

The French Connection

New Leads on 'Monsieur Le Doux'

Members of the Marlowe Society will be familiar with the work of our late respected colleague, the historian A. D. Wraight, and in recent years her researches, first published in *Shakespeare: New Evidence*¹, tracing the movements and identity of a certain intelligencer who was in the service of Anthony Bacon and the Earl of Essex during the years 1595 and 1596. This agent, one "Monsieur Le Doux", appears at first sight to be a Frenchman, but, on closer examination, it becomes evident that he was in fact a well-educated Englishman with an extraordinary range of intellectual interests which are remarkably similar to those of both Marlowe and "Shake-speare"; a large proportion of the books in his trunk are source-books for the Shake-speare plays. He was also in possession of secret intelligence reports concerning France, Scotland, the Low Countries and Spain, as well as certain papers of Sir Francis Walsingham. This documentary evidence about Le Doux was discovered among the Anthony Bacon Papers at Lambeth Palace Library.

Fortunately a few of Le Doux's letters have survived, and their content is highly significant.

The mysterious "Le Doux", according to the theory of A.D. Wraight (now widely accepted), was in fact the surviving Christopher Marlowe: I concur entirely, and I think it is regrettable that Wraight's work is not more widely known. The final extant letter from Le Doux is dated 22nd June 1596, from Mittelburg, "after which", as Wraight puts it, "the trail runs cold".²

I can now report that we can add very substantially to the existing history of "Le Doux" and open entirely new fields of research; there is a very promising array of inter-connections and documentary evidence, which evidence, taken together, yields a completely consistent and fascinating account of Le Doux's activities and whereabouts during 1598 and 1599, with much more information relating to the earlier decades of Queen Elizabeth's reign and forward to 1610 and beyond.

In 1595 Wraight's "Le Doux" had been sent to the mansion of Sir John Harington, at Burley-on-the-Hill in Rutland, where he was placed in the role of tutor to Sir John's young son; he appears to have been at Burley from around October 1595. This employment was in reality a "cover" for a skilled intelligencer who was "lying low" for the time being. Burley was a secure place where "Monsieur Le Doux" could await the detailed instructions of his real employers, Anthony Bacon and the Earl of Essex. These instructions have survived (they are the 'Memoires Instructives'³): they specify the aims of Le

¹ A.D. Wraight, *Shakespeare: New Evidence* (Adam Hart Ltd, London, 1996)

² Ibid - p.76.

³ Ibid - pp.56-57.

Doux's European travels and the kind of information that he was expected to gather, particularly in Germany and Italy. One notes that Le Doux was entrusted at this time with commissions of considerable responsibility: he was required to escort and assist visiting noblemen, such as Baron Zeirotin, Ambassador from the Holy Roman Emperor, and to accompany the Baron on his return to Prague ("Bohemia"); Le Doux would also be the bearer of important dispatches, for example from the Seigneur de Sancy; in sum, Monsieur Le Doux was clearly a reliable and experienced intelligencer who had already travelled in France, the Low Countries and elsewhere. Of course the Earl's intention in setting up his own intelligence network was to ensure that he was always one step ahead of everyone else at Court, especially the Cecils, in his knowledge of European affairs.

Each of the three letters of Le Doux that are reproduced in *Shakespeare: New Evidence* is intriguing and illuminating in its own right, but I was particularly interested in the letter endorsed 20th April 1596⁴ which mentions both Sir Antonio Perez, the Spanish exile (former Secretary of State to Philip II) and Edmund Walsingham, the recently-deceased brother of Marlowe's patron Thomas Walsingham. We know that Le Doux possessed a copy of Antonio Perez's book the *Pedacos o Relaciones* (in Spanish), as well as copies of the correspondence that had passed between Perez and others, including probably Le Doux himself. This brings us to an important link with "Shake-speare": according to a majority of Shakespearean scholars, the "fantastical Spaniard" in *Love's Labour's Lost*, 'Don Adriano de Armado', was inspired by the eccentric Antonio Perez. *Love's Labour's Lost* is one of Shake-speare's most vibrant and erudite plays, but also one of his most mysterious, containing apparently autobiographical clues.

In a previous article⁵, I set out a brief summary of the evidence supporting the identification of Armado as Perez. This conclusion now has so much support that it is surely unquestionable. In that article, I omitted to mention the fact that the London edition of Perez's best-selling book, the *Pedacos o Relaciones* (1594, dedicated to Essex), was published under the pseudonym "Raphael Peregrino", which matches the use of the very unusual word "peregrinate" in *Love's Labour's Lost* (V.i.12-14); in Perez's extant letters the word "perigrinate" is constantly used, in ironic reference to his own misfortunes and to himself as "el peregrino". The reason for the widespread popularity of Perez's book was that it struck a chord throughout Europe with all those who hated King Philip II of Spain and despised him as a tyrant and oppressor. Philip II had of course been an instigator of the Wars of Religion in Europe and was responsible for the attempted invasion of England, first in 1588 and again in 1596 and 1598.

⁴ Lambeth Palace Library MS 656 f.372

⁵ *Notes on the Anthony Bacon Papers*, in Marlowe Society Newsletter No. 28 (Spring 2007) - see <http://www.marlowe-society.org/pubs/newsltr/newsltr28.html>

I had been researching Antonio Perez for some time, beginning with the biography by Gregory Maranon⁶, and then reading Daphne du Maurier's *Golden Lads: a Study of Anthony Bacon, Francis and their Friends*⁷. This led me to the work of Gustav Ungerer⁸, in which he confirms the identification of Perez as Shake-speare's "Armado" on numerous grounds. He has also established that the two letters of Don Armado in *Love's Labour's Lost* (Scenes I.i and IV.i) are, in fact, very precise parodies of Perez's "Senecan" literary style: "Both Armado and Perez were obviously adepts in the Senecan style. Perez...was an imitator of Seneca and Tacitus, and it was on account of his humanist background that he was admitted to the group of Essex's learned secretaries".⁹

Ungerer's book is a veritable gold-mine of useful information on the later 16th Century, and his sources are all well referenced. It also has an excellent Index in Volume Two. It was Ungerer who provided the initial clue in my hunt for 'Monsieur Le Doux': "About 1598, Le Doux quitted the Earl's service, and during this and the following year he was acting as courier between the French Embassy at the Hague and the French Court"¹⁰. This note is referenced to a book by George Willem Vreede, *Lettres et Negociations de Paul Choart, Seigneur de Buzanval, et de Francois d'Aerssen, 1598-1599*¹¹ (Ungerer may not be entirely correct in suggesting that Le Doux had "quitted the Earl's service", but we will return to that question in due course). These letters provide a great deal of additional evidence about Monsieur Le Doux (an outline of the relevant documents, in chronological order, is given in Appendix A). The important thing to note, at this stage, is the long-standing connection between Buzanval, Anthony Bacon, Le Doux / Marlowe, and King Henri IV of France and Navarre (1553 – 1610).

Paul Choart, the Seigneur de Buzanval, (henceforth referred to as "Lord Buzanval" or "Buzanval") was a Protestant, a Huguenot who had witnessed the terrible atrocities of the Saint Bartholomew's Day Massacre in August 1572, an infamous slaughter in which some three thousand Huguenot Protestants, men, women and children, were murdered in the streets of Paris, with a further twenty-three thousand killed thereafter in the provinces up to the beginning of October. This tragedy was of course the subject of Christopher Marlowe's play *The Massacre at Paris*.

