

During the twenty-two years of James’s reign some two hundred and thirteen men were received on more than two hundred and fifty diplomatic missions from thirty-one countries. Of these embassies only France, Spain, Venice and the United Provinces maintained permanent embassies in London.

Country Represented	Number of Representatives sent
Bavaria	1
Bohemia	1
Brandenburg	5
Denmark	7
Emperor and Imperial Diets	2
Flanders	14
France	28
German States	3
Hanse Towns	3
Hesse	2
Lithuania	1
Lorraine	4
Mantua	1
Morocco	1
Muscovy	9
Neuberg	3
Palatine	13
Papal States	3
Persia	1
Poland	6
Savoy	9
Saxony	1
Spain	16
Stade	1
Sweden	4
Switzerland	3
Turkey	3
Tuscany/Florence	9
United Provinces	32
Venice	17
Württemberg	10
TOTAL	213

Table 1: Numbers of representatives sent from each country

The permanence of these few reflected the importance of foreign affairs and commercial interests between those nations and England. The seventeenth century diplomat was the personal representative of his prince to a foreign head of state, and, although such expressions as ‘Envoy from The Hague’ or ‘Ambassador from France’ were commonly used, these men were legally designated ‘Envoy from the States General to James I’ or the ‘Ambassador from the Most Christian King to James I’ and all diplomatic papers described foreign representatives in this way. This

shows that diplomats were, in theory at least, chosen, accredited, instructed and recalled by their Kings and princes.

Country Represented	Agent	Commissioner	Extra-ordinary	Ordinary	Secret Envoy	Special Envoy	Total
Bavaria					1		1
Bohemia				1			1
Brandenburg			6				6
Brunswick			3				3
Denmark			14				14
Emperor /Imperial Diets			2				2
Flanders	3	3	5	1		3	15
France	4		17	9		2	32
German States	3						3
Hesse						2	2
Lorraine			4				4
Mantua			1				1
Morocco				1			1
Muscovy			1	6		2	9
Neuberg	1		2				3
Palatine	4		14	2		1	21
Papal States					3		3
Persia				2			2
Poland	2		1	1		3	7
Savoy	2		5	3		3	13
Saxony			2			2	4
Spain	4	2	6	5		3	20
Stade			1				1
Sweden	1		1	2			4
Switzerland	3						3
Turkey				1		2	3
Tuscany/Florence	5		1			2	8
United Provinces	1	36	3	2			42
Venice	3		5	8			16
Württemberg			14	1			15
TOTAL BY TYPE	36	41	108	45	3	25	258

Table 2: Style and numbers of ambassadors

Of the two hundred and fifty-eight missions noted in Table 2 some 17% of the representatives were ambassadors in ordinary who came as official envoys to maintain the status and authority of their masters and to represent the concerns and interests of their countrymen resident in England.³ Alongside these ordinary ambassadors worked a select élite of extra-ordinary ambassadors, some 42% of the whole, who were sent to deal with specific treaties, alliances and depositions. Unlike ordinary ambassadors who were, in general, career diplomats, the Extra-

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See Table 3 below.

ordinary ambassadors were noblemen or high-ranking government officials.

Type	No Received	Percentage of those sent
Agent	36	13.95%
Commissioner	41	15.90%
Extra-ordinary	108	41.85%
Ordinary	45	17.45%
Secret Envoy	3	1.15%
Special Envoy	25	9.70%
TOTAL	258	100.00%

Table 3: Type of Embassy by Percentage Received

In several cases these extra-ordinary ambassadors were James's own subjects who were resident, for various reasons, at foreign courts. Francis Nethersole, for example, who had accompanied Princess Elizabeth to the Palatine after her wedding, apparently combined his service as secretary to the Queen of Bohemia with acting as an intermittent agent to England for the Protestant Princes of the Union. He had several extended returns to England during this period.⁴ Alongside Nethersole we also find Sir Abraham Williams acting as agent for the Queen of Bohemia in November, 1619. Sir Andrew Sinclair, a Scot, acted as extra-ordinary ambassador from Denmark on several occasions and Sir Robert Sherley, represented Persia at James's court on two separate occasions.⁵ After his mission from James to Gustavus, Sir James Spence (Spens) was then ordered back to England to represent the Swedish King. The King's physician, Dr Theodore Mayerne, a Swiss subject, was

⁴ See Appendix A; also D. Boyd, *Sir Francis Nethersole: His Life and Letters*. unpublished PhD thesis. Temple University (1972).

⁵ Sir Robert Sherley accompanied his brother Sir Anthony to Persia in 1598, and remained in that country for several years after his brothers departure. In 1609 Sir Robert was employed by the Persian monarch as ambassador to several princes of Christendom, for the purpose of uniting them in a confederacy against the Turks. Sir Robert came to England with his Persian wife, Teresia, daughter of Ishmael Khan, a Cicassian Christian, of noble birth, whom he married in 1607. His son, Henry, was born in England on 4th November, 1611. The Prince of Wales stood godfather to the child. See Nichols, *Progresses*, vol. ii, pp. 431 - 2; E. P. Shirley, *The Sherley Brothers: an historical memoir of the lives of Sir Thomas Sherley, Sir Anthony Sherley and Sir Robert Sherley, Knights* (1848); T. Middleton, 'Account of Sir Robert Sherley' (1609) in E. Cobham Brewer, *Dictionary of Phrase and Fable* (1898). *DNB sub nomine*.

randomly selected but were, on the contrary, experienced men is provided by examining the ages of those sent on missions. The average age is 46 years, although the youngest serving representative was seventeen and the eldest seventy-three.⁵¹

