Queenes most excellent Majestie to solemnize the creation of the high and mightie Prince Henry, Prince of Wales, in regard to preserve the memorie thereof, and to satisfie their desires, who could have no other notice, but by others report of what was done. (E)

Daniel explains here that his publication of the masque is the general public's only chance to experience a court masque and expresses his awareness of that fact. He also describes exactly what Bergeron claimed: the masque writer preserves a historical moment upon publishing his masque. Daniel further explains: "[n]either doe I seek in the divulging hereof, to give it other colours then those it wore, or to make an Apologie of what I have done: knowing, howsoever, it must passe the way of censure, whereunto I see all publications (of what nature soever) are liable" (E). Daniel makes it clear that he does not want or need to exaggerate how the masque was originally performed because he is already well-known and has nothing more to prove. Daniel also knows that his masque will be edited and he makes it clear that he has written the events as they happened. It is also important to note that, upon printing his masque, Daniel has the chance to explain certain aspects of his work that he could not do during the performance. The queen's choice of Daniel as the masque writer for such a crucial event represents not only Daniel's talent as a writer, but also his favor at court. The queen, however, had the final say in how the masque was to be presented. Both of Daniel's masques center on issues

that were important to Queen Anna. It is necessary to remember that although Daniel composed each masque, Queen Anna chose Daniel for the position and also chose the noble women to dance each part. She may not have written the poetry and plot of the masques, but she controlled how they were presented, and to some extent how they were to be perceived by the audience. By publishing his masque, Daniel had the chance to put his thoughts of the masque's performance in print, as well as the text of the masque itself.

It is clear that by the time *Tethys' Festival* was performed, the financial crisis of the early seventeenth century made publishing a court masque—an act that displayed a limitless use of court resources on entertainment—a seemingly unwise decision. Why, then, did Daniel choose to publish both of his masques soon after each performance? To understand Daniel's decision, it is important to note the difference between the audience that watched the performance and the audience that read about it. Those who viewed the masque firsthand were not necessarily the same people who would read the published version. During the early seventeenth century, living conditions for the merchant class began to improve. This emerging middle class began to gain respect as merchants and became an integral part of English trade and industry. In the process, this middle class gained recognition, education, disposable income, and leisure time. According to Cecile Jagodzinski,

The establishment of an English publishing industry, the growth of a merchant class with leisure time, increased opportunities for education for most classes, and the social, religious, and political upheavals of the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries contributed to a new way of thinking about the individual person. (2)

The seventeenth century was a period of growth for what Jagodzinski calls the “individual” of the middle class. People who once had no leisure time or education were now the ones buying pamphlets and other cheap forms of entertainment to read in the privacy of their own homes. This opportunity for personal growth led individuals who once identified themselves by the jobs they worked to introspection and a new sense of private ownership and individualism (Jagodzinski 23-25). Daniel’s use of publication would have appealed to this emerging market.

As the working class developed greater literacy, publications of all types became available for common perusal. The publications of royal entertainments, including the court masque, drew the attention of many middle class individuals who would never have the chance to actually attend these entertainments. Sharpe and Lake’s study of Renaissance drama includes a section on the verbal and the visual that applies to Daniel’s decision to publish his masques. Sharpe and Lake explain:

Some historians have suggested that an opposition between verbal and visual culture, set up in large part by the Protestant Reformation, helped to constitute and maintain the division between court and country. Certainly, the first generation of Protestants, anxious to eradicate the superstitions of popery, were vigorous iconoclasts, and...placed far greater emphasis on the word, both read and preached, than on the ritual symbols of public worship. (8)

This contrast between “verbal and visual culture” seems to date back to an earlier time when the majority of the population of England was illiterate (as opposed to the seventeenth century when literacy rates were increasing). The court masque is first and

foremost a visual spectacle, but Daniel's publication of his masques was a way to connect to the public's ever-growing appreciation and preference for the written word.

The contrast between visual and verbal culture coexists with the contrast between public and private. The court masque is difficult to categorize in this capacity because a masque is foremost a public performance put on for the entertainment of hundreds at court. The masque is also a private affair because of its elite, "by invitation only," status. By publishing his masques, Daniel again makes his work public by allowing the common public to read his descriptions. Sullivan addresses the issue of masques existing simultaneously as private and public entertainment. In *Court Masques of James I*, she explains,

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 in turn influenced by them, offer a large field for investigation, and deserve no less than very extended treatment. (*Introduction*, n.p.)

In this introduction, Sullivan identifies the stark contrast between the private, elite entertainments of the court and their counterparts, printed for the masses. Though Daniel certainly declares that his work is noteworthy and could provide entertainment for the world, he also knew that by publishing his masques, he was adding to an ever-increasing dislike and distrust of the monarchy. For *The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses*, Daniel seems more interested in establishing his place as a court favorite than jeopardizing his career. Daniel's first masque was also a way for Queen Anna to introduce herself and to



establish a clear system of ranking among her court favorites. Daniel's publication of his masques may have also resulted from a need for artistic expression that was hindered during the performances of his masques. Queen Anna's major role in the production of both the *Twelve Goddesses* and *Tethys' Festival* may have inhibited Daniel's artistic freedom in some ways. In addition, Daniel's choice of medium for his work both before and after the productions of his masques was poetry. In publishing his masques, Daniel was allowed to display his poetic aptitude as well as to provide commentary on other aspects of the performances.

## **Chapter Two: Key Dancers in *The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses* and Their Roles in the Jacobean Court**

Upon Queen Elizabeth's death in March of 1603, the English court gates were closed along with all of the ports of the kingdom. Though Elizabeth had alluded to the fact that James VI of Scotland was to be crowned James I of England,<sup>11</sup> many questions concerning England's next monarch still hung over the kingdom. James could have been contested on real grounds: Elizabeth left no written document declaring him her successor, and Henry VIII had excluded Scotland from the English succession in his will; however, Elizabeth's councilors had decided long before her death that James was England's rightful successor. Before James succeeded Queen Elizabeth, he had solidified his position as future King of England by maintaining good relationships with foreign powers such as France, Spain, and Baltic countries. Thus, James had already demonstrated a propensity towards peace and unification rather than war years before he came to the English throne. This unity with other foreign powers, however, did not keep an anti-Scottish attitude from prevailing among many of James's English subjects. Though prejudice between the English and Scottish persisted throughout James's reign, in his first year England was happy to have a king after having a queen for forty-five years (Akrigg 15). That mood quickly faded when the expenses of maintaining a royal

---

<sup>11</sup> On her deathbed, Queen Elizabeth told the Lord Admiral, Nottingham, that her throne was "the seat of kings" and only her "nearest heir of blood" should succeed her. She also said that "no rascal shall succeed." By asking the queen exactly who she meant to succeed her, and what she meant by "no rascal," she finally relented and told Sir Robert Cecil, "My meaning was a King shall succeed me; and who should that be but our cousin of Scotland?" (Akrigg 1-2).

family doubled and sometimes tripled the personal expenses that Elizabeth had incurred (Akrigg 19).

James and Anna's expensive taste and devil-may-care attitude towards spending tax payers' money on elaborate court entertainments caused much uproar with the people of England, and their lack of frugality contributed to a series of historical events which would eventually culminate in the 1649 beheading of their son, King Charles I. G.V.P. Akrigg notes that "[d]uring his first month in England James, impressed by the apparent wealth of his new kingdom, indulged to the full his taste for lavish giving" (85) and that "[b]y November the royal coffers were empty, the household officers unpaid, and the King's own guard ready to mutiny unless they received their money" (85). The last year of Elizabeth's reign cost £47,000 for her household expenses. During the first year of James's reign the cost nearly doubled Elizabeth's, rising to £93,000 (Akrigg 85). James tried to increase revenue and cut expenses by creating new import and export schedules in 1604, and by cutting expenses in food and gifts to members of his court. The peace treaty with Spain also cut costs because it decreased the need for men, ships and arms overseas (87). None of these efforts could keep up with the ever-increasing expenses of the new court, though. In *Jacobean Pageant*, Akrigg explains the circumstances surrounding the country's early problems with debt:

The reason for this sorry state of affairs was that the financial crisis which King James inherited from Elizabeth was so fundamental that it required much more than had yet been done to relieve it. In an age of soaring inflation, the income from the royal estates had not increased proportionately, and the direct taxes, the subsidies, fifteenths and tenths

voted occasionally by Parliament, were each yielding smaller and not greater returns. (87)

The necessary actions needed to relieve the debt were, according to Akrigg, “impossible of fulfillment” (87). The king would need to eliminate any corruption in royal offices as well as practice extreme frugality. As is evidenced in his first year expenses, James was not necessarily prudent when it came to royal expenditures.

Daniel’s first masque was performed in the midst of this financial crisis. By January of 1604, members of James’ court were well aware of the financial situation. *The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses* was all about the new court and the ideal state of affairs in that court. European ambassadors anxiously awaited invitations to the new English court’s first masque.<sup>12</sup> These ambassadors played a key role in court life in the seventeenth century; they were sent to court as representatives of their kings in order to receive favors, and an invitation sent to an ambassador was equivalent to an invitation addressed to the king himself (Sullivan 6). Each ambassador was made comfortable and given special favor according to the rank of his sovereign, a rank that was determined by King James. They also accompanied the king in a “regal procession” into the banqueting hall before the performance of a court masque according their kings’ ranks (5). In 1604, the two most important ambassadors were those of France and Spain.

One political situation that arose from the queen’s first masque was the competition between France and Spain for favors at the masque. The French ambassador, the Comte de Beaumont, and the Spanish ambassador, Juan de Tassis vied for the coveted

---

<sup>12</sup> There were two types of ambassadors: regular and extraordinary. A regular ambassador lived at a foreign court and delivered information from that court to his sovereign. An extraordinary ambassador would travel to a foreign court in his sovereign’s place, usually for special occasions including court masques, since masques accompanied many important state events.

position of honor at Daniel's masque. Sullivan explains the importance of the competition between France and Spain:

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 the 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. (Sullivan 10)

The French ambassador attended *A Masque of the Knights of India and China* held on the first of January where the king of France was honored. Daniel's *the Twelve Goddesses* was set for January 6<sup>th</sup>. When the French ambassador received word that the Spanish ambassador would attend the Twelfth Night masque, he was infuriated. King James "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" (13). James deflected the issue onto the queen, as this was a masque commissioned by her. A compromise was finally made wherein the French ambassador attended a dinner on January 6<sup>th</sup> and Daniel's masque was postponed by two days, being held on January 8<sup>th</sup> instead.

The queen and eleven ladies of her choosing danced the roles of goddesses in *The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses*.<sup>13</sup> The noble women from prominent families were on display in an entertaining spectacle meant to celebrate the new king and queen and their first Christmas in England. The women who danced in this masque also held prominent positions in the Jacobean court. In many instances, the dancers' roles in the masque coincide with their roles in court. By examining a few of the key performers, certain uses of symbolism and rhetorical statements that Daniel makes in the text of the masque can be better understood. Queen Anna's role is also of particular interest because of the way she presents her idealized self to the new court. Daniel was forced to compromise his "vision" for the masque by merging his interpretation of the idealized English court with the queen's interpretation and motives.

The key performers from Daniel's first masque that I will focus on in this discussion, along with the queen, are Lucy Harington Russell (*bap.* 1581-*d.* 1627), Countess of Bedford; Susan de Vere Herbert (1587-1629), Countess of Montgomery; Katherine Howard (1564?-1638), Countess of Suffolk; Frances Howard Stuart (1578-1639), Countess of Hertford; Alice Spenser (1559-1637), Countess of Derby; Lady Penelope Rich (1563-1607); and Lady Elizabeth Cecil Hatton (1578-1646).

### **Women Who Danced in *The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses***

Pallas...Queen Anna

Juno...Katherine Howard, Countess of Suffolk

---

<sup>13</sup> Some of these ladies also dance in *Tethys' Festival*; in chapter three I will address any additional biographical information that pertains to these ladies in the discussion of *Tethys' Festival*, along with the discussion of ladies who did not dance in the *Twelve Goddesses*.

Diana...Frances Howard Stuart, Countess of Hertford

Vesta...Lucy Harington Russell, Countess of Bedford

Proserpine...Alice Spenser, Countess of Derby

Concordia...Countess of Nottingham

Venus...Lady Penelope Rich

Macaria...Lady Elizabeth Hatton

Astraea...Lady Walsingham

Flora...Susan de Vere

Ceres...Dorothy Hastings

Tethys...Elizabeth Howard

### *The Queen*

Most scholars of the period recognize Anna as the primary influence on Jacobean court masques, but studies by modern scholars such as Leeds Barroll, David Bergeron, Maureen Meikle, Helen Payne, and Thomas Riis, prove that Anna's cultural influence transcended the masque genre. Queen Anna had many cultural interests. She was a "significant and sophisticated patron" (Meikle and Payne) of music, literature and art.<sup>14</sup> She loved dancing and music and is said to have spent several hours per day engaged in such activities.<sup>15</sup> Though some scholars view Anna's participation and interest in the arts as frivolous, or as signs of unintelligence, these assumptions are far from true. Though not a scholar herself, Anna had her own library and hired John Florio as her personal

---

<sup>14</sup> Several citations in chapters two and three lack page numbers because they have been taken from the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* online edition.