Marlowe's employer, Sir Francis Walsingham, the head of the English secret service and cousin to Marlowe's patron Thomas Walsingham, was at that time English Ambassador in Paris; he too survived the massacre and would

⁶ Gregory Maranon, *Antonio Perez: Spanish Traitor* (Hollis & Carter, 1954)

⁷ Daphne du Maurier, *Golden Lads: a Study of Anthony Bacon, Francis and their Friends* (London, 1975)

⁸ Gustav Ungerer, *A Spaniard in Elizabethan England: the Correspondence of Antonio Perez's Exile - 2 Vols* (Tamesis Books, 1974)

⁹ *Ibid* - Vol II, p.388.

¹⁰ *Ibid* - Vol II, p.241.

¹¹ George Willem Vreede, *Lettres et Negociations de Paul Choart, Seigneur de Buzenval, et de Francois d'Aerssen 1598-1599* (Leiden, 1846)

undoubtedly have known Buzenval. The latter fled to safety in Geneva, and later became Henri of Navarre's Ambassador in England (c.1585 to 1589) and subsequently French Ambassador to Holland at The Hague (from 1591 until 1607). Lord Buzenval's sorrowful memories of the Paris Massacre are echoed in certain comments in his letters concerning Catholic outrages and "excesses" that took place in what he calls "the neutral territories of the Empire".¹²

As Henri's Ambassador to the English Court, Buzanval would certainly have had audiences with Queen Elizabeth and her principal ministers of the Privy Council, including Lord Burghley and Lord Howard of Effingham, the Lord Admiral. Living in London for several years, he must have encountered all of the most prominent people at Court, including the Earls of Leicester, Essex, Northumberland, Pembroke, and Derby; also Thomas Walsingham and his relative Frances Walsingham, Sir Philip Sidney's widow, whom Essex married in 1590. Buzanval may well have known the soldier-poet Sir Philip Sidney (1554-1586), and he certainly would have known the latter's brother, Sir Robert Sidney, who was appointed Governor of Flushing in the Netherlands in June 1589 and remained in that post until 1616. The Sidney family was of course connected with the Herberts of Wilton, the Earls of Pembroke. And, significantly, Buzanval also knew the Bacon brothers, Anthony and Francis; indeed he seems to have been a close friend of both Anthony Bacon and King Henri of Navarre, leader of the Huguenots.

In Madame de Mornay's book *A Huguenot Family in the XVI Century: A Memoir of Philippe de Mornay, Sieur de Plessis-Marly*, the author relates how Du Plessis made a journey in 1582 from Paris to Vitray in Brittany, and then to Gascony "where the King of Navarre was at that time", continuing: "throughout the whole of this journey, Monsieur de Buzenval accompanied him, a gentleman of great learning and the rarest quality, and his very good friend. He since managed the King's affairs, both as King of Navarre and afterwards as King of France, very successfully in England and the Low Countries".¹³

The British Library Manuscripts Catalogue¹⁴ has a number of interesting records relating to Lord Buzanval, which I give below in chronological order:

1. "A Discourse of Monsieur de Buzenval", sent to Queen Elizabeth in 1585, regarding the dangerous ambitions of Philip II of Spain (no. 168);
2. A letter from one "Du Pin" to Anthony Bacon, dated September 24th 1586, "concerning some money to be paid to him by Monsieur de Buzenval" (no. 150);
3. A letter of 11th July 1588, apparently written in London, from Buzenval, Ambassador from the King of Navarre, to Sir Francis Walsingham

¹² See Letter VII in Appendix A

¹³ Madame de Mornay's book *A Huguenot Family in the XVI Century :A Memoir of Philippe de Mornay, Sieur de Plessis-Marly* - p.186.

¹⁴ British Library Manuscripts Catalogue - COTT. NERO B.VI.

“revealing a plot of one Latys, a Scotchman, to assassinate Queen Elizabeth” (no. 225 - one sees from such communications that the Queen had good reason to be thankful towards Buzanval);

4. A letter from Buzenval, Ambassador from Henri IV to Queen Elizabeth, to Secretary Walsingham, containing “various intelligence concerning the state of France, the Ligue [sic] & c” (original French); from The Hague, July 30th 1588 (no. 226).

In the Calendar of State Papers, Elizabeth, Volume 23, there is a letter from Buzanval to Lord Burghley, dated 26th June 1589, written in London. In this letter Buzenval requests an advance of funds in support of the King of Navarre, in fighting against the Leaguers – the sum of 200,000 crowns is mentioned. Another letter in that collection, also written in London, is from Buzanval to Sir Francis Walsingham, dated 9th July 1589.¹⁵

Thus the existing historical record shows that there was a close connection between Lord Buzenval and Sir Francis Walsingham during the late 1580s; some of their contacts date to the crucial Armada year of 1588. One notes also the strong link between Buzenval and King Henri IV; readers of this Newsletter will know that the Court of Navarre became, in a somewhat romanticized form, the setting of *Love's Labour's Lost*. Christopher Marlowe's later employer and friend, Anthony Bacon, is known to have been in Navarre during the early 1590s, and some have suggested that Marlowe also visited the Court of Navarre around that time¹⁶. Anthony Bacon had spent twelve years in France and the Kingdom of Navarre, from 1580 until his return to England in 1592, during which time he sent much valuable intelligence to England and built up a wide range of contacts, from the nobility (including friendship with Catherine de Bourbon, sister of Henri IV), to merchants, poets and scholars.

Both Anthony Bacon and Antonio Perez were long-term friends and protégés of King Henri IV. Indeed Henri showed them an extraordinary degree of loyalty over many years, through good times and bad. In Bacon's case, the King had personally intervened to extricate him from an extremely dangerous situation that arose in Montauban in 1586: Bacon had been arrested on a capital charge, that of committing sodomy (both Anthony and his brother Francis are believed to have been homosexual). Be that as it may, King Henri continued to protect Bacon, and they remained close friends up to the latter's death in 1601. In my view it is very likely that much of the information gathered by Bacon's intelligencer Le Doux in 1596 was forwarded to King Henri, either by Essex or Bacon himself.

Some say that Henri IV was France's greatest King. Fundamentally a Humanist and freethinker, despite being officially “Catholic” after 1593, he secretly continued to support the revolt of the Spanish Netherlands against

¹⁵ See the British History Online website: <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=75255>

¹⁶ See Appendix B

Spain. On becoming King of France in 1589, Henri embarked on a program of reconciliation at home; he had a difficult and delicate position to maintain, being the ruler of a predominantly Catholic country, but being at heart a supporter of Protestantism. He reformed the corrupt system of taxation in the provinces, built new roads to facilitate commerce, and established new sources of wealth and prosperity.

Henri IV had made the strategic decision to “convert” to Catholicism in 1593, but it is clear from the historical record, and indeed from the King’s own letters, that his real sympathy lay with the Reformers and the cause of liberty of conscience, and it always had been that way. Henri’s prudent, if cynical, policy towards Spain resulted in the signing of the Treaty of Vervins on the 2nd May 1598, which established peace between France and Spain; this Treaty also restored to the French the port of Calais, which had been taken by the forces of Archduke Albert in April 1596. In 1598, by the famous Edict of Nantes (April 15th), Henri established freedom of religion throughout France, introducing a law that represented a significant advance in the cause of intellectual freedom and tolerance.