Name	Number of Missions	Country Represented
BELLIN, Christian von	2	Brandenburg
CHARISIUS, Dr Jonas	4	Denmark
SINCLAIR, Sir Andrew	5	Denmark
BOISCHOT, Ferdinand de	2	Flanders
HOBOKEN, Baron Conrad Schetz,	2	Flanders
MALE, Jean Baptiste van	2	Flanders
BODERIE, Antoine le Fevre de la	3	France
L'HOSPITAL, Louis Gallucio de, Marquis de Vitry	3	France
MAUPES, Charles Cauchon de, Baron du Tour	3	France
DOHNA, Baron Christopher	2	Palatine
NETHERSOLE, Sir Francis	3	Palatine
PAUEL, Andreas	2	Palatine
PLESSEN, Volrad de	2	Palatine
SCHOMBERG, Count Meinhard von	2	Palatine
SCHOMBERG, Henry de, Count of Nanteuil	2	Palatine
SHERLEY, Sir Robert	2	Persia
GABELEONE, Giovanni Battista	3	Savoy
RUFFIA, Claudio, Count Cartignana	2	Savoy
SCARNAFES, Antonio, Count of	3	Savoy
MANSFELD, Ernest, Count	4	Saxony
ACUÑA, Diego de Sarmiento de, Count Gondomar	2	Spain
LAFUENTE, Fr. Diego	2	Spain
MENDOZA, Juan de, Marquis of Inojosa, Marquis of San Germano	2	Spain
ZUNIGA, Pedro de, Marquis Flores Davila	2	Spain
LOTTI, Ottaviano	2	Tuscany/Florence
AERSSSEN, Francis van	2	United Provinces
BERCK, Johan	3	United Provinces
BOREEL, Jacob	3	United Provinces
JOACHIMI, Albert	3	United Provinces
OLDEN BARNEVELD, Johan Gerrit Reyersz van	2	United Provinces
SONCQ, Albert	2	United Provinces
BUWINCKHAUSEN de WALMERODE, Benjamin	4	Württemberg
Lewis Frederick, Prince of Württemberg	3	Württemberg

Table 4: Number of Missions served

This age range is well within the limits suggested by Wicquefort, who, in contrast to others writing on the subject, believed ambassadors should be chosen from the ranks of those aged between forty and sixty, on the grounds that experience came with maturity. Not surprisingly, the two men at the extremes of the age range, George Lewis, Count Schwarzenberg and Otto, Prince of Hesse, did not come to England as major diplomatic players. Count Schwarzenberg was sent on missions of

⁵¹ Table 5.

ceremony while Otto came on an unsuccessful mission to propose a marriage between himself and Princess Elizabeth.

Embassy Number	Name	Dates	Country Represented	Age
1	Otto, Prince of Hesse	1598 - 1617	Hesse	17
1	NASSAU, Frederick Henry, Prince of	1584-	United Provinces	19
1	COLOMA, Carlos	c. 1601-	Spain	21
1	Lewis Frederick, Prince of Württemberg	1586-	Württemberg	22
2	Lewis Frederick, Prince of Württemberg	1586-	Württemberg	24
3	Lewis Frederick, Prince of Württemberg	1586-	Württemberg	25
1	SHERLEY, Sir Robert	c.1581-1628	Persia	30
1	MANSFELD, Ernest, Count	1580-1626	Saxony	30
1	GROOT, Hugo van (Grotius)	1583-1645	United Provinces	30
1	NETHERSOLE, Sir Francis	1587-1659	Palatine	34
2	NETHERSOLE, Sir Francis	1587-1659	Palatine	35
3	NETHERSOLE, Sir Francis	1587-1659	Palatine	35
1	BERCK, Johan	1565-1627	United Provinces	42
2	SHERLEY, Sir Robert	c.1581 - 1628	Persia	43
1	BETHUNE, Maximillien, Marquis de Rosny, Duke de Sully	1559-1641	France	44
2	MANSFELD, Ernest, Count	1580-1626	Saxony	44
3	MANSFELD, Ernest, Count	1580-1626	Saxony	44
4	MANSFELD, Ernest, Count	1580-1626	Saxony	44
2	BERCK, Johan	1565-1627	United Provinces	45
1	ACUÑA, Diego de Sarmiento de, Count Gondomar	1567-1626	Spain	46
1	VEER, Albert de (Verius)	1564-1620	United Provinces	46
1	AERSSSEN, Francis van	1572-1641	United Provinces	49
1	PAUW, Reynier	1564-1636	United Provinces	49
1	COLLI, Hippolytus von	1561-1612	Württemberg	49
1	JOACHIMI, Albert	1560-1654	United Provinces	50
1	OLDEN BARNEVELD, Elias van	1560-1612	United Provinces	50
3	BERCK, Johan	1565-1627	United Provinces	51
2	AERSSSEN, Francis van	1572-1641	United Provinces	52
2	ACUÑA, Diego de Sarmiento de, Count Gondomar	1567-1626	Spain	55
1	SCHOTTE, Jacob Jacobsz	1566-1641	United Provinces	55
1	OLDEN BARNEVELD, Johan Gerrit Reyersz van	1547-1619	United Provinces	56
1	BREDERODE, Walraven (III)	1547-1614	United Provinces	56
1	BAS, Dirck Jacobsz	1565-1627	United Provinces	56
1	TOUR, Henri de la, Duc de Bouillion, Vicomte de Turenne	c.1550-1623	France	61
1	MAUPES, Charles Cauchon de, Baron du Tour	1555-	France	62
2	MAUPES, Charles Cauchon de, Baron du Tour	1555-	France	62
3	MAUPES, Charles Cauchon de, Baron du Tour	1555-	France	62
1	FULKE, Jacob (Valck)	1540-1603	United Provinces	63
1	DUIVENVOORDE, Jan van	1547-1610	United Provinces	63
1	RICHARDOT Jean Grusset	1540-1609	Flanders	64
2	JOACHIMI, Albert	1560-1654	United Provinces	64
3	JOACHIMI, Albert	1560-1654	United Provinces	64
2	OLDEN BARNEVELD, Johan Gerrit Reyersz van	1547-1619	United Provinces	69
1	George Lewis, Count SCHWARZENBERG	c.1549-1633	Emperor & Imperial Diets	73