<sup>15</sup> In 1613 the Spanish ambassador Diego Sarmiento de Acuña, count of Gondomar, wrote in a letter to Philip II that the queen's "chief pleasure is dancing and music...and she passes many hours each day in this way" (Foster).

tutor in the Italian language (Meikle and Payne).<sup>16</sup> In addition to literary patronage and her dedication to learning Italian, Anna also loved the theater and had two acting companies, the first called The Queen's Men who performed for her at court (as well as in amphitheaters) and the second, a troop of boy actors called the Children of Revels to the Queen, of which Samuel Daniel was the licenser (Meikle and Payne). Though her interests have been proven to extend far beyond court entertainments, the queen's patronage of and influence on the Jacobean court masque has made the deepest and most lasting impression on the English court culture of the era.

Queen Anna performed in both of Daniel's masques; in *The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses* she danced the role of Pallas, Goddess of Wisdom, and in *Tethys' Festival* she danced as the title character, Tethys, Goddess of the Ocean. In January of 1604, when the *Twelve Goddesses* was written and performed, James and Anna had ruled England for only ten months and had lived there for only seven or eight of those months. *The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses* was the first of six masques commissioned by the queen during her life. No other members of the royal family participated as dancers in this particular masque, but King James received the "gifts" presented by each "goddess" to the court. Daniel's "vision" for the ideal state of the English monarchy is reflected in the gifts that each goddess bestows upon King James. Daniel's vision, however, was merged with that of Queen Anna, making it difficult for Daniel to present any form of dissatisfaction with the new monarchs. This merging of opinions and artistic vision between Daniel and Queen Anna becomes particularly intriguing with the queen's choice of dancing the role of Pallas.

---

<sup>16</sup> In 1611, Florio dedicated *Queene Annes New World of Words* (and Italian-English dictionary) to the queen (Meikle and Payne).



The queen's role in *The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses* extends far beyond her participation in the masque's performance. Her commission of the masque and choice of Daniel to compose it are as crucial as her choice to play a certain goddess and to wear a certain costume. Daniel's masque was set to be performed on Twelfth Night. Sullivan explains that "The masques of the Christmas season were the Court's greatest social functions. To these, then, representatives of European powers looked for the announcement of England's attitude toward the belligerents, as indicated through James's choice of ambassadors for first favors at the masque" (Sullivan 5). The queen planned for Daniel's *Twelve Goddesses* to be one such Christmas masque, though, as was stated earlier, the masque was performed on the eighth of January instead of the sixth due to the conflict between the French and Spanish ambassadors.

Queen Anna's role in Daniel's first masque was important politically because it was her chance to publicly display her favor for Spain over France. At the presentation of Daniel's masque, Spain's ambassador sat "at the right hand of the king" (Sullivan 14) beneath a canopy labeled "State." The typical way in which an ambassador was shown favor at a masque occurred as follows:

During the performance, attentions to ambassadors from the king and members of the royal family varied according to the honor England wished to pay the country of each. If the masque was given to show especial favor 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. (6)

The queen also showed favor to the ambassador by dancing with him before and after the masque's presentation. The princes showed favor to the Spanish ambassador's family during the entertainment by speaking exclusively to them.

At the end of the *Twelve Goddesses*, Queen Anna's favorite, the Countess of Bedford, was the one to take the Spanish ambassador de Tassis out onto the dance floor. The Countess of Bedford also wore a red scarf and belt while dancing in the revels in honor of the Spanish ambassador, while the queen herself wore a red gown (Sullivan 16).<sup>17</sup> The French ambassador was so angry at the favors shown to Spain that he threatened the Spaniard's life, even threatening to kill him at the king's feet. Sullivan argues that the threats and enmity were not only the result of a personal qualm, but a strategic French reaction to Spain's newfound favor with England. This reaction was most likely staged to take place in the king's presence in order to informally express France's outrage.

The queen's favor for Spain over France was also related to the issue of the Catholic/Protestant religious debates that burdened James' entire reign in England.<sup>18</sup> Queen Anna converted to Catholicism around 1600, while she was still in Scotland (Akrigg 23). Her conversion was a problem for the English who remembered all too well the staunch Catholicism under Mary's reign.<sup>19</sup> Elizabeth had refused to take sides and tried to keep peace between Catholics and Protestants in England, though she claimed to

---

<sup>17</sup> The color red is significant because the Spanish heraldry was represented in red and yellow.

<sup>18</sup> The issue of religion led to two attempts to dethrone and replace James within his first year as the King of England. Before taking the English throne, James told William Watson (a Catholic priest) that he would provide tolerance for Catholics in England. When James decided he would not be openly tolerant, Watson devised the "Bye Plot" in which he would kidnap James and force him to change his ministers and policies. At the same time as Watson was devising the Bye Plot, the "Main Plot" was devised by Cobham in a plan to kill James, Anna, and Henry and to replace the king with Arbella Stuart (38-40). The attempts made on James's life by Catholics finally led to his refusal to ever openly tolerate Catholicism in England (40). The Catholic/Protestant issue was one that persisted during the entire time that James ruled England.

<sup>19</sup> Her relentless persecution and slaughter of Protestants earned Mary I the nickname "bloody Mary."

be Protestant. James's continuance of Protestantism in England was important to maintaining stability in England after Elizabeth's death. The fact that James was married to a Catholic did not help the prejudices against him. Anna's favor for the Catholic Spain caused uproar with many who used her demonstrations of favor towards Spain as an example of the new court's favor towards Catholic nations.

The queen's dancing role in the masque was even more politically motivated than her commission of it because she used her role in the masque to symbolize her ideal role in the new court. In the preface to his masque, Daniel describes the traits and abilities that he wishes each goddess to portray, and the queen danced as Pallas, representing "wisdom and defense" (Daniel A3). In the preface Daniel describes the queen's costume and the items that she presents to the court as follows: "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, and presents a Lance and Target" (B3).<sup>20</sup> Pallas was the second goddess to enter the dance and is described as follows:

Next war-like Pallas, in her Helmet dressed  
With Lance of winning, Target of defense:  
In whom both Wit and Courage are expressed,  
To get with glory, hold with Providence" (B4).

The queen's choice of Pallas was a deliberate one. As has been noted by several scholars, Anna was very aware of her role as daughter, sister, and wife of a king. There are many reasons why the queen may have wanted to play a strong and powerful role in the court's first masque. As is noted by Meikle and Payne, the queen was viewed by many of her

---

<sup>20</sup> In this instance, "target" refers to what the *Oxford English Dictionary* defines as "a light round shield or buckler."

contemporaries as unconcerned with court affairs that did not revolve around entertainment and frivolity. Certainly her insistence on having roles in masques seems to validate those accusations rather than counter them, and further analysis is needed regarding the roles she chose in all six of her masques. Her role in *The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses* is one that displays power and authority and the gifts that Pallas brings to the new court, “a Lance and Target,” are symbols of war and defense.

Queen Anna entered the first masque in her new court attired in a helmet and a dress embroidered with “weapons and engines of war,” and she carried a lance and shield. This image of the queen is not something that should be taken lightly by literary scholars and historians. As previously stated, Sullivan warns against interpreting court masques as mere frivolity and entertainment. A court masque must be studied in relation to the historical context in which it was written and performed in order to understand the importance of certain images and poetry within the masque, such as Queen Anna’s role as Pallas. James’ preference for peace rather than war starkly contrasts to Queen Anna’s choice of goddess and costume. Her role seems, then, to be in defiance of James.

Though Anna did not consider herself a scholar, James was well known for his scholarship. The connection with the “goddess of wisdom” seems to relate more to James than Anna, but to what end? Anna’s costume and gifts to the court are obviously connected to Pallas’ role as “goddess of defense.” It seems that, at least for Anna, the “defense” aspect of Pallas’ personality overwhelmingly outweighs the “wisdom” aspect. If this character is interpreted as a representation of James and Anna, the balance between their two personas definitely lacks equilibrium. One reason for the queen’s outward expression of dominance over James may be the difference between her role as Scottish

queen and her role as Queen of England. In Scotland, the queen demonstrated independence and authority, even using Scottish law and politics to battle James over custody of Prince Henry. Soon after his birth, Henry was taken to Stirling to be raised by John Erskine, Earl of Mar. Though it was common for royal children to be raised separate from their families, Anna was very unhappy when her children were taken from her. Consequently, many who opposed the Earl of Mar supported Queen Anna's cause against him, but the king had the final say in the matter.

Just three years before coming to England, in 1600, Anna was caught up in another serious conflict with James. The Gowrie conspiracy to overthrow King James resulted in James' guards killing John Ruthven, Earl of Gowrie and his brother, Alexander. As a result, two of the queen's favorite ladies-in-waiting, Beatrix and Barbara Ruthven, were dismissed by the king. Over the next three years, Anna fought against the king to have the two women, sisters of the conspirators, reinstated. During that time, the Scottish government was convinced that the queen's demands for the Ruthvens' reinstatement presented a risk to national security. The king finally relented to the queen's demands and reinstated her two ladies-in-waiting in 1603. In this instance, the queen's obstinacy over a three year period won out over the king's better judgment and the advice of his ministers. The conflicts between James and Anna concerning both Henry's custody and the Ruthvens' reinstatement demonstrate the queen's tendency towards stubbornness and relentless pursuit of her preferences, even when these resulted in security issues. In that capacity, her role as Pallas seems an outward challenge to James for authority in her role as Queen of England.

The role may have also expressed the queen's dissatisfaction with James' dream of a peaceful unification of the crowns of Scotland and England. Both James' Scottish and English subjects objected to the unification for vastly different reasons. As was noted earlier, the English expressed outward prejudice for the Scottish, claiming that the Scottish people were barbarous northerners compared to the English. The Scottish also expressed unease at unifying with England because it meant a blow to Scotland's independence. Though Anna had to follow her husband's decisions, she had the opportunity to express her dissatisfaction in her role as Pallas.

In addition to being a performance based on her relationship with the king, and a means of solidifying the queen's newly formed court, Anna's role in the *Twelve Goddesses* may also have been a way for Anna to negotiate her relationship to the late Queen Elizabeth. In some ways, Anna's role as Pallas is a means of connecting herself to Elizabeth, but in other ways Anna seems to be distancing herself from the late queen. This tension between two seemingly mutually exclusive goals provides an explanation and a motive for many of the queen's actions within the masque, along with her choice of wardrobe, dancers, and character.

One way in which Anna displays her power and authority in the role of Pallas is by the role's direct relation to the late Queen Elizabeth. McManus explains:

Anna's personation of the classical deity [Pallas] so often associated with the virginal Elizabeth avoided a more conventional alignment with Juno, queen of the goddesses and deity of marriage.... The lengths to which Daniel went to represent Anna/Pallas as *The Vision's* ruling goddess—Iris calls her 'the all-directing Pallas'—draws attention to this unconventional

choice and underlines the associations between the helmeted queen consort and her Amazonian predecessor. (109)

As McManus states, Queen Anna's choice of goddess is a bit unprecedented because her role as Queen of England more closely aligns with that of the classical goddess Juno, wife to Jove and queen of deities. Instead, Anna chose to align herself with Pallas, goddess of wisdom and defense. Queen Elizabeth often related herself to goddesses such as Diana and Pallas.