In reality, as we now know, King Henri IV and his ministers had been playing a subtle “double game” in his negotiations with Spain during the 1590s; he knew that his own nation was all too vulnerable to invasion, and, unlike England, did not possess the natural defence of a surrounding ocean (a “moat defensive” - *Richard II*, Act II.I.40). France was still suffering the repercussions of a long and bloody civil war; therefore, during the 1590s, the King made it his first priority to pacify and unite his kingdom; once this task had been achieved, and the nation’s economy reconstructed, he would then be in a position to support the Dutch rebels more openly, with money, soldiers and munitions.

The Background: Anthony Bacon and Antonio Perez in France and Navarre

Anthony Bacon first went to France in 1580. “He was an honoured guest at the Court of Navarre for about six years”, states John Michell¹⁷, indicating the period 1584 to 1590. In 1585 and 1586 he was living at Montauban, resisting Sir Francis Walsingham’s demands for him to return to England. It is certain that Bacon knew Buzanval at this time - Thomas Birch mentions a quarrel between Bacon and Madame de Mornay, who was “unwilling that her husband should part with the 1500 crowns which Mr Bacon had procured to be delivered to Monsieur Buzenval in England.”¹⁸ Bacon was in Bordeaux for most of 1590 and 1591; then in Bearn early in July 1591; he returned to England in February 1592, but continued to send intelligence to King Henri IV

¹⁷ John Michell, *Who Wrote Shakespeare* (Thames & Hudson, 1996) - p.200.

¹⁸ Thomas Birch, *Memoirs of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth: From the Year 1581 Till Her Death* (London, 1754) - Vol. I, p.54.

throughout the 1590s, possibly through Tom Lawson “who frequently travelled to France”.¹⁹

Throughout his entire residence in France and Navarre, Anthony Bacon was sending back intelligence reports to Lord Burghley, his uncle, and to Sir Francis Walsingham. He seems to have been running spies and contacts across the Pyrenees, also via merchants and ships at Bordeaux trading with Spain.

The movements of Antonio Perez are easily reconstructed: after spending twelve years in Spanish prisons and under house-arrest, he escaped and crossed the border of the Kingdom of Navarre on the 24th November 1591, reaching the town of Pau on 26th November. He remained in Navarre until April 1593, when he made his first visit to England, returning to France two years later, in July 1595. Perez was back in England again in 1596, staying for about a month (26th April to 29th May). His final, unauthorised, visit took place in February 1604.

Godfrey Aleyn, in a letter to Anthony Bacon dated 9th November 1595, reported that the French King was taking very good care of Antonio Perez: “the King hath given Mr Villeroy charge to look unto him.”²⁰ Henri had awarded Antonio Perez generous pensions amounting to 5800 crowns per annum and mor: “and besydes all these favours, his love is so great towards him as he will not leave him long out of his company.”²¹ Perez had innumerable conferences with both Henri IV and Villeroy; the “fantastical” Spaniard seems to have been extraordinarily skilled at obtaining grants of money and pensions, without being required to do much actual work.

The Italian Network

In early 1595, the Earl of Essex and Anthony Bacon directed Antonio Perez to take on the task of “constructing an information service in Italy”, after which he would return to the French Court of Henri IV. To this end, Perez employed the services of Giovanni Basadonna, “his Venetian friend in London,” and Giacomo Marengo of Genoa²²; then, in November 1595, Essex sent Dr Henry Hawkins, a scholar and Fellow of Peterhouse Cambridge, to oversee the entire operation, and Marengo went to Venice to confer with him.²³

Hawkins soon began sending back reports from Venice, but Essex was very dissatisfied with the results; Paul Hammer states that “Essex was sharply critical of Hawkins’ initial performance” and also suggests, perhaps

¹⁹ Du Maurier, *op. cit.*, p.174.

²⁰ Ungerer, Vol II, *op. cit.* p.45.

²¹ *Ibid* - p.49, letter of Godfrey Aleyn, dated 12th November 1595.

²² *Ibid* - p.169.

²³ *Ibid* - p.171.

incorrectly, that the Earl was planning to replace him with Monsieur Le Doux²⁴.

A. D. Wraight hypothesised that Giovanni Basadonna was probably known to Le Doux/ Marlowe and that his name might have suggested that of Bassanio in *The Merchant of Venice*²⁵. Basadonna “came to England as Venetian factor in 1593.”²⁶ He was a friend of the Earl of Essex and exchanged correspondence with Antonio Perez and Anthony Bacon for many years; his brother, Antonio Basadonna, who was also a merchant, was based at Venice, where his house was used as the headquarters for Bacon’s agents in Italy. Ungerer prints eleven letters from, or to, Giovanni Basadonna and also some letters of Jacomo Marengo.

Giovanni Basadonna owned a number of ships which carried such merchandise as wheat, rye, beer, beef and salt; in 1598 he chartered his ship *The Experience* to one Gherard de Malines, a Flemish merchant who had previously been an intelligencer under Sir Francis Walsingham²⁷.

Another Italian, Lorenzo Guicciardini, “had been acting in Florence as an informal agent of the English government since the days of Secretary Walsingham.”²⁸ During the 1590s, Guicciardini was another of Essex’s correspondents, conveying intelligence to England²⁹, and assisting Dr Henry Hawkins and Edward Yates in Florence. Guicciardini was involved in diplomatic contacts with Ferdinand I, Grand Duke of Tuscany; “He and Hawkins were expected to present the Queen’s picture to the Duke of Florence in the name of Essex.”³⁰ This provides us with an interesting link with the hypothesis that Le Doux/Marlowe was later employed in the service of the Grand Duke’s nephew, Don Virginio Orsino, Duke of Bracciano.³¹

Buzanval’s Mission of 1596: A Meeting with Anthony Bacon

The Seigneur de Buzanval was sent on a mission to England in November 1596 – at which time he visited Anthony Bacon. Thomas Birch gives the following account: “Mr Bacon on the 12th of November wrote to the French ambassador (Vol XIV, fol. 23) to acquaint him with the answer that the Earl of Essex had returned...the Earl promis’d to use his utmost interest with the Queen to dispose her to enlarge her restrictions in the employment of the 2000 men in France, according to the desire of his most Christian Majesty.” A sequence of letters are exchanged between Anthony Bacon and Lord Buzenval, who has apologised for the fact that he has not yet sought an

²⁴ Article by Paul Hammer in *The English Historical Review*, April 1996.

²⁵ Wraight, op. cit. p.54.

²⁶ Ungerer, op. cit., Vol II - p.174.

²⁷ CCC vi 262-263.

²⁸ L. P. Smith, *The Life and Letters of Sir Henry Wotton* (Oxford, 1907) - Vol. I: 284 n.5.

²⁹ Birch, op. cit., Vol. 1, pp.157,215.

³⁰ Ungerer, op. cit., Vol. 1, p.266.

³¹ A.D. Wraight, *The Story that the Sonnets Tell* (Adam Hart Ltd, 1994) - pp.369-423.

audience with the Queen, but wishes to meet with her at Lambeth; Bacon replies that there is no pressing need for such a meeting; Buzenval "return'd his thanks to Mr Bacon for his zeal for the King his master's service". Birch continues: "the French ambassador, who was ready to leave England, having visited Mr Bacon late on the evening of the 18th of November 1596, the latter wrote that very night to the Earl of Essex."³² Birch's footnote reads: "Paul Choard de Buzenval... was highly esteemed by Henri IV, who sent him ambassador to Queen Elizabeth...and to the States General")

In the Ambassador's Service

For reasons as yet unknown, it would seem that in 1597 or 1598 the Earl of Essex and Anthony Bacon decided that Le Doux should move on, having completed his previous assignment in Italy; if he was not working directly for Essex any more, it may be that his services were recommended to their old friend King Henri IV, or to his Ambassador in the Netherlands, the Seigneur de Buzanval.