Table 5 : Age at start of Mission

By the beginning of James's reign, instead of the grand entry of an occasional envoy, which excited attention and advertised, by the very fact of his presence, that his was a mission in which great issues were at stake, the development of Machiavelli's permanent diplomatic resident was seen. He became a

Name	Country Represented	Embassy Type
BADOERO	Neuberg	Agent
BOISLOREE, M. de	German States	Agent
BRUCE, William	Poland	Agent
BRUNEAU, Jacques	Spain	Agent
BUCH, Cpt	Poland	Agent
CARON, Sir Noel de	United Provinces	Agent
CLERC, M. le	France	Agent
CORSO	Flanders	Agent
d'ARLAC, M. d'Herlai	Switzerland	Agent
DUJARDIN, Mons.	France	Agent
GABELEONE, Giovanni Battista	Savoy	Agent
LAFUENTE, Fr. Diego	Spain	Agent
LIONELLI, Giovanni	Venice	Agent
LOTTI, Ottaviano	Tuscany/Florence	Agent
MALASPINA, Marchese	Tuscany/Florence	Agent
MALE, Jean Baptiste van	Flanders	Agent
MARIONI, Pier Antonio	Venice	Agent
MAYERNE, Dr. Theodore Turquet de	Switzerland	Agent
MONTBAROT, M. de	German States	Agent
MOULIN, M. du	France	Agent
PERGARMO, Fulvio	Savoy	Agent
QUARATESE, Francesco	Tuscany/Florence	Agent
RUSDORF, Johann von	Palatine	Agent
SALVIATI, Vincenzo	Tuscany/Florence	Agent
SALVIETTI, Amerigo	Tuscany/Florence	Agent
SCARAMELLI, Giovanni Carlo	Venice	Agent
SEVE, M. de	France	Agent
ULLOA, Julian Sanchez de	Spain	Agent
UNKNOWN	German States	Agent
UNKNOWN	Sweden	Agent
UNKNOWN	Switzerland	Agent
WALGRAVE	Palatine	Agent
WILLIAMS, Sir Abraham	Palatine	Agent
WINNINGBERG, Baron	Palatine	Agent
AERSSSEN, Francis van	United Provinces	Commissioner
BAS, Dirck Jacobsz	United Provinces	Commissioner
BENTUSEN, M. de	United Provinces	Commissioner
BERCK, Johan	United Provinces	Commissioner
BOREEL, Jacob (Bourrell)	United Provinces	Commissioner
BOREEL, William	United Provinces	Commissioner
BREDERODE, Walraven (III)	United Provinces	Commissioner
BRUYNING, Albert	United Provinces	Commissioner
CAMERLIN, Johan	United Provinces	Commissioner
DUIVENVOORDE, Jan van	United Provinces	Commissioner
DUSSUN, Erumout van der	United Provinces	Commissioner
FULKE, Jacob (Valck)	United Provinces	Commissioner
GOCH, Jean de	United Provinces	Commissioner
GROOT, Hugo van (Grotius)	United Provinces	Commissioner
JOACHIMI, Albert	United Provinces	Commissioner
LIENS, Joachim	United Provinces	Commissioner
LIGNE, John de	Flanders	Commissioner
LODENSTYN, Anoult Jacobsen	United Provinces	Commissioner
MALDEREE, James	United Provinces	Commissioner
MEERMAN, Dideric	United Provinces	Commissioner
NASSAU, Frederick Henry, Prince of	United Provinces	Commissioner
OLDEN BARNEVELD, Elias van	United Provinces	Commissioner
PAUW, Reynier	United Provinces	Commissioner
RICHARDOT Jean Grusset	Flanders	Commissioner
RICKAERTS, Andrew	United Provinces	Commissioner
ROVIDA, Alessandro	Spain	Commissioner
SCHOTTE, Jacob Jacobsz	United Provinces	Commissioner
SONCQ, Albert	United Provinces	Commissioner
THIERRY, Bas	United Provinces	Commissioner
TUYLL, Hendrik van	United Provinces	Commissioner
VEER, Albert de (Verius)	United Provinces	Commissioner