Another way in which Anna chose to make a direct correlation between herself and Queen Elizabeth is through her choice of costumes for the masque. The costumes were not designed by the set designer or architect, but rather clothes were taken from the late Queen Elizabeth's wardrobe and altered in order to provide dresses for the queen and other noble women dancers. This choice of Elizabeth's dresses as costumes links Queen Anna's new court with that of Elizabeth. Anna makes the costume her own, however, as there was a well-known alteration made to Anna's costume, but to none of the other ladies' dresses. The courtier Dudley Carleton notes, "Only Pallas had a trick by herself, for her clothes were not so much below the knee that we might see a woman had both feet and legs which I never knew before" (McManus 109). McManus concludes that this alteration made to Queen Anna's costume is in direct contrast to what she refers to as "Elizabethan femininity" and that the new Stuart queen showed her difference in perception of femininity "through the transgressive display of the royal female body" (109-110). This new feminine expression may be in part due to the fact that Queen Elizabeth (the "virgin" queen) produced no heirs to the English throne, whereas Anna gave birth to at least six children, three of whom survived to adulthood. Anna's outward

display of sexuality is in direct contrast to Elizabeth's outward declaration of her marriage to England and of her "virgin" state. McManus also describes the significance of Anna's choice in wardrobe:

in the case of Daniel's masque, the ramifications of this recycling [of Elizabeth's dresses] are more forceful precisely because the choice of the new queen consort did not light on aristocratic clothes, or on those of her own wardrobe, but on those inherited from Elizabeth. Elizabeth's clothes were a valuable and prized part of the new Queen's possessions and their use would signal Anna's status as Elizabeth's female heir. (107)

Anna's first court masque was a much anticipated event for which ambassadors awaited invitations. The way that the queen presented herself for this masque is a very important part of the spectacle because she was the masque's central figure, and representatives of many European nations were there to observe the queen in this role. By choosing Queen Elizabeth's dresses for herself and the other noble women, Anna presented herself and the ladies of her court as equals or parallels to Elizabeth. Just as Anna had inherited Elizabeth's wardrobe, she had also inherited Elizabeth's role as queen of England.

The significance of the masque's location at Hampton Court's Great Hall also coincides with Queen Anna's wardrobe choice and relation to Queen Elizabeth.

McManus relates both the significance of the location in terms of the new monarchy from a political standpoint and of the significance to the new queen in particular:

The inaugural masque of the new Stuart court, then, that moment which signaled the transition from Elizabethan to Jacobean rule, was danced in a Henrician context... In its depiction of the union of Scotland and England,



found among other places in Iris's mention of "mighty Brittany", Daniel's masque was a validation of the incoming Stuart rulers' negotiation of English monarchical authority and its existing physical and conceptual structures of power. Complementing this, the Great Hall's ties to medieval feudalism represented a continuity of specifically English experience appropriated by the Stuart courts in the moment of performance as markers of dynastic continuity. Daniel's masque suggests a resonant series of ties between Elizabeth I and Anna of Denmark, England's new queen consort, which gain weight and relevance from their performance in a Great Hall built by a major figure of the Tudor dynasty. (102)

In McManus' interpretation, the new queen would want to associate herself with Queen Elizabeth because Elizabeth, a queen regnant, was a more authoritative figure than Anna, a queen consort. Anna wore the former queen's clothes, altered in order to represent an air of power and sexuality, and danced in a Great Hall that was built by Elizabeth's father, one of the most influential kings in English history. Though her costume and her desire to put the "royal female body" on "display" indicate that Queen Anna wanted to distance herself from Elizabeth in some ways, most of her choices pertaining to *The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses* connect her to the late queen rather than distance her from the old court. McManus' assertion that the new royal family wanted to closely align itself with the past seems justifiable. The queen's first court masque was important because it gave Queen Anna the chance to present the court with her ideal form. Dancing in the Great Hall wearing Elizabeth's clothing, then, Queen Anna presented herself as a

physical representation of what she wanted others to see in her: power, culture, and a connection to great English rulers the past.

*Lucy Harington Russell, Countess of Bedford*

Daniel dedicated *The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses* to Lucy Harington Russell, Countess of Bedford, who danced in the role of Vesta, goddess of “Religion.” It may seem strange that the first masque performed in the Jacobean era, that was written in order to celebrate the new king and queen of England, was not dedicated to the new rulers. However, the Countess of Bedford was a tremendously influential member of Queen Anna’s court. The Countess of Bedford received a humanist education<sup>21</sup> and came from the prominent Harington family.<sup>22</sup> She married Edward Russell (1572-1627), third Earl of Bedford in 1594, at just thirteen years old. After years of living the court life and accumulating large amounts of debt, the Earl and the Countess of Bedford fell out of favor in Queen Elizabeth’s court (Payne). After James’s succession, however, the Bedfords found favor once again with the Countess of Bedford’s appointment to the privy chamber and later to the bedchamber of Queen Anna (Payne).<sup>23</sup>

---

<sup>21</sup> According to Barbara K. Lewalski, Bedford was fluent in many languages including French, Spanish and Italian. John Florio often stayed at the Harington household and dedicated his *World of Words* (1598) to Bedford. Florio also notes in his 1603 translation of Montaigne’s *Essays* that Lucy “read, encouraged, and offered helpful suggestions” for the translation, which Florio completed while staying with the Harington family (Lewalski 60). He also dedicated the book to Lucy and her mother, among others (60).

<sup>22</sup> Her father, Lord John Harington, first Earl of Essex, and mother were of such elevated status that the king and queen’s daughter, Princess Elizabeth (later Queen of Bohemia), was entrusted to their care as a child.

<sup>23</sup> Lewalski attributes the Haringtons’ newfound favor to the fact that upon Elizabeth’s death, “Lucy and her mother hastened to Edinburgh (as did some other nobles and ladies) to pay their respects to James I and Queen Anne” (53), and at that time Lady Bedford was appointed as a lady of the queen’s bedchamber and Bedford’s parents were at that time entrusted with the care of Princess Elizabeth. Lewalski also states that Bedford’s brother (also named John Harington) “became a close friend with the heir apparent, Prince Henry” (53).

From a political standpoint, the Countess of Bedford was in a very influential position. According to Lewalski,

As favorite lady-in-waiting to the queen from Anne's accession in 1603 to her death in 1619, the Countess of Bedford influenced the queen's patronage directly and had the ear of the king's ministers and favorites. Accordingly, she was a power to be reckoned with in the disposition of offices, the arrangement of marriages, and the shaping of Jacobean cultural life. (52)

It seems that a love of literature and drama was in Bedford's blood as she was also part of the famous Sidney family.<sup>24</sup> Bedford was, as Lewalski states, "easily the most important patroness of the Jacobean court, except for Queen Anne herself" (52). Bedford was patron to many musicians and writers including Samuel Daniel, John Donne, Ben Jonson, Michael Drayton, and George Chapman among others (Lewalski 54). Scholars have also suggested that Bedford greatly influenced Queen Anna in relation to court masques, as Bedford was a great supporter of the court entertainment (Payne). She was also praised in verse by many as intelligent and talented and she is "one of the three or four regularly celebrated as fit audience and worthy critic for works of literature and learning, and also as a talented poet" (Lewalski 60).

In addition to her influence at court, the Countess of Bedford also had a personal connection to Daniel as she was his patron. She also played a major role in Daniel's favor at court. According to Seronsy, Daniel was one of the many writers who composed a rather long panegyric (seventy-two ottava rima stanzas) for King James upon his

---

<sup>24</sup> Lucy Harrington Russell's paternal grandmother was Lucy Sidney, aunt to Sir Philip Sidney and Mary Sidney Herbert (Payne).

accession to the English throne (111). While King James was making his long journey through Scotland and England before settling at Whitehall Palace, Daniel went north to Rutlandshire in order to greet the new king and present his panegyric.<sup>25</sup> The Countess of Bedford arranged an audience with the King for Daniel at Burleigh Harrington<sup>26</sup> (111). Bedford also played a key role in Daniel's selection as composer of the court's first masque and later with his second (115).

In the *Twelve Goddesses*, Bedford's costume is described as follows: "Vesta, in a white Mantle embroidered with gold-flames, with a dressing like a Nun, presented a burning Lamp in one hand, and a Book in the other" (A4). The poem that describes Vesta's entrance into the masque reads,

Next, Holy Vesta, with her flames of Zeal  
Presents herself, clad in white Purity:  
Whose book, the soul's sweet comfort, doth reveal  
By the ever-burning Lamp of Piety. (B4)

The symbolism of the book is presumably the Christian bible and the "Lamp of Piety" may represent the Christian belief that Jesus Christ is the "light" on the path of righteousness, or perhaps a lamp of piety. According to McManus,

Lucy Russell's personation of Vesta—'purity'—also harks back to a learned Elizabethan virginity. The piety and cultural engagement of both Russell and Elizabeth were represented through the visual markers of the

---

<sup>25</sup> The title page of Daniel's poem reads, "A Panegyrike Congratulatorie Delivered to the Kings Most Excellent Majestie at Burleigh Harrington in Rutlandshire. By Samuel Daniel." (Seronsy 111).

<sup>26</sup> It is fact that Daniel met King James at Burleigh Harrington, which was owned by the Countess of Bedford's father, and "delivered" his panegyric there (Seronsy 112), it is speculation (however plausible) the Countess of Bedford arranged the meeting.

book (the Bible) and the burning lamp of the wise virgin, an image resonant of the former queen's sexual self-representation. (109)

Bedford's correlation to Queen Elizabeth is not a coincidence. Though Vesta was not a major role in the masque (as were the roles of Pallas, Juno and Venus) Bedford's relation to not only Queen Anna, but also Queen Elizabeth more than makes up for her smaller role. Lewalski says that Bedford's role as Vesta seems an unfitting one, since Bedford was by far the queen's most favored lady. The role of Vesta placed Bedford in the "second rather than the first triad of goddesses" as the queen entered the dance with Juno (the Countess of Suffolk) and Venus (Lady Rich). Lewalski explains, however, that Bedford's role as Vesta was a deliberate choice that aligned her more closely with the queen. She says, "As Vesta, or Religion, Bedford's role associated her most closely with the queen who portrayed Pallas, and with the blessing specified in the masque as the primary support of the realm" (57). Lewalski further notes a portion of the masque's first poem to justify her argument of Vesta's importance:

Whose maine support, holy Religion frame:  
And Wisdome, Courage, Temperance, and Right,  
Make seeme the Pillars that sustaine the same. (B2)

Here, Lewalski argues, the goddess of religion is seen as the "maine support" for James and Anna's newly established court in England.

The role of Vesta was a powerful one because of Daniel's emphasis on the goddess of religion in the masque. As was previously stated, the queen also chose Bedford to escort the Spanish ambassador to the dance floor after the presentation of the masque, and Bedford wore a red scarf and red belt in order to match the ambassador's

wardrobe. The queen may have chosen Bedford to dance in the role of Vesta because of her reputation as an upstanding woman of virtue at court. As we will later see, a few of the ladies who danced alongside the queen made quite a different impression on members of the court.

*Katherine Howard, Countess of Suffolk*

Katherine Howard was a lady of the privy chamber to both Queen Elizabeth I and Queen Anna; and in 1603, Howard was sworn in as keeper of the jewels for Queen Anna. Her husband Thomas Howard (1561-1626), first earl of Suffolk, was privy councilor (4 May 1603), lord chamberlain to the king's household (4 May 1603-10 July 1614), and eventually lord treasurer (11 July 1614-20 July 1618) under James. The Earl and Countess of Suffolk played no small role in the politics of Jacobean England. One situation that the Countess of Suffolk was involved in was the Spanish pensions in 1604 (Akrigg 65). Spanish pensions were paid to Secretary Cecil, Henry Howard, first Earl of Northampton, the Countess of Suffolk, Anna and James "as a means of securing for [Spain's] ambassadors a sympathetic and friendly group with whom they could maintain useful connections" (Akrigg 65). Though the Countess of Suffolk received a Spanish pension, the Earl of Suffolk refused one. Her husband's influence with the king and queen, along with the influence of her friend Robert Cecil, first earl of Salisbury and secretary of state, also played a part in Howard's appointments in both Elizabeth I's and Anna's courts. As is seen with the Spanish pensions, however, the Countess of Suffolk was politically influential even without her husband's support.

The Countess of Suffolk did not possess the same upstanding reputation as the Countess of Bedford. She presumably engaged in an affair with her good friend Robert Cecil and was known to be both boisterous and overindulgent (Akrigg 107, 150). In the *Twelve Goddesses*, however, the Countess of Suffolk danced in the role of Juno, “Goddess of Empire and *regnum praesidi*” and represented “that blessing of power” (A4) for the Jacobean court. Juno’s costume and gifts are described as follows: “First Juno in a sky-coloured mantle embroidered with gold, and figured with Peacocks’ feathers, wearing a Crown of gold on her head, presents a Scepter” (B3). The description of Juno’s entrance in the text reads:

First here Imperial Juno in her Chair,  
With Scepter of command for Kingdoms large:  
Descends all clad in colours of the Air,  
Crown’d with brightest Stars, to signify her charge. (B3)

The role of Juno was a major one, as Juno is the queen of deities and wife to the king of the gods. Juno would have been an obvious choice for Queen Anna herself. Since the queen chose to dance as Pallas, the role of Juno should have gone to the Countess of Bedford, who was the queen’s favorite. The Countess of Bedford, however, was already chosen to dance in the role of Vesta, goddess of Religion, a role that aligned her more closely to Queen Anna in this particular masque. That being the case, the queen chose the Countess of Suffolk to dance in the lead role of Juno.