The letters reproduced in Vreede's *Lettres et Negociations de Paul Choart* cover the period from 18th October 1598 to 29th December 1599, with additional material relevant to the following years up to 1606. Of the letters of Lord Buzenval, four are addressed to King Henri IV (of which Le Doux was the bearer of three) and another forty-four are addressed to the King's Secretary of State, Nicolas de Neufville, the Seigneur de Villeroy (1543-1617), who was apparently a friend of Catherine de Medici. Of the forty-four letters to the Seigneur de Villeroy, eighteen make specific mention of Monsieur Le Doux, who was the bearer of at least three - probably more. Ungerer describes Villeroy as "the most prominent French colleague of Perez"³³; there are two letters from Villeroy to Antonio Perez, and two from Perez to Villeroy.

The fact that Le Doux was personally the bearer of a large proportion of the Ambassador's letters to the King indicates a high level of trust placed in him; it probably signifies that Le Doux had been known to Lord Buzenval for several years, as is suggested also by his appointment as overseer of the transportation of very large amounts of money. Certainly he must have arrived at The Hague with the strong commendation of both Anthony Bacon and the Earl of Essex.

Lord Buzenval makes a number of respectful comments about his new envoy, praising him for his reliability and trustworthiness; for example, Letter IV of 26th November 1598: "There was never such diligence as Le Doux has performed, nor anything more pleasing than what he has achieved in this voyage, having arrived in this place on the 16th [of November] with your Majesty's dispatch" (which may be compared with Letter XLVI - "his customary diligence"). One receives the strong impression that the

³² Birch, op. cit., references Vol XIV fol. 25 and Vol XIV fol. 45 (pp 200-203); also regarding Buzanval's visit to England in April 1597 (pp 335-336).

³³ Ungerer, op. cit., Vol. 1, p.111.

Ambassador thought very highly of him, suggesting that this discreet gentleman, like Wraight's Le Doux, was much more than just a "courier".

As one would expect, there are references throughout Buzanval's letters to events in Germany, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Sweden, Denmark, England and Scotland (including the issue of the succession to the English throne); also questions of trade and economics. The situation in Ireland is mentioned (e.g. Letters XIV and XXXVIII), and there are references to the policies of Queen Elizabeth, in particular her sometimes-reluctant support of the revolt in the Low Countries. News is given of the current military campaigns, of course - battles, skirmishes, sieges, and advances or setbacks on both sides. There are detailed reports of the exploits of Prince Maurice of Nassau, a brilliant strategist and a prominent figure in the French and Dutch Wars of Religion; also the attacks of the enemy, the Leaguers, and the disposition of the armies of Archduke Albert.

There are a number of references to the Earl of Essex, for example Letter LXVI, from Buzanval to Villeroy, dated 8th December 1599. At this time Essex had fallen from favour and was under house-arrest. The reference seems to be related to the question of the succession of the King of Scots to the English throne, obviously an urgent question in view of the Queen's advancing age.³⁴

As I have said above, at this time King Henri IV was secretly supporting the Protestant Revolt in the Netherlands; it is clear that the chests of gold and silver which are entrusted to Le Doux and his attendants are part of the King's contributions to the cause. The sums involved are very substantial, indeed they are the kind of amounts that would be needed to provision and pay an entire army (Buzanval makes the following comment in Letter XLI: "for you know what an abyss of finance an army is"). For example, Letter XXXVIII speaks of "the first fifty thousand escus sent via Le Doux". The "Escu" or "Ecu" was "a French silver crown piece" worth about six shillings (O.E.D.). Thus fifty thousand "escus", or "crowns", comes to about 15,000 Livres (Pounds) then, which is the equivalent of about £ 6.8 million today. These are large amounts, certainly, but they need to be put into proportion. When the Archduke Albert moved his forces into the Low Countries in 1596, he had four million crowns with him, "two for himself and the rest for the soldiers."³⁵ That would be just over 90 million pounds today. Such are the resources needed to conduct wars - Queen Elizabeth knew this well enough, and for that reason she was often most reluctant to be drawn into open warfare.

Obviously King Henri's cash had to be entrusted to a completely reliable person; and who could be better than a reliable intelligencer whom the King had known personally since 1591 in Navarre, or even earlier? As I have said, if Vreede's "Le Doux" was indeed the same person as Wraight's, we can be sure that he had the backing of Henri's old friend and protégé Anthony Bacon. What were the specific arrangements for conveying the money? Letter III from

³⁴ Vreede, *op. cit.*, p.333.

³⁵ Letter of Edmund Wiseman, 14 Sept 1595, quoted in Ungerer, *op. cit.*, Vol 2, p.37

Lord Buzanval informs us; “It is better to send all of it in silver, well packed, inside well-locked chests, and also sealed so that no-one sticks in their fingers or tampers with anything. A single voyage of Le Doux will always be able to carry out this task [this comment may indicate that this is the first occasion on which Le Doux is entrusted with such an important commission], by following the course of the river as far as Rouen. The main thing is, that from Rouen to Dieppe the required security must be provided.”³⁶ Le Doux and his attendant, Du Temps, would supervise the transportation in secure carriages and with a military escort.

These facts may explain what is meant by Buzenval’s remark In Letter XXV (dated 1st May 1599) that “These gentlemen are longing [“languissent”] for the return of Le Doux”. I think it is fair to assume that what they were “languishing” for was not just his sparkling personality - though doubtless he was very convivial company – but, more importantly, the substantial funds that he would be bringing.

Joseph Scaliger and Isaac Casaubon

In Letter XXV, dated the 1st of May 1599, Buzenval asks Secretary Villeroy to grant a favour on behalf of “one of the most learned men of our times, Monsieur De Lescale” [Joseph Scaliger], who wishes to have a book reprinted (see also Letter LXV in Appendix A). These two men were among the most eminent thinkers of their day. Joseph Scaliger (1540-1609) was a Classicist, the founder of modern chronology; he was “one of the greatest scholars of the Renaissance” according to the *Oxford Companion to English Literature*. The entry in *Chambers Biographical Dictionary* states: “By his combined knowledge, sagacity and actual achievement he holds the first place among the scholars of his time”. From 1572 to 1574 he was a Professor at Calvin’s College in Geneva. Despite his Calvinism, Scaliger was evidently a man of progressive opinions, which led to accusations of “Atheism”, recalling the persecution of Marlowe, Thomas Hariot and Sir Walter Raleigh.

Isaac Casaubon (1559-1614) was a French Classical scholar, a Protestant and Humanist, who became Royal Librarian at Paris in 1598. Anthony Bacon’s cousin Sir Henry Wotton, another agent in the service of Essex, had stayed at Casaubon’s house in Geneva in 1594. It is certain that “Monsieur Le Doux” was connected with both Scaliger and Casaubon.

We know that Christopher Marlowe had a certain interest in Theology, although he would seem to have been a Deist, as opposed to a Trinitarian; it occurs to me that his theological ideas might perhaps have been influenced by the writings of Casaubon and Scaliger? And, if so, does this help to explain the religious dimension of such Shake-speare Sonnets as Sonnet 146: “Poor soul, the centre of my sinful earth”?