VELASCO, Juan Fernadez de, Constable of Castile	Spain	Commissioner
VERREYKEN, Ludovic	Flanders	Commissioner
VERVOU, Frederick van	United Provinces	Commissioner
WYNGAERDES, Jonkheer Jacobus	United Provinces	Commissioner
AERSSSEN, Francis van	United Provinces	Extra-ordinary
ALCORCANA	Spain	Extra-ordinary
BEAUMANIOR III, Jean de	France	Extra-ordinary
BELLIN, Christian von	Brandenburg	Extra-ordinary
BELOW, Henry	Denmark	Extra-ordinary
BETHUNE, Maximillien, Marquis de Rosny, Duke de Sully	France	Extra-ordinary
BOISCHOT, Ferdinand de	Flanders	Extra-ordinary
BONACKER, Melchior	Württemberg	Extra-ordinary
BOURBON, M. de	Lorraine	Extra-ordinary
BRASTBERGER, Kilian	Württemberg	Extra-ordinary
BRUNSWICK, Christian, Duke of	Hanse Towns	Extra-ordinary
BRUNSWICK, Frederick Ulric, Prince of	Hanse Towns	Extra-ordinary
BUISSON, M. du	France	Extra-ordinary
BUWINCKHAUSEN de WALMERODE, Benjamin	Württemberg	Extra-ordinary
CHARISIUS, Dr Jonas	Denmark	Extra-ordinary
COLLI, Hippolytus von	Württemberg	Extra-ordinary
COLOMA, Carlos	Spain	Extra-ordinary
CONTARINI, Francesco	Venice	Extra-ordinary
CONTARINI, Pietro	Venice	Extra-ordinary
DÄGKER, Friedrich	Württemberg	Extra-ordinary
d'HONORE, Albert, Marquis du Cadenet	France	Extra-ordinary
DUODO, Piero	Venice	Extra-ordinary
EBERSTEIN, Count Philipp von	Württemberg	Extra-ordinary
FERTE, M. de la	France	Extra-ordinary
FOSCARINI, Antonio	Venice	Extra-ordinary
FRUS, Christopher	Denmark	Extra-ordinary
George Lodovic, Prince of Litemberg	Emperor & Imperial Diets	Extra-ordinary
GIRON, Ferdinando di	Flanders	Extra-ordinary
GRAND, M. le	France	Extra-ordinary
HANAU, Count of	Palatine	Extra-ordinary
HOLSTEIN, Ulric, Duke of	Denmark	Extra-ordinary
HUTTON, Daniel (Hutten)	Neuberg	Extra-ordinary
JUVENAL, Francois, Marquis Tresnel	France	Extra-ordinary
LANDAU, George Leopold von	Württemberg	Extra-ordinary
LAYMINGEN, Christopher von	Württemberg	Extra-ordinary
Lewis Frederick, Prince of Württemberg	Württemberg	Extra-ordinary
l'HOSPITAL, Louis Gallucio de, Marquis de Vitry	France	Extra-ordinary
LOMENIE, Henry Augustus de, Baron Ville-aux-Clercs	France	Extra-ordinary
LUTTIN, Marquis of	Savoy	Extra-ordinary
MAGLIANI, Baron (Mallaine, Molart)	Lorraine	Extra-ordinary
MANSFELD, Ernest, Count	Saxony	Extra-ordinary
MAUPES, Charles Cauchon de, Baron du Tour	France	Extra-ordinary
MENDOZA, Diego Hurtado de	Spain	Extra-ordinary
MENDOZA, Juan de, Marquis of Inojosa, Marquis of San Germano	Spain	Extra-ordinary
MEXIA, Diego de	Flanders	Extra-ordinary
MONTECUCCOLI, Alfonso, Count	Tuscany/Florence	Extra-ordinary
NETHERSOLE, Sir Francis	Palatine	Extra-ordinary
NOYELLES, Count de	Flanders	Extra-ordinary
OLDEN BARNEVELD, Johan Gerrit Reyersz van	United Provinces	Extra-ordinary
OSSOLIŃSKI, Jerzy	Poland	Extra-ordinary
Otto, Prince of Hesse	Hesse	Extra-ordinary
Palsgrave of the Rhine	Palatine	Extra-ordinary
PAUEL, Andreas (Pauli)	Palatine	Extra-ordinary
PAUEL, Andreas (Pauli)	Palatine	Extra-ordinary
PLESSEN, Volrad de	Palatine	Extra-ordinary
PLESSEN, Volrad de	Palatine	Extra-ordinary
RAMELIUS, Henry	Denmark	Extra-ordinary
ROHAN, Benjamin de	France	Extra-ordinary
ROSSI, Carlo de	Mantua	Extra-ordinary
SCARNAFES, Antonio, Count of (Scarnafissi)	Savoy	Extra-ordinary
SCHOMBERG, Count Meinhard von	Palatine	Extra-ordinary
SCHOMBERG, Henry de, Count of Nanteuil	Palatine	Extra-ordinary
SCHWARZENBERG, Count George Lewis,	Emperor & Imperial Diets	Extra-ordinary
SINCLAIR, Sir Andrew	Denmark	Extra-ordinary