The Countess of Suffolk was one of Anna’s favorites. She and her husband were prominent members at court and unlike many of the ladies who danced with Queen Anna, the Earl and Countess of Suffolk were financially very well-off and never faced financial

difficulty during their marriage. There are several instances of the Howards stepping in to provide financial assistance or backing to the new king and queen in different court matters (Akrigg 96, 180, 212). This makes the queen's choice of the Countess of Suffolk to dance in the role of Juno interesting. Juno represents the gift of "power" to England, and Queen Anna makes clear with this choice that money equals power. The queen's choice of leading lady for her first masque was a loud, overindulgent woman, but most importantly a rich one.

#### *Lady Penelope (Devereux) Rich*

Lady Rich was educated by tutors in languages and music from a young age. Penelope Rich's father sought a marriage between Sir Philip Sidney and her, but to no avail.<sup>27</sup> Years later though, it seems Sidney regretted the way things turned out with Penelope Rich, composing his *Astrophel and Stella* sonnet sequence to express his love for the married Lady Rich after seeing her as a lady of honor in Queen Elizabeth's court.<sup>28</sup> Though Lady Rich had a well publicized affair with Sir Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy, from which five children were produced, her husband stayed married to her, and he and Lady Rich reared all of the children together. Lord Mountjoy was a dear friend and patron to Samuel Daniel. Daniel's close connection to Mountjoy also meant

---

<sup>27</sup> According to several sources, Penelope Rich's father, Walter Devereux (1539-1576), first earl of Essex, proposed a marriage contract between his daughter and Sir Philip Sidney. For more information about the relationship between Sir Philip Sidney and Penelope Rich see Katherine Duncan Jones's "Sidney, Stella, and Lady Rich," *Sir Philip Sidney: 1586 and the creation of a legend*, 1986. J.A. van Dorsten, ed., The Netherlands, E.J. Brill Publications.

<sup>28</sup> Though Sidney never said that *Astrophel and Stella* was about Lady Penelope Rich, many of his contemporaries (including John Harrington and Thomas Campion) as well as modern scholars believe Lady Rich to be Sidney's model for Stella. Clues in the sonnet sequence also point to Lady Rich as Stella. For example, in sonnet 35 Sidney writes, "long needy Fame / Doth even grow rich, naming my Stella's name" (lines 10-11). The sonnet sequence was most likely written in the early 1580s (just after Lady Rich's marriage), but *Astrophel and Stella* was not published until after Sidney's death (1586). Other scholars note, however, that Sidney's literary expressions may not have been equivalent to his feelings about Lady Rich since he was writing in the literary tradition of a sonnet sequence.



that he spent time with Penelope Rich. Mountjoy and Lady Rich were finally married (after the death of her first husband) in 1605, but the marriage “offended King James and Queen Anne and others at court” (Seronsy 125). This situation shows how powerful a noblewoman’s connections can be. Though Rich lost favor in Elizabeth’s court at the end of her reign because of her connections to her brother, Essex, she landed in favor yet again only a few years later in Queen Anna’s court. Though the king and queen were not supportive of Lady Rich’s affair with Lord Mountjoy and their subsequent marriage, Lady Rich was still one of the queen’s favorites.

In the *Twelve Goddesses* Rich danced as Venus, goddess of “love and amity” dressed “in a Mantle of Dove-colour, and silver, embroidered with Doves, presented (instead of her Cestus, of Amity) a Scarf of divers colours” (B3). The poem that accompanies her entrance into the dance reads,

Then lovely Venus in bright Majesty,  
Appears with mild aspect, in Dove-like  
With th’all combining Scarf of Amity, hue:  
Tingird strange Nations with affections true. (B4)

Venus was to provide the kingdom with the power to make other nations love England with “affections true.” The choice of Lady Rich as the goddess of love seems almost comical, as her well documented affair had been ongoing for years before Daniel’s first masque. All in all, Lady Rich was a highly respected patron of the arts and an influential member of Queen Anna’s court, though she was not considered to be very virtuous.

*Susan de Vere Herbert, Countess of Montgomery*

Susan de Vere Herbert, later the Countess of Montgomery, was another key figure who danced in Daniel's first masque. She played the minor role of Flora, goddess of "the beauties of the earth," in the *Twelve Goddesses*. At the time of Daniel's first masque, Susan de Vere was young and unmarried, but less than a year later she married Philip Herbert (1584-1650), first earl of Montgomery and, later, fourth earl of Pembroke. Philip Herbert is the son of Mary Sidney Herbert, Sir Philip Sidney's sister. Susan de Vere came from an affluent family on her paternal side as well; her father, Edward de Vere, was seventeenth earl of Oxford (Smith). When she danced in *The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses*, she was likely already engaged to Philip Herbert, whose family connections would have gained her recognition in court, in addition to her own family connections.

Daniel's relationship with the Sidney family is also rather extensive. As previously noted, Daniel's first patroness was Mary Sidney Herbert, Countess of Pembroke (Seronsy 15). Mary's brother Sir Philip Sidney was Daniel's inspiration to become a poet. Daniel was also tutor to William Herbert, Susan de Vere's brother-in-law (22). It is no surprise that a member (or future member in the case of Lady de Vere in 1604) of the Sidney family danced in Daniel's first masque. Lady de Vere's social status also made her influential at court, especially during the decade following Daniel's masque.

Flora's costume and gift to the kingdom are described as follows: "Flora, in a Mantle of divers colours, embroidered with Flowers, presents a Pot of Flowers" (A4). The poem that accompanies Flora's entrance into the masque reads,

Then cheerful Flora, all adorn'd with flowers,  
Who clothes the earth with beauty and delight

In thousand sundry suits, whilst shining hours

Will scarce afford a darkness to the night. (B4)

Thus, a seventeen-year-old Susan de Vere made her masquing debut. The choice of the young Lady de Vere to dance in the role of Flora is an obvious one. Young and vibrant, she represents all things beautiful. Her youth and beauty “Will scarce afford a darkness to the night.” Her wedding that occurred later that same year was a much celebrated occasion at court, and the king granted the Earl and Countess of Montgomery lavish gifts of money and land. The couple must have represented youth and prosperity of the nation to the middle aged king and queen, and to many of the women who danced alongside her in Daniel’s masque.

*Frances Howard, Countess of Hertford*

Frances Howard had quite a reputation at court by the end of her life,<sup>29</sup> but in 1604 she had been married to her second husband, Edward Seymour (1539-1621), earl of Hertford, for only three years. Frances Howard was orphaned at three years old and possessed no wealth in order to secure a noble marriage. Her connection to court came through Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk and his wife, Katherine Howard (discussed above in relation to this masque). Upon her parents’ deaths, the Earl and Countess of Suffolk took Frances in as their ward and she found favor with the Countess of Suffolk

---

<sup>29</sup> Frances Howard’s sexual exploits are well documented and well known. She is even rumored to have “relieved Prince Henry of his virginity” (Akrigg 181). Akrigg says of her personality that, “Lady Frances Howard, who had become Countess of Essex, was a bad lot. A daughter of King James’s Lord Chamberlain, Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk, and that avaricious virago his wife, she had been brought up in an atmosphere of self-interest and self-indulgence, and of intrigue sexual and political” (180). Her several court marriages and affairs caused many scandals and uproars throughout her life. She and her husband, the Earl of Somerset, were also implicated in the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury in 1613.

(Akrigg 180). Frances Howard's first husband (whom she wed at thirteen) was a merchant named Henry Pranell, and upon his death she inherited his wealth as a twenty-one-year-old widow. A little over a year later, in May of 1601, Frances Howard married Edward Seymour, a man nearly forty years her senior and she became Countess of Hertford (182).

The Countess of Hertford was well-read and several letters written by her still survive today. According to Don W. Foster, Howard is most likely the author of the 1617 pamphlet entitled *Esther hath Hang'd Haman...*, a response to Joseph Swetnam's 1615 pamphlet *The Arrainment of Women*. At the time of Daniel's first masque, much of Frances's bad reputation was not yet in place. She had been widowed at a young age and had recently married a well-to-do earl. She was one of Queen Anna's ladies of the privy chamber and an influential member of Anna's court.

As far as court masques are concerned, Frances Howard danced in many of the queen's masques including the famous *Masque of Blackness* by Jonson and Jones. For Daniel's *The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses*, the Countess of Hertford danced in the role of Diana, the goddess who possesses "the gift of Chastity" (A4). Hertford's costume consisted of "a green Mantle embroidered with silver half Moons, and a crescent of pearl on her head: presents a Bow and Quiver" (B3). The poem that accompanies Diana's entrance into the dance reads,

Then chaste Diana, in her Robes of green,  
With weapons of the Wood herself addressed  
To bless the Forests, where her power is seen,  
In peace with all the world, but Savage beasts. (B4)

One interpretation of the Diana role by McManus is that “The inclusion of Diana...signaled a return to an image prominent in Elizabeth’s iconographical career (and to be equally prominent in Anna’s)” (109). McManus uses this argument for her own reasons, in trying to connect Queen Anna back to a powerful ruler such as Queen Elizabeth. She argues in *Women on the Renaissance Stage* that Queen Anna’s motives behind her control of this particular masque were to connect herself to Queen Elizabeth as many times as possible (as is noted above in the section on Queen Anna’s role). This argument seems to hold merit in that Queen Elizabeth related herself to certain classical goddesses, but this may not be the only reason behind casting certain women in these goddess roles.

*Alice Spenser, Countess of Derby*

Another court figure, not as prominent as the Countess of Bedford or the Countess of Suffolk, was Alice Spenser, Countess of Derby. Derby was secretly married to Ferdinando Stanley, Lord Strange, heir to the earldom of Derby, in 1579. The Countess of Derby is described by Louis Knafla as “a beautiful, well-educated, and cultured woman” (n.p.). She was married to one of the wealthiest nobles in England, and her husband was patron to many playwrights. He also wrote poetry of his own. The Countess of Derby danced in many court masques in addition to *The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses*, including Jonson’s *Masque of Blackness*. While in Queen Elizabeth’s court, Derby followed her husband’s tradition of providing patronage to actors and playwrights

by encouraging acting companies to perform at court and after her husband's death in 1594,<sup>30</sup> she continued the patronage of his acting company.<sup>31</sup>

The Countess of Derby danced as Proserpina, the goddess with the gift of "riches" in the *Twelve Goddesses*. She was dressed in "a black Mantle embroidered with gold-flames" and wore "a crown of gold on her head" (A4). As her gift to the kingdom, she "presented a Mine of gold-ore" (A4). Her poem reads,

Next rich Proserpina, with flames of gold,  
Whose state although within the earth, yet she  
Comes from above and in her hand doth hold  
The Mine of wealth, with cheerful Majesty. (B4)

It is no surprise that the Countess of Derby played the role of the goddess of "riches." She and her second husband, much like the Howards, were financially well off. Derby was also known for overindulging in expensive entertainments held in her own home. Derby's role in the masque and gift of "a Mine of gold-ore" shows that, yet again, Queen Anna chose an influential and rich noble woman as a representative of her newly established court.

#### *Lady Elizabeth (Cecil) Hatton*

Lady Hatton was an intelligent and independent woman and was very popular at Queen Anna's court. Ben Jonson even wrote a part in his masque *The Gypsies Metamorphosed* in which Lady Hatton was addressed directly by one of the actors,

---

<sup>30</sup> Some of these companies included the Queen's Men, the Earl of Leicester's Men, and the Earl of Essex's Men (Knafla).

<sup>31</sup> In 1594 Ferdinando Stanley's acting company, Lord Strage's Men, became the Countess of Derby's Men; and according to Knafla, "this was the company that merged with the Lord Chamberlain's Men in 1594, with Shakespeare as chief playwright" (Knafla).

though she was merely an audience member during that performance (Aughterson). Along with participating in the queen's court masques, Hatton also hosted expensive entertainments at her own home, like many of the other women from Daniel's first masque. By 1604, Lady Hatton was married to her second husband, Sir Edward Coke (1552-1634). Her marriage to Coke was strained, and Lady Hatton refused to take her second husband's last name (Aughterson). Like many other husbands of Queen Anna's ladies, Coke did not like his wife's habit of hosting entertainments at their home at his expense. Lady Hatton often argued with Coke over rights to her property that she inherited after the death of her first husband and over her daughters' rights in choosing husbands (Aughterson).