³⁶ Buzanval to Secretary Villeroy, 28th October 1598 - see Vreede, op. cit., p.25.

Spring 1598: Robert Cecil and the Earl of Southampton in France

From the beginning of February until the end of April 1598, Sir Robert Cecil was in France seeking an audience with King Henri, in the hope of preventing him from signing a Peace Treaty with Spain; Cecil's party travelled some three hundred miles seeking the elusive monarch, and although they eventually tracked him down, their mission was unsuccessful. The young Earl of Southampton, then aged 24, accompanied Cecil on this mission (Southampton's name is of course associated with that of Shake-speare through *Shake-speare's Sonnets* numbers 1-20 and the Dedications to *Venus and Adonis* and *The Rape of Lucrece*). Antonio Perez met with Robert Cecil in Paris on the 12th of March 1598. When Cecil returned to England at the end of April, Southampton remained in Paris and stayed there until November, apart from one brief return to England in August, so it's quite possible that he met up with Monsieur Le Doux there (the latter had been the bearer of a letter from Lord Buzanval to King Henri, in Paris, at the end of October).

If Southampton did see Le Doux in Paris in November 1598, then the Earl could perhaps have informed Le Doux of certain rumours that were circulating in London. Not long after, in 1599, an unauthorised publication entitled *The Passionate Pilgrim*, was printed, and it contained a number of poems written by "Shake-speare", including an intriguing "Dark Lady" Sonnet - the first to be published - No. 144: "Two loves I have, of comfort and despair". Was this poem the first expression of the distress caused to its author on finding out that his beloved Dark Lady, Emilia Lanier, had been trying to ensnare a wealthy husband in the shape of his young friend William Herbert, soon to become Earl of Pembroke?

Shake-speare Plays of 1598-1600

Which of the Shake-speare plays were being written at this time? The general consensus is that *Henry V*, *Much Ado About Nothing*, *As You Like It*, and *Julius Caesar* were all written during 1599 (*Much Ado* could possibly be 1598, as well as *Henry IV Part Two*). *Hamlet* is usually dated to around 1600, though it is possible that the author began working on it in 1599 or earlier. The fact that three of these plays were "stayed" in 1600, and prevented from publication, remains something of a mystery.

As You Like It is obviously a very French play, and it has been suggested that the intended setting was NOT the supposed "Forest of Arden" but rather the forests of the Ardennes in France. Readers of this article will know that *As You Like It* has some significant, and cryptic, references to Christopher Marlowe.

This question of "Frenchness" brings us back to *Love's Labour's Lost*, set in the Kingdom of Navarre. The completely authentic French flavour of this comedy has often been remarked upon; John Michell quotes Professor Abel Lefranc: "All the details of *Love's Labour's Lost* are pure French. In their conversations his ladies and gentlemen are completely French – lively, alert and full of spirit... Even their bad taste is totally French, while their language is

sharpened and exaggerated to that degree of affectation which has never displeased the French, especially those of the higher classes.”³⁷

I have already mentioned the possibility that Marlowe may have visited Navarre in the early 1590s. We know that he had travelled on the continent, including the Low Countries in 1587 and 1593, and Marlowe’s biographer John Bakeless suggested that Marlowe was sent to France circa 1585/1586, under the instructions of Lord Burghley or Sir Francis Walsingham, to investigate Catholic seminarists in training at the English Jesuit College in Rheims. Marlowe’s going “beyond the seas to Reames and there to remaine” is specifically mentioned in the Privy Council note to the Cambridge University authorities, instructing them to award Marlowe’s M.A.³⁸

As regards *Henry V*, naturally one would expect a play about Harfleur and the battle of Agincourt to have a distinctly French flavour, but one would not necessarily expect to find entire scenes written in French, and to such great effect...

The “dissolute” youth of “Prince Hal”, as depicted by Shakespeare in *Henry IV I & II* and recalled in *Henry V*, has justifiably become a national legend, enshrined in our history; however, I can’t help thinking that this entertaining story, of riotous princely behaviour and later reformation, would fit equally well, if not better, with the young King Henri of Navarre. Henri was a notorious philanderer and drinker (“his unbridled licentiousness was his worst fault” - *Chambers Biographical Dictionary*); he was only 23 when he escaped to Alençon from what was virtual captivity in Paris. With age came wisdom, and on the death of King Henri III in 1589, Henri de Bourbon withdrew to Navarre, mainly to bring together more troops and collect funds, but also, as John Michell says, “to reform his court on ideal religious lines. It became a centre of learning and culture, attracting young aristocrats, both Protestant and Catholic, from all over Europe.”³⁹ Many of these Continental travellers were noblemen or wealthy young gentlemen who were making the “Grand Tour” of Europe.

Something is Rotten in the State of Denmark

So far as *Hamlet* is concerned, it is notable that Buzenval’s letters contain frequent references to the political situation in Denmark, Sweden and Poland. King Christian IV King of Denmark and Norway (1577-1648) had succeeded to the crown in 1596; his coronation took place on August 29th of that year. Lord Buzenval’s Letter XXIX to Secretary Villeroy, dated 17th May 1599, reports the following: “These gentlemen are sending an embassy to the King of Denmark, who has urgently requested of them certain munitions of war, which they have allowed him to purchase: I believe that the said embassy may possibly pass through Sweden. Thus the world gets mixed up, and the

³⁷ Michell, op. cit., p.200.

³⁸ Privy Council Registers, Elizabeth, vi, 381 b, Public Record Office

³⁹ Michell, op. cit., p.197.

waves carry things now to the North, now to the South... It would be desirable that Le Doux had arrived ["might arrive" or "would arrive"?) to sustain our credit a little, and to remove the dislikes ["misapprehensions"] that they have towards us."

This is a very curious remark, with Lord Buzanval suggesting, apparently, that his experienced envoy Le Doux could make a useful contribution to resolving certain difficulties in France's relations with Denmark. Is an actual mission to Denmark being planned for him? Or is it simply a question of diplomacy in Paris, perhaps a conference with Danish envoys? Either interpretation may be correct, and either would be significant.

Buzenval's Letter XXXIV, dated 11th June 1599, reports "tensions between Poland and Denmark"

There is an update on the Danish envoys in Letter XLIII from Lord Buzenval to Secretary Villeroy, dated July 13th 1599; the Ambassador states the following: "The latest letters from these gentlemen's Deputies, who are in Denmark, confirm that the said King has indeed disappeared for some time; that the common opinion there is that he may have crossed to Scotland, but that no-one speaks of it; certainly he often carries out such escapades". The King had made a similar clandestine trip to Germany: "In 1597, Christian IV travelled incognito to Germany, where he viewed the armoury, which he praised for its good order."⁴⁰

In due course, in August, we learn of the Deputies' return: "The Deputies whom these gentlemen sent to Denmark, as I notified you previously, have now returned with complete satisfaction from the King of that country, who received them kindly and had them treated as offspring of a noble house; he promised them and accorded them all good neighbourliness." (Letter L, dated 20th August 1599)

The whole situation is very reminiscent of *Hamlet*; the reference to "munitions of war", and the Danish King's urgent preparations for conflict, immediately recalled to me the lines: "...such daily cast of brazen cannon, And foreign mart for implements of war" (*Hamlet* I.i.73-74). Denmark was not actually at war in 1599, but the purchase of munitions and other preparations show that Christian IV was anticipating hostilities. In the event there was a delay - war broke out between Denmark and Sweden in 1611.