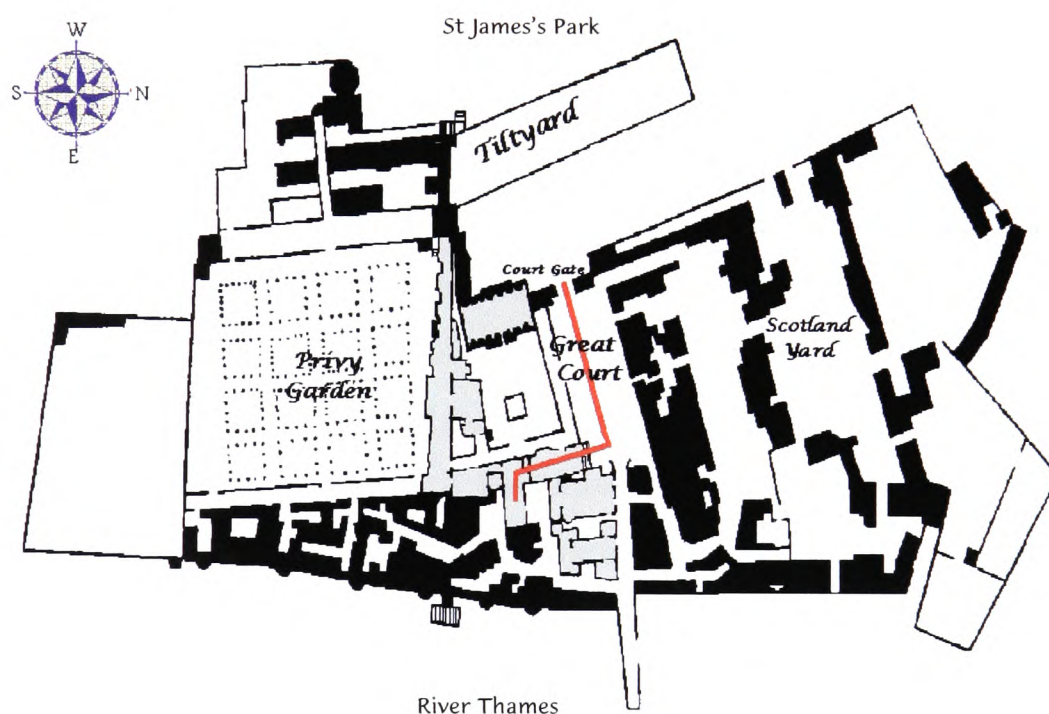
SKITTIUS, John	Sweden	Extra-ordinary
SOLMS, Count (Philip or Christopher)	Brandenburg	Extra-ordinary
SOLMS, Count (Philip or Frederick)	Neuberg	Extra-ordinary
STICKE, Christopher	Brandenburg	Extra-ordinary
TILLIERES, Count Tanneguy Leveneur de	France	Extra-ordinary
TOUR, Henri de la, Duc de Bouillion, Vicomte de Turenne	France	Extra-ordinary
UNKNOWN	Brandenburg	Extra-ordinary
UNKNOWN	Denmark	Extra-ordinary
UNKNOWN	Lorraine	Extra-ordinary
UNKNOWN	Morocco	Extra-ordinary
UNKNOWN	Muscovy	Extra-ordinary
UNKNOWN	Stade	Extra-ordinary
UNKNOWN (Brunswick)	Hanse Towns	Extra-ordinary
VAUDEMONT, Prince of	Lorraine	Extra-ordinary
VILLA SILLANA, Count Guido di	Savoy	Extra-ordinary
WINTERFELT	Brandenburg	Extra-ordinary
ZUNIGA, Pedro de, Marquis Flores Davila	Spain	Extra-ordinary
ACUÑA, Diego de Sarmiento de, Count Gondomar	Spain	Ordinary
BARBARIGO, Gregorio	Venice	Ordinary
BODERIE, Antoine le Fevre de la	France	Ordinary
BONNEVEAU, Baron (Bonicio, Bonavo)	France	Ordinary
BUWINCKHAUSEN, Daniel von	Württemberg	Ordinary
CARON, Sir Noel de	United Provinces	Ordinary
CORRER, Marc-Antonio	Venice	Ordinary
DAUVET, Gaspard, Count Desmaretz	France	Ordinary
DOHNA, Baron Achatius	Bohemia	Ordinary
DOHNA, Baron Christopher	Palatine	Ordinary
DONATO, Antonio	Venice	Ordinary
GABELEONE, Giovanni Battista	Savoy	Ordinary
GABELEONE, Giovanni Battista	Savoy	Ordinary
GUSTINIAN, Zorzi	Venice	Ordinary
HARLEY, Christophe de, Count de Beaumont	France	Ordinary
HOBOKEN, Baron Boc	Flanders	Ordinary
JOACHIMI, Albert	United Provinces	Ordinary
LANDO, Girolamo	Venice	Ordinary
MENDOZA, Diego Hurtado de	Spain	Ordinary
MOLIN(O), Nicolo	Venice	Ordinary
MUSTAPHA, Aga Casnada	Turkey	Ordinary
PESARO, Zuane	Venice	Ordinary
POGOZEV	Muscovy	Ordinary
POSDEYEV, Marko Ivanovich	Muscovy	Ordinary
RUZE, Antoine Coeffier, Marquis d'Effiat	France	Ordinary
SHERLEY, Sir Robert	Persia	Ordinary
SPENS, Sir James	Sweden	Ordinary
SPIFAME, Samuel, Sieur des Bisseaux	France	Ordinary
UNKNOWN	Sweden	Ordinary
VALARESSO, Alvise	Venice	Ordinary
VELASCO, Alonso de	Spain	Ordinary
VERDYNE, M. de la	France	Ordinary
VILLIA, Marchese di	Savoy	Ordinary
VLASIEV	Muscovy	Ordinary
VOLYNSKY, Stepan Ivanovich	Muscovy	Ordinary
ZAMOYSKI, Tomasz	Poland	Ordinary
ZUNIGA, Pedro de, Marquis Flores Davila	Spain	Ordinary
ZYUZIN, Alexis	Muscovy	Ordinary
CREICHTON, Fr.	Papal States	Secret Envoy
EFFETTI, Giovanni degli	Papal States	Secret Envoy
ORSINI, Virginio	Papal States	Secret Envoy
AUNE, Baron	Palatine	Special Envoy
BAUTRU, Guillaume de	France	Special Envoy
BEG Najdi	Persia	Special Envoy
CARONDELET, Francois de	Spain	Special Envoy
CHAOUX, The Grand	Turkey	Special Envoy
CHIOLI, Andrea	Tuscany/Florence	Special Envoy
CIKOWSKI, Stanislaw	Poland	Special Envoy
GROOTE, Louis de	Flanders	Special Envoy
GROTTI	Flanders	Special Envoy
HUSEIN, The Chiaus	Turkey	Special Envoy