Hatton danced as Macaria, goddess of "felicity" in the *Twelve Goddesses*. Her costume was "a Mantle of purple and silver, embroidered with the figures of Plenty and Wisdom" and these figures "concur to the making of true happiness" (B3). As her gift to the new king, Macaria presents "a Cadaceum with the Figure of abundance" (B3). The poem that introduces Macaria to the dance reads,

Then all in purple Robes, rich Happiness  
Next here appears, bearing in either hand,  
Th'Insigns both of wealth, and wits t'express,  
That by them both, her Majesty doth stand. (B4)

Hatton was the second lady to portray a goddess whose gifts include material wealth (the other being the Countess of Derby discussed above). Her marriage to a prominent member of James's court was only one way in which she was connected to the new king and queen. Elizabeth's family, the Cecil family, was a household name during

Elizabeth's reign and continued to be prominent throughout James' reign as well. Her brother, Edward, was Viscount Wimbledon and her father, Thomas Cecil was a prominent politician during Elizabeth's reign. He died "one of the wealthiest men in England" (Milward). He was also said to be generous with his money, which cannot be said about most of the courtiers during this time period. It is no coincidence that Thomas Cecil's daughter and Edward Coke's wife found herself among Queen Anna's ladies and danced as a goddess who presented the kingdom with "wealth" and "wits." Her role as the goddess of felicity, much like the Countess of Hertford's role as the goddess of chastity, may have been an inside joke or an expression of the queen's reminder to these two powerful women that their lives were a public spectacle. Whatever the reason, it seems the queen wished many of these women—including the Countess of Derby and Lady Hatton—to represent a powerful, rich court.

### **Conclusions**

The queen and her ladies demonstrated their social and political significance in England's newly formed court through their performances in Daniel's first masque. These women were specifically chosen by the queen to represent goddesses who presented gifts symbolic of the contributions the new king and queen brought with them from Scotland to England. Other dancers in this masque also played important roles in the symbolism of the transition between the king and queen's rule of Scotland to their new home in England. For example, Lady Nottingham danced in the role of Concordia, "union of the hearts," a role which "signaled the union between Scotland and England, and the motif of travel to the new 'Britain', 'the land of civil music and of rest'" (McManus 110). McManus says that Concordia "was an arresting feature in a masque



which negotiated the arrival of the Scottish court in London” (110). The unity of Scotland and England, as discussed in the introduction to this chapter, was an issue that King James struggled with during his entire reign. The fact that it was one of the political issues that arose in Daniel’s masque shows that as early as James and Anna’s first year in England, the discord between Scottish and English identity was already affecting court life.

In addition, Lady Walsingham’s role as Astrae was an example of “a figure intimately related to the dead Queen” and this performance by Lady Walsingham “marked the return to the fold of one of Elizabeth’s ladies” (McManus109). Lady Walsingham’s “return to the fold” was important because many members of Elizabeth’s court were dismissed or replaced after James and Anna settled into life in England. Many of Anna’s favorites were previously members of Elizabeth’s court that had fallen out of favor with the late queen. Including Lady Walsingham in her masque also provided Anna with one more connection to the late Elizabeth’s court.

Though the women in her court were influential, Queen Anna’s court was not without its scandals. Many of the women who danced in Daniel’s masques alongside the queen were some of the most talked about women in court. The Countess of Hertford would be—and probably already was—well known for her love of indulgence, financial as well as sexual. Her mother, Katherine Howard, was also known for her love of indulgence, and it was rumored that she and her good friend Robert Cecil engaged in a long and illicit affair (Akrigg 247). Some of these women, though, such as the Countess of Bedford and Lady Elizabeth Hatton were women identified by their good nature, education and beauty. Whether or not these ladies were virtuous, they all played key roles

in the Jacobean court and it was important for them to dance in the first masque of the recently established court. Being selected to dance alongside the queen in the first masque in her court was no small honor. These women were some of the most highly respected and influential women at court.

The reasoning behind the queen's choice for casting certain women can never be fully explained. The lead roles in the *Twelve Goddesses* went to wealthy women, but the reason that Queen Anna cast Frances Howard, a known adulteress, as the goddess of chastity must have been a complicated one. Akrigg seems to interpret the queen's indulgence of courtly women, whatever their reputations may be, as a sign of the corruption that King James and Queen Anna brought with them to the English court. After examining the biographies of some of the queen's favorites, it is hard to counter Akrigg's assertions; however, the role played by the Countess of Hertford may in fact help to prove another interpretation made by McManus. As stated earlier, McManus says that Queen Anna's role and costume seem to illuminate a new form of femininity and sexuality in the English court. This sexuality is symbolized by the new queen attired in one of the late Elizabeth's dresses, a dress which has been altered in order to show Queen Anna's legs and feet. Pallas is played by a queen who has already produced an heir apparent to the English throne and whose sexuality is blatant in that regard, which is in direct contrast to Queen Elizabeth. In addition, the lead role of Juno is played by a vocal, "indulgent" woman who is also the mother of twelve, so her sexuality and personality are both apparent to the king and queen's courts. The Countess of Hertford in the third leading role, which makes up the "first triad" of goddesses, displays a message about the

sexuality and femininity of the women in the new queen's court. These are not women who wish to demonstrate an air of virginity and stoicism like the late Queen Elizabeth.

The queen and her ladies introduced a different type of authority that is displayed through each woman's ability to manipulate court affairs and influence important court decisions. McManus's interpretation of Anna's desire or purpose to parallel herself to Queen Elizabeth through the symbolism of this masque, therefore, is an accurate one; however, the queen also brought with her a different type of power as well: that of her open sexuality and fertility in marriage. In addition to the new queen's direct correlation to the symbolism used by Queen Elizabeth, she also chose specific women to represent figures that Elizabeth often compared herself to, making an even deeper connection between her own court and that of the late queen of England.

A few of these women also went on to dance in Daniel's second masque and many of these women danced in several of Jonson's masques as well. As we will see in the next chapter, several other influential women joined the ranks dancing with Queen Anna in Daniel's second masque, performed six years later.

### **Chapter Three: Key Dancers in *Tethys' Festival* and Their Roles in the Jacobean Court**

Daniel's second masque was performed six years after James and Anna came to the English throne. By 1610 James was facing major debt pressure because of his court's incompetence concerning finances, and the royal exchequer was almost always empty. In order to try to manage finances, there was a complicated "system of checks" for each department of the court (Akrigg 88-9) which was overseen by the Lord Treasurer.

Thomas Sackville, Earl of Dorset, served that position in the early years of James's reign and was later replaced by Robert Cecil, who was more rigorous than Sackville. Cecil not only saved much more money than the first Lord Treasurer, but increased royal funds by imposing taxes (92). He also rented royal lands for revenue and issued "privy seals," loans that people were forced to pay the king ranging from £10-£50 (93). Parliament finally offered the "Great Contract" of 1610 after many debates with the king. Parliament would grant the king £100,000 per annum as long as the king would "grant freedom from the irksome payments arising out of antiquated feudal rights and tenures" (93). As a result of these ongoing disputes, James finally dissolved Parliament in 1614 and ruled without it for the next seven years.

Daniel was familiar with the country's financial problems, but, as with his first masque, the queen spared no expense with *Tethys's Festival*. Daniel's second masque was more elaborate than the first in terms of setting and costumes. Unlike with *The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses* some sketches designed by Inigo Jones still survive today. The designs of the headdresses as well as the embroidery on the dresses are detailed and elaborate. The embroidery on the queen's dress alone cost fifty six pounds,

and the over ten thousand yards of cloth used to make other costumes and embroidery cost over eleven hundred pounds (Seronsy 134-35). As far as finances were concerned, this masque connoted a display of resources of a wealthy court, not one that was in financial duress.

Daniel's position at court had also changed since the production of his first masque. As previously noted, shortly after the *Twelve Goddesses* was presented, Daniel was appointed a groom of the queen's chamber. He was also made licensure of the queen's acting company. According to Grace Ioppolo, Daniel's role as licensure (and censor) to the Children of the Queen's Revels was at a time when the company produced its most scandalous plays (125-27). In 1605, he had permitted the Children of the Revels to perform a play entitled *Eastward Ho!*, "a play so offensive to the king that Queen Anne withdrew her patronage from the company" (Seronsy 117). Daniel also faced scrutiny in late 1604 from a production of his play, *Philotas*, in which the hero too closely resembled Robert Devereux, Second Earl of Essex.<sup>32</sup> Though his attitude towards the monarchy evinced in the production of such plays was not always positive, Daniel came into favor with the queen once again.

Daniel's *Tethys's Festival* was a celebration of Prince Henry's investiture, but was all about Queen Anna and her congratulations to him. As the eldest royal son, Henry was well educated from an early age. James found it important for princes above all others to receive a proper humanist education (Akrigg 128). Other than his education, Henry did not share many common interests with his father. Henry, unlike James, was interested in military endeavors and "delighted to have military men about him" (129). He also enjoyed participating in a martial exercise and court entertainment called

---

<sup>32</sup> Essex was convicted of treason against Queen Elizabeth I and was executed in 1601.

barriers. This exercise was similar to the tilt, except that it was performed on foot rather than on horseback, and consisted of two opponents thrusting pikes at each other with a waist-high barrier between them (130).

Henry's love of sport led to the production of *Prince Henry's Barriers* held at Whitehall Palace on January 6, 1610. The *Barriers* held the coveted position of the court's Twelfth Night entertainment for 1610, and can be interpreted as the preface to Henry's investiture that was to take place later that summer. The English public was fascinated with their future king. Many saw Henry as reminiscent of the Tudor kings because of his love of sport and his military interests. Akrigg notes that because of all the fascination in the young prince, "Prince Henry's Barriers'... became a great court occasion, celebrated with pomp and ceremony and invested with an aura of chivalry befitting a prince ardent for military glory" (130). This all important Twelfth Night entertainment of 1610 focused on Henry, who was to become the Prince of Wales later that year. England had become enamored with Prince Henry because it seemed as though he had none of James' weaknesses. James was a sickly, physically weak man of small stature, whereas Henry was youthful, athletic, and physically fit. He also showed the potential for engaging in war during his reign, when James did everything in his power to avoid war and to promote unification. Prince Henry's house was "a center of sobriety and good manners" as opposed to his father's "lax, loose court" (131). Henry also began to interfere with his father's affairs and often openly criticized James' officers. Akrigg asserts that Henry's "success made him arrogantly confident of his own virtues and abilities" (132). The only role he played obediently was that of willing fiancé during

marriage negotiations with both a daughter of the Duke of Savoy and Louis XIII of France's second sister, Christine, both of whom were vetted for his future wife.

Although *Tethys's Festival* was composed in celebration of the prince's new role as heir-apparent to the English throne, it also represents a crucial political event in England. As was previously noted, England had waited over a century for its next Prince of Wales. The participants in Daniel's second masque were as influential as those who danced in his first. Several dancers in this masque had danced in the *Twelve Goddesses* and many of the others danced in masques composed by Jonson and Jones and commissioned by the queen. Other members of the royal family participated in the spectacle as well, including the king and the two princes, Henry and Charles.

Daniel's second masque is often recognized as a more polished and well written work than his first. As with *The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses*, Daniel's choice as masque writer for Henry's creation was most likely influenced by Lucy Harington Russell, Countess of Bedford. Daniel's second masque was a much more elaborate spectacle and a far more sophisticated masque than the *Twelve Goddesses* in terms of costumes, architecture, and expense. *Tethys' Festival* is also more poetically sophisticated than the *Twelve Goddesses*.

The rivalry between Daniel and Ben Jonson also peaked with Daniel's appointment as masque writer for Prince Henry's creation. Jonson was falling out of popularity at the time, though he is recognized as a better poet than Daniel (Seronsy 135). Daniel also sided with Inigo Jones over Jonson in his preface to *Tethys' Festival*. Jones favored elaborate spectacle and architecture in staging, while Jonson obviously favored the poetry over spectacle. In his preface Daniel praises the visual spectacle of masques as

being what people will remember about them in years to come, and he deems the architecture “of most importance,” while referring to the poetry as “of least note in the time of the performance” (E2).

In this chapter, I will continue the discussion of key dancers and begin a discussion of ladies whom I have not already mentioned in relation to *The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses*. In addition to Queen Anna and the other royal participants, I will continue the discussion of Susan de Vere Herbert, Countess of Montgomery and Alice Spenser, Countess of Derby in relation to their roles in *Tethys’ Festival*.<sup>33</sup> The new key performers from *Tethys’ Festival* that I will focus on in this section are Arbella Stuart (1575-1615), Anne Clifford (1590-1676), Countess of Dorset (and later Countess of Montgomery and Pembroke as well) and Aletheia Howard, Countess of Arundel (1582?-1654).

By discussing the ladies who danced in *Tethys’ Festival*, I will highlight changes in the queen’s motives for choosing particular types of women for this masque. *Tethys’ Festival* is a more sophisticated masque for Daniel in terms of plot, poetry, and presentation, and the queen’s role is just as complex as her role in *The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses*. The tension between Anna’s wish to both equate herself with and distance herself from Queen Elizabeth that was presented in the *Twelve Goddesses* no longer seems to be an issue for the queen in *Tethys’ Festival*. Though Anna’s choice of dancers in the masque implies that the queen has taken more of an interest in presenting herself and the women around her as virtuous rather than scandalous, she breaks away from Elizabeth’s influence almost entirely in Daniel’s second masque.