Then there is the connection with Paris. At the beginning of the play, Laertes obtains his father's reluctant permission allowing him to return to France ("by laboursome petition"). Polonius is worried about the immoral goings-on in Paris, which might be a temptation to his son. In Act Two, Scene One, Polonius briefs Reynaldo on his mission to Paris, where he is instructed to keep an eye on Laertes: "Enquire me first what Danskers are in Paris" etc (Act II.i.7).

⁴⁰ Ref website: <http://jhc.oxfordjournals.org/>

Now, since at this time Vreede's "Le Doux" was carrying regular dispatches to Secretary Villeroy and the King of France, it is obvious that he spent a considerable amount of time in Paris during the years 1598 and 1599. As we have seen, he may even have taken part in negotiations with Danish envoys. So Monsieur Le Doux could very well have known "what Danskers are in Paris" - perhaps he even took part in some of the wild carousing of which Polonius so strongly disapproved.

As is well known, "the Danskers", whether in Paris or at home, were notorious for their unruly behaviour; they had a reputation as heavy drinkers ("heavy-headed revel"), from the lowest peasant all the way up to the Royal Family: "it is a custom / More honour'd in the breach than the observance" (*Hamlet* I.iv.8-22)

Further references to Denmark may be found in Letters XXXI, XXXIV, and XLIII (see Appendix A).

Monsieur Le Doux Moves On

We may assume, I think, that in 1598 Le Doux was still sending back intelligence to the Earl of Essex, via Anthony Bacon. This would surely have had Henri's complete approval, since Essex had been a friend of the King since their meeting at Compiègne in 1591, which had taken place shortly before Essex's brother Walter was killed during the siege of Rouen. The Earl's friendship with Henri probably dates back even earlier, to 1586, when the Earl of Leicester took Essex with him on the Netherlands campaign, in which Essex's cousin, Sir Philip Sidney, was destined to suffer a hero's death for his country.

In attempting to reconstruct the movements of Le Doux from Buzanval's letters, it appears that during 1599 he had three fairly long absences from The Hague: after his journey to Paris in late February, he seems to have been away for some time, perhaps until June; there is another absence from mid-August to mid-September, and again after the beginning of October, at which time he may have been the bearer of Letter LIX from Buzanval to Monsieur de Boissize, "Ambassadeur de France en Angleterre", dated 9th October. If so, Le Doux was back in England, if only briefly, in October 1599.

The penultimate mention of Le Doux occurs in Buzanval's letter of 25th September 1599, at which time Le Doux is at The Hague and is said to be unwell: Buzanval's final reference to Le Doux is in his letter of 19th December 1599 and indicates that, at some time between the beginning of October 1599 and the 19th of December, Le Doux had left the ambassador's service and moved on, perhaps to Italy. He was replaced as courier by one "Du Temps" or "Temporarius", of whom Buzanval states the following: "He has always assisted the said Le Doux in the receipt and conveyance of funds as far as Dieppe, where I sent them (Letter LXV, Vreede, p323):

Where did Monsieur Le Doux/Marlowe move on to, in the Autumn of 1599, and where was he in 1600? I have suggested, that Le Doux may possibly

have returned to England briefly towards the end of 1599. As for the next year, personally I am inclined towards A. D. Wraight's "Bracciano" theory, which deserves thorough investigation from the Orsino Papers, i.e. that Le Doux entered the service of Don Virginio Orsino, Duke of Bracciano, the nephew of Grand Duke Ferdinand of Tuscany. If so, there may perhaps be a link with the mission to Florence of Sir Henry Wotton, Bacon's cousin, in September 1600: Wotton "left for Florence with a letter of recommendation to Grand Duke Ferdinand, written by the Earl [of Essex] at Essex House on September 20th 1600."⁴¹ As related in Leslie Hotson's book *The First Night of Twelfth Night*⁴², Duke Orsino visited England at Christmas 1600/1601 and was present, in person, as the honoured guest of Queen Elizabeth, when Shake-speare's Twelfth Night had its first performance at Court on 6th January 1601.

Conclusion

Gustav Ungerer makes the comment⁴³ that the history of Anglo-French relations during the 1590s has been inexplicably neglected by historians; but he also confirms that there is an abundance of documentation in the French and Dutch Archives, awaiting investigation. What is needed is a thorough search through these archives, particularly in Paris and at The Hague, where most of the relevant collections are held. This search could well unearth further surviving letters of Le Doux himself, which would not only yield further information but would also allow the documents to be subjected to handwriting analysis, comparing Le Doux's hand with the extant page of The Massacre at Paris and with the letters of Le Doux that are extant among the Anthony Bacon Papers.

There are now excellent resources on the Internet - a great deal more than was accessible even five years ago - including an unprecedented degree of access to State Archives and to countless books that have been long out of print. It is a search which is inherently fascinating and which has the potential to resolve the entire mystery of Marlowe and Shake-speare.

Nouillac's biography of Villeroy would be an excellent place to start, along with the extant letters of King Henri IV. Given the fact that this sort of information is much more readily available, as I have said, on the Internet, I make no apologies for giving a rather lengthy list of suggested sources: aside from the persons mentioned above, researchers would do well to focus their attention on the surviving correspondence of Philippe de Mornay, Sieur Du Plessis-Mornay (a close friend of Lord Buzenval); Jean de la Fin, the Seigneur de Beauvoir-la-Nocle; Nicolas de Harly, the Seigneur du Sancy; Andre Hurault, Sieur de Maisse; Aubery Du Maurier; Pierre Jeannin; Jean Castol; Jan van Olden Barneveldt, the Advocate of Holland; also Sir Henry Wotton, Robert Naunton, Dr Henry Hawkins, Sir Robert Sidney, Rowland Whyte, Sir

⁴¹ Ungerer, op. cit., p.322.

⁴² Leslie Hotson, *The First Night of Twelfth Night* (Rupert Hart-Davis, London, 1954)

⁴³ Ungerer, op. cit., Preface p.X.

Ralph Winwood and many others. Apparently the Royal Library of The Hague has a collection of letters from Buzanval to Villeroy dating to July and August 1600. Then there are the Cecil Papers at the British Museum, the Royal Archives of The Hague, the Archives of Utrecht, and other places mentioned above. Kervyn de Lettenhove's *Relationes Politiques des Pays-Bas et de l'Angleterre sous la règne de Philippe II* would be well worth investigating, as would Conyers Read's *Mr Secretary Walsingham* for Buzanval's early career. There may well be letters from Anthony Bacon to Buzenval among the Anthony Bacon Papers, and vice versa. Ungerer's book includes two letters from Anthony Bacon to Secretary Villeroy, and two from Villeroy to Bacon.

To sum up on what has been said concerning "Monsieur Le Doux": from the letters and documents published in *Shakespeare: New Evidence*, he appears to have been a man of great tact and discretion, someone who had acquired all the necessary social graces. At the same time, in another aspect, he seems to have been a personable character, a great "wit" with a lively sense of humour - indeed he had a distinctly mischievous streak, being dubbed "Mr Disorder" by the disapproving Jacques Petit: "This Christmas is the cause of much vain expense for tragedies and plays by Mr Disorder" - which included a performance of *Titus Andronicus*.⁴⁴

To my mind, it is very striking that there are so many links between Perez, King Henri IV, Prince Maurice, Lord Buzenval, Secretary Villeroy, Le Doux, Essex, and so many other prominent persons involved in this unfolding story - also the geographical locations and political ramifications, of which Vreede's Le Doux, if he is indeed the same man as Wraight's, had prior knowledge and experience. As we have seen, Wraight's Le Doux had travelled in the Netherlands, where he had opportunities to meet Prince Maurice⁴⁵.