LOTTI, Ottaviano	Tuscany/Florence	Special Envoy
MANSFELD, Ernest, Count	Saxony	Special Envoy
MENDOZA, Juan de, Marquis Inojosa, Marquis San Germano	Spain	Special Envoy
MYSZKOWSKI, Zygmimt	Poland	Special Envoy
Philip, Prince Landgrave	Hesse	Special Envoy
RADZIWIŁŁ, Janusz	Poland	Special Envoy
RODES, Baron	Flanders	Special Envoy
ROTA, Francesco della	Bavaria	Special Envoy
RUFFIA, Claudio, Count Cartignana	Savoy	Special Envoy
SEGUR, Vicomte de (probably Robert Creighton, Lord Sanquhar)	France	Special Envoy
SIMONWITZ, Thomas	Muscovy	Special Envoy
SOBIESKI, Jakub	Poland	Special Envoy
TASSIS, Juan de (Taxis), Count of Villa Mediana (1603)	Spain	Special Envoy
UNKNOWN	Muscovy	Special Envoy
UNKNOWN	Savoy	Special Envoy

Table 6: Ambassadors by Embassy Type

Name	Titles/Position prior to English Mission	Country Represented
CHARISIUS, Dr Jonas	Councillor to the Danish Court	Denmark
FRUS, Christopher	Chancellor of Denmark	Denmark
RAMELIUS, Henry	Secretary to Christian IV	Denmark
George Lodovic, Prince Landgrave of Litemberg	Lord Chamberlain to Rudolph II	Emperor Imperial Diets
BOISCHOT, Ferdinand de	Licentiate, Chancellor of Brabant	Flanders
GROTTI	Secretary to Archduke Albert	Flanders
MEXIA, Diego de	Governor of the Castle of Antwerp	Flanders
RICHARDOT Jean Grusset	Foreign Minister to Archduke Albert	Flanders
VERREYKEN, Ludovic	Audiercer	Flanders
BEAUMANIOR III, Jean de	Marchel de Laverdin	France
BETHUNE, Maximilien	Minister of Henri IV	France
BUISSON, M. du	Attendant of the Prince of Conde	France
CLERC, M. le	Secretary of State	France
DAUVET, Gaspard, Count Desmaretz	Governor of Beauvais; Maitre d'Hotel du Roi	France
FERTE, M. de la	Secretary to the Duke of Rohan	France
L'HOSPITAL, Louis Gallucio de	Chevalier des Orderes et Capitaine des Gardes	France
LOMENIE, Henry Augustus de, Baron Ville-aux-Clercs	Secretary to Louis	France
ROHAN, Benjamin de	Sieur de Soubrise	France
RUZE, Antoine Coeffer, Marquis d'Effiat	Governor of Bourbonnais and Auvergne	France
TOUR, Henri de la, Duc de Bouillion, Vicomte de Turenne	Marshal of France	France
VERDYNE, M. de la	Marshal of France, Governor of Maine	France
MAGLIANI, Baron	Chamberlain to the Pope	Lorraine
HUTTON, Daniel	Councillor of the Palatine	Neuberg
NETHERSOLE, Sir Francis	Secretary to the Queen of Bohemia	Palatine
PAUEL, Andreas	Secretary to King Palatine	Palatine
SCHOMBERG, Count Meinhard von	Grand Marshal	Palatine
CIKOWSKI, Stanislaw	Chamberlain to Zygmunt III	Poland
MYSZKOWSKI, Zygmunt	Marshal of Poland	Poland
ZAMOYSKI, Tomasz	Chancellor	Poland
GABELEONE, Giovanni Battista	Auditor Fiscal of the Duke of Savoy	Savoy
BRUNEAU, Jacques	Secretary to the President of Flanders	Spain
COLOMA, Carlos	Governor of Cambray	Spain
MENDOZA, Diego Hurtado de	Knight of the Order of Santiago; Captain of the Province of Alava	Spain
MENDOZA, Juan de, Marquis of Inojosa, Marquis of San Germano	Governor of Milan, Viceroy of Navarre, Councillor of State	Spain
ROVIDA, Alessandro	Senator of Milan	Spain
TASSIS, Juan de, Count of Villa Mediana	Knight of the Order of Santiago; Court Chamberlain and Correo Major to Philip III	Spain
VELASCO, Juan Fernadez de, Duke of Frias, Constable of Castile	Governor of Milan (1592 -1598), member of the Councils of War and State	Spain

exercised at their reception when the guests might expect to be greeted at the Court Gate first, then by a second group of courtiers in the first courtyard and finally by a third group at the Guard Chamber door, before being ushered through to the royal presence. This rather elaborate treatment was generally reserved for the most senior ambassadors, while those of lesser status had to make do with as little as one reception at the court gate. Nevertheless, whatever their standing, having been escorted through the Guard Chamber, ambassadors were then passed on through to the Presence Chamber and the King.