---

<sup>33</sup> Though these are not the only ladies who make an appearance in both masques, I have decided that Susan de Vere Herbert and Alice Spenser are most relevant to my study of influential court members.



**Ladies Who Danced in *Tethys' Festival***

Tethys, the Ocean Queen...Queen Anne

Nymph of the Thames...Lady Elizabeth Howard

Nymph of Trent...Lady Arbella

Nymph of Arundell...Aletheia Howard, Countess of Arundel

Nymph of Darwent...Lady Alice Spenser, Countess of Derby

Nymph of Lee...Lettice Dudley, Countess of Essex

Nymph of Avr...Lady Anne Clifford, Countess of Dorset

Nymph of Severn...Lady Susan de Vere Herbert, Countess of Montgomery

Nymph of Rother...Viscountess of Heddington

Nymph of Medway...Lady Elizabeth Gray

Four Rivers:

Lady Elizabeth Guilford

Lady Katherine Peter

Lady Winter

Lady Windsor

*The Royal Family*

Unlike *The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses*, in which Anna was the only member of the royal family to participate, *Tethys's Festival* saw King James, Prince Henry, and Prince Charles take on roles along with the queen. Though James and Henry simply observed the performance for the most part, several lines focus on their characters, the Ocean King and Prince Meliades, and many poems are dedicated to these characters

throughout the masque. Charles took a more active role as Zephyrus, messenger of Tethys. Zephyrus played a key role at the end of the masque in “bringing the women back” to their original form.

Queen Anna danced in the central, title role of Tethys. The masque’s alternative name, *The Queen’s Wake*, demonstrates the queen’s control over the performance. Daniel describes Tethys’ entrance into the masque, along with the entrance of her nymphs as follows:

Tethys Queen of the Ocean, and wife of Neptune, attended with thirteen Nymphs of several Rivers, is represented in this manner: First the Queen’s Majesty in the figure of Tethys. The Ladies in the shape of Nymphs, presiding several Rivers, appropriated, either to their dignity, Signatories or places of birth. (E3)

The language of this first description also affirms the queen’s control over the performance and strongly indicates that there is only one leading lady in this masque. The other women are not mentioned by their characters’ names in this first description. In the *Twelve Goddesses*, each goddess was mentioned by her proper name and given an equal amount of space in the poetry of the masque. The river nymph roles in *Tethys’ Festival* are assigned to ladies who have a connection to a specific region of England, their “dignity, Signatories, or places of birth,” as is clear with characters such as the “Nymph of Arundell” danced by Aletheia Howard, Countess of Arundel or the “Nymph of Darwent” danced by the Countess of Derby. In this introductory description, not only is the role of Tethys the lead role, Tethys is the only character with a proper name. The

other ladies are either named after rivers or regions and merely represent the queen's attendants.

If *The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses* was a way for Anna to connect to Queen Elizabeth, *Tethys' Festival* was a way for Anna to establish an identity separate from Elizabeth. The emphasis on Queen Anna in her role as Tethys is important because the queen uses this role in order to convey certain messages to her audience. Above all, *Tethys' Festival* celebrates one form of monarchical power that Queen Elizabeth did not possess, that is Anna's fertility in her marriage to King James and her role as a mother.

Queen Anna was proud of providing the kingdom with heirs. One cause of friction between Anna and James came about when her first son, Henry, was taken to Stirling to be raised by John Erskine, Earl of Mar. As was noted earlier, Anna was infuriated because she could not personally raise her children. She protested and even took legal action against the king. Later, shortly after King James succeeded Elizabeth I, Anna was instructed to remain behind in Scotland while the king began his slow journey to London. Anna was pregnant at the time and the king directed her to bring the new baby and their elder children, Henry and Elizabeth, with her when she came to England. About a month after James left, however, Anna decided to visit both of her children—Henry at Stirling and Elizabeth at Linlithgow. After reaching Stirling and demanding the prince leave with her immediately instead of awaiting the appointed time of departure, the queen suffered a miscarriage to the great disappointment of the king. As can be gathered from these two instances, the queen valued her motherhood and often argued with the king over what her role as the royal mother should be. She certainly used Prince Henry's investiture to celebrate her motherhood and, perhaps, to provoke King James as well.

In *Tethys' Festival*, the queen's roles as wife and mother are emphasized through the staging, spectacle, and poetry of the masque. In the section titled "Description of the First Scene," Daniel states, "In the midst was a compartment, with this inscription, *Tethyos Epinicia*, Tethys feasts of triumph. This was supported with two winged boys..." (E3). If *Tethys' Festival* is really a celebration of the queen's motherhood, the inscription on this compartment can be interpreted as a declaration of the queen's triumph rather than Prince Henry's. The two "winged boys" are interesting figures because the queen had two surviving sons, Henry and Charles.

In *Tethys' Festival*, as well as in *The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses*, Queen Anna presents "gifts" to the English court. For *Tethys' Festival* the queen presents a scepter to the king and a sword to Prince Henry. Interestingly, it is again the queen who presents an "engine of war" to the court. In Daniel's poem, the queen hands the sword to the Prince of the Isles with the warning that it is "not to be unsheath'd but on just ground" (E3). Her presentation of the sword to Henry may suggest that he is more apt to use it than his father, and like many others had expressed their excitement for a new king reminiscent of the Tudors, so the queen's point of view is expressed through this symbolic gift.

In addition to the queen, other members of the royal family were central in the presentation of *Tethys' Festival*. The staging for *Tethys' Festival* was slightly different from that of *The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses*, and the king's position is probably the most important difference. The king played a small role in the masque, though he did not leave his place on the dais to participate in the dance. The king's position on the dais, raised above the dance floor looking down to the queen, gave him the best view of the

central figure of the queen in *Tethys' Festival*. According to McManus, "The later Jacobean masques put on in the banqueting houses replaced Daniel's creation of the ideal court on the social space of the dance floor with a centralized vision which focused on the twin spectacles of the king on the dais and, among others, the royal female body on the perspective stage" (105). The king was in the best position to view the queen's body, which is another representation of the queen's sexuality and fertility. The king is her husband and has produced children with her, and at the masque he enjoys watching the queen as she displays her body decked out in a beautiful, embellished costume. This contrast between the positions of the king and queen was not in place for the *Twelve Goddesses*, in which both monarchs were positioned on the lower level.

The king's position in *Tethys's Festival* was also important since he played a larger role in this masque. As with Daniel's first masque, the king and Prince Henry were audience members, both men were addressed in the poetry of the masque, but neither danced in the action. For *Tethys' Festival* the king received gifts, similar to his role in the *Twelve Goddesses*. Tethys and her attendants present gifts to the Ocean King in celebration of his son's achievement as heir to the kingdom. The poem for this part of the masque reads as follows:

Was ever hour brought more delight  
To mortal sight,  
Than this, wherein fair Tethys deigns to show  
Her, and her Nymphs array  
In glory bright?  
See how they bring their flowers;

From out their watery bowers,  
To deck Apollo's Tree,  
The tree of victory.  
About whose verdant boughs,  
They sacrifice their vows,  
And with an everlasting spring  
Of glory, to the Ocean King. (F3)

In a way, the king's physically elevated position and the poetry dedicated to him placed him on display as well. The language of the poetry concerning the king and prince differs from that of the poetry concerning Tethys. As in seen in this selection, the lines are shorter than those describing Tethys' entrance into the masque. The poetry concerning the Ocean King and Prince Meliades stands out because of its staccato rhythm and song-like rhyme and may have been written that way in order to bring attention to the scenes with King James and Prince Henry.

The poetry dedicated to King James' character in *Tethys' Festival* is also important because, as with the poem above, Daniel's poetry praises King James, but not in the same detail as his panegyric in 1603 or the *Twelve Goddesses* of 1604. In the *Twelve Goddesses*, for example Daniel describes the many "gifts" that King James' court has brought with them, or that the "goddesses" have bestowed upon them, that he and the queen can in turn bestow upon England. In *Tethys's Festival*, Daniel merely grants the "Ocean King" "an everlasting spring of glory." His lack of exuberant praise for the king may foreshadow his criticism of James' incompetence in the years to come. *Tethys's*

*Festival* was successful at court, but Daniel never openly praised the king in his writing career after *The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses*.

Besides the king, queen, and Prince Henry, Prince Charles also participated in *Tethys' Festival*, and, unlike his father and brother, he played a dancing role. Near the end of the masque, ten-year-old Prince Charles dancing in the role of Zephyrus and six noblemen were called to “bring back the Queen and her Ladies in their own form” while the following chorus was sung:

Faire branch of power, in whose sweet feature here  
Mild Zephyrus a figure did present  
Of youth and of the spring-time of the year  
I summon you, and six of high descent  
T'attend on you (as hopeful worthies born  
To shield the Honor and the clear Renown  
Of Ladies) that you presently return  
And bring back those, in whose fair shapes were shown  
The late-scene Nymphs in figures of their own  
Whom you shall find hard by within a grove  
And Garden of the spring addressed to Jove. (F3)

The delicate language —“sweet feature,” “youth and...springtime”—addresses the young prince and confers upon him the power to “return” his mother, the queen, and the other noblewomen back to their original “fair shapes” at the end of the masque. Charles resembled James physically, and like his father, Charles was a sickly child. His emulation

of Henry and his mother's favoritism of him over his brother (Akrigg 69) were probably two of the main components that lead to his role in the queen's masque for Henry.

The participation of the king and the two princes in this masque also signifies the importance of this occasion to the royal family. Queen Elizabeth left no heirs to the English throne, and as was noted in chapter two, Queen Anna gloried in that difference between herself and the late queen of England. The alternative title for this masque also relates to the queen's role in Henry's creation, because without her it would have been impossible for England to have Henry as an heir apparent.

#### *Arbella Stuart*

Listed simply as "Lady Arbella" in the cast listing for the masque, Arabella "Arbella" Stuart is one of the most interesting choices for a dancer in one of the queen's masques. Arbella Stuart was the woman who would have been Queen of England if something had happened to James, and she still had a claim to the English throne, though she never contested James' kingship. In *Tethys's Festival* Arbella danced as the Nymph of Trent, and was listed third in the cast listing. The Nymph of Trent represented a powerful role in this masque because the River Trent was important in English commerce, second only to the River Thames at the time. James had always shown favor to Arbella and she was welcome at court by both the king and queen (Akrigg 113).

Arbella's status changed drastically just two weeks after she danced in *Tethys's Festival*, when she made the grave mistake of marrying William Seymour, grandson of the Earl of Hertford. If Arbella and Seymour were to produce any children, those heirs would have a double claim to the English throne (Akrigg 118). Her marriage was an issue



that James could not abide because even though he had already produced heirs to the throne, as Akrigg observes,

Contested successions were notorious causes of civil war, and it did seem a matter of simple prudence to keep Arbella and the Hertford line from uniting. Hitherto James had consistently treated Arbella with kindness... she and Seymour had deliberately deceived him and broken their word by marrying when they had promised not to. James had every reason for feeling that Arbella had shown herself both ungrateful and unreliable. Her clinging to Seymour when she had all the rest of England to choose from must have seemed to James the blindest pigheadedness. (120)

James had always shown kindness and favor to Arbella, even making her a “principal member at court” (120). James had helped her through monetary problems and “treated her as one of his own family” instead of “banishing her to Derbyshire” (120) as the late Queen Elizabeth had done. He had even considered letting Arbella marry anyone she wanted to in England as long as that man was not in the Hertford line (120). Though James already had an heir apparent in Prince Henry, Arbella Stuart’s children with William Seymour could contest James’s son’s rights to the succession because they would have descended from two royal bloodlines. James was forced to act against Arbella, and the story ended tragically. Stuart died in the Tower of London by starving herself to death in 1614. After her death, it seems James forgave William Seymour as he was invited back to court and shown favor for the rest of James’ reign.

Her role in Daniel’s second masque was important since Arbella was presenting congratulations to England’s new heir apparent. Her role is also a conflicted one as she

had a chance to contest King James for the English throne. Though Arbella was considered a very influential member of James' court (120), she was still approached by the royal family with an air of caution, as was demonstrated by the king's reaction to her marriage with Seymour. She was also considered an upstanding member of the court. In *Tethys' Festival*, Arbella is an important political figure who serves the purpose of not only congratulating the new Prince of Wales, but also congratulating the queen on her role as a royal mother.