Now it is obvious that the personality, experience and intellect of this "Le Doux", who was a scholar also, matches the sophistication of the Shake-speare plays, which so often treat of international relations and diplomacy. And, of course, it has often been pointed out that Shake-speare's noblemen and aristocrats are depicted in a completely natural and confident manner, along with the complicated etiquette of courtly circles throughout Europe. This has always been one of the great problems in the "mis-match" between William Shakspeare of Stratford-upon-Avon and the great plays of Shake-speare - a point rightly emphasised in the current "Doubt about Will" campaign on the Internet⁴⁶. Yet there are many indications that "Shake-speare" himself was no aristocrat, but rather a man of the people who was deeply sympathetic to the plight of the poor and the injustices suffered by the common man.

Can we be sure that this new "Le Doux", the assistant and envoy of Lord Buzanval, is the same man as Wraight's "French" intelligencer? The reader

⁴⁴ Wraight, *Shakespeare: New Evidence*, op. cit., p.96.

⁴⁵ See Le Doux's letter of 22nd June 1596, reproduced in Wraight, *Shakespeare: New Evidence*, p.140-141.

⁴⁶ See <http://www.doubtaboutwill.org/>

must decide; but the evidence in Vreede, both circumstantial and documentary, is so abundant and consistent that in my own opinion it amounts to approximately 95% certainty. The missing 5%, the final confirmation, must be provided from further research and from examination of the original documents, not only filling in the gaps but resulting, one hopes, in new discoveries. We have, as yet, no further samples of Le Doux's handwriting, but I suspect that many more letters and manuscripts will be discovered in due course.

The possibility is within sight that we may at last be able to construct a fully satisfactory and complete portrait of the real "Shake-speare", our greatest poet and dramatist, and one that rings true with the stature of his work and his sublime achievement in literature.

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Appendix A: Relevant Documents Reproduced in Vreede's Lettres et Negociations de Paul Choart, Seigneur de Buzenval⁴⁷, et de Francois d'Aerssen, 1598-1599.

Letter I - Lord Buzenval to King Henri IV, 28th October 1598 Le Doux the bearer (1st instance):

Le Doux is mentioned in the first sentence, as he is to be the bearer of this and future dispatches. This would seem to indicate the beginning of his employment in this capacity by Buzenval, at least during 1598. The letter sends news of the serious illness of "Sr de Bernefeld" – a reference to Jan van Olden Barneveldt (1547-1619), the famous Dutch statesman, Advocate of Holland. Fourteen years earlier, in 1584, it had been Barneveldt's support that enabled Prince Maurice of Nassau to succeed as Stadtholder after the assassination of his father, William the Silent. Prince Maurice became Stadtholder of the Estates of Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, Gelderland, and Overijssel. Of Barneveldt, David Maland states the following: "He enjoyed an unchallenged position of effective primacy throughout the war with Spain, and his contribution to the success of the revolt was invaluable ... he established the republic's finances on a firm basis, relying especially on the growing wealth of Amsterdam and the general expansion of Dutch trade in the final decade of the Sixteenth Century."⁴⁸

Vreede's footnote to Letter I states that "Le Doux was the regular courier of the French Legation".

Letter III - Lord Buzanval to Secretary Villeroy, 28th October 1598:

"It is better to send all of it in silver, well packed, inside well-locked chests, and also sealed so that no-one sticks in their fingers or tampers with anything. A single voyage of Le Doux will always be able to carry out this task [this comment may indicate that this is the first occasion on which Le Doux is entrusted with such an important commission], by following the course of the river as far as Rouen. The main thing is, that from Rouen to Dieppe the required security must be provided"⁴⁹

Letter IV - Lord Buzanval to King Henri IV, 26th November 1598 Le Doux the bearer (2nd instance):

"There was never such diligence as Le Doux has performed, nor anything more pleasing than what he has achieved in this voyage, having arrived in this place on the 16th [November] with your Majesty's dispatch." Also mentions Barneveldt's recovery from illness.

⁴⁷ All Buzenval's letters were sent from the Hague, unless otherwise stated

⁴⁸ Europe in the Sixteenth Century (Macmillan, 1973) p.375.

⁴⁹ Vreede, p.25.

**Letter VII: Lord Buzanval to Villeroy, 4th January 1599
Le Doux the bearer (3rd instance)**

“Le Doux will make this voyage at the charge of the funds that he will be transporting, for these gentlemen have asked me to send for it, at least the better part of it, finding absolutely no better means, or safer device, than this which I have arranged for you.....As soon as it arrives, I will collect the necessary receipt for it. I beg you, sir, to be willing to provide Le Doux with whatever he advises is needed for the conveyance as far as Dieppe; I will attend to the passport or safe conduct, if one is needed...Preparations are warming up on this side for next year’s war, and believe me, these gentlemen set about it like people who have absolutely no desire to yield. One could hardly do more to empower those that are in this temper than what the Amirante of Arragon has done in the neutral territories of the Empire, where they have made their excesses resound so loudly that everyone is utterly horrified by it.” (Buzenval goes on to speak of fleeing Spaniards who, having escaped from the fighting, “loudly proclaim that they would prefer to die upon the breach, rather than to let them [the Archduke’s armies] enter any town, whether as friends or as enemies”.

**Letter XIV: Lord Buzanval to King Henri IV, 23rd February 1599
Le Doux the bearer (4th instance):**

Includes references to events in Ireland

Letter XV: Lord Buzanval to Villeroy, 3rd March 1599:

“I hope that by now Le Doux will be near to you; he left here on the 23rd of February and had a favourable wind for his passage.”

**Letter XVII: Lord Buzanval to Villeroy, dated 14th March 1599
M. Dommarville the bearer**

**Letter XXV: Lord Buzanval to Villeroy, dated 1st May 1599
M. De La Frontiere the bearer**

“These people are longing [“languissent”] for the return of Le Doux.” Buzanval asks a favour on behalf of “one of the most learned men of our times, Monsieur De Lescale” [Joseph Scaliger], who wishes to have a book reprinted.

Letter XXVII: Lord Buzanval to Villeroy, dated 8th May 1599:

“With regard to the costs for the transporting of that which Le Doux will carry, as much in escorts as in carriages or such things, I recall what I wrote to you about that matter ... [this is simply Le Doux’s expenses]. The letter continues: “the coins should be in gold or in silver, according to the King’s set rate, and similarly the ecus at 63 sous. And believe me, sir, that if there should be any loss in this, I will bear it myself rather than complaining about it or putting you to any trouble: the main thing is that the retinue must be safely conveyed to Dieppe, and the sooner the better, for matters and necessities on this side are urgent.

Letter XXIX: Lord Buzanval to Villeroy, dated 17th May 1599:

“These gentlemen are sending an embassy to the King of Denmark, who has urgently requested of them certain munitions of war, which they have allowed him to purchase: I believe that the said embassy may possibly pass through Sweden. Thus the world gets mixed up, and the waves carry things now to the North, now to the South... It would be desirable that Le Doux had arrived (“might arrive” or “would arrive”?) to sustain our credit a little, and to remove the dislikes [“misapprehensions”] that they have towards us.”

“The Queen of England praises their announcement [“placard”] loudly... she says that they have made only one mistake, that of having waited so long to do it. They are being strongly warned [“on les assure”] that there will not be more than one year’s peace on that front.”