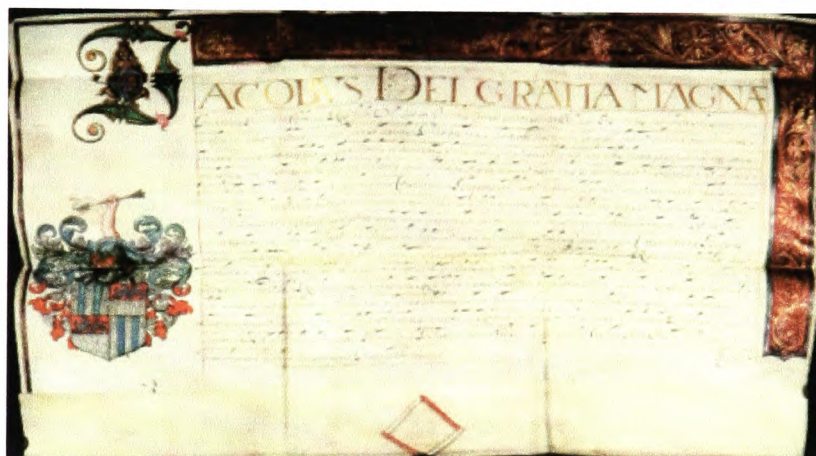


WHITEHALL PALACE

Hans Jacob Wurmsser von Vendenheym, secretary to Lewis Frederick, Prince of Württemberg, gives us an insight into the protocols surrounding the first days of an ambassador's visit. He notes that, having arrived at Gravesend the entourage were met, on Saturday 14th April by Lord Willoughby and twenty gentlemen, 'well equipped, to receive His Excellency in his [James's] name', who conducted them to



by the King were those from the United Provinces: Albert Joachim, the Deputy from Zeeland to the States General was knighted by James on 17th May, 1610; Jean de Goch, Consul of Zutphen, Eruwout van der Dussen, Consul of Delft and Joachim Liens, Syndic of Tholen on 14th July, 1619; Albert Bruyning, Johan Camerlin, Frederick van Vervou, James Schotte, Albert Soncq and Jonkheer Jacobus Wyngaerdes on 8th April, 1621; Henrik van Tuyll on 1st February, 1623 and the secretary to that particular commission, Capt. Constantijn Huygens on 20th April, 1622.¹⁴⁷ Strangely, James knighted no Spaniards, not even Gondomar. One must surmise that James felt this to be unnecessary on the grounds that the majority of Spain's ambassadors were already noblemen, most by birth.



Patent of Knighthood, Constantijn Huygens, Westminster, October, 1622
BL. Additional Charter 12777

Despite the financial constraints men were still found to serve faithfully in embassies around the world. As Mattingly notes there was a great attraction in the office of ambassador:

The Ambassador's lonely task of upholding his master's honour at a foreign court, aided by no more than his own wit, courage and eloquence, was calculated to excite the imagination of the baroque world, its taste for magnificence, its interest in extraordinary individuals, its appreciation for complicated intrigue.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁷ This elaborately decorated document is typical of Jacobean Patents of Knighthood. It is designed to impart all that is glorious and good about James's reign. The patent takes the form of Royal Letters Patent and the preamble justifies James's practice of rewarding meritorious individuals. It is signed by the king and has the Great Seal appended. It bears Huygen's family arms beneath the English royal arms.

¹⁴⁸ G. Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy*, p. 211.

the Catholic crusade, he was appointed ambassador to the King of England in 1613.² Surviving portraits of Gondomar reveal him as a man of medium height with a dark moustache and beard, and close cropped hair above a wide forehead, with deep-set, dark eyes, a large nose and a firm, sardonic mouth. One must, of course, make allowances for the natural prejudices of English painters who have endowed him with these rather Mephistopholean features. Most portraits show him as dignified, formidable, almost saturnine. Only one portrait, that produced in Godfrey Goodman's *Court of King James I*, (fig. 1) makes him look good-humoured. Compare this to the sterner man portrayed by Grabado de Simone Passeo, in fig 2.



Fig. 1



Fig. 2

² A. L. de Haro, *El Nobiliario Geneologico de los Reyes y Titulos de España* (Madrid, 1622) is the earliest biography of Sarmiento. F. H. Lyon, *Diego de Sarmiento de Acuña: Conde de Gondomar* (Oxford, 1910) is little more than a retelling of the traditional assumptions about the ambassador. W.R. de Villa-Urrutia, Marqués de Villa-Urrutia. *La Embajada del Conde De Gondomar Á Inglaterra en 1613* (Madrid, 1913) is, again, a retelling of the traditions and is based on the work of Lyon. F. J. Sanchez-Canton, *Don Diego Sarmiento de Acuña, Conde de Gondomar, 1567 - 1626* (Madrid, 1935), pays little heed to Gondomar's English embassies, the only events in his life which make him of historical interest. C.H. Carter, 'Gondomar: Ambassador to James I', *Historical Journal*. vol. 7 (1964); C. Senning, 'The Carvajal Affair: Gondomar and James I', *Catholic Historical Review*. vol. 56 (1970) and the various articles by A.J. Loomie, S.J. are worth attention. The most modern biography of any distinction is J. G. Oro, *Don Diego Sarmiento de Acuña; Conde de Gondomar y Embajador de España* (Xunta de Galicia, 1997) Composite biography of Gondomar taken from Lyons, *Gondomar*, Goodman, *Court*, and Oro, *Don Diego Sarmiento de Acuña; Conde de Gondomar y Embajador de España*; the most recent research on Gondomar's involvement in English politics is B. C. Pursell, 'James I, Gondomar and the Dissolution of the Parliament of 1621', *History*, vol. 85, no. 279 (July, 2000), pp. 428 - 445



Casa del Sol, Cad. de San Gregorio, Valladolid.