*Ladies from Daniel's first masque*

Many of the participants in Daniel's second masque danced in his first as well, and many of the other dancers participated in the queen's four other masques. Though she was not discussed in chapter two, Elizabeth Howard danced the minor role of Tethys for *The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses* and in *Tethys' Festival* took the second leading role, Nymph of the Thames. Daniel introduces the Nymph of the Thames as follows:

And first the lovely Nymph of stately Thames,

(The darling of the Ocean) summoned is:

Then those of Trent and Aruns graceful streams,

Then Darwent next with clear-waved worthiness. (E3)

As the poem that introduces her in the masque suggests, the Nymph of the Thames was the most important role in *Tethys's Festival* besides that of the title character. The importance of the River Thames is also made apparent through Prince Henry's journey by water to Whitehall Palace, which took place on the Thames. Therefore, the role of the Nymph of the Thames is a significant part of the masque as she is the one who leads

Prince Meliades to the Ocean King and Tethys and protects the prince on his journey. Unfortunately, biographical information on Lady Elizabeth Howard is hard to find. She may have been one of Katherine Howard's thirteen children, since several of them have no existing biographical information. Since Lady Katherine, Countess of Suffolk and her adopted daughter, Frances Howard, Countess of Hertford were frequent participants in the queen's masques, this is a likely possibility.

Another lady in *Tethys' Festival* who participated in Daniel's first masque was Susan de Vere Herbert, Countess of Montgomery. In 1604, Susan de Vere was seventeen years old and unmarried. Six years later, she was a married countess with much more court experience. In the cast listing, the Countess of Montgomery is listed as eighth of twelve names, meaning that her role was not necessarily a major one; however, any role in the masque celebrating Prince Henry's creation is not one to be taken lightly.

The Earl and Countess of Montgomery were favorites in King James' court. By 1610, the Countess of Montgomery's husband, Philip Herbert, was a well-established favorite of King James. He remained a court favorite from 1603-1630. A list of honors is attributed to Philip Herbert, who was only nineteen years old when he entered James' court. The quick rate at which these honors were awarded to him, provide proof of his instant favor with the king. These honors include gentleman of the privy chamber in May 1603, knight of the Bath in June 1603, and gentleman of the bedchamber in 1605 (Smith). Herbert was active in court participating in tournaments, masques, and hunting expeditions. On a personal note, King James paid Herbert's gambling debts in 1607, also proving that Herbert was favored in court. As a wedding gift to Philip Herbert and Susan

de Vere, King James gave land worth £500 to Susan and land with an income of about £1,000 per year to Philip (Smith).

In addition to Elizabeth Howard and the Countess of Montgomery, Alice Spenser, Countess of Derby danced in *Tethys's Festival* as the Nymph of Darwent. The Countess of Derby's role as the Nymph of Darwent was a secondary one, as was her role as Proserpina in the *Twelve Goddesses*. Her connection to the River Derwent is an obvious one because of the river's course through the town of Derby.<sup>34</sup> The river is an important waterway because it is a tributary of the River Trent, a major English river. By 1610, the Countess of Derby's status at court had changed only slightly. In 1609 she had married her second husband, Sir Thomas Egerton, who was himself a highly respected member of King James's court. Egerton was Lord Keeper of the Great Seal and also a famous patron of the arts. Egerton was patron to Daniel, and one of Daniel's six verse epistles was dedicated to Egerton.<sup>35</sup> Egerton was also "sought by many writers" (Seronsy 107) for his patronage and was an Oxford University benefactor. Egerton's connection to Daniel would mean that the Countess of Derby was no stranger to Daniel, and Egerton's court connections means that his wife would have been a familiar figure at court as well.

Derby had gained wealth upon the death of her first husband and was the patroness of her first husband's acting company. The Countess of Derby had also gained a flair for indulgence. She is said to have loved to entertain guests and spent as much money as she felt necessary to do so, which was an attitude that caused trouble between

---

<sup>34</sup> Because Daniel's masque is from the early seventeenth century, variant spellings of place names can be found in the cast list.

<sup>35</sup> Seronsy identifies the six verse epistles as "the crowning achievements of Daniel as a writer of philosophic verse expressive of the best in Renaissance humanism" (93). The five other epistles were dedicated to "Lord Henry Howard, of the King's Privy Council; Lady Margaret, Countess of Cumberland; Lady Lucie, Countess of Bedford; Lady Anne Clifford, Countess of Pembroke, Dorset, and Montgomery; and Henry Wriothesly, Earl of Southampton" (93).

herself and her second husband (Knafla). She entertained other noble ladies including the Countess of Bedford, the Countess of Montgomery, and Lady Anne Clifford. Derby was also honored in poetry by some of the time period's most affluent and respected writers such as Edmund Spenser and John Milton (Knafla). Her role in *Tethys's Festival* shows the queen's tendency to honor affluent and wealthy women by casting them in her masques.

*Aletheia Howard, Countess of Arundel*

Aletheia Howard was sister to Elizabeth Grey, who also danced in *Tethys's Festival*. The Countess of Arundel was one of the queen's popular choices for court masques; in addition to Daniel's second masque, she also danced in Jonson's *Masque of Beauty* (1608) and *Masque of Queenes* (1609). Her parents and grandparents were "cultured" and provided her with "a knowledge of architecture, patronage, and collecting" (DiMeo). Arundel's father was Gilbert Talbot, seventh earl of Shrewsbury and her mother was Mary Cavendish. Her maternal grandparents were Sir William Cavendish and Elizabeth Talbot. The Talbots were favored in Queen Elizabeth's court; Queen Elizabeth was Aletheia Howard's godmother and actually named her to signify "truth" and "veritie" (DiMeo). In 1608 the Countess of Arundel and her husband had moved to Arundel House in London and immediately became a prominent couple at court. In 1610 there was nothing outstanding about the Arundels, but in later years, the Arundels were highly respected and well traveled members of the court (DiMeo). Lady Arundel's role in *Tethys's Festival* shows that though she was relatively new to court life, she already had an influential position with the king and queen. In 1613, just three years later, the king

and queen employed the Earl and Countess of Arundel to escort their daughter Elizabeth and her husband to Heidelberg (DiMeo).<sup>36</sup>

*Anne Clifford, Countess of Dorset*

Lady Anne Clifford was daughter to George and Margaret Clifford. She was also niece to the Countess of Bedford. Lady Anne was well educated by her mother, father, and her “Russell relatives,” as well as by her governess Anne Taylor and tutor Samuel Daniel (Spence). In 1609, Anne married Richard Sackville, third earl of Dorset. Sackville’s family was connected to the Howards by marriage; therefore, Sackville had his own family connections to court in addition to Anne’s. In 1610, Anne Clifford had been involved in a dispute over land and assets which her father had willed to her uncle that had continued over the past five years. She and her husband fought for her rights to the inheritance for over fifteen years and this caused their marriage to suffer (Spence).<sup>37</sup>

Both Anne’s mother and Daniel “inspired in their pupil a love of literature, history, the classics, and religious works and fostered her precocious autodidactism and critical bent” (Spence). Anne was a highly respected and pious woman (Akrigg 242). She also kept many journals that still survive today. Not only was she known for her intellectual superiority, she was also a trained and skilled musician and dancer, which made her the perfect choice to dance in one of Queen Anna’s most important masques.

Anne Clifford’s personal connection to Daniel is worthy of emphasis. According to Lewalski, “Daniel’s primary patrons were the Pembrokes and the Cliffords. He was

---

<sup>36</sup> In 1613, Princess Elizabeth married Frederick V, Elector of the Palatine in Germany. Her marriage to the leader of the Protestant Union represented James’ decision to side with Protestantism over Catholicism once and for all. Elizabeth became Queen of Bohemia in 1619.

<sup>37</sup> According to Spence, in 1612 Sackville took over Anne’s dispute and King James finally settled it in 1620 by granting Lady Anne a monetary settlement, which Anne did not view as fair.

resident some years at Wilton and tutor to William Herbert; subsequently he was tutor to Anne Clifford in the household of the Countess of Cumberland” (310). Daniel remained very close to the Clifford family for his entire life. After his tutelage of Anne, he dedicated one of his six epistles to her in 1603 (he also dedicated one to her mother.) Seronsy notes that Daniel’s epistle to Anne is “most affectionate in tone” and that Anne was only thirteen years old when Daniel wrote the poem for her (94). Lady Anne did not dance in any other masque held by Queen Anna, so her participation in Daniel’s masque is in essence one-of-a-kind.

Anne Clifford is another woman in *Tethys’s Festival* who was reputable at court. Unlike many of the scandalous women associated with Queen Anna in *The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses*, the queen’s choice of the Arbella Stuart, the Countess of Arundel, the Countess of Montgomery, and Lady Anne Clifford shows a different trend. The switch from rich, unruly women in *The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses* to pious, upstanding women in *Tethys’s Festival* is one worth noting. Perhaps the queen tried to stave off some of the rumors that her court was nothing but corrupt.<sup>38</sup> Whatever the case, she certainly chose a different archetype of woman to represent her court in the masque for Prince Henry.

## Conclusions

Many other interesting and influential noblewomen danced with the queen in the masques commissioned by Queen Anna. In particular, Lettice Dudley (1543-1634), Countess of Essex who danced as the Nymph of Lee and Lady Elizabeth Talbot Gray

---

<sup>38</sup> Akrigg notes time and again the corruption and scandal associated with members of the queen’s court, especially in the court’s early years.

(1582-1651) who danced as the Nymph of Medway both had influential family names and court connections. Unfortunately, many of the women who danced alongside the queen are not well-known today. Not many resources exist on many of these women, and only a rare few of them have biographies. Though many of their lives remain unstudied, the roles they played in Daniel's masques were important at the time both culturally and politically. Queen Anna selected these ladies to dance in these masques to convey a message of power and influence.

*Tethys' Festival* is an important masque because, as Barbara K. Lewalski explains,

After 1610, the queen and her ladies were much less prominent as masquers: several masques planned by the queen were 'postponed' or cancelled, and there is a clear shift to men's masques, tilts, and barriers when Prince Henry came of age to present masques with his attendants.

Later the king's male favorites took over that function. (59)

With Prince Henry's coming of age came a shift in court entertainment. As was seen with the presentation of *Prince Henry's Barriers*, England was eager for their new Prince of Wales to demonstrate his talents and interests before the court. On the surface, it seems that *Tethys's Festival* and several other masques and pageants were composed only as celebratory works for Prince Henry. David Bergeron discusses two of Ben Jonson masques in addition to Daniel's *Tethys' Festival* that bookended the entertainments of the year 1610, *Speeches at Henry's Barriers* and *Oberon*. Bergeron disagrees with Stephen Orgel's assessment that *Barriers* "celebrated the investiture" and that *Oberon* "was composed for the investiture of King James' eldest son, Henry, as Prince of Wales."



(434). Bergeron argues instead that “they unmistakably reflect the court’s preoccupation with Henry’s emerging power” (434). Instead of a celebration of Prince Henry’s new status, Bergeron argues that the court was becoming increasingly consumed with the idea of having yet another majority power in England, since Henry’s investiture also marked his emergence from minority to majority age. *Tethys’ Festival* celebrates not only Henry’s new title, but his entrance into adulthood. The consequences of Henry’s coming of age were all too familiar for the English people; there would be yet another branch of the Stuart court to support financially, in addition to the king and queen’s courts.

The importance of *Tethys’ Festival* and other entertainments that have essentially immortalized Prince Henry is even more apparent a little over a year after the masque’s performance. In November of 1612, just one year and five months after his creation as Prince of Wales, Henry was struck with the debilitating effects of an illness that had been compromising his health for months, an illness that physicians did not know how to treat (Akrigg 130-35).<sup>39</sup> His death on the 6<sup>th</sup> of November was devastating to the royal family and to England. Akrigg explains that

[t]he shock of Prince Henry’s death brought home to the English how much they had built their expectations upon him...As the court of his father became more and more recognized for the lax spendthrift ill-disciplined thing that it was, the English had increasingly either looked back nostalgically to the great days under Queen Elizabeth or had promised themselves future greatness under King Henry. In the high idealism of the young prince had been something that appealed to all that was good in the age. When he died, the grief of the nation was

---

<sup>39</sup>An autopsy was performed and his death was attributed to typhoid fever (Akrigg 131).

commensurate with its sense of loss. In the following months more than thirty works were published celebrating his virtues and lamenting his death. (135)

The five days of pageants and expensive dinners surrounding Henry's creation was just a small representation of what Henry meant to England. Even the French and Spanish ambassadors were not allowed to disrupt the happy day, since the Spanish ambassador was invited as an individual (not as an ambassador) and the French ambassador had withdrawn from his duties for a time due to illness. After Prince Henry's death, England realized what his presence had meant to them. After all of the celebrations and hope for Prince Henry as England's future king, the role of heir apparent passed to Prince Charles, who later became Charles I of England.