Letter XXXI: Lord Buzanval to Villeroy, dated 24th May 1599:

“Le Doux’s arrival is long overdue: the concerns and outgoings on this side are immense, and I am more and more astonished at how they can be provided”. Further references to the King of Denmark.

Letter XXXII: Report of “L’Agent d’Angleterre” [George Gilpin] to the Estates General, 1st June 1599:

The report is signed by George Gilpin – was he also the bearer?

**Letter XXXIV: Lord Buzanval to Villeroy, 1st June 1599
(check beginning):**

“Sir: I have sent word to you of how important the arrival of Le Doux is; the need for his arrival increases daily.”

**Letter XXXVI: Lord Buzanval to Villeroy, dated 12th June 1599
The servant of Sr d’Aerssen the bearer:**

Letter XXXVIII: Francois D’Aerssen to the Estates General:

“I have not as yet written to thank his Majesty [Henri IV] for the first fifty thousand escus sent via Le Doux, and for their safe delivery, in order not to involve your Honours in dangers, as much by land as by sea, through such a notification. ...The Ambassador of the Queen of England has made many complaints in his letters, saying that Her Majesty has far too much trouble of her own to assist you out of her funds, nor does she discharge him [Henri IV] of his debts to his Mistress –expressed in such bitterness, that the King is greatly discontented about it.”

François D’Aerssen was agent of the United Provinces in France

References to the Earl of Essex in Ireland – he was commanding the English forces there from April to September 1599.

Letter XXXIX: Lord Buzanval to Villeroy, 25th June 1599:

Le Doux is back in The Hague; Buzanval writes of two warships and says "I await them daily with Le Doux"

Letter XLI: Lord Buzanval to Villeroy, 2nd July 1599:

"I will keep Le Doux here until some good opportunity presents itself for his sending back. M de Rosny writes to me that without fail, the remainder [of the funds?] will be ready for the whole month of August. It will come at exactly the right moment. For you know what an abyss of finance an army is."

Letter XLIII: Lord Buzanval to Villeroy, 13th July 99:

"The latest letters from these gentlemen's Deputies, who are in Denmark, confirm that the said King has indeed disappeared for some time; that the common opinion there is that he may have crossed to Scotland, but that no-one speaks of it; certainly he often carries out such escapades."

**Letter XLVI: Lord Buzanval to Villeroy, 1st August 1599
Le Doux the bearer (confirmed by Letter XLVII):**

Asks Villeroy to return Le Doux: "It is therefore more than needful, sir, that you must send Le Doux back to me, very soon, with the funds ("provision") promised in the letters of M de Rosny and your own, as soon as you receive this letter." Buzanval adds: "The voyage of Le Doux cost me five hundred escus or slightly less, because of the long stay that he made over there ["par dela"], which he has agreed to repay, and a thousand other expenses incurred in the receipt and conveyance of his merchandise – of which, however, I do not complain at all." He goes on to ask Villeroy to provide "une ordonnance simple" for Le Doux "for this present voyage; not for the carriages or the escorts, but only for the bearing of this despatch" –the phrase "une ordonnance simple" appears to mean "a single payment" or perhaps "a credit note".

Letter XLVII: Lord Buzanval to Villeroy, 19th August 1599:

"Sir, I sent off Le Doux on the first of August, and I have no doubt at all that, in accordance with his customary diligence, he will by now be near to you, and that, in accordance with the sincerity of your promises and good judgement, he will be back on this side before the end of the month – which is very necessary. For we see more and more this German colossus yelling and promising certain ruination if those Princes who have such a major interest in it [the campaign] do not find new means and devices to prop it up."

Letter L: Lord Buzanval to Villeroy, 20th August 1599:

"The Deputies whom these gentlemen sent to Denmark, as I notified you previously, have now returned with complete satisfaction from the King of that country, who received them kindly and had them treated as offspring of a noble house; he promised them and accorded them all good neighbourliness, and that he would not interfere further in their peace, as he had done

previously, having been required to do so by the King of Spain.” Buzanval reports that the Danes will remain neutral between Sweden and Poland.

Letter LI: Lord Buzanval to Villeroy, 10th September 1599:

Reports the return of part of the Admiral of Nassau’s fleet, comprising some thirty-five warships that had been sent to the West coast of England, to reinforce Queen Elizabeth’s fleet against an anticipated attack from Spain.

Letter LV: Lord Buzanval to Villeroy, 18th September 1599:

“I have been awaiting Le Doux for three days here; he has arrived in Zealand and has been detained there for the visit that has been arranged for Sr. d’Aersenn. If not for that, I would have gone to be a spectator of the ruins of this Germanic edifice, and to see what repairs could be carried out there.”

Letter LVI: Lord Buzanval to Villeroy, 25th September 1599:

“I will (shortly) send you Le Doux, who is here unwell (“malade”)”

Letter LIX: Lord Buzanval to M. de Boize, French Ambassador to England, 9th October 1599:

Could Le Doux have been the bearer of this letter, returning to England for a while? He had been unwell on the 25th of September, but could certainly have recovered by the 9th of October.

Letter LXV: Lord Buzanval to Villeroy, 19th or 22nd November 1599:

“Sir, I have advised you that, to compensate for the lack of Le Doux, and for the duty that he carried out, I could employ no better person than M. du Temps, on whom I rely for all of my affairs over there [in Paris], and who has always assisted the said Le Doux in the receipt and conveyance of funds as far as Dieppe, to where I sent them. He is a trustworthy person, of good ability, the Pay-Master of his Majesty’s Guards....we could not commission anyone more fitting than the said Du Temps.”

Vreede’s footnote adds: “Temporarius: this is the same man who is named in the letters of Scaliger and Casaubon.”

This seems to indicate that Monsieur Le Doux had left Buzenval’s service and moved on.

Appendix B: The Mission of Sir Henry Unton in 1591 and 1592: Marlowe's Possible Visit to Navarre

It has been suggested that Christopher Marlowe may have attended Sir Henry Unton (1557-1596) on the Ambassador's mission to France and Navarre during 1591 and 1592. If Marlowe did indeed visit the Court of Navarre at this time, and if his visit took place between late November 1591 and February 1592, he could well have been there at the same time as both Anthony Bacon and Antonio Perez.

The following information may be found at various websites:

*In 1591, Sir Henry [Unton] was appointed Ambassador to King Henri IV of France. He arrived on 21st July 1591.*⁵⁰

*In the early part of 1592, Marlowe seems to have been at the siege of Rouen, where English troops had been sent to uphold the Protestant cause against the Catholic League, for on 12th March 1592 a "Mr Marlin" arrived at Dieppe with a letter from the English Garrison at Rouen to Sir Henry Unton. From Dieppe, Unton sent Marlowe back to England with a letter to Lord Burghley.*⁵¹

Unton became a friend of Henri IV

*whom he accompanied on a campaign in Normandy before he was recalled to England in June 1592.*⁵²

He arrived home on the 17th of June⁵³.

⁵⁰ See [http://www.tudorplace.com.ar/Bios/HenryUnton\(Sir\).htm](http://www.tudorplace.com.ar/Bios/HenryUnton(Sir).htm)

⁵¹ See <http://www.tudorplace.com.ar/Bios/ChristopherMarlowe.htm>

⁵² See http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Henry_Unton

⁵³ J. Stevenson, *Correspondence of Sir Henry Unton, Ambassador to Henri IV, 1591-1592* (Roxburghe, 1847)