Photograph by the author

and Boisschot, the Archduke Albert's ambassador, with whom he formed a close friendship. With the French ambassador he remained coldly cordial but he would have no dealings with the envoy of the States-General and he quarrelled with Foscarini, the Venetian ambassador - a quarrel that was to affect relations not only with that ambassador but with his two successors also. Foscarini is said have spread the rumour that Gondomar had 'poisoned a Spanish lady', and as this rumour was circulating at the time of the Carvajal affair one can only assume it to be one of the ladies in attendance on Doña Luisa (especially as one of those ladies was reported to have been ill and later died).⁸ Relations remained strained between the two ambassadors, in part owing to the Venetian's anti-Spanish sympathies but also on the question of title.

It can reasonably be argued that Gondomar was one of Spain's most proficient ambassadors being highly skilled in the diplomatic arts. He came as ambassador to a power which, only a few years previously, had emerged victorious

⁸ *CSP Venetian*, vol. XIV App. no. 907, p. 598.



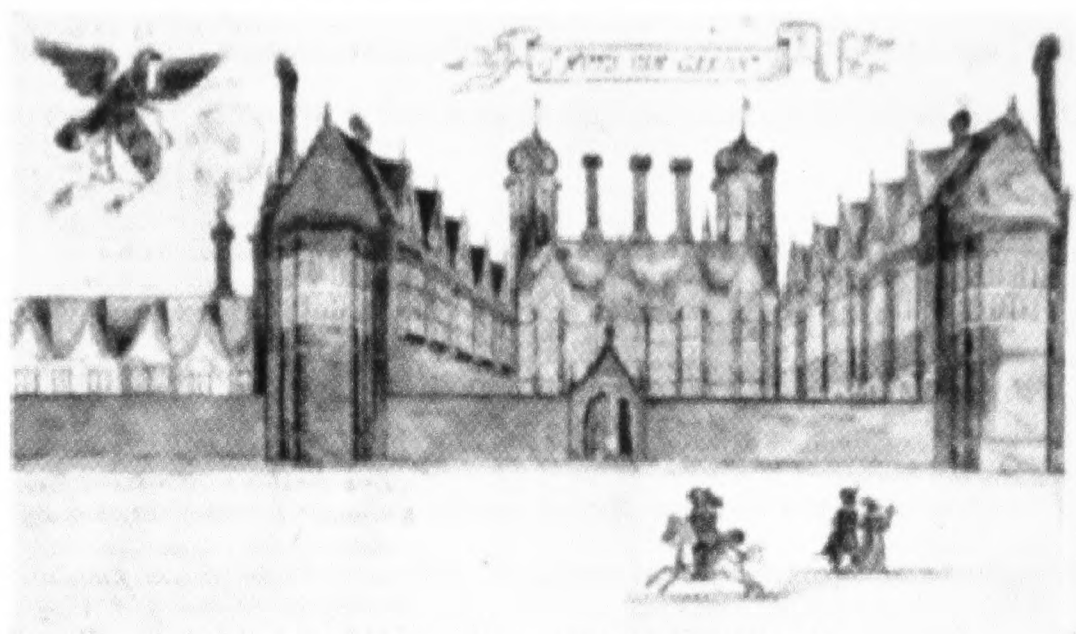
Doña Luisa de Carvajal y Mendoza.

(one of two portraits housed in the Lower Antechoir of the Real Monasterio de la Encarnación, Madrid)

former students of this college who had suffered in England for their religion. She had read of the martyrdom of Edmund Campion and his companions and was particularly affected by the account of the life and death of Henry Walpole, who had been a staff member at the College. Her Jesuit confessor introduced her to the English fathers at the College, and took a small house nearby.⁸⁰ Like many of her

⁸⁰ She is said to have left this house to the English College and tradition has it that it forms part of the original buildings. Visitors to the College will find that, even after this time, Doña Luisa holds a very special place in the hearts of the staff and students. There is a full length picture of her outside the Vice Rector's office.

century as a ‘capital mansion’, it took ten years to build and consisted of two large wings connected by a hall. Here he had a large deer-park, which extended to Vauxhall and Kennington. Huygens noted in a letter to his parents that all manner of parties and festivities took place in the house and that, everywhere, he had met ‘fort honeste compagnie’¹⁷.



Caron House from Abram Booth's *Journal*. (1629)

Abram Booth, a member of a commission to London from the Dutch East India Company, listed the house in his journal as being among the finest private houses in London.¹⁸ Situated as it was behind the village of Lambeth and directly across the river from the Court at Westminster it had, he tells us, ‘in front...a vast field framed all round by very tall trees’. He continues:

Upon entering by the main gate, over which have been put the words *Omne Solum Forti Patria*,¹⁹ one finds in the middle of a quadrangle, which is surrounded by decorative half-timbered structures, a beautiful fountain. And - apart from many fine Parlours, Halls and splendid Chambers, expensively

¹⁷ A. G. H. Bachrach, *Sir Constantine Huygens and Britain: 1596 - 1687*, vol. 1, p. 125.

¹⁸ The house was on the original site of Messrs. Beaufoy's vinegar distillery. Caron House, with its gardens and orchards, was granted to Lord Chancellor Clarendon by Charles II in 1666, and in the following year was made over by the Lord Chancellor to Sir Jeremy Whichcott, in consideration of the sum of £2,000. It was to Caron House that the Fleet prisoners were removed after the Great Fire. The small part of the house which remained in the late eighteenth century became an academy. It was finally demolished in 1809. See D. Lysons, *The Environs of London... Counties of Surrey, Kennet, Essex and Herts*, vol. 1 (2nd edition, 1810); D. Hughson, *London; The History and Description of the British Metropolis and its Neighbourhood* (1813).

¹⁹ The full quotation, taken from Lipsuis, reads: ‘Each land, unto a valiant man, his country is’.