## Conclusion

In the early seventeenth century, court masques were a major form of entertainment for the royal courts of England. Queen Anna in particular was known for her overindulgence in these elaborate and costly spectacles. Unlike with other forms of drama, such as plays, there is no clear division between text and performance with a court masque. Daniel's written versions of the masques provide detailed descriptions of the performances, but can never capture the spectacle that was experienced by the audience that viewed his masques firsthand. His published versions of the masques gave Daniel the opportunity to explain why he chose certain characters and how he expected the audience to interpret such choices.

Samuel Daniel's first masque *The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses* literally marked the beginning of a new era for the English monarchy. James I ruled both Scotland and England, a situation that had politics in an uproar for nearly his entire reign. He also took over governing a country that had just lost an old and wise leader in Queen Elizabeth, the last Tudor "prince." The positive side to James' ascension to the English throne was that it represented the "Union of the Crowns" for England and Scotland, an event that had been in the making since King Henry VIII's sister Margaret had married James IV of Scotland. In *Twelve Goddesses*, Daniel alludes to James' wish to keep peaceful relations with other countries by creating a "Temple of Peace" setting in which actors spoke the dialogue and poetry of the masque. By including the Temple of Peace as essentially the main setting, Daniel offered his support to the new king's policy of and hope for peace. The gifts that each goddess presented to James also reflected Daniel's own "vision" for the ideal court. Venus' gift, a "Skarffe of Amitie," is meant to spark

“affections true” between nations. This gift is a way for Daniel to express his hope that James’ Union of the Crowns would provoke amity between England and Scotland instead of enmity. Vesta, goddess of religion, and Diana, goddess of chastity, provide the new court with a connection to Queen Elizabeth.

As Daniel’s first masque marked the beginning of an era, his last masque marked the end of one, because Queen Anna did not participate in many court entertainments afterwards. *Tethys’ Festival* was a means of celebrating not only Henry’s creation as Prince of Wales, but was also a representation of the glorious expectations for the future king of England. For example, Tethys hands Meliades a sword, suggesting England’s preoccupation with Henry’s favor for martial exercises and interest in the military. The sword may also suggest England’s wish for Henry to use war to his advantage instead of avoiding it like his father. Henry’s seat on the dais next to his father connoted a new equality between himself and the king. Even Henry’s water journey, which culminated in the presentation of the masque at Whitehall, connected him with his Tudor predecessors, Henry VII and Henry VIII.

Henry’s creation as Prince of Wales was a celebrated and monumental occasion, but sadly Henry died less than two years later. Instead of representing the beginning of an era, *Tethys’ Festival* represented the end of Henry’s short life. His younger brother became Charles I, King of England, in 1625 upon his father’s death. Charles and his wife, Henrietta Maria, continued the masque tradition until Charles’s beheading. The tradition of the court masque in England diminished with Charles I and disappeared after Charles II’s reign.

As David Bergeron says, political occasions of the time were given authority by way of court entertainments. Daniel's masques were a way of idealizing situations at court, by mixing reality with fantasy. *The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses* introduced James and Anna to Europe, and ambassadors from many European countries including France, Spain, Italy, and the Netherlands came to visit the new king and queen. The arguments between Spain and France over the position of honor at the queen's first masque represent a serious issue of the period. King James deflected the French ambassador's assertion that England now favored Spain over France by insisting that only the queen favored Spain. At that point in time, James could not afford the war with Spain that may have arisen from happenings in Elizabeth's court. His country was far too immersed in debt to spend more on weapons and provisions for men overseas. James also had an idealistic vision of what the English court could be and the unification that England should promote. The queen's favor for the Catholic Spain, especially her favor for the Spanish ambassador during Daniel's masque, was one element that pacified Spain and led to the Spanish treaty later that year. On the other hand, France still received enough favor at court that they did not need to demonstrate a show of force against England.

Queen Anna used *The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses* to introduce her newly formed court and to present her idealized version of what that court would be. Daniel also used his masque in order to present his "vision" of the virtues and attributes of the ideal court both through the presentation of the masque and its subsequent publication. During the masque's performance, the queen's "vision" was most clearly represented through her costume and choice of dancers. She displayed dominance, power, and authority, both

connecting herself to the great Tudor dynasty and establishing herself as a new queen, independent of the old monarchy. Prince Henry was also connected to the Tudor dynasty with his water journey that precluded *Tethys' Festival*, revealing yet another idealized representation of the English monarchy. Daniel made his interpretation of the ideal court known by using the spectacle of the masque as well, presenting the many “gifts” bestowed upon the new king.

Daniel also does some interesting things with performance and text in *The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses*, particularly concerning the Sybil character. In the preface, Daniel explains that during the performance of the masque, the Sybil character describes each goddess before she enters the masque. The Sybil can see the goddesses before each lady enters because she holds a telescope. This experimental style marked a sort of ingenuity not seen in many court masques. Daniel also has the description of each goddess repeated as she makes her way onto the stage, reiterating for the audience each goddess's personality and gift to the kingdom. Daniel presents the members of the new court with his own idealized version of what that court should value and through the repetition of the goddesses' descriptions, keeps that idea fresh in the audience members' minds.

In *Tethys' Festival*, Queen Anna played a much larger role, both in dancing and in arranging the masque. This masque was a chance for the queen to celebrate her motherhood, even to revel in it. Consequently, Daniel's “vision” for what he wanted his second masque to represent is a little less prominent than with his first. In the first published edition of *Tethys' Festival*, Daniel uses the preface in order to present his view that Prince Henry's creation is one of the most exciting and momentous occasions of

James' reign. He also uses the preface to present his view on the masque as a genre, admitting his belief that the visual spectacle created by Inigo Jones will have a longer lasting impression upon the audience than the words of the poet. The publication of his masques seems a wise choice in retrospect, since today we have surviving copies of the first edition of both masques. Conversely, no copies of costume designs survive from *The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses* and only one of Jones' designs from *Tethys' Festival* has endured over the last four centuries.

Publishing both of his masques was a clever move in the seventeenth century as well because Daniel connected with a middle class audience, alerting that group of people to the frivolity and spending habits of the court. The printed masques were also a means of preserving his work, as the performance of a court masque is a one-time event. Daniel also used the printed version of his masques in order to explain certain choices that he made for each performance: what certain objects or colors represented, the fact that the queen chose to dance as a certain goddess, and Daniel's siding with Jones over Jonson in their theoretical debates over the meaning of a court masque.

The women who danced in these masques with the queen are as important as the masques themselves because the masques would not have represented the same issues with other dancers. As noted in chapter three, many of the women who danced in Daniel's masques have no biographies written about them today. Some women are only mentioned as being wives to their influential husbands, but in their time, these women would have been well known, influential members of the court. The women chosen by the queen to dance in this first masque commissioned by her in England showed the other members of the court who her favorites were. The gifts that each woman presented were

symbolic of her status in some way. In Daniel's second masque, the queen's choice in dancers made it clear that her priorities had changed. No longer did she choose overindulgent, scandalous women as the major players in her masque. Instead, the queen chose virtuous women to help her convey congratulations to her son.

The queen's choice of dancers was also an indication or reiteration of the women's statuses at court. Especially with Daniel's first masque, the queen chose certain women to represent her newly formed court. She would have only known these women for about five months before the presentation of the masque, so her choices ultimately let the court know who the queen's favorites were going to be. In *Tethys' Festival*, the queen chose women that were less authoritative and more pious in order to keep Anna as the focus of the masque. Her choice of women for *Tethys' Festival* also made sense in terms of the masque's sub-theme of motherhood. She would not have chosen loud, scandalous women to represent her ideal of motherhood to the court.

By publishing his masques, Daniel was able to reach an audience that would have never seen their performances, just as scholars today never will. By studying the contexts in which these masques were written, and particularly considering the audiences and participants, a new level of meaning is added to current interpretations and analyses of the masques. Names, faces, and biographies are given to the ladies who dance as goddesses and nymphs, and the characters they played sometimes seem autobiographical. We begin to understand who the dancers were and the impressions they made on the audience, both the noble audience that viewed the performances firsthand and that of the middle class who read the publications. The spectacles begin to take shape and maybe, if just for a moment, they come back to life.



## Bibliography

### Primary Sources:

Daniel, Samuel. *Tethys Festival: or The Queenes Wake*. London: John Budge, 1610.

*Early English Books Online*. Web. 10 Sept. 2009.

Daniel, Samuel. *The Vision of the 12 Goddesses, presented in a Maske the 8<sup>th</sup> of January, at Hampton Court: By the Queenes most excellent Majestie, and her Ladies*.

London: Simon Waterson, 1604. *Early English Books Online*. Web. 1 Sept. 2009.

### Secondary Sources:

Akrigg, G.P.V. *Jacobean Pageant; or, The Court of James I*. Cambridge: Harvard

University Press, 1963. Print.

Aughterson, Kate. "Hatton, Elizabeth, Lady Hatton [*other married name* Elizabeth Coke,

Lady Coke] (1578–1646)." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Matthew,

H.C.G. and Brian Harrison, eds. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004. Online

ed. Ed. Lawrence Goldman. Jan 2008. 20 Jan 2010. Web.

Bergeron, David M. "Creating Entertainments for Prince Henry's Creation (1610)."

*Comparative Drama* 42.4 (2008): 433-449. *Project Muse*. Web. 15 Sept. 2009.

Britland, Karen. *Drama at the Courts of Queen Henrietta Maria*. Cambridge: Cambridge

University Press, 2006. Print.

DiMeo, Michelle. "Howard, Aletheia [*née* Talbot], countess of Arundel, of Surrey, and of

Norfolk, and *suo jure* Baroness Furnivall, Baroness Talbot, and Baroness Strange

of Blackmere (*d.* 1654)." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Matthew,

H.C.G. and Brian Harrison, eds. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004. Online

ed. Ed. Lawrence Goldman. Jan 2008. 20 Jan 2010. Web.

- Erickson, Carolly. *Bloody Mary*. New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1978. Print.
- Harris, John, Stephen Orgel, and Roy Strong. *The King's Arcadia: Inigo Jones and the Stuart Court*. Arts Council of Great Britain, 1973. Print.
- Herford, C.H. and Smith, Percy. *Ben Jonson*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1954. Print.
- Ioppolo, Grace. *Dramatists and Their Manuscripts in the Age of Shakespeare, Johnson, Middleton and Heywood*. London: Routledge, 2006. Print.
- Jagodzinski, Cecile M. *Privacy and Print: Reading and Writing in Seventeenth-Century England*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1999.
- Knafla, Louis A.. "Spencer, Alice, countess of Derby (1559–1637)." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Matthew, H.C.G. and Brian Harrison, eds. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004. Online ed. Ed. Lawrence Goldman. Jan 2008. 20 Jan 2010. Web.
- McManus, Clare. *Women on the Renaissance Stage: Anna of Denmark and female masquing in the Stuart Court (1590-16190)*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002. Print.
- Meikle, Maureen M. and Helen Payne. "Anne [Anna, Anne of Denmark] (1574–1619)." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Matthew, H.C.G. and Brian Harrison, eds. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004. Online ed. Ed. Lawrence Goldman. Jan 2008. 20 Jan 2010. Web.
- Orgel, Stephen. *The Illusion of Power*. Berkley: University of California Press, 1975. Print
- Payne, Helen. "Russell, Lucy, countess of Bedford (*bap.* 1581, *d.* 1627)." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Matthew, H.C.G. and Brian Harrison, eds.

Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004. Online ed. Ed. Lawrence Goldman. Jan 2008. Web. 20 January 2010.

Pitcher, John. "“In those figures which they seeme’: Samuel Daniel’s *Tethys’ Festival*.”

Lindley, David, ed. *The Court Masque*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984. 33-46. Print.

Seronsy, Cecil. *Samuel Daniel*. New York: Twayne Publishers, Inc., 1967. Print.

Sharpe Kevin and Peter Lake, eds. *Culture and Politics in Early Stuart England*.

Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993. 117-138. Print.

Spence, Richard T. "Clifford, Anne [*known as* Lady Anne Clifford], countess of

Pembroke, Dorset, and Montgomery (1590–1676)." *Oxford Dictionary of*

*National Biography*. Matthew, H.C.G. and Brian Harrison, eds. Oxford: Oxford

University Press, 2004. Online ed. Ed. Lawrence Goldman. Jan 2008. 20 Jan

2010. Web.

Strong, Roy. *Art and Power: Renaissance Festivals 1450-1650*, The Boydell Press, 1984.

Print.

Sullivan, Mary Agnes. *Court masques of James I; their influence on Shakespeare and the*

*public theatres*. New York: Russell & Russell Inc., 1973. Print.

Welsford, Enid. *The Court Masque: A Study in the Relationship between Poetry & Court*

*Revels*. New York: Russell & Russell Inc, 1962. Print